

YOUNG SOCIALIST

February-March 1967

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■ HOW SOCIALISTS SHOULD FIGHT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR: ■ YSA ANSWERS SDSer



- Socialist Election Campaign In Berkeley
- Eyewitness Report From N. Vietnam

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Young Socialist Notes

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In This Issue

BRIAN SHANNON graduated from Pomona College and attended the University of California Law School. He was active in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and is currently a candidate for the Berkeley City Council on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

SYD STAPLETON is a former student at the University of California, Berkeley where he was a leader of the Free Speech Movement in 1964. He recently moved to New York from Seattle where he was active in the University of Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Seattle YSA.

A.J. Muste Dies: A. J. Muste, long-time pacifist and a prominent leader of the anti-Vietnam war movement, died of a heart attack on Sat., February 11th at the age of 82. A telegram sent to the Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee of which A.J. was chairman, from the YSA-SWP Midwest Socialist Conference expresses the sentiments of many of us. It states:

"The sad news is a great shock to all of us here. We looked to A. J. as one of the outstanding leaders of the antiwar movement in this country and we are fully aware that his passing is a great loss to the movement at this moment in history. We pledge ourselves to carry on the work against the Vietnam war that he valiantly led and especially we dedicate ourselves to making the April 15 antiwar demonstration a monument and testimonial to him."

YSA Extends Solidarity to English Communist: On January 29th, Tony Bloom, 23, a member of the Young Communist League was shot in the stomach by a fascist in London. The YSA immediately sent a telegram stating that, ". . . The fascist attack on you is a desperate attempt to stop youth from fighting for a fundamental social change, against reaction and for an end to the inhuman war in Vietnam. . . . Such acts will not intimidate us, and our immediate response must be to deepen the struggle for an end to the war in Vietnam. . . ."

Messages can be sent to Tony Bloom at Ward 13, University College Hospital, Gower Street, London, W. C. 1.

Student Strike in Spain: On February 6, over 75,000 students stayed away from classes on eight campuses in Spain. They were striking to support student leaders arrested during campus demonstrations in solidarity with workers' strikes for higher wages and better working conditions.

An electrical workers' strike in December touched off a strike movement that has swept Spain and resulted in a march of 100,000 workers through Madrid on January 23—the largest demonstration of workers since the end of the civil war. These actions have served to help revive the militant student activity that existed on the campuses last spring.

(continued on p. 22)



Over 50,000 people participate in united front protest against Vietnam war, New York City, March, 26, 1966

Photo by
Finer

HOW SOCIALISTS SHOULD FIGHT AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR:

YSA Answers Questions About United Front Tactics

BY DOUG JENNESS

The lead article in the Jan. 6, *New Left Notes*, the newspaper of Students for a Democratic Society, features an analysis by Bernard Farber, Roosevelt SDS, of the Student Antiwar Conference held at the University of Chicago, December 28-30, in which the "honesty" of the positions taken and attitudes expressed by the Young Socialist Alliance representatives is placed in question.

What is involved, in our view, is not a question of morals but of politics. It is not unusual to confuse the two as political differences often assume the guise of moral imperatives. On our part, we do not question the "honesty" of Farber, merely his political views and political judgments. Conducted on the latter plane the discussion can prove fruitful.

The YSA is accused of subordinating political principle to tactical expediency in the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam. That is a serious charge, which we leave aside for the moment, to deal first with the accusation that the YSA is guilty of manipulating united front formations against the Vietnam war to conform to what Farber characterizes as our "own politics". Therein lies the crux of our alleged dishonesty!

For reasons which we need not examine here the SDS has made the campaign against the II-S student draft deferment the focus of their antiwar ac-

tivity. When this question was introduced into the conference it became readily apparent that there were serious differences of opinion.

It is not true, however, that the representatives of the YSA took no position on II-S. On several occasions at the Chicago conference, both from the floor and in the workshops, our opposition to II-S was clearly stated by YSA representatives. Furthermore, in a list of suggested activities widely disseminated by the Student Mobilization Committee, we strongly supported the inclusion of a statement urging anti-II-S activities. However, along with the overwhelming majority, the YSA rejected the concept of making support of the II-S campaign a condition of participation in the Student Mobilization Committee and the April 8-15 antiwar demonstrations.

In the light of this incident over the II-S controversy Farber finds our position on the united front actions inconsistent, contradictory and downright dishonest. "The YSA's constant reiteration of the 'United Front' phrase becomes tiresome," Farber writes, "and I think is dishonest. When the argument in the antiwar movement was that of negotiations versus withdrawal as a slogan, they were unwilling to submerge their own politics in order to maintain 'unity', they were unable to refrain from insisting that everyone discuss it."

"Withdrawal" vs. "Negotiations"

Unwittingly perhaps Farber's complaint reads like a tribute to the principled political line consistently followed by the YSA from the beginning of the antiwar movement. At an early stage in the development of the movement the cleavage between those supporting "negotiations" and those advocating unilateral withdrawal was of paramount importance to the future of the antiwar movement. It was comparable in political importance to the fight SDS waged against the "moderate" peace groups over the question of whether the SDS March on Washington in April, 1965 should be organized on a non-exclusive basis.

Those taking their stand on the side of withdrawal represented the clearest and most uncompromising opponents of the Johnson administration, while those supporting "negotiations" in one form or another resisted severing the umbilical cord which tied them to the liberal "critics" of Johnson's Vietnam war policy. The demand for "negotiations" plays into Johnson's hand because it is based on the same assumption as the government's foreign policy—the assumption that the United States has the right to interfere in the affairs of the Vietnamese. Johnson could agree to negotiate tomorrow and while the negotiations are going on American troops could still be fighting in Vietnam. This is what happened in Korea and American troops have not been removed from there to this day. Furthermore, one can rest assured that a "negotiated agreement" would not be based on the right to self-determination but would provide for outside interference as the 1954 Geneva Agreement did by authorizing "supervised elections" in Vietnam. Consequently a movement organized around a "negotiations" position would have its feet swept from under it if Johnson decided to "negotiate". The position of immediate withdrawal, however, is grounded in the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own future and cannot be co-opted by the administration short of getting out of Vietnam. We consider our role in helping to win broader acceptance of the withdrawal position in the antiwar movement as one of the proudest chapters in YSA history.

At any rate the question of "negotiations" versus "withdrawal" was certainly not the issue in dispute at the Chicago conference. But does Farber really believe that the question of II-S stands on the same level as the dispute over "negotiations" versus "withdrawal?" In politics, as in everyday life, a sense of proportion is an indispensable prerequisite for intelligent and effective action.

We have recently had an objective test which may throw some light on the matter. The *New*

York Times Feb. 6, in a front page article reports that student leaders, representing 15 different groups, ended a two-day conference in New York City by unanimously adopting a two-paragraph resolution which reads: "The present draft system with its inherent injustices is incompatible with traditional American principles of individual freedom within a democratic society, and for this reason should be eliminated.

"An urgent need exists within our society for young people to become involved in the elimination of such social ills as ignorance, poverty, racial discrimination and war."

The reporter observes that: "Among those who signed the resolution were leading members of the left wing Students for a Democratic Society, the right wing Young Americans for Freedom, and the moderate Youth and College Division of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Rest assured that Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, et al, will take the news without blinking an eyelash. There is more than an even chance that "the present draft system" will be modified. But that won't alter by one iota the burning task of mobilizing the maximum opposition to Johnson's war around the slogan of the immediate withdrawal of all American troops. It does not matter whether the war is fought with men who, faced by the "hot breath" of the draft or economic poverty, volunteer or conscripts—the American troops have no business in Vietnam and should be removed immediately. And all evidence points to the fact that

**SDSer INDICTS TROTSKYISTS AS "LIBERALS"—
HOPES APRIL 15 MOBILIZATION WILL BE A DISASTER**

"The battle-lines within the peace movement are finally being drawn in the context of debate over the April Mobilization. Nobody is claiming that the April Mobilization will end the war. The debate instead is polarizing in terms of those who see mobilization as a priority. In this context, I think it is possible to say that it's the split between the liberals (call them Trots, if you wish) and the radicals. . . .

"My feeling is that the peace movement will become meaningful—i.e., try to win—only if the April Mobilization is a disaster. A contradiction in terms? Not at all. By being active, those in the march will lose their activism. Mobilizing the powerless, the Mobilization will feed their frustration. It won't end the war, nor will it provide any direction, any viable alternatives to illusory thinking for those involved. The Mobilization will take a despair and justify it."

Doug Norberg from "The Mobilization Debate,"
(*New Left Notes*, Jan. 20, 1967)

this slogan conforms to the sentiments of a significant number of the troops in Vietnam and a growing body of opinion at home.

Is the YSA Unprincipled?

In order to avoid the charge of quoting out of context we will cite a rather lengthy quotation from Farber embodying a series of charges intended to establish the basis of what he considers is YSA's unprincipled bloc with "moderate" peace groups. He writes:

"Some analysts have theorized that the YSA's motivation for the united front tactic, the attempt to keep radical politics to a minimal extent in the calls for national actions, and their great interest in the Spring Mobilization stems from their orientation *vis a vis* labor, which some seem to think is one of regarding SANE as the legitimate 'cover' in this period for trade union peace activity, and indeed as an opening wedge for radicalization. Because of this, and their generally stated belief that the war can be ended through pressure politics activity, they attempt to limit discussion of class aspects of the war, or its imperialist character. The theory that the war can be ended without a general radicalization of the American working class, which is implicit in the 'Bring the troops home now!' single issue approach is a negation of the YSA-SWP's generally expressed position (at least *within* the left) of opposing coalition politics and entering or attempting to influence bourgeois parties (i.e. Democrats and Republicans)."

Let us first deal with the assertion that the "Bring the Troops Home Now" slogan necessarily *implies* "the theory that the war can be ended without a general radicalization of the American working class?"

Actually the contrary is true. This slogan is calculated to mobilize the maximum number *in struggle* against the Johnson administration whose liberal wing seeks to cover the naked aggression of American imperialism with the hypocritical mantle of "negotiation."

However, we have to begin with present day reality which unfortunately is that there is no "general radicalization of the American working class". What then do we do, sit around on our hands and deplore the backwardness of the American workers? Or should we write the American workers off as pillars of the Establishment concerned solely with the creature comforts of Johnson's "Great Society".



YSAers participate in San Francisco march with own banners

No. We begin with the antiwar movement as it is presently constituted. We recognize that the movement can help spark a "general radicalization" given the inevitable assist from the American ruling class which must more and more seek to unload the burden of war onto the backs of the workers, both black and white. Already signs of ferment are visible in the labor movement as resistance grows to war-imposed inflation, increased taxes, and higher casualty rates. The trade unionist conferences on Vietnam held in Los Angeles and Chicago are manifestations of these modest but important changes in the labor movement.

In pursuing this course are we abandoning our socialist perspective as Farber suggests? No. We continue to subscribe to Lenin's analysis that wars are inevitable so long as capitalism survives. But we do not believe that it follows that this particular war in Vietnam cannot be ended short of the socialist revolution. So far as American imperialism is concerned this is not a last-ditch battle for survival. The question of how the Vietnam war will end will be decided by the interaction of many factors in the course of the struggle. The French ruling class for example, was forced to withdraw its troops from Algeria as a result of domestic opposition and the sustained struggle of the Algerian people and did so without a socialist revolution in France.

There is a certain tendency on the part of some SDSers to discount the import of the current antiwar struggle because even if it could bring an end to the war, there will be more wars to come. Thus, it is argued, why bother building an antiwar movement when we need a movement that will end all wars.

This we feel is an incorrect way of posing the question. What we should be asking is what are the political ramifications of an American victory in Vietnam? There is no question that should the United States successfully defeat the peasant guer-

rillas in the south and roll back the gains won in the revolution in the north, the way would be paved to invade China thus risking a nuclear confrontation with the USSR. A U. S. "victory" in Vietnam could mean World War III! It would also signify a terrific blow to the colonial revolution and provide renewed confidence to the American rulers in suppressing it.

American withdrawal from Vietnam definitely will not guarantee the abolition of war, but an American "victory" will most certainly open the door to new wars and imperialist victories as the defeat of the Spanish revolution in the 1930's prepared the way for World War II.

In this light the importance of building a massive antiwar movement that will help to force the warmakers in Washington to pull out of Vietnam, should be apparent. The facts of the matter are that the United States is engaged in only *one* war *at the present time*, and the responsibility of any person who is opposed to this rotten system and its aggressive foreign policy is to be in the front lines of the antiwar movement. This is the most important political struggle going on today. The fact that there will inevitably be more wars is not sufficient reason to shy away from the struggle against the war the ruling class is waging *today*.

There is a similarity between the arguments of many SDSers and those of the Proudhonists against whom the early Marxists polemicized. The Proudhonists argued that as long as capitalism existed it was futile to engage in partial struggles for economic demands. Strikes, they argued, merely served to sow demoralization among workers, for, so long as the capitalists retained their power over the economy, and their control of the state, such gains were quickly wiped out through price hikes, increased cost-of-living, speed-up, etc. Therefore, "in principle" they refused to settle for anything short of the abolition of capitalism.

The Marxists patiently explained that the overthrow of capitalism called for something more effective than verbal radicalism. They pointed out that the trade unions were among other things the elementary school of the class struggle and that in the struggle for partial, limited demands, the workers would learn the true nature of the enemy. In the course of the struggle they would acquire political consciousness i.e. socialist consciousness. The function of the revolutionary socialist tendency is to accelerate this process by advancing such slogans and demands as are calculated to promote the organizational and political independence of the working class and its allies in struggle

MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

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

ANTIOCH: YSA, c/o Rick Wadsworth, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio, tel. (513) 767-1576

BALDWIN WALLACE COLLEGE (Berea, Ohio): John Yard, Box 1338, Berea, Ohio

BERKELEY-OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Derrel Myers, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, tel. 843-6082
U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., tel. 843-6165

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, tel. 491-8893
M.I.T.: Nat London, tel. 354-1999
Harvard-Radcliffe: tel. 868-3021

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, tel. 939-5044
Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.
University of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, tel. 533-6811

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., tel. 791-1669
Western Reserve University: Cathy Perkus, tel. 421-6084
Cuyahoga Community College: James Katz, tel. 371-0290

DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver, Colorado

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE 1-6135
Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU

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

LOS ANGELES: YSA, c/o Mike Goldman, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN9-4953
Cal. State College at L.A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. WE 1-4779

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

MILWAUKEE: YSA, 150 E. Juneau, Rm. 310, tel. 645-5069

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240, tel. FE2-7781
U. of Minn.: c/o Larry Seigle, 1608 S. 5th St., tel. 339-1864

NEW YORK: YSA, 873 Broadway, tel. 982-6051
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Columbia: Caroline Jenness, 314 E. 11th St., tel. GR3-1387
City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., tel. CL6-2348

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, c/o John Benson, 440 N. 38th St., tel. EV6-7699
U. of Penn.: Joel Aber, 4732 Kingsessing Ave., tel. SA9-6075

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

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S. F. State College: Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, #12, tel. KL2-2838
S. F. City College: Jim Miller, tel. 387-2562

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Anita Hansen, 34 S. 9th St.

SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Paul Lodico, 5027 Brooklyn Ave. NE

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

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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

against the capitalist ruling class. And contrariwise, to combat those tendencies which seek to divert the struggle into the treacherous channels of class collaboration.

What is a United Front?

This brings us to the main count in the indictment which is: That the YSA's "motivation" for the united front tactic stems from our "orientation *vis a vis* labor," which inexorably leads us to concealing our views on the "class character of the war", and what is even more terrible, "it's imperialist character," and so forth and so on. This "orientation" induces us to mute our "radical politics" in deference to the sensibilities of SANE whom we allegedly regard as "the legitimate cover in this period for trade union peace activity."

Our "motivation" for the united front stems from our recognition of a very basic fact of life—the existence in the antiwar movement of a whole number of divergent political groups, tendencies, and individuals. It would be better if it were not so. However, there is nothing to be gained in remaining blind to the reality.

If everyone was in political agreement the question of a united front could not and would not arise. But such is not the case. Should we then sit on the sidelines propagandizing loudly for socialism while at the same time guarding our "purity" from the taint of contact with other organizations with whom we have differences? Or, should we rather probe the possibility of reaching agreement on the basis of a minimum program of *action* around an issue upon which we *can* agree, leaving aside so far as the agreed upon action is concerned those other questions of a doctrinal or programmatic character upon which we cannot agree? To us, the latter seems to be the most effective course for those who want to act, and not just talk, of bringing about a fundamental transformation of our social system.

Nonetheless, the united front struggle against the Vietnam war serves to bring together diverse tendencies and creates an atmosphere for an open exchange of political views. Rather than limiting political dialogue, the united front heightens political discussion especially on an informal level. The YSA is particularly aware of this and rather than submerging our socialist views as Farber contends, we have openly fought for our views within the movement in order to draw more people to revolutionary socialism.

We publish pamphlets and a bi-monthly magazine, conduct several speaking tours a year, and hold regional socialist educational conferences. In

the imperialist character of the Vietnam war, coalition politics, the class character of American society, the need for socialism in the U. S. and what kind of political organizations are needed to lead the struggle for socialism. As a result of what we feel is an honest presentation of the revolutionary socialist position, we have been winning an increasing number of members to the YSA.

Despite the absence of a mass socialist consciousness today, we feel that it is imperative to convince as many people as possible, even if it is only a small layer, to become revolutionary socialists in order to participate more effectively in the struggles today and in preparation for the workers' struggles and class battles to come.

The united front was not originated by the YSA; nor did it make its first appearance for the YSA in connection with the April 15th Mobilization. It has been our approach in the antiwar movement from its very beginning.

United Front vs. "Popular Front"

The united front tactic has been part of the revolutionary socialist tradition for decades. Although it was applied earlier, it was first outlined formally in the early years of the Third International. It originated out of the necessity for the revolutionary Communist parties to join in common action with the reformist Socialist parties in defense of workers' interests. Through these common struggles the Communist parties hoped to win over a majority of workers to their position of taking power.

The united front should be clearly distinguished from the class collaborationist "Popular Fronts" that originated in the 1930's. The "Popular Front", unlike the united front is not based on unity around a common action in *struggle against* the ruling class, but rather is a bloc based on support to a *common program of collaboration* with one or another wing of the capitalist ruling class. A revolutionary socialist organization making the mistake of joining such a bloc would be forced to submerge its independent political positions in the interests of unity around the class collaborationist program. If for example all the socialist tendencies in the United States joined together in a common bloc to support a candidate from one of the capitalist parties or a pro-capitalist "independent" in the 1968 elections this would be a "Popular Front". Needless to say the YSA would have no part of such a bloc and would do its utmost to combat it.

(continued on p. 21)

STUDENTS CALL VIETNAM WEEK: APRIL 8-15

A CALL TO VIETNAM WEEK

It is two years since the U.S. government began bombing north Vietnam. For two years the U.S. government has continued to escalate the war and spent ever increasing sums of money. In Vietnam the war is being paid for by the increased shedding of the blood of American and Vietnamese soldiers, and the ever increasing killing of Vietnamese civilians. At home the war is being paid for by increased food prices, increased tuition, and the ever increasing disruption of the lives of American youth. This poses a challenge to those Americans who for the past two years have been striving to bring the horror of the war to the attention of their fellow Americans: for now large segments of America can be reached with the message that the war is a barrier both to their own individual happiness and to the fulfillment of the American dream of a nation with liberty and justice for all.

We must respond to this challenge by confronting our fellow students and our professors with the truth about the war and its perverse effects upon our society:

We must face the true nature of the war. It is first of all a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, who seek only to exercise that right of self-determination for which Americans fought in 1776. It is a racist war, a murderous war against a colored people. It is an illegal war fought in our name but without our consent. It is but one symptom of a diseased society, a symptom that must be ended if it is to be possible to begin treating the disease itself.

We must face the true nature of the draft system. It is that system by which the war machine is nourished by the blood of young men. It is that system which makes the war possible. It further perpetuates a system of racism in the United States. It calculatedly penalizes the poor. It is used by the government to crush the aspirations of American racial minorities. It converts the classroom into an arena in which the losers are sent out to kill and be killed and the winners must live with the knowledge that their "success" in school may mean another's death on the battlefield.

The war in Vietnam makes it clear that the administration of this country with the complicity of the colleges and universities prefers to train Americans to become instruments of war instead of enlightened human beings.

We, the Student Mobilization Committee, urge all those students who wish to oppose the criminal war in Vietnam to dedicate themselves anew to the task of ending the war. Specifically we propose that April 8-15th be designated as Vietnam Week. We urge national student action during Vietnam Week which will culminate in the transportation of as many students as possible to New York and San Francisco as part of the general Spring Mobilization of the antiwar movement on April 15th. Finally, we propose that the focus of End the War in Vietnam Week be on: (1) Bringing the GI's home now; (2) opposing the draft, and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system; and (3) Ending campus complicity with the war effort.

It is especially appropriate that we American students, fighting for the right to determine our own future, support the right of self-determination throughout the world and call for international opposition to the war in Vietnam, which denies the right of self-determination to the people of Vietnam.

The call to action reprinted here came out of the national student conference held in Chicago, December 28-30. The conference brought together more than 250 student leaders from all over the country to plan a united course of action in the spring to oppose the war in Vietnam. A broad range of radical, civil rights, social action and antiwar organizations set up the Student Mobilization Committee. There were representatives from Students for a Democratic Society, the DuBois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance, the National Student Association southern project, Youth Against War and Fascism, and many more.

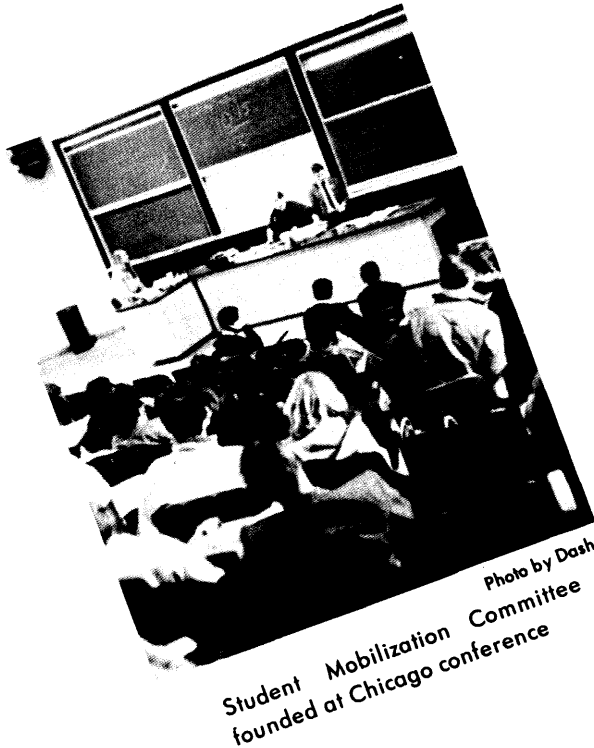


Photo by Dash
Student Mobilization Committee
founded at Chicago conference

The Student Mobilization Committee is coordinating a week of intensive activity on the campuses during the week of April 8-15. Activities such as campus war crimes tribunals to investigate instances of university complicity with the war effort, student strikes, teach-ins, demonstrations, film showings, and rallies are being projected across the nation for this Vietnam Week. A list of proposals for action has been issued in the first issue of the *Student Mobilizer* published by the Student Mobilization Committee.

The week of activity will culminate in the transporting of thousands of students and faculty along with thousands of others to San Francisco and New York to participate in the April 15th Spring Mobilization demonstrations which are being organized by the Spring Mobilization Committee.

At a meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee held in New York on January 28th, the latest developments in

the planning of Vietnam Week were gone over with reports from all over the country. James Bevel, the executive director of the Spring Mobilization Committee reported on the progress that has been made to reach out to such sectors of the population as the labor movement and the civil rights movement. Support from organized labor for the mobilization is increasing, as is indicated by the addition of various trade union officials as sponsors.

Kipp Dawson, West Coast Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, gave a report on the progress of building for April 15th on the West Coast, and indicated that numerous clergymen, civil rights leaders, and labor officials had endorsed the action. On February 5th, a student conference was held in San Francisco to organize and tie together the West Coast supporters of the Student Vietnam Week. Representatives from Seattle to San Diego were present.

The spring mobilization promises to be the biggest, and broadest series of antiwar demonstrations yet undertaken by the organized antiwar movement in the United States, and it is hoped that on April 15th, antiwar fighters all over the world will join the American antiwar movement in demanding the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

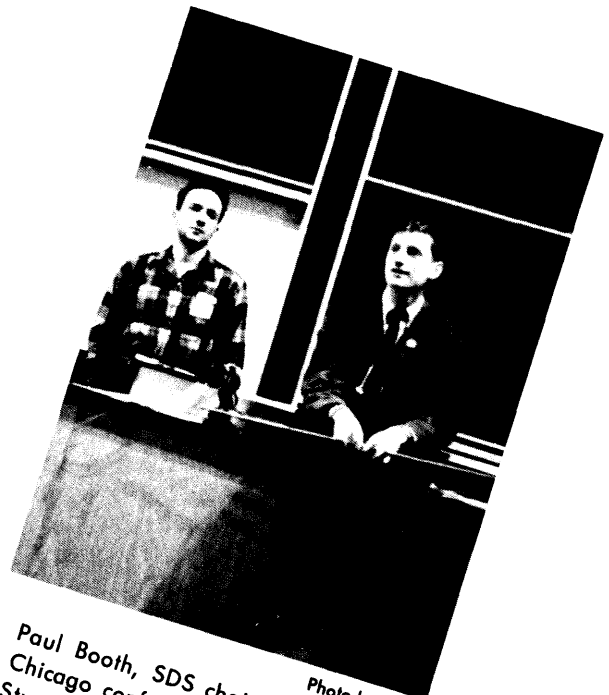


Photo by Dash
Paul Booth, SDS chairs session at
Chicago conference (right), as Dan
Styron, YSA speaks (left)

FREE HUGO BLANCO

BY SYD STAPLETON

The case of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader who faces possible execution, has aroused an international display of solidarity in his behalf. Blanco and twenty-eight others were arrested over three years ago in connection with the death of three policemen, and their detention and trial have clearly been an attempt by the Belaunde government to terrorize the Peruvian workers and peasants movements.

In 1961, Hugo Blanco, leader of the Trotskyist, Frente Izquierda Revolucionaria, decided to try organizing the oppressed peasants of the high Andes regions into federations for protection against the agents of the urban-based landowners, and for the defense of their rights to land and political organization. Very quickly, Hugo Blanco succeeded in organizing in the Cuzco region, a "Federation of Peasants of the Valley of La Convencion." Based in Quillabamba, Blanco and his followers explained to the peasants how they could exercise the rights which had been denied them for four centuries. Hugo Blanco succeeded in building the first schools and medical clinics in the area, and in organizing a political movement which soon encompassed the entire valley.

Thousands of peasants, including women and children, marched in columns from their villages toward abandoned land, or land notoriously neglected by the *hacenderos*. Utilizing titles going back to the period preceding the Spanish conquest, the peasants installed themselves on land which rightfully belonged to them and waited for the authorities to recognize their titles. The movement was harrassed by the landlords, the army and the police. The landlords resented losing a massive and cheap source of labor, and their position as leading members of Peru's ruling class led to an order, issued in early 1962, for Hugo Blanco's arrest.

In early 1963, the wife and daughter of a peasant organizer were raped by the local landowner, and a reign of terror was unleashed against those who protested. Blanco and a commission of twenty-five men were authorized by the union to investigate. Attacked by local police when they entered the town, the men defended themselves and three rural policemen were killed. Blanco was captured and imprisoned in the infamous prison at Arrequipa, and solitary confinement became routine for him and the other defendants.

Blanco and the others were held for three years without charges, until the authorities felt that the



Hugo
Blanco

political atmosphere in Peru made it possible to dispose of the courageous leader without touching off a major upheaval. The trial, when finally opened, was held in Tacna, a small town that the government hoped would be beyond the reach of both the press and the supporters of Hugo Blanco. As the trial began, it was apparent that it was impossible for the tribunal to escape the widespread publicity about the case—both in Peru and internationally. The courtroom was packed with peasants who joined in Blanco's cry of "Tierra o Muerte" (Land or Death), and representatives of both the foreign and domestic press refused to be turned away.

Blanco and the twenty-eight other defendants were even denied the basic right to a jury trial, on the grounds that the case was "a military matter." The three military judges who handed down the sentence were representatives of the same government that had earlier tried to smash the peasants' movement by military means, and the twenty-five year sentence was aimed not only at Blanco and the Andean peasants—but at the whole Peruvian agrarian and labor movements.

The twenty-five year sentence to the island fortress of El Fronton was immediately appealed to the Supreme Council of Military Justice. After examining the dossier, the prosecuting attorney Ruis de Somocursio held that "the crimes of perfidy, premeditation and cruelty" charged against the peasant leader deserved capital punishment. The danger for Hugo Blanco is now even graver than at the opening of the trial at Tacna. Under Peru's former military code, an unjust decision by the Supreme Council of Military Justice could be appealed to the Supreme Court. Last year, however, during a rabid witch-hunt, the parliament enacted a new code which bars appeal of any decision handed down by the Supreme Council.

Hector Bejar, himself a political prisoner in Peru,

described the latest developments of the case in a letter which was published in the January issue of the French Marxist journal, *La Quatrieme Internationale*. Bejar wrote on December 30:

"...on January 15th, the tribunal goes on vacation until April. In addition, many military figures, including some members of the tribunal are taking out their retirement. It seems that the present members of the tribunal have been startled by the international protest and don't want 'to have this death on their conscience.' They prefer to leave the responsibility to those who will follow them because they have burned their fingers in this business. For this reason I believe that they will prefer to drag it out so that their names won't be mixed up with such a death sentence.

"Nevertheless it is necessary to remain very vigilant, because it could be that they have been waiting all this time for the campaign for Hugo to die down, for people to forget the thing a little, and then they will offer us a surprise when Parliament is not in session and the University students are on vacation. *Above all, it must not be forgotten that a death sentence is carried out within 24 hours.*"

"The only way to counter this maneuver is to intensify the campaign and to take advantage of the time gained in order to broaden it."

The outrage at the threat to Blanco's life has reached huge proportions in Peru itself, and on December 2, 15,000 people packed into the Plaza San Martin to demand immediate freedom for Hugo Blanco. An eye-witness wrote, "The meeting was enthusiastic, warm, the people of Lima were offering their solidarity and support. After the meeting the demonstrators... stopped in front of the government palace to shout 'Freedom for Hugo Blanco,' until the police dispersed them. . ."

International support for Hugo Blanco and his co-defendants has also been widespread. An indication of the impressive scope of the amnesty campaign was the decision of Amnesty International to intervene on behalf of Blanco. An influential organization that has consultative status with the United Nations and the Council of Europe, the American section is headed by such figures as Victor Reuther, Francis Biddle and Roger Baldwin. In spite of its usual policy of non-intervention in cases where "violence" is involved, the organization stated that in this case "the savagery of the sentence and Blanco's known idealism justified an appeal for clemency."

The tremendous support for Hugo Blanco has been reflected in the international response of the trade union movement, and the list of those who have demanded immediate amnesty for Blanco ranges from Cesar Chavez of the National Farm

Workers Association (leader of the California grape strikes) to French and Chilean trade unions to telegrams sent by the Secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labor. The editor of *Alberta Labor*, organ of the Alberta Federation of Labor (CLC-AFL-CIO) as well as many other figures of the international trade union movement have added their voices to the appeal, and equally gratifying has been the response from socialists and civil libertarians around the world. The huge campaign in Italy has come to include officials and members of the Communist party, the Socialist party, large numbers of students, as well as two vice-presidents of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir head up an impressive list of French intellectuals and writers who have denounced the attempt of the Peruvian government to legally murder Blanco, and the popular support has extended to the pages of *L'Humanite*, the official organ of the French Communist party.

The growing campaign in Europe has been matched by the outcry in Latin America. Peruvian trade unions, involved in a recent series of strikes, have called for Blanco's release. Besides the protests in Peru, there have been significant campaigns in Chile, Argentina, Mexico and Cuba. The Chilean Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution asking Chile's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to undertake steps in commuting a death sentence in the event such a sentence is handed down while the editorial board of *Granma*, organ of the Cuban Communist party has added its voice to the appeal.

In the United States, support is also being mobilized for Blanco and the other defendants, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, headed by former missionary, Felix McGowan, John Gerassi, Paul Sweezy and David Dellinger, has presented petitions to the Peruvian, mission in New York and plans to continue work in defense of Blanco. Response to the work has been good, but it is necessary to continue to build the broadest possible defense for the victims of the Belaunde government.

Every added voice of protest will be of help in the fight to save Hugo Blanco's life. Telegrams and letters of support asking for an immediate amnesty for Hugo Blanco and the other political prisoners should be sent to the Consejo Suprema de Justicia Militar, Lima, Peru. Copies of these should be airmailed to Hugo Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Av. Nicola de Pierola, 966, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru, and Presidente Pernando Belaunde Terry, Lima Peru. It is essential that we continue this work in defense of the prisoners; the case is far from closed, and Hugo Blanco's life hangs in the balance.

BY BRIAN SHANNON, Socialist Workers party candidate for Berkeley City Council

On January 9th over sixty young socialists and antiwar activists gathered in Stiles Hall on the Berkeley campus to hear Peter Camejo, former National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, and now a student at the University of California, discuss his campaign for Mayor of Berkeley. This meeting was an initial working meeting of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party ticket headed by Camejo, and following the reports the gathering broke up into smaller meetings of several committees that were set up to carry on the campaign.

I have participated in socialist election campaigns before but never have I witnessed the enthusiasm that has been generated by our campaign in Oakland and Berkeley this spring. Already we have received considerable publicity and are winning more and more supporters every day.

Besides Camejo, the SWP is running Paul Montauk, 44, for Mayor of Oakland. Montauk is a long-time activist in Oakland's labor movement and was one of the organizers of the original Berkeley Vietnam Day, May 21-22, 1965.

As candidate for Board of Education in Berkeley, the SWP is putting up Ernest Erlbeck, a member of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, former chairman of the Berkeley YSA, and presently manager of Pioneer Book Store in Berkeley.

Jaimey Allen, 23, and Ove Aspoy, 21, both active members of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee and members of the Berkeley YSA are running for City Council in Berkeley along with myself.

Our campaign began with a press conference on January 4th, where we pointed out that our primary emphasis would be to speak out against the Vietnam war. The problems of the poor, of racial inequality, of inflation, of working people generally, cannot be solved so long as our national resources are geared towards a brutal and racist war in Vietnam. The first four points of our platform call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, a national referendum to decide whether the U.S. should get out of Vietnam, defense of the constitutional right of soldiers to discuss the war and speak out against it, and for an end to the draft.

The main activity of the campaign so far has been an attempt to place a referendum on the Vietnam war before the voters of Berkeley and Oakland. When Paul Montauk went before the Oakland City Council with a proposed referendum he was flatly rejected. A seemingly more favorable response came from the Berkeley City Council when it was proposed by Mayorality candidate Camejo. Several Councilmen said they thought it was a good idea



Pete Camejo at campaign meeting

Photo by Shannon

SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN BERKELEY

and the proposal was endorsed by Mayor Wallace Johnson. Endorsement was received by several persons prominent in the antiwar movement and a committee was formed including Cliff Humphrey of the United Committee Against the War, Robert Scheer of *Ramparts* magazine, Robert Avakian of the Community for New Politics, Reginald Zelnick of the Faculty Peace Committee, Bettina Aptheker, student strike leader, Janet Longmead, of the California Democratic Council, Carl Frank of the Vietnam Day Committee, Max Scherr, editor of the *Berkeley Barb*, Peter Camejo, and others.

Instead of acting on the proposal, the City Council appointed a subcommittee to study the idea of a "poll." When questioned by Camejo the Council agreed that a "poll" would be fair only if it was in the form of a "vote." However, when Camejo asked how soon the committee would report back and whether it was their intention to have the poll along with the City Election on April 4, the Council gave no definite answer.

Without notice to the persons interested and without even placing the matter on the agenda (which is always posted in a public place in the City Hall) the committee made a formal report back to the Council on January 24 in order to recommend that the poll not take place in connection with the City Election on April 4. The official explanation was that no "objective procedure" could be established. However the reasons given did not relate to any "objectivity" of the poll but to the supposed impropriety of discussion of "national policy" during a local campaign "concerned with local issues." As a face-saving gesture the committee is being continued in order "to explore the possibilities

of an informational poll which could be conducted this spring."

Meanwhile those interested in placing the poll on the ballot on April 4 had drawn up a suggested wording. Five alternatives were proposed:

1. I favor a more aggressive U. S. government war policy in Vietnam.
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By the time the City Council had ruled out a poll in connection with the City Election we had collected the signatures of almost a thousand supporters of this proposal.

At present there is no legal way to force the City Council to conduct the poll at the City Election, but the committee for the opinion poll decided that if the City Council will not do it perhaps the antiwar movement can. In Mississippi the civil rights movement has held mock elections for disenfranchised Negroes in order to organize people and to expose the lack of democracy. The antiwar movement can set up tables at the polls on election day and hold a "freedom election" to allow Berkeley voters to express their opinion on Vietnam. At the same time we would allow 18 year olds to vote, tabulating their ballots separately. It has also been suggested that at the same time we could ask voters to sign a petition calling for

a special election in order to vote for a city ordinance that would make "legal" polls possible in the future.

We don't know yet if we can do it because the polls are open for 12 hours; and it will require at least 500 people to organize the printing of the questionnaire and the proposed city ordinance, and to set up and man the tables. To gain the largest possible support we are asking groups not generally associated with the antiwar movement, such as the League of Women Voters, to help in this project. We are also making an assessment of the number of workers the student groups can provide.

"No Tuition — Tax War Profits"

In order to meet a budget crisis California's new Governor, Ronald Reagan, has proposed a 10 per cent cut in the state budget, with a proposed 30 per cent cut in the budget of the University of California. He hopes to get additional revenue from the imposition of a \$250 a year tuition (tuition is not charged at the University of California but there are already "incidental fees" amounting to \$250 a year) to be raised to \$400 a year in the future.

On January 19 over 3,000 students assembled in front of University Hall on the Berkeley campus (where the Regents of the university were meeting) to protest the proposed cut in the University budget and imposition of tuition. Students showed great interest in Camejo's charge that the inflation brought on by the Vietnam war was responsible for both national and state budget crises and that cutting back on state welfare and university education was related to the national financing of the Vietnam war at the expense of working people. "Are millionaires going to keep their money and get richer while students find part-time jobs?" he asked. The *Barb*, Berkeley's anti-establishment weekly, reported that the greatest student applause came when Camejo said that in order to balance the budget without charging tuition Reagen could tax war industries 100 percent.

Liberal Opposition

In addition to the SWP's slate of candidates the Community for New Politics (CNP) is running three candidates for City Council and one candidate for city auditor. According to its spokesman and candidate for City Council, Bob Avakian, the CNP is a "coalition of radicals and liberals" that is attempting "to educate people about the causes of war, racism, and exploitation and to relate these to immediate issues and to the structure and forms of power in this society."

This is certainly a worthy objective. However,

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in our socialist campaign program we go further and point out that "both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by big businessmen and are committed to the preservation of the capitalist system. In our opinion neither party will take any stand that runs counter to the interests of the capitalists who profit from war and racism." For this reason we call for a break with the two parties of "war, racism and exploitation" and support black independent political action such as the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama and "general working class independent political action and the formation of a labor party."

How about the CNP? Does it "educate people about" the Democratic and Republican party's role as the props of "the structure and forms of power in this society" and point out their responsibility for "war, racism, and exploitation?" Does it, for example, agree with Stokely Carmichael who has said that "the Democratic party is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro?" Not at all. In fact the CNP is merely a radical faction of the Democratic party and is attempting to elect its "good guys" in place of the entrenched "bad guys." In one of their campaign brochures they explicitly state: "We will only support candidates who fight for our needs whether these candidates are Democrats, Republicans, or independents."

The CNP is the organizational continuation of Robert Scheer's (an editor for *Ramparts* magazine) unsuccessful Democratic party primary campaign against the incumbent congressman last spring. The \$70,000 campaign began when some dissident Democratic party liberals became dissatisfied with the incumbent's support of the Vietnam war. Scheer is young and articulate and as a well-known Bay Area spokesman against the war he was able to win the support of many students.

A few of Scheer's supporters even thought that they could use the campaign as an educational

"Whenever a new radical protest movement comes along the liberals have tried to encompass it and thus make it impotent. This is usually done by corralling the radicals into some sort of Democratic party reform movement, but it can also be achieved by temporarily stepping out of the Democratic party framework to get the radicals huddled up with the liberals. In this manner mass radical protests have collapsed into a whimper. Through this political alliance the radicals are harnessed, silenced and kept from becoming a threat to the system. They become full members of that Community for Old Politics (COP) which has been around in one form or another for a long time."

(Peter Camejo in an article in the
Berkeley Barb, Jan. 13, 1967)

vehicle against the Democratic party, but they soon dropped out of the campaign after learning that Scheer was not against the Democratic party—only against *certain Democrats*. They also learned first-hand the impossibility of attacking the Democratic party while supporting candidates in the Democratic primary.

It was clear at the beginning of the Scheer campaign that this was basically a reform movement of Democrats, and not a genuine break with liberal capitalist politics.

The further evolution of the CNP has only confirmed this. Its candidates for city council and city auditor were chosen at a general meeting of the CNP. Mike Shute, who was seeking the endorsement of the CNP, complained that before the nomination of candidates there should be a discussion of program. His suggestion was rejected and Shute himself, who asked for votes only if they agreed with his program of "breaking with the Democratic party" and "devising a strategy to aid Negroes in their fight for political power," received only 15 per cent of the votes.

An Educational Campaign

The YSA-SWP campaign was conceived of as primarily an educational one around the points I have outlined above particularly opposition to the Vietnam war and the need for independent political action. This, however, doesn't mean that we aren't conducting an active campaign. Our press conference received wide coverage on TV and in the daily press and over fifty articles have appeared in local newspapers about our campaign. In addition to the media coverage we have printed and distributed over 2,000 posters with the following slogans: "Let the People Vote on Vietnam," "Nationalize PG & E and Pacific Telephone," "No Tuition—No War Tax—100% Tax on War Profits," and "End the War—Bring Our Troops Home Now." We are also selling two buttons—one saying "Vote Socialist," and the other "No Tuition—Tax War Profits." As the campaign moves along we expect to receive even more opportunities to speak on radio and TV.

Recognition of the need for a labor party, an independent Negro freedom party, and a socialist transformation of America, will be brought about not only by socialist education but by events and struggles that will show their necessity in order to end war, racism and exploitation. We will be satisfied if in the course of our campaign we can convince a few people that real change and real power for Negroes and workers will come about only when they organize politically—*independent of the capitalist class and its political parties.*



North Vietnamese defense unit in Haiphong factory

INTERVIEW WITH PAT GRIFFITH: EYEWITNESS IN NORTH VIETNAM

The following interview was obtained by the **Young Socialist** from Mrs. Patricia Griffith on January 24. Mrs. Griffith is secretary of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and was Administrative Secretary of the November 8th Mobilization Committee.

Along with three other women, Grace Mora Newman, Diane Nash Bevel, and Barbara Deming, Mrs. Griffith spent 11 days beginning on Dec. 23 in north Vietnam at the invitation of the north Vietnamese Women's Union.

* * *

What is the effect of the American bombings? What did you witness in this regard while you were in north Vietnam?

I certainly visited a large number of places where the targets were clearly not military. By stretching your imagination quite a bit you could find a

railroad or a dike or something that could have been the target. However, one can't quite explain why they chose to bomb the railroad or the dike right in the middle of a village, as opposed to some miles away where there wouldn't be any village.

Furthermore, the kind of weapons that are being used—the anti-personnel weapons and the fragmentation bombs—are no use whatsoever against concrete and steel. They are unable to even make a dent in buildings, walls, railroads, or anti-aircraft guns. They are clearly used against people. Therefore, from a lot of things I saw and a lot of things I've read, and from the people I talked to there, I've really come to the conclusion that U.S. military strategy is to terrorize the civilian population.

Now, what effect it's having is another matter. I think that, like the bombings of London in World War II, the bombing of north Vietnam is really serving to mobilize the north Vietnamese people against the American government. The north Vietnamese people feel strongly that this is an extension of the war they waged against the French, and that they're fighting for independence. They are all participating in the defense of their country, not only in terms of forming local militia units which defend the villages with rifles but also in terms of increasing production and improving their own education.

In nearly every village of north Vietnam the people are armed and women and children carry old French rifles which are used as part of the anti-aircraft defense. If the people wanted to they could overthrow the government tomorrow because they're all armed.

They're fighting not only to be politically independent of the United States, the Soviet Union and China—but also to be economically and technologically independent. They consider this to be a very important matter.

It seems quite clear to me that though in some cases the civilian bombings may be accidental, the general strategy is to terrorize the civilians, to destroy what they've managed to build in the last twelve years, and to force them to surrender to the United States.

The best example of this is a leprosarium which was 200 miles south of Hanoi before it was bombed by American bombers thirty-nine times. This was a well known medical institution where doctors were doing research and caring for 2,600 leprosy patients from all over Asia.

American bombers destroyed the whole complex of 160 modern buildings, destroyed all the X-ray equipment, all the research facilities, and forced the patients to evacuate the hospital and seek refuge

in caves in nearby mountains. The bombers then pursued them to the caves and bombed the temporary facilities set up by the doctors there.

Given the kind of weapons that we use and the kind of buildings and structures that we're bombing, I don't really think that you can come to any other logical conclusion than that terrorism of the civilian population is American policy in north Vietnam.

Last night when you spoke to a Women Strike for Peace meeting in Philadelphia you described the bombing of Phu Ly. This is something which might also interest the readers of the Young Socialist especially since there's been a lot of propaganda in the American press about how the objective of the United States is to destroy military installations and industry.

Phu Ly was a village of about 6,000 people. There were two factories there—one was a noodle factory and the other produced pressed plywood. There was a railroad running through the village but when we visited it we had to park the cars on a very narrow, rutted road and walk in for about half a mile over very narrow dikes with rice fields under three feet of water on both sides.

Now in terms of this being a military target, let's forget about the industry—noodle factories are hardly military. Furthermore, if I had to walk in on very narrow dikes, over a very poor road, with four feet of water in the fields, I don't quite understand how they can move heavy military equipment which would require trucks and good roads into this same village.

In addition, anti-aircraft weapons are only defensive and are of no use unless the village is being bombed. If in fact the railroad, which was the only possible target there, *was* the military target, it strikes me that it would be much more sensible to bomb it where there was no chance of return fire from anti-aircraft guns. So I still contend that if the railraod was the military target they would have bombed it at least two miles away.

The other possibility that's always given is that when our pilots see north Vietnamese MIGs they dump their bombs because if their plane is hit it will explode. So maybe the pilots dumped their bombs on Phu Ly and it was just an accident—but if this is the case they *happened* to drop their bombs on this *one little village accidentally nine times*.

I can't think of any other way to explain it, other than the fact that they're *purposely* bombing villages. The really important thing that they were aiming at in this village, in terms of the strategy I've outlined, was the Polish Friendship

School, which was a secondary school for college-bound students. It was a very important educational institution in the north and a considerable amount of money and talent has been invested in it.

For a population that was largely illiterate in 1954 and has been trying very hard to raise its general educational level, the destruction of this school was a demoralizing blow. This may be why the United States in a neurotic kind of way defined the village of Phu Ly as a "military" target.

Would you describe the weapons that are used against the so-called military targets that you saw?

Well, I brought a bomb back in my purse. This was one of the fragmentation bombs that the Vietnamese call the "lazy dog", because it works on the same principle as the "lazy dog" bombs. The Pentagon calls this kind of bomb a BLU-19.

These bombs are dropped from aircraft in containers called CBU's. Each CBU contains 625 smaller bombs which are about the size and shape of a tennix ball and each has a timing device in the center. The shell is very brittle so that when it explodes, the shell more or less disintegrates. However, imbedded in the shell are 300 very hard, very round, and very smooth ball bearings which can penetrate the human body deeply. I saw women and children who had as many as twenty of these tiny fragments in their bodies. When they are removed surgically, a very large incision is required, because after the fragment is located by X-ray, it may move before the doctors can operate. They have to probe very deep to get these fragments out of a person's body and removing them from the brain is particularly difficult. I interviewed some children who had to have brain surgery to remove these ballbearings, and it required in some cases the removal of about a quarter of the skull.

Of course these weapons are absolutely useless against any kind of structures, railroad ties or anything of that sort. They're only useful against people.

While you were in north Vietnam you talked to a couple of American fliers who are prisoners of war. What were their living conditions like and what were their feelings about their situation?

We really didn't discuss politics or military affairs with them very much at all because of the awkward situation we were in. We didn't know them, they didn't know us, and we just didn't feel in a position to ask them anything political.

But they did report to us that they receive very good medical care, that they have daily attention by a doctor, and that fliers who are wounded in

the process of their plane being shot down are hospitalized until they are recovered. They also indicated that they were able to take a shower every day, had warm clothes, blankets and plenty of food, and seemed quite comfortable physically.

Of course they weren't very happy to be where they are and were quite anxious for the war to be over one way or another. They're not too worried about what's going to happen to them physically from the Vietnamese. I think they're more worried about what may happen to them because of the American bombing raids. They're provided protection in bomb shelters during raids along with everybody else.

They weren't guarded at all when we spoke to them. They weren't chained, handcuffed, or guarded by weapons, so it was a fairly free conversation. It was on New Year's Eve, and the Vietnamese served us beer, fruit, candy, cigarettes, and the usual kinds of things. It was more a social visit than a political discussion.

Is it possible for their families or other Americans to communicate with them?

It isn't and I'm not sure why. I'm inclined to think that the United States will not allow mail back and forth. I brought letters into this country but they were in my purse and the customs officials didn't search my purse. Grace Newman, however, tried to bring a letter in and it was confiscated when they found it in her purse.

A number of the wives and mothers have called me to thank me for sending the letters along that I brought back, and said that they've received mail before, but it's always been posted in Europe or outside of the socialist bloc—that is not in China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and so on. It appears that mail can get through but it has to be brought personally from Vietnam to some neutral point where it can be mailed.

It could be stopped at either end; but the fact that the Vietnamese let us take letters out, that other people have taken letters out, and that none come into this country leads me to believe that it's the United States government that's really stopping it.

What did you find was the reaction of the north Vietnamese people to the American soldiers and the captured American fliers?

I don't think that you'll believe it, but they don't hold the pilots responsible for what they do. Ho Chi Minh said in the interview that we had with him that he doesn't rejoice when an American

pilot is shot down because it means that an American young man has had to die. He feels that the job of youth is to build, and he mourns the death of every young American exactly as he mourns the death of every young Vietnamese. There's a lot in the world that needs to be accomplished, and it takes youth to accomplish it, and the death of any young man is a great loss to humanity.

The Vietnamese people I met felt exactly the same way. They feel no animosity whatsoever towards the American people but look on the American government as the enemy. They believe that all men are brothers and that we have an obligation to help each other build a decent world; and it's the phenomenal amount of confidence they have in human nature that enables them to see the distinction between people and governments, and to know that it's up to people to run countries, and not up to governments.

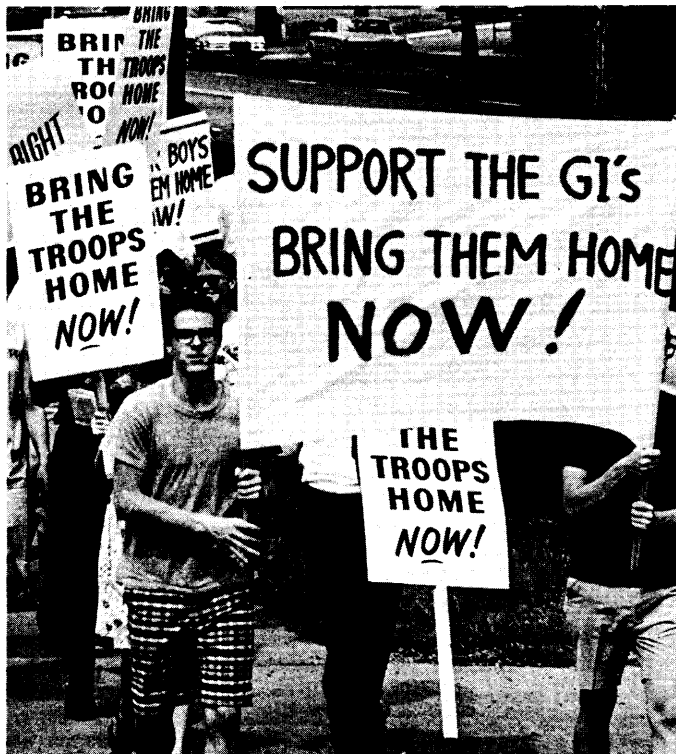
Would you tell us something about what the people of north Vietnam feel should be the United States' role in Vietnam?

They don't believe that the United States has any legitimate role in Vietnam. They describe the present involvement of the United States as imperialist rather than colonialist as was the case with the French.

They believe that the most immediate motivation for American intervention in Vietnam is military as opposed to economic. Although shipping routes, control of surplus rice production, and access to raw materials are certainly important, the primary motivation is to establish bases there to be used for "containing" China and taking over the rest of Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese see Thailand as already having fallen into this trap. Laos is already a puppet government dominated by the United States and attempts are being made to control Cambodia in the same kind of way. So I don't think that they feel that the United States has any kind of role to play.

If the war were settled in some meaningful way, so that the Vietnamese had complete political freedom and independence from the United States, the NLF would probably be willing to accept technical and economic aid from the U.S. for awhile. They have stated explicitly that they would establish relations with any country that recognizes their independence and would accept aid from any country that is willing to give it with no strings attached. So I assume they include the United States if the Administration accepted those terms, which of course is very unlikely. This is the only role they can see for the United States in Vietnam.



WHICH WAY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT?

Discussion Between Fred Halstead, SWP, and Gerry Tenny, SDS

The following are brief excerpts from a debate between Fred Halstead and Gerry Tenney on "Which Way for the Antiwar Movement." The meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in New York was held on January 6, 1967.

Fred Halstead is a former staff writer of the *Militant* newspaper, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party, and is on the staff of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. Gerry Tenney is on the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society and is active in the New School for Social Research chapter of SDS where he is a student.

Although we unfortunately are unable to carry the entire debate, we feel that these excerpts from the discussion will be of interest to our readers and hope that people will write in their comments.

* * *

Tenny: I think that, even though we have different political opinions, at least our immediate goals, are very similar. The best way of exposing that, and letting it open to the public at large and to the members of each group, is to have these

kinds of debates. If there is going to be any kind of unity, and specifically, unity around the war, where it's probably most needed, this unity should come from a frank acknowledgement of the differences people have, rather than being a subterfuge. . . .

I think that we'd probably all agree at least theoretically that we want to make the antiwar movement at some stage into an anti-capitalist movement, and into a pro-socialist movement, a real movement for socialism in the United States. So, it's with this kind of perspective in mind that I'm going to give my talk. . . .

I think that SDS sees its role on the campus as getting to as many students in as many possible ways that will radicalize them. Now that's a very hazy statement, and everyone has their own definition of what to radicalize means. When we talk about the antiwar movement in particular, we felt that we had sort of reached a saturation level in terms of reaching students, and there were other issues or issues on which we could start organizing people around. Then we could organize them at least in the first big initial step to be against the war, and then, of course, as the next step, to get them to be against capitalist society in general, or at least those of us in SDS who call ourselves socialists. I'm one of them, so I speak from my perspective. Other SDS people might have a different perspective than I do about being a socialist.

So we attempt to have a very conscious effort at linking up all the struggles that people find are very clear to them on campus and to try to link them up to issues which they themselves had never thought were possibly connected with the war. One example, even though I don't know how successful it will be, was the New York University anti-tuition fight. It was very interesting that during the anti-tuition fight when Hester, the dean or the chancellor at NYU, explained why they had to raise tuition, he brought in all kinds of things about war expenditures. Consequently, by forcing the issue of tuition, which seemed peripheral to the war, a lot of students received the word from Hester himself that the war was cutting in on their education. What started out to be a fight just against tuition, forced the fact of the war, and American military involvement to come up. The same connection can happen around such things (which to socialists or radicals seem to be paltry issues) as cafeteria boycotts because of high prices in school cafeterias. . . .

Generally then, from the feeling that we have saturated (maybe we were right, maybe we were wrong) specific antiwar work, by hitting it head on, we attempted to work on it from another angle. In other words, we tried to get to students where

they were at the present time. If they were at a stage where they were discontented with the university, attempts were made in one way or another to hook this discontentment up with the very real and bigger problem of the war.

Now, another important aspect of student groups in general and their attitude about antiwar work, is the fact that the student population is expanding. More and more people are going through the universities every year. I don't know the exact figures but I think we all realize it. These people are going to be going into very important jobs in the American economy. They're going to become teachers, technicians, scientists and so on—jobs where students are trained in a sense by the logic of the job to be very rational in their approach. Yet they go out into a very irrational kind of corporation, at least it's externally irrational (it may be internally very rational). In other words, the production that they're doing within, say Dow Chemical Company, may be very rational internally, but you know that what they're doing in terms of napalm is of course not only irrational, but immoral. So that catching students, those people who are going into this expanding working class, becomes a very important aspect not only of getting people to be against the war, but of getting people to be radicals in general. It's a conception that a lot of us have been kicking around, which we've borrowed, in a sense, from the debates that are going on within the European socialist movement by such people as Serge Mallet and Andre Gorz. Students and workers, or expanded definitions of the working class that sort of take in not only the traditional view of the working class as being the blue-collar worker, but the ability to look at the working class as those people who don't have the power to control their lives. In that sense, teachers and the other groups I mentioned before, are very much a part of the working class even though they wear a white shirt and tie.

What we attempt to do then is to get these people that will play this important role in American society very conscious of what is wrong with American society. . . . It may be begging the question just to expand the definition of working class, but I would say that everybody sitting in this room and maybe 90 per cent of the people on the outside are really working class, because they do not control their lives in the workplace. The traditional radical movements have had a much too narrow picture and have not attempted in a sense to organize sections of the working class that could have been organized.

Let me end now by saying that we see our role as radicalizing this very important sector of the population. Our most important job in a sense is

not specifically to radicalize students on campus, to be against the Vietnam war on campus, but to take this outside, so that these four years, or however number of years one spends on the campus are not just a radical interlude in one's life. We don't believe in just playing campus radical. We just have the notion that this is what our task is to be, and I hope that we're successful.

Halstead: Jerry pointed out that there is a kind of new phenomenon in the country with the existence of a large student population, a large section of which is going to become part of the working class, as differentiated from previous generations of students who generally became part of the middle or upper classes. This is, in my opinion, a correct estimate of the situation. . . .

The peculiarity of the student milieu however, is that they are neither in the working class or in the capitalist class, even though they might be headed for the working class. They really do classically lie in the category of middle class. They are not tied to the basic productive process, and are in that sense a socially powerless class. Not a socially unimportant group, but in the sense of raw power, the ability to make the wheels stop or go, they are a socially powerless class, as in general the middle class in a modern country is.

That's one of the reasons why the present antiwar movement which is almost exclusively middle class based, and spearheaded and sparked by the students, gets into periods of frustration. Even though they can pull thousands of people into the streets and make a lot of noise and so on, it appears that they lack the power to stop the war. All you have to do is ask yourself the question, "What would happen if instead of 100,000 students across the country, you would have 100,000 longshoremen being that anxious to stop the war?" They would stop it, that's all. They have the social power to do it. Or 100,000 over-the-road truck drivers.

Students lack the power to stop the war. However they play the important role of holding the movement together, keeping it going, and seeking out other sections of the population which do have the power to stop the war.

Now, what sections of the population *do* have the power to stop the war. That is the general strategic problem that faces the antiwar movement. One is the ruling class itself—that is the capitalist class, which owns and controls the Republican and Democratic parties, and tells Johnson what to do. . . .

Our problem is that the ruling class has not made its decision to get out of Vietnam, and they have to be forced to make that decision. Forced,

not by reasoning with them or trying to show them that it's a bad moral stand or something like that; individuals among them, of course, maybe could be convinced by such arguments, and probably already have been, but as a basic social formation, they just don't make their decisions that way. Those who have moral qualms so to speak get shunted aside by the consensus in the ruling class.

Those sections of the antiwar movement, such as SANE, who consciously say that the way to end the war is to proceed within the existing power structure and attempt to convince it, are wrong. This doesn't work, hasn't worked, and isn't going to work. I don't say that to exclude the people such as those in SANE from the antiwar movement. They are an important part of it, but we disagree fundamentally on what the approach must be.

Among many factors that might force the ruling class to stop the war, one of the most important for the movement at the present time is involving the section of the American people which do have the power to stop the war. That section is the working class, and particularly that section of it which is organized in the labor movement. Included in that category are the black people, and the soldiers themselves, who by and large are also a part of the working class.

Obviously, it is clear that if the workers in war industries and longshoremens and truck drivers and so on were to go so far as to actually refuse in large numbers to carry any material to the war machine, the war would grind to a halt. There's a section of the population that, however fantastic it may seem now, does have the power to do it. . . .

Now that is, in my opinion, the general strategic task of the antiwar movement in a nutshell. It's not a simple thing, but it's not by any means a hopeless thing either. It's a fact that a lot of people in the antiwar movement don't have the attitude and understanding that it is in the power of important sections of the American people to stop this war. This is one of the reasons for some of the frustration. There were illusions in the movement, following the first few mass demonstrations—illusions that a few mass demonstrations were somehow going to convince the ruling class and the politicians to get out of this thing. It didn't. It will take something much stronger than that from the American people but that something is in the cards; it's not excluded at all. . . .

* * *

Q. Would both speakers comment on what they think of mass demonstrations in general and the April 15th demonstration in particular?

Tenney: I kind of feel that I'm ambiguous at this

stage toward mass demonstrations. For the basic reason that the main work has to be done in a community or in a specific workplace. In other words, the disagreement that I have with the April 15th mobilization, as I understand it, is that I really think that we can show more opposition if we localize it more. I think that a lot of our potential people who show up to be against the war are people in poor communities who just won't come, because even though they're not going to travel to New York or they may not travel from the Lower East Side to 42nd street, they may become

active through organizing in their community. Not that I'm against the mass demonstrations; I think that at certain times they are the most radical things, because they put a lot of people together, and in a sense give the antiwar movement its visibility. Of course, I support it, and I'll be there, and try to get everybody in my chapter to be there also.

Halstead: The mass demonstrations are not a panacea; they accomplish certain specific things which are necessary, but of course, they are not a substitute for everything and they must reach out into other sections of the population. If, having a mass demonstration, or concentrating all your energies strictly on that one thing meant that nothing else would happen, then I'd be against it. But my experience has been that the mass demonstrations accomplish several things. First is that they give a certain visibility which is important. Second they happen to be the only form that has so far been developed which creates a unity among all the various divergent forces who are opposed to the war in this country. Nobody has come up yet with another device which can do that. It would be great if all of us, and all the tendencies and forces and so on, who were against the war could all agree on a particular kind of community effort which could then, in itself express a great deal of power and unity, but that isn't the way it is. The unity which has come about and is considerable, has come about through the mass demonstrations. The only thing we could agree on a year ago was the simple proposition of walking down the street together, carrying the same sign. A year of experiences, for example in New York around four such mass demonstrations, has shown us that there are some other things we can agree upon. I'm not absolutely sure that we can swing April 15th as the biggest thing ever, but I know certain processes that are already going on as a result of our attempt. We are involving, for example, union officials, civil rights leaders, clergymen and so on which we just wouldn't have if we were not trying to carry off this demonstration.

... socialists

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Labor Takes First Steps Against War

We admit to some puzzlement over why the question of SANE and its relation to "trade union peace activity" was injected into the indictment. We have many differences with SANE over questions of tactics, program and policy, which we do not hesitate to express on various and sundry occasions. But if there is one thing they should not be berated for, it is their attempt to involve a section of the trade union movement in the antiwar movement—even if by innuendo as is done in the "indictment". Is Farber opposed to this effort? It would be of more than passing interest to find out.

And if, in the initial stage of such involvement the unionists find it convenient to use SANE as a "cover", what's wrong with that? Our critics are rather disdainful of the first hesitant steps taken by the trade unionists in their several conferences held throughout the country under the initiative of SANE. All or nothing—they will not settle for less.

There can be no effective mass movement capable of deterring the White House and Pentagon from their homicidal course unless it encompasses a significant section of the organized working class and the Negro communities. When the workers in this country move they do so first through their own organizations, i.e. primarily the trade unions and at their current level of political consciousness. It is incorrect to measure the significance of the first tentative steps toward a break with administration policy in Vietnam against the more advanced positions achieved by the militant section of the antiwar movement. The more correct criterion

is to measure the significance of these first steps against the extreme reactionary line of Meany and Lovestone. Make no mistake about it. The trade unionist "peace" conferences constituted an open break with the Meany-Lovestone line. The Meany-Lovestone gang which has dictated AFL-CIO foreign policy views any "trade union peace activity" with the same loathing revulsion that the devil has for holy water. One of the most progressive actions taken by the various trade unionist "peace" conferences was to urge the delegates to go back to their locals and initiate a discussion in the ranks over the question of policy in the Vietnam war.

That is all to the good. It gives the ranks the "cover", to engage in a discussion that has hitherto been forbidden or worse and confined to jingoistic exhortations by labor "hawks" like Meany and Lovestone.

The dissension within the AFL-CIO over "foreign policy" is bound to become more acute as the pressure on the workers mounts to subordinate their just demands for wages, hours and working conditions, to the "winning of the war". Once they fully understand the connection between the two their opposition will take on more militant forms and help lead to that stage of radicalization which is so necessary to advance the struggle against capitalist war.

Not the least of the contributions of the present activities of the antiwar movement is to accelerate the process of general radicalization. In the course of the struggle against the Vietnam war many antiwar fighters are forced to confront questions about the nature of American society and from this draw radical conclusions about the need for a fundamental transformation of the social system.

Another contribution, which should not be minimized, is the inspiration abroad derived from the knowledge that in this country, long seen as a homogeneous mass of reaction, there exists a growing opposition to Washington's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. The American antiwar movement has helped to spark large antiwar movements throughout the entire world.

Nothing is so calculated to give the "Nervous Nellie" in the White House the flutters than the knowledge that the antiwar movement is growing, expanding and encompassing ever new and fresh layers of the American population. The call for the April 15th Mobilization coinciding with favorable changes in the labor movement has already started to attract new layers of the population to the antiwar struggle and will continue to shake more loose. Therein lies the real significance of such actions as the April 15 Mobilization.

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...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

Franco's police have used clubs and high pressure hoses to break up the student demonstrations and one student committed suicide when police raided his apartment in search of "subversive material".

American GI's Express Gratitude for Real Support: The Mayor of Dearborn, Michigan, who supported a demand for immediate withdrawal in a referendum in that city received a letter from fifteen GI's in Vietnam who wished to give their thanks to the Mayor and the 14,000 people who had voted for withdrawal in the referendum, even though it was defeated. They wrote, "Speaking for the infantry, we are the ones who go out and risk our lives. We don't sit back in a base camp, nor are we stationed 15 or 20 miles off at sea. In short, we are the slaves who hump the hills with forty pounds of equipment on our backs and then eat C-rations, pull guard all night, get up the next morning and then move out again. This of course is not that bad. Getting shot at does not appeal to me in the least either. But the economic war goes on and on. We fight in a miserable primitive land while other talk, argue, and sometimes vote to keep us here. All in favor of you, and the 14,124 citizens who voted for us, thank you." The soldier who wrote the letter for the fifteen signers concluded by saying, "Of course the rest of the platoon feels as we do, but I am just a representative of my squad writing our thanks to you for your effort."

Troops in Caracas Seize University: In a sweeping suspension of constitutional guarantees the Venezuelan government moved against Caracas' Central University with heavily armed troops. An undisclosed number of students were arrested and several wounded when soldiers dispersed protest demonstrations with gunfire. In addition to the traditional rule of university autonomy the government action also suspended indefinitely freedom of speech, press and assembly.

President Raul Leoni accused Cuban Premier Fidel Castro of masterminding a plot against the government, and claimed that "communist agitation" was the major product of the University. A simultaneous campaign was launched in the countryside in an attempt to destroy the peasant movement that has plagued Leoni's dictatorship for several years.

Kerr Ouster Draws Strong Protest In California: The firing of Clark Kerr as chief administrator of the University of California complex which involves 80,000 people, as well as a proposed 10 per cent budget cut and an attempt to charge tuition, has evoked an angry response from almost every section of the huge university system.

The fight, which first broke out with the Free Speech Movement in 1964, has spread to the most remote sections of the University and demonstrations have been held in almost every college town in the state. The blatancy of previously denied political maneuvering in the Board of Regents has created broad support for demands that had been denounced by Kerr himself during the free speech fights. The major demand of the students and faculty has been for a formal and meaningful role in the major decisions which affect the University.



Photo by Shannon

10,000 students and faculty members protest budget cut and proposed tuition, Sacramento, Calif., Feb. 11, 1967

Sympathy with Indians Seen as Marxist Plot: Australian Intelligence in South Vietnam revealed the complexity of the International Communist Conspiracy by announcing that captured Vietnamese guerrillas expressed solidarity with the Indians by cheering for them in Western movies. One guerrilla was transferred from a "rehabilitation center" to an internment camp when he "gave himself away" by crying at the end of a film in which the Indians lost.

"Telling It Like It Is": In two articles in the January-February issue of *Insurgent*, the Dublin Club's national magazine, the national chairman of the organization and the editorial staff of the magazine outlined some of the problems that have arisen for them in their three year history.

In this issue of *Insurgent*, the first to appear since last May, Franklin Alexander, in an article entitled "Telling it Like it Is," writes: "The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs are in trouble . . . Back in May we moved our national office to Chicago . . . and we began to address ourselves to building a base

in the Midwest. That was not accomplished. For that matter, our base in Chicago is weaker than it was in May."

The issue, which, according to the staff, "may be the last to appear," outlines a lack of national staff and financial problems as the concrete results of the summer projects and the work since then. The proposed solution for the problems was reported by Alexander as "the one city concentration policy."

YSA to Hold Sixth National Convention: On March 24-26, the Young Socialist Alliance will hold in Detroit what promises to be the largest national convention of its seven year history.

YSAers from Los Angeles and Seattle to Boston and Baltimore will be present to hear and discuss reports about the Negro struggle, and antiwar movement, the general political situation, and how to build the YSA. Elected delegations will vote on resolutions to determine the general orientation of YSA work for the coming year and will select a new national committee.

During the convention, on the evening of March 25, the YSA is sponsoring a public meeting at Wayne State University where leading American Marxists will speak on the International situation and the need for revolutionary leadership.

YSA Publishes Brochures for Antiwar Campaign: As part of its participation in the building of the April 15th Mobilization and the Student Vietnam Week the YSA has published three attractive brochures. Their titles are: "Is the Antiwar Movement Effective?", "From Protest to Radical politics", and "Militarism and the Draft". Thousands of each have been printed.

They are available at the rate of \$2.50 per thousand (single copies free) from the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

YSA Conducts Two National Speaking Tours: Two tours to gain broader circulation for socialist ideas and to help build the antiwar actions planned for April 15th have been organized by the YSA, and are already in progress. Mary-Alice Waters, a national executive committee member of the YSA and editor of the *Young Socialist* is currently on tour in the major cities of the West, Midwest and East, speaking on "The Impact of the War in Vietnam on World Politics." Miss Waters recently returned from Europe, where she participated in the Liege, Belgium antiwar demonstration and conference, and where she was able to get a first hand view of the European antiwar movement.

Charles Bolduc, 20, a member of the YSA national committee, will be speaking on campuses

away from the major metropolitan areas on the topic "Can the Antiwar Movement End the War." In addition to being a past organizer of the Minneapolis YSA, he was a founding member of the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and has been one of its most active members.

East Coast Socialist Conference Slated: The Columbia Young Socialist Alliance will be sponsoring an educational conference on March 3-5 that will deal with Black Power, the role of radical youth, Vietnam, and the general question of political power. John Hullet, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) party, will open the conference with a talk entitled "The Black Panther Looks to '68." Other topics will be "Vietnam and World Politics," "A Tribute to Malcolm X," "Which Road for Political Power," and "Radical Youth and the Antiwar Movement." Students from the entire East Coast will be coming to the conference, to take place at Columbia University, and those interested should consult the "Young Socialists in Your Area" section in this magazine for places where further information will be available.

New Young Socialist Pamphlet Published: "GI's and the Fight Against War" is the title of a new pamphlet by Mary-Alice Waters which provides a little-known view of the "Going Home" movement after World War II, as well as an explanation of the antiwar role of GI's in Vietnam and Korea. Information about opposition to American policy *within* the army has consistently been difficult to obtain, and this pamphlet makes available information that is essential for an understanding of the Army and its past and present links with the antiwar movement.

The pamphlet also includes an excellent introduction by Fred Halstead, national committee member of the Socialist Workers party and staff member of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

The pamphlet sells for \$.25 and is available from the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Student Strike in Berlin: The 2,500 students at West Germany's Teachers College held a two day sit-in followed by a strike to protest a proposed tuition charge and a threat by the city directed against "left-wing groups." Shortly afterwards fifty-nine students were arrested as the result of "fun" demonstrations organized to tie up traffic around the city. The protest, which led to several huge traffic jams, was directed at the police for their harrassment of past demonstrations.

— SYD STAPLETON

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