

young socialist

NATIONAL COLLEGIATE
APRIL 24, 1968
Sample Only - Invalid for Voting

CHOICE68

Indicate your age as of November 5, 1968:

- 18 and under
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22 and over

Indicate your party preference:

- Democrat
- Republican
- Other Party
- Independent

I am a Foreign Student:

Indicate your first, second, and third choice for President of the United States:
(Your first choice will be tabulated for election purposes. Your second and third choices will be tabulated for statistical analysis.)

- FRED HALSTEAD (Socialist Worker)
- MARK O. HATFIELD (Rep.)
- LYNDON B. JOHNSON (Dem.)
- ROBERT F. KENNEDY (Dem.)
- MARTIN L. KING (Ind.)
- JOHN V. LINDSAY (Rep.)
- EUGENE J. McCARTHY (Dem.)
- RICHARD M. NIXON (Rep.)
- CHARLES H. PERCY (Rep.)
- RONALD W. REAGAN (Rep.)
- NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER (Rep.)
- GEORGE W. ROMNEY (Rep.)
- HAROLD E. STASSEN (Rep.)
- GEORGE C. WALLACE (Amer. Ind.)

FIRST CHOICE	SECOND CHOICE	THIRD CHOICE
 		

What course of military action should the United States pursue in Vietnam:

- Immediate withdrawal of American forces.
- Phased reduction of American military activity.
- Maintain current level of American military activity.
- Increase the level of American military activity.
- "All out" American military effort.

What course of action should the United States pursue in regards to the bombing of North Vietnam:

- Permanent cessation of bombing.
- Temporary suspension of bombing.
- Maintain current level of bombing.
- Intensify bombing.
- Use of nuclear weapons.

...the "urban crisis", which of the following should receive highest priority:

GET THE VOTE OUT, APRIL 24.

Vote Against the War!

Vote Halstead for President!

young socialist

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MARCH 1968

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In this issue

FARRELL DOBBS is the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He has a long history of leadership in the labor and revolutionary socialist movements in this country. He was a leading member of the Teamsters Union during their large organizing drives and strikes in the city of Minneapolis during the '30s.

TOM HARMER won a trip to Cuba by entering an essay contest on Che Guevara's **MESSAGE TO THE TRI-CONTINENTAL** sponsored by Radio Havana last fall. Tom is presently a member of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance.

CAROLINE LUND is an editorial board

Young Socialist Notes

Fraternal Greetings to Demonstration and Conference in Berlin: Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, left for Germany last week to bring fraternal greetings to the Vanguard Youth Conference and demonstration in support of the Vietnamese Revolution called by a number of antiwar and socialist youth organizations across the continent of Europe. The demonstration, held in Berlin on February 17, drew over 20,000 students. Sponsoring organizations included the JCR (Young Communist Youth) in France; the JGS (National Federation of the Socialist Young Guard) in Belgium; SDS (German Socialist Students League) in Germany; and others in Belgium, France, United Kingdom, Holland, Germany and Italy.

To the Conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations: "The Seventh National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance meeting this weekend (February 9-10) totally supports the aims of your meeting and demonstration against American imperialist aggression and shares your solidarity with the revolutionary fighters in Vietnam.

Your gathering is an inspiring expression of the international solidarity and collaboration that is necessary if imperialism and its wars are to be ended forever.

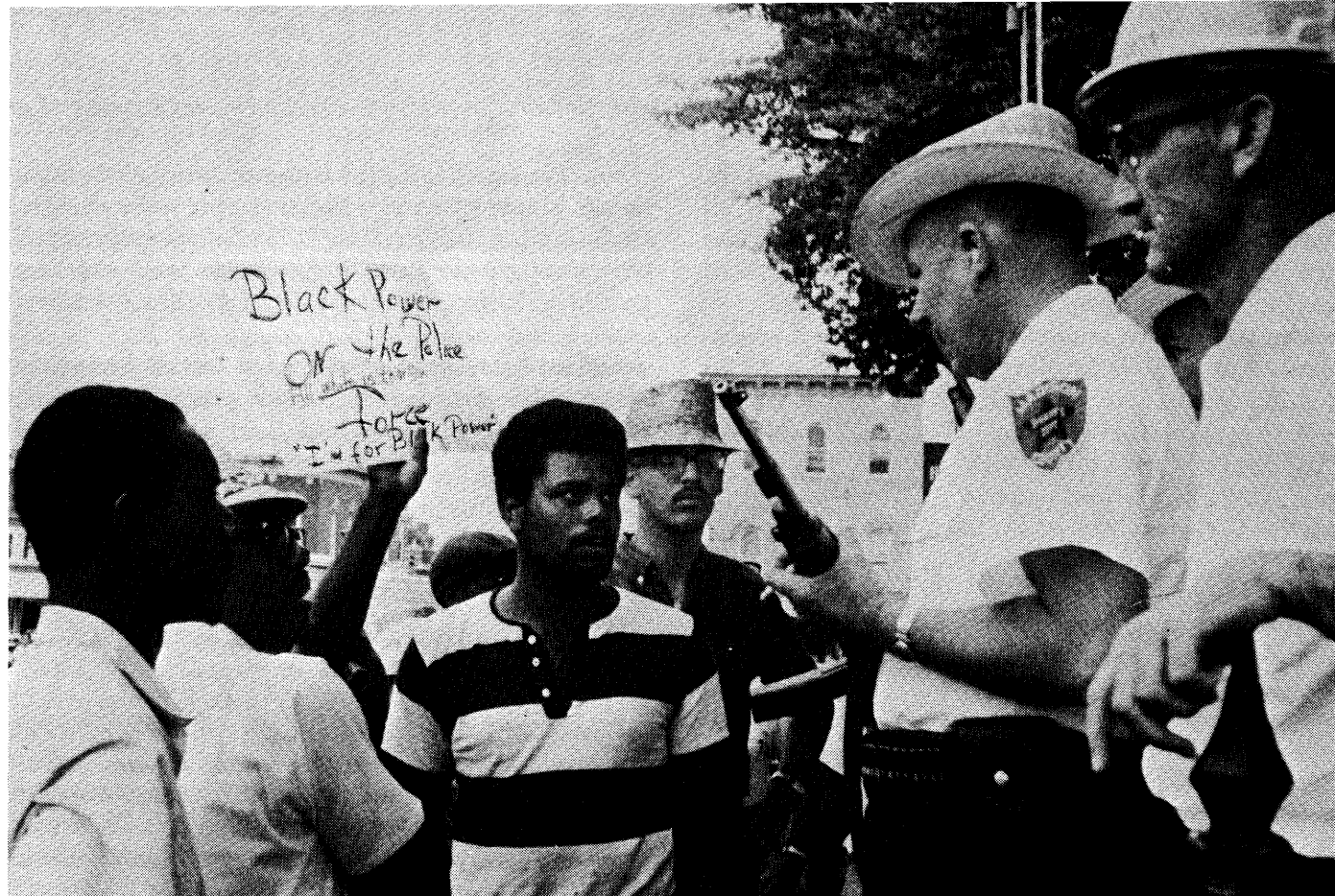
The young socialists in the United States are strengthened by the knowledge that we are part of a growing revolutionary socialist youth movement on an international scale.

We look forward to our comrades in the conference of Vanguard Youth Organizations joining with us in helping to organize the international student strike against the Vietnam war on April 26 and to hold massive demonstrations in every city on April 27."

Explorer Gives Barrientos the Jitters: "The French Embassy in La Paz has been unable to secure the release of Henri Vial, a French explorer, who was tracing the course of the Beni river, one of the tributaries of the Amazon. He was arrested by the Barrientos dictatorship on January 20. Vial was obviously suspicious. Besides being French, he is young, a student of philosophy, and wears a beard. He is reported to have gone on a hunger strike to protest his illegal imprisonment." — *World Outlook*, February 23, 1968

(continued on p. 23)

member of the *Young Socialist* and National Executive Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has been a regular contributor to the YS, and is author of the publication, **WITHDRAWAL VS NEGOTIATIONS**.



A REVOLUTIONARY VS LIBERAL APPROACH TO RACISM

BY DOUG JENNESS

Under a discussion of racism and how to fight it, the question of the black liberation struggle has been discussed extensively in the student movement. In this article I will attempt to outline two approaches toward the question of racism, one which I consider a liberal approach and the other, the position that socialists must have if they are going to understand the implications and direction of the black liberation struggle in the United States.

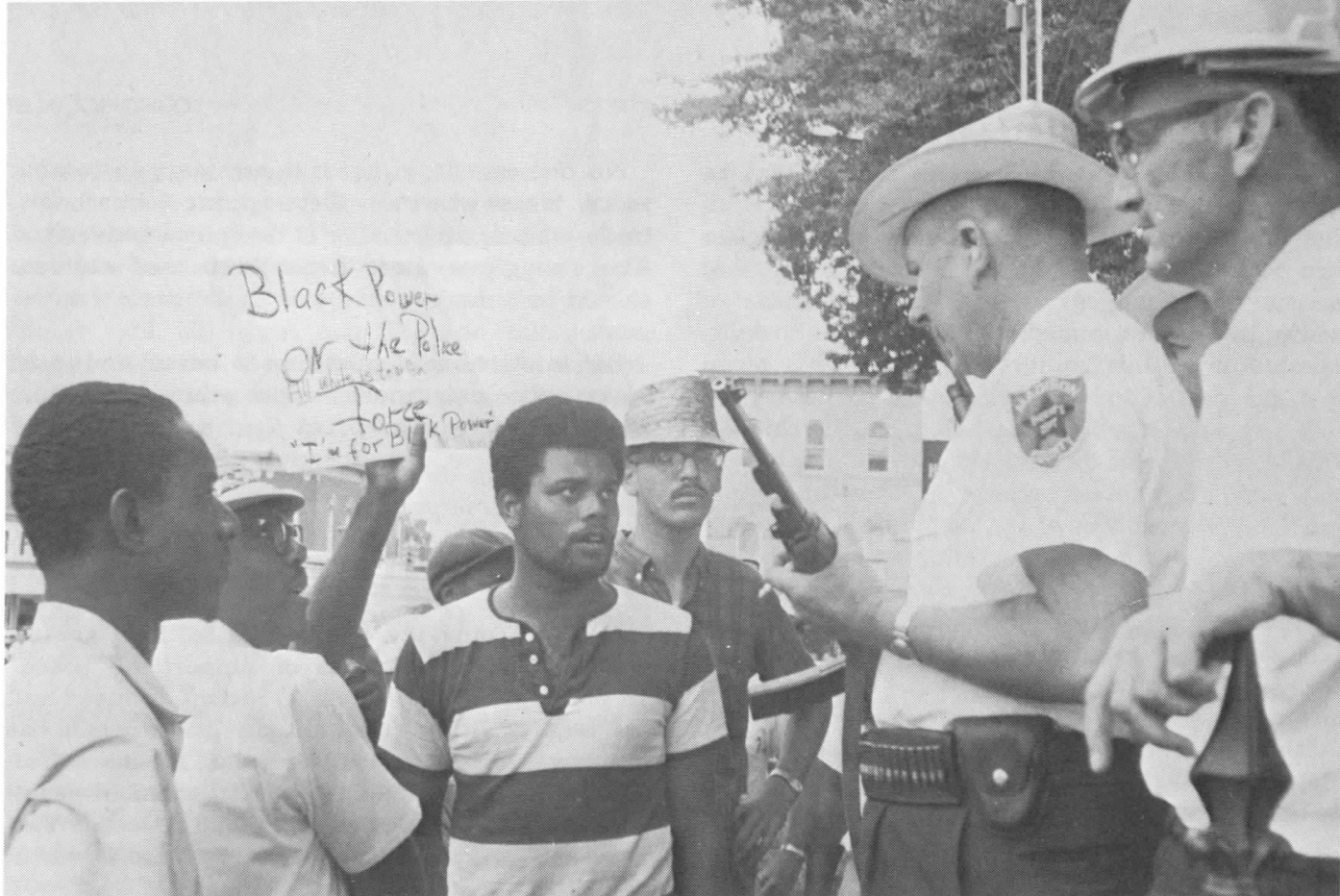
At the third national convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs last September, top priority was placed on the "need to launch a determined attack on all aspects of racism in American political life." An analysis of racism in American society and the tasks for the DuBois Clubs in combatting it were presented by Jarvis Tyner, National Chairman of the DuBois Clubs, in a report at the convention which is now available in pamphlet form (*War, Racism, The Movement—As We See It*).

Since the convention another document has been

written on this question by Bob Heisler, National Educational Director of the DuBois Clubs, and published in the organization's theoretical magazine, *Dimensions*, Vol. II, No. 1, as an editorial entitled, *Racism: The Role of White Radicals*.

Heisler in his article describes how racism against Afro-Americans developed with the rise of capitalism; how it was used to justify slavery in the New World; why it continued after Reconstruction as a way of extracting super profits; and how it is still rooted in the capitalist system. "Racism on a world scale is a product of capitalism," he writes. "In America it was capitalism with the added factor of slavery on American soil. The liberal analysis holds that racism is an irrational race hatred based upon human ignorance and 'natural' fears. In fact, racism is essentially a system and an ideology of super exploitation."

The logic of this analysis is that racism can only be eliminated by breaking with the institutions of



A REVOLUTIONARY VS LIBERAL APPROACH TO RACISM

the capitalist system which causes racism; that the destruction of capitalism is a necessary prerequisite for creating the kind of society where racism can be abolished. This does not mean, though, that racism will disappear from the consciousness of whites in America immediately following a socialist revolution in this country. Nor does this mean that the destruction of capitalism is necessary before any partial struggles and gains can be achieved. But it does mean that the dynamic of the day to day struggle against racism in American society must be independent of the institutions of capitalism, such as the Democratic and Republican parties.

This is where the rub comes in. Despite their analysis of the causes of racism, nowhere in Heisler's document or in Tyner's report is the relationship between the struggle against racism and the institutions of the capitalist system discussed. Instead, Heisler argues that ". . . the fight against *racist ideas and concepts* among whites must be a number one priority for white radicals today." (emphasis added) On the basis of primarily fighting racist ideas, Heisler and Tyner maintain, black and white unity is possible.

Flax Hermes



Judy Watts, National Committee member of the YSA from Detroit speaks to 7th National Convention of YSA during Afro-American struggle discussion.

No one can deny that it is necessary to combat racist ideas wherever they appear—in schools, trade unions, athletics, or in the radical movement. The struggle against racist ideas and attitudes should be a major program for the radical movement.

But to state one's opposition to racism and racist ideas only poses another more primary question: *How does one attempt to fight against racism?*

It is here the difference between liberals and revolutionaries emerges. LBJ himself says that he is opposed to racism. He even said "We shall overcome" in the Capitol. Posing the question in terms of opposition to the "ideas of racism" is much the same as posing the question of the fight against war in Vietnam in terms of support for "peace." In the name of opposition to racism, Johnson and his lackeys in the state and city governments use harsh repressive measures against the black freedom fighters in America. In the name of peace, Johnson and his cronies bomb and devastate Vietnam and carry out the clearest imperialist war in decades against the people of Vietnam.

Opposition to racism should be coupled with a clear and unambiguous stand supporting the organization of the black masses independently of the institutions of capitalism—self-determination for black Americans; self-determination for the Vietnamese!

With this in mind we can begin to appreciate more fully where the DuBois Clubs' position against racism has led in practice. In 1964, the DuBois Clubs maintained that Goldwater represented a vicious, racist force which had to be defeated. How? By supporting the cracker Lyndon Baines Johnson and his cracker party, the Democratic party. In other words, Johnson's professed opposition to the ideology of racism was sufficient to merit DuBois Club support of his candidacy ("Defeat Goldwater at all costs") in 1964. The fact that he ran as the representative of the Democratic Party was not even taken into consideration. By limiting their opposition to an abstract concept of racism, and by refusing to break with the institutions of the system, the DuBois Clubs found it possible to support Johnson in 1964.

The same thing holds true today. The DuBois Club gave vigorous support to the mayoralty campaigns of Hatcher in Gary and Stokes in Cleveland, who ran as clear and unequivocal representatives of the Democratic Party. *That is precisely why the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee didn't support them. The Stokes and Hatcher campaigns had the blessing of the national Demo-*



Judy Watts, National Committee member of the YSA from Detroit speaks to 7th National Convention of YSA during Afro-American struggle discussion.

cratic Party and Lyndon Baines Johnson.

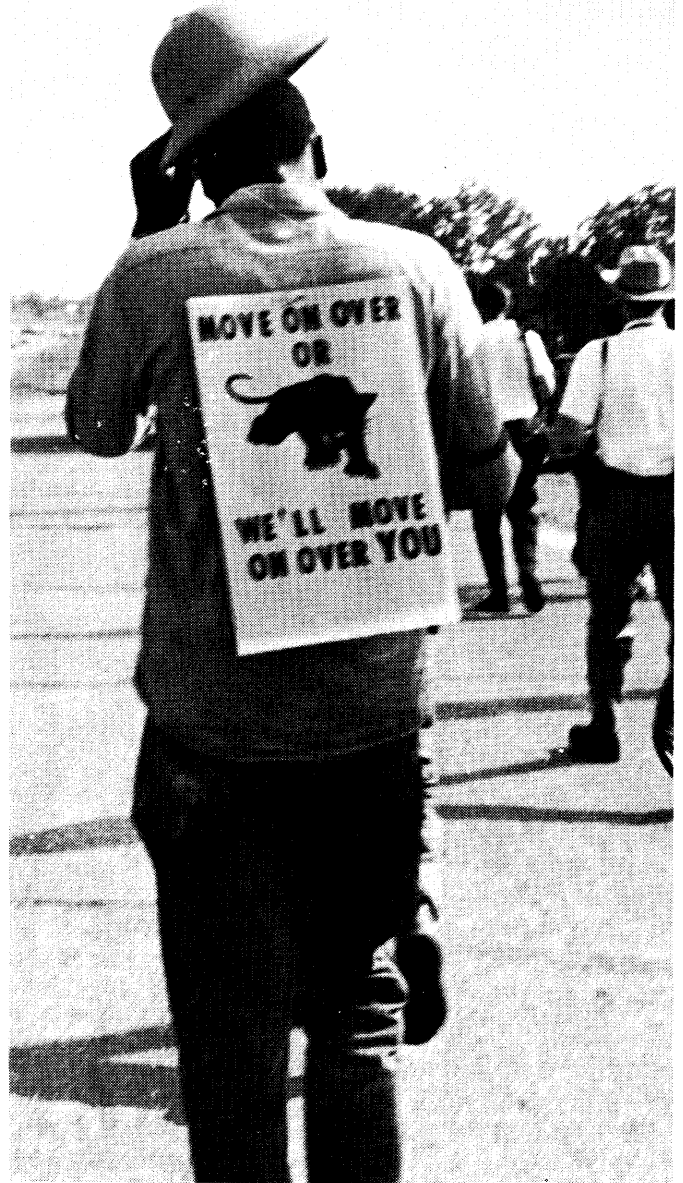
The racists who run this country would rather have black mayors loyal to capitalist law and order be elected, than see black people run independent candidates or organize independent parties. Stokes will fall right into line and call out the National Guard if necessary to protect the sacrosanct private property of the ruling class. Furthermore, the Democratic Party hopes that the election of Stokes will help perpetuate the myth that black people can gain full freedom within the framework of the twin-party system. But even Tyner says that ". . . candidates of the two major parties are picked in smoke-filled rooms by people who represent the wealthy, the powerful, the business and the monopoly." How do Tyner and Heisler expect to fight racism if they support politicians who are subservient to the wealthy few who run this country?

The DuBois Clubs have also been among the foremost proponents of a third capitalist ticket, a more "liberal," "progressive" variant of the Democratic Party. Such a "Peace and Freedom" ticket does not represent a single step forward in the direction of a break with the politics of racist capitalist society by the black community. It is rather a means to channel the black liberation struggle into support of such liberal reformists as King and Spock.

The support of black militants will be much in demand at "New Politics" conferences. They have been offered 50 percent of the vote at these conferences in the hope of winning their support for these tickets. An example of this maneuver was provided at the National Conference for New Politics Convention in Chicago last September. The DuBois Clubs maintain that the New Politics groups are a good example of the "black-white unity" that they hope to achieve in their campaign against racism.

"Peace and Freedom" tickets do not solve the most pressing problem for Afro-Americans today—the need to organize black people into their own organizations of struggle. As Malcolm X said, "*There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity.*" When black people have their own organizations which they control, real alliances with other movements can be formed. "Peace and Freedom" tickets, on the contrary, call for black support without black control.

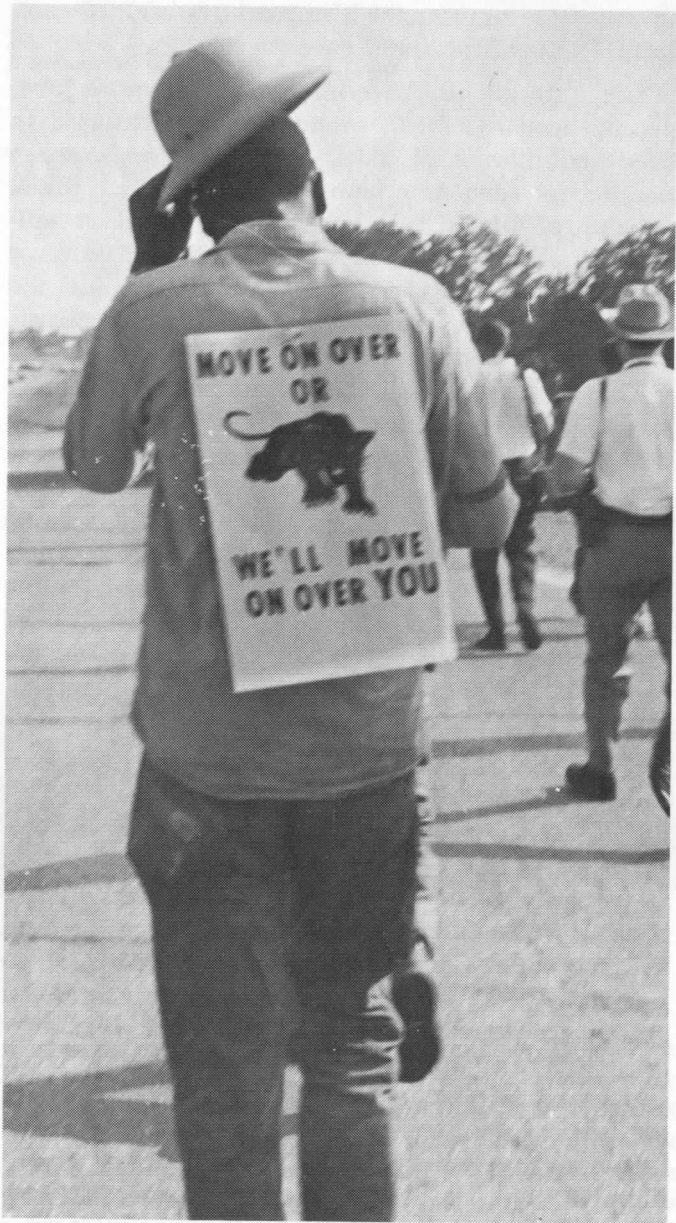
Neither Heisler nor Tyner even deal with one of the most important aspects of the struggle against racism, which is the *national* character of the black struggle. By oppressing Afro-Americans on the basis of skin color and forcing them into huge ghettos, capitalism has laid the material basis for



Mississippi March

a *nation within a nation*. The growing nationalist consciousness of the black community is a reflection of this phenomenon.

Derrick Morrison, reporting on the Afro-American resolution at the 7th National Convention of the YSA in Detroit, pointed out that ". . . the awakening of 30 million Afro-Americans to nationalist consciousness represents a necessary stage in the development of the American socialist revolution. It can be said that the 20-30 million black people in America are the most powerful national minority group yet to rise upon the historical scene. This black nation has a predominantly proletarian composition and is situated in the belly of imperialism. The awakening of this black nation is taking place



Mississippi March

at the same time as the historical downfall of capitalism on a world scale."

The struggle of Afro-Americans for more jobs, decent housing, better schools is a struggle to better conditions of black people *by any means necessary*. Afro-Americans are demanding black control of black communities, the right of self-determination for black America. Socialists must support the rights of self-determination for the black nation, including the right to form a separate state if black people so desire.

The demand of self-determination is an elementary democratic demand. It is the same demand that the American colonists raised in the struggle against England in the 1770's. But today's capitalist rulers will not and cannot grant this same demand to black people. Only with the destruction of capitalism can this demand be won. As the nationalist struggle deepens, it will come into greater and greater conflict with the capitalist state, the capitalist political parties, and all the other institutions of the racist capitalist system.

Nowhere do Heisler and Tyner say to white radicals, whom they urge to fight racism, "Support the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination including the right to form a separate state." This is the only basis on which real black-white unity can be built. Only by supporting such a demand will the white working class be propelled into *opposition to the racist foundations of the capitalist system*. Malcolm X said, "We will work with anyone, with any group no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that black people in this country are afflicted by . . . as long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of *destroying the vulturous system* that has been sucking the blood of black people in this country, they're all right with us." (emphasis added)

While the racist white working class does not support the right of the black people to self-determination on its moral merits, they will learn to do so by practical necessity in the course of struggle. They will do so *only if* the leadership among the politically more advanced workers and of the socialist movement uncompromisingly support this demand in practice.

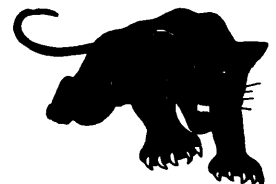
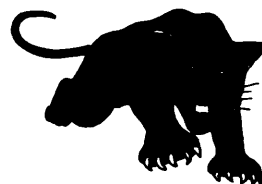
A harbinger of how this lesson will have to be learned was the conflict between the striking teachers and black community in New York this fall. The teachers' union is officially opposed to racist ideology. In fact, they are one of the more liberal unions. That was not enough, as the strike revealed.

In addition to demands for higher salaries, the union bureaucrats raised proposals for controlling "disruptive students," a measure actually directed at black and Puerto Rican students. The black community countered by demanding black control of the schools in the black communities, a demand which the teachers' union still opposes. This conflict between the teachers (with a predominantly white leadership) and the black community weakened the strike. In the future, incidents of this kind may mean defeat for strikes as the black community becomes more organized.

The lesson the union must learn and the lesson that all white workers must learn from these conflicts, simply from the point of view of their own long range self-interests, is to unconditionally support the democratic demands of Afro-Americans to control their own communities. A united effort on this basis would have been a formidable force, too strong for the city of New York to confront during the teachers' strike. Support of the right of self-determination is a practical necessity if the white working class ever expects to form alliances with the black community. Anything else is insincere.

Another example of how opposition to racism must be directed not only against racist ideology, but also against the institutions of the capitalist system which causes racism, is the Cuban Revolution. In Cuba, before the revolution, racist ideology existed, although it was not nearly as oppressive as in the United States today. To successfully eradicate the racist institutions and begin to eradicate racist consciousness, the full force of a socialist revolution against the very system that causes racism was necessary. The same will be true in the United States, even though the forms of struggle may be different.

The mark of liberalism is that it gives verbal opposition to racism. It combats only the ideology of racism, but it supports the institutions of the system that causes racism. The mark of serious radical opposition to racism is that it is opposed to the *system* that causes racism, and that it supports the struggle against racism by any means necessary. Liberalism is merely against racism. Socialist opposition to racism is expressed by supporting the struggle of black people for self-determination by any means necessary.



"... impossible to have complicity with a capitalist society"

The following are excerpts from a position paper written by Gwen Patton, National Secretary of NBAWADU (NATIONAL BLACK ANTIWAR ANTIDRAFT UNION). The paper is entitled: Why Black People Must Develop Their Own Anti-War Antidraft Union . . . Heed the Call! The national office of NBAWADU is located at 100 5th Avenue, Suite 803, New York, N. Y. 10011.

. . . the discussion on racism seems to be dominant in some white radical organizations. Again this is a reaction to their own guilt feelings which take on chauvinistic and paternalistic attitudes. To discuss racism is futile if there is no discussion on the destruction of capitalism. The two movements of discussion are operating from different premises. The Black Movement is alienated from this society by force and by choice; the White Movement is involved with innovations and reforms that will make this society fit for all.

However, the primary contradiction is that capitalism in its ultimate form (which is in its decline) is against humanity. Capitalism thrives on wars as the process of eliminating people so that the ruling class can control more than its share of the profits. As long as there is capitalism, there will always be wars. Humanity will be destroyed with the continuance of capitalism or capitalism will have to be destroyed in order to maintain human survival. This is the choice all revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries will have to make. There are no other alternatives.

It is impossible to have complicity with an imperialist racist society. The only type of co-existence, whereby all parties can have an equal setting, is by the policy of self-determination. To discuss the abolition of racism in its single form is only reverting to the "integration" goal of the early



Robert Vernon
Gwen Patton, National Secretary of NBAWADU, speaks at Militant Labor Forum in New York during memorial for Malcolm X, Friday, February 23.

1960's. Black people have made the decision that they do not want to share in a corrupt, decadent, uncivilized society. Black people are looking for a new society, a new social order, which does not thrive on wars, racism, exploitation, and oppression. Black people know that if racism would disappear tomorrow in this country, it will be at the expense of another oppressed people, probably black.

The only way we can solve these contradictions is by the establishment of a black base that will deal with imperialism. SNCC has an International Affairs office, but we need a national base that can explicitly involve itself with the liberation efforts of all oppressed peoples. The draft is a serious threat to black militants and the war machine is a devastating threat to the black community. The rebellion in Detroit demonstrated that the system is ready to go to war in the black community. Black people must be prepared for this type of

vicious onslaught.

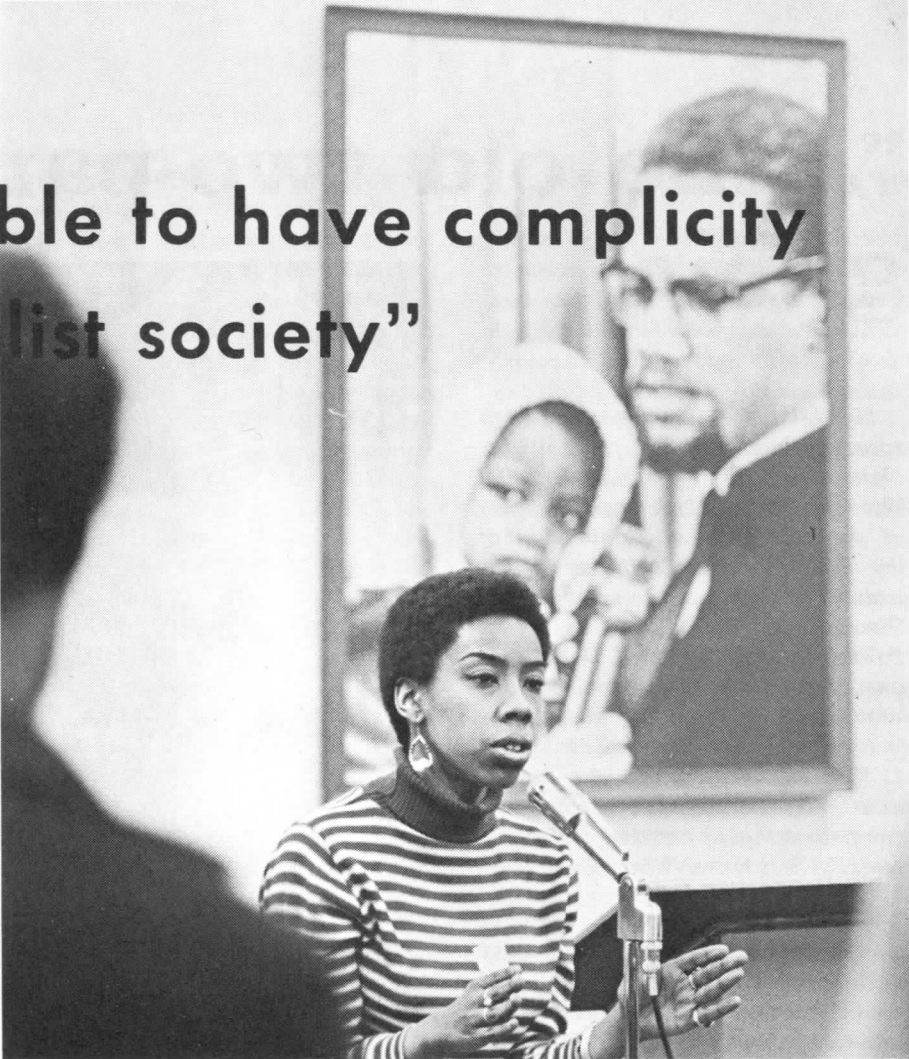
Without such a base, then black people will be forever absorbed by the Peace Movement. It is important for us to join the World Liberation Movement—the Third World. White people at this point are not ready to solve their own contradictions, and without our own base we allow them to forestall the solving of our contradictions in the Black Movement.

We must separate forces at this time in order to build a stable coalition in the future. Black people from a power base can mandate and dictate certain demands or can make the decision for no action without damaging the solidarity of the oppressed peoples throughout the world. With this black national base we will not find it necessary to coerce a white assembly to support our demands. With this black base, black people will be their own dictators for actions and will be the keepers of their works and their heroes. —GWEN PATTON

“... impossible to have complicity
with a capitalist society”

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"...the old two-party shell game"

The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the open session of the 7th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit. The theme of the meeting was "Revolutionary Politics Vs Peace Politics in 1968." Farrell Dobbs was one of a number of leaders of the revolutionary socialist and labor movements who were jailed by the U.S. government under the notorious Smith Act because of their uncompromising opposition to the imperialist 2nd World War.

We are in the opening stages of a new developing process of mass radicalization in this country that shows more and more promise of becoming very broad in its scope. Because of the very nature of things, it must go much deeper politically than it did in the radicalization in the 1930's. It is in that kind of general situation that we enter the presidential election year.

It is a big change since 1964 in one basic sense—the dissident political trends are still generally characterized by entrapment of the masses in the concept of lesser-evil politics. This means that in one or another form, or in one and another way, they remain prone to being hooked through the Democratic Party into the old two-party shell game. It means that they are still susceptible to being tricked into voting to keep in power the imperialist overlords who are making life more and more miserable for them. Although the change is not yet basic in the sense of a real break from capitalist politics, as an immediate potential in mass terms, there are significant new political winds blowing.

In 1964 Johnson was widely supported as a lesser evil than Goldwater. As soon as he was re-elected, he decided to do exactly what his backers were voting against. In fact,



Dave Wulp

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party pensively listens to a session at the YSA Convention. Later that evening, he spoke to an open meeting of the convention on "Revolutionary Politics Vs 'Peace Politics' in 1968."

he set out to out-Goldwater Goldwater. Today he is a poor stick of a lesser-evil against anything or anybody. At a time when there is more and more of a yearning developing among people for a meaningful political change, the reformist shysters of all stripes are desperately scrounging around trying to find some alternative to Johnson.

They are not moving toward a third party, even though that is superficially implied in the development of the Peace and Freedom Party which had its first gestation in California and has begun to appear in various forms in some other places. If it were a third party formation, with the present structure in class terms, it would go in the direction

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Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party pensively listens to a session at the YSA Convention. Later that evening, he spoke at an open meeting of the convention on "Revolutionary Politics Vs 'Peace

of a third capitalist party. It would solve nothing, because it is capitalism itself that is at the heart of the whole problem. There could be no meaningful action in this sphere short of a full break with capitalist politics.

Keep in mind that the third ticket talk, as you hear it bruted around by reformists of one or another stripe, doesn't automatically imply a third party perspective. As a matter of fact, it comes closer to describing in its own way what their real aim is. The real aim is to build pressure in every conceivable way on the Democrats to dump Johnson as the 1968 Presidential candidate. They want the Democratic Party to hide the family idiot in the closet so that they can keep suckering the masses into supporting that party. That is what all these maneuvers are all about. This serves them as a ruse for continuing work inside the Democratic Party. It explains their support to McCarthy from Minnesota. There has been a lot of argument about whose stalking horse he is. He is a stalking horse for the Democratic Party machine. Some people think he's theirs, but they don't know who owns the horse.

That will be the role of any so-called "peace" candidates that are put forward within the framework of any kind of caper in and around the fringes of the Democratic Party. The object of it is to bog the masses down in lesser-evil politics, to get them off the streets and away from carrying out one or another form of direct confrontation with the capitalist ruling powers.

The main architects of the Peace and Freedom Party groupings have a similar outlook. That is true whether they are social democrats or liberals, or the Communist Party. Those Peace and Freedom formations are a strange party indeed.

Peace and freedom are vital objectives, that goes without saying. But these worthy aims are put vaguely, in the projection of the concept of the Peace and Freedom Party. They are put abstractly. This means that the whole thing is being deliberately left open to infuse into it any kind of quack political prescription.

A party is a strange party that starts by asking support to get on

the ballot and offers no specific program, gives no clear indication of what it's got in mind concerning tickets in the campaign. Don't think for a moment that those are accidental oversights. That's deliberate. As for those who talk about some vague third ticket, the central concept is to put pressure on the Democratic Party. In the case of the Peace and Freedom Party, as in all capers that are being tried around reformist, class-collaborationist political circles, they are keeping things tentative until they see what happens at the Democratic Party convention; that is, does Johnson get dumped or doesn't he? That is what they want to find out.

Who the Democratic Party nominates (it will be the machine and no one else that does the nominating) remains to be seen. But you can make book on one thing: whatever decision is made at the Democratic Party convention, the politicians of lesser-evil will enter into a new stage of acrobatics. You can expect to see some weird things, all of them retrogressive.

All these seeming gestations, toward what on the surface is made to appear like a break with Democratic Party politics, prove that it is more important than ever that our ticket of Halstead and Boutelle go forward, backed by all the campaigners we can mobilize to bring out the truth about the political situation in this country today

Another thing to keep carefully in mind is that these reformists, these misleaders of all stripes, are joining together to try to derail the antiwar movement into a campaign in support of these so-called "peace" candidates. Although they are less frank than McCarthy, who in an unguarded moment blurted out in so many words his objective, they too want to get the militants off the streets and use them as pawns in Democratic Party politics.

The Student Mobilization Committee gave the correct answer to this attempt. It took the initiative in the call for the April demonstrations against the war. If that campaign effort is vigorously pressed, it is going to be possible to win some very broad support, particularly in light of what

is unfolding in the Vietnamese war itself.

The black militants are showing mounting opposition to the war, more and more readiness and capacity to find ways and means to work in coordination with other antiwar forces to bring the message across. You are finding more of a trend inside the trade unions to manifest opposition to the war and show that George Meany—this little puppy that runs behind Johnson, wagging his tail every time Johnson calls him Mr. Labor—speaks not for the working class of the United States, speaks not for the rank and file trade unions. Opposition to the war is mounting among the rank and file of the trade unions just as it is everywhere else in this country today.

You will find under the impact of the developing events that there will be further manifestations of the growing antiwar moods among the GIs themselves. All these forces have potential to go forward in the immediate period with further antiwar demonstrations that will have real meaning in the fight against the Vietnam war, and they have the capacity to set in motion still greater numbers in general opposition to the status quo in the next period.

All the indications are that from among the not inconsiderable number of dissatisfied people that there are in this country today, the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago in August is going to receive a rather massive "visitation." It is going to be from the people who don't come there to politick, or to play the role of ward-healers, but come there to protest against the whole course upon which the ruling class of this country is projecting the nation

The developing upsurge that we are witnessing today is not a mere episode, not just an upturn within the framework of the capitalist status quo which is going to recede tomorrow and be forgotten. It is symbolic of a fundamental trend that is developing in this land. The world contradictions of capitalism are hitting the home front with a vengeance. That is what is happening in the United States of America. It is precipitating a groundswell toward basic social change



WHAT'S HAPPENING?

—YSHBers report from around the country

BY CAROLINE LUND

The rapid growth of the Halstead and Boutelle ticket in the 1968 elections, is expressed in the wide range of activities that the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle are carrying out on campuses across the country. But the 1968 elections will have even more heightened interest on campuses this spring when five million "disenfranchised" students will participate in a national college poll, sponsored by *Time* magazine on their choice for President in 1968. The list of candidates on the poll will be headed by none other than Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidates for President and Vice-President. (see page for further information on how to make sure your college can participate in this poll.)

In this article the *Young Socialist* would like to report on the wide range of activities already initiated in support for Halstead and Boutelle and on the young socialist movement developing across the country. This article is based on the compilation of a few of the numerous reports the *Young Socialist* and the Socialist Workers election campaign national office has received in the past few months.

ALABAMA In order to get on the ballot in Alabama, the law requires that the Socialist Workers Party have one elector from Alabama who will have his name on the petition nominating the Socialist Workers candidates. The petition must be signed by 300 voters from Alabama.

Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle from Atlanta, Georgia, recently traveled to Alabama to find supporters of the campaign who could help place the Halstead and Boutelle ticket on the ballot. They spoke to the National Student Association coordinator in Birmingham, who was very friendly and described the general situation in Alabama.

Nelson Blackstock from Atlanta reported that he was able to talk with several interested students from the Birmingham area. He and the other trailblazers then went on to the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. Nelson wrote, "We found three students right away who were interested in the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. They are active in the Democratic Student Organization, which bears no relation to the Democratic Party, and which sponsors antiwar speakers on campus."



WHAT'S HAPPENING?

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The report continued: "Michael Van DeVeer and Jack Geren have agreed to run as electors from Alabama. But they want to do more than just permit their names to be on the ballot. They intend to run a campaign for Halstead and Boutelle in Alabama. Mike has been a civil rights and antiwar activist. He says he will devote all the time he can get away from his law studies to the campaign. Time on television will be easy to get through his contacts, and he intends to take advantage of the TV time himself to further the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.

"Jack is the Southern project director of NSA (National Student Association) and he travels to campuses in Alabama—mostly black campuses. So he will have plenty of opportunities to campaign.

"Now Mike and Jack are interested in getting literature about the campaign. A leaflet directed at the black community would be particularly useful."

UTAH Shem Richards from the University of Utah has organized meetings for Paul Boutelle on his national speaking tour. The first meeting was attended by 175 students, and later that evening Boutelle spoke to a group of students in a dormitory until 3 a.m. about the campaign, socialism, and how to end racism.

Shem Richards wrote in his report on the tour: "We had a very wonderful meeting at the University of Utah and an extended question and answer period. Many students showed great interest. I was encouraged in spite of the fact that not as many attended as I had expected.

"The next day we took Mr. Boutelle downtown to a local radio station where he spoke for an hour and a half on an interview program. At another radio station he was interviewed for about ten minutes.

"At noon Mr. Boutelle was the guest at a luncheon at the University with some of the more prominent radicals of our area, after which a three-hour political science class was devoted to Mr. Boutelle in which he answered questions and explained the position of the Socialist Workers Party to about 15 honor students.

"All in all, it was very rewarding for many of us, and I personally was really impressed."

MINNESOTA, IOWA The Midwest Campaign Committee for Halstead and Boutelle is centered in Minneapolis, Minn. Young socialists from Minneapolis have been trailblazing in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota finding endorsers of the campaign, setting up speaking engagements for the candidates, and generally publicizing the campaign. Campaign supporters from Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota are attempting to place the Socialist Workers ticket on the ballot. A YSHBer from Minneapolis sent in a report to the *Young Socialist* on their activities: "The first trailblazing team is covering Iowa. Thus far, our activity has centered on the Iowa campuses. However, in Des Moines, we met with a group of black militants who are involved in organizing the black ghetto there. Several were connected with Vista but have been fired or were about to be fired for their open advocacy of black power. They were extremely open to socialist ideas as well as to the campaign, and they intend to set up a meeting for Paul Boutelle in the ghetto when he

comes to the Midwest. Several of them were studying the ideas of Che Guevara.

"At Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa, we found many who were willing to support the campaign. The college traditionally has mock conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties followed by mock elections in the late spring. When we were there, some of the militants were discussing the possibility of a third party convention. When we told them that Halstead and Boutelle would be on the ballot in Iowa they enthusiastically accepted the candidates as their own. In fact, there is a possibility that Paul will be the keynote speaker at that convention during his tour of the Midwest. (They even think the SWP candidates might win the mock election!)

"At the University of Iowa in Iowa City the local SDS chapter is presently discussing the possibility of sponsoring Paul to speak on the campus. Several of the SDS members face charges of 'conspiracy' for participation in a recent antiwar demonstration there. Consequently, the campus is now engaged in a lot of defense activity and general antiwar activity which seems to be resulting in an increased radicalization and receptivity to socialist ideas.

"We've also received several inquiries from college students in North Dakota and South Dakota. The campaign has already received such widespread publicity and attention that a certain number of people have already heard about it by word of mouth and want more information even before we talk to them.

"As a result of Fred Halstead's tour through the Midwest there are now groups and individuals working on the campaign in Eau Claire and River Falls, Wisconsin, Winona, Minnesota, the University of Minnesota, Macalaster College in St. Paul, and Carleton and St. Olaf Colleges in Northfield, Minnesota.

"In our trailblazing to build the Halstead-Boutelle campaign on various campuses, we have taken advantage of the opportunity to strengthen the newly formed antiwar coalition in Minnesota—the Minnesota Mobilization Committee. Several of the campuses have already declared their intention to participate in antiwar actions in April called by the Student Mobilization Committee.

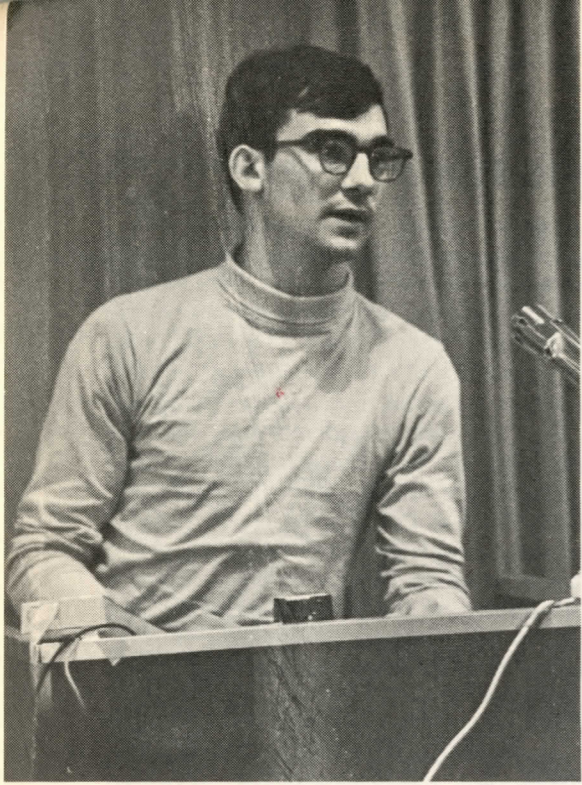
"A high school teacher in Winona, Minnesota not only set up a community meeting for Fred, but also arranged for him to speak to two sociology classes at Winona State College. She has also expressed an interest in receiving a bundle of *Militants* to sell." (The *Militant* is the weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign.)

WASHINGTON The following report was sent in by Bill Perdue from the Seattle Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle: "Recently three members of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle from Seattle toured campuses in eastern Washington to make plans for the upcoming tour of Vice Presidential candidate Paul Boutelle and to report to YSHBers in the area about the progress of the campaign nationally.

"At Eastern Washington State College in Cheney, a meeting was held to plan for the appearance of Boutelle on local campuses and to explain the campaign to interested students.

7th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, February 8-10.

Over 300 students and young people gathered in Detroit, Michigan, for the 7th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Delegates and visitors attended the convention from Houston and Austin, Texas, to Albany, New York; from Seattle, Washington to Champaign and Chicago, Illinois. At this years convention young socialists discussed and passed resolutions on the political situation in this country and around the world, the antiwar movement, the Afro-American struggle for self-determination, the tasks of young socialists in this country, and the organizational work of the YSA. The YSA projected the largest fund drive in its history to last three months, March 1—May 30; and full support to a special subscription offer to the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant* with a goal of 2,000. The YSA affirmed at this convention to go forward and build the growing revolutionary socialist movement in the heartland of American Imperialism; to give maximum support and energy in building the Socialist Workers presidential campaign for 1968 and the growing mass antiwar movement in this country; to go forward and help build the international antiwar and socialist youth movement.



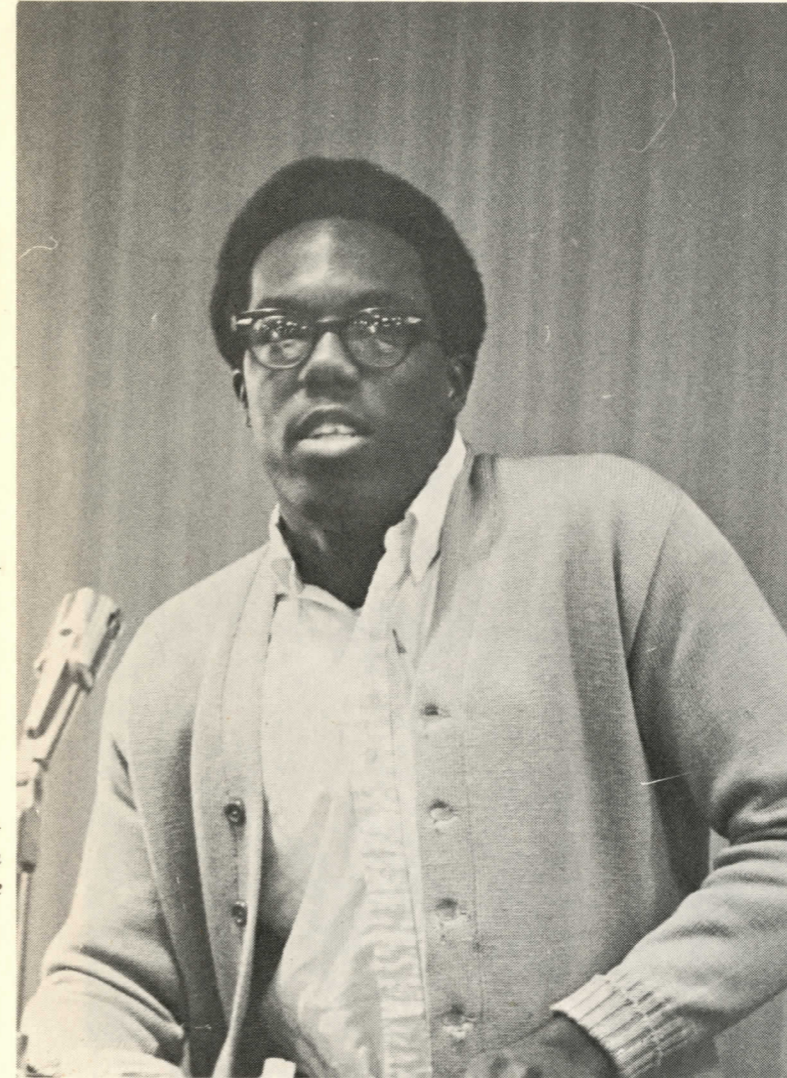
Flax Hermes

Pfc. Howard Petrick reports on growing receptivity to antiwar and socialist views in the Army.



Flax Hermes

Delegates vote on one of the Convention resolutions.



Dave Wulp

Derrick Morrison delivers Afro-American Struggle report at the convention.



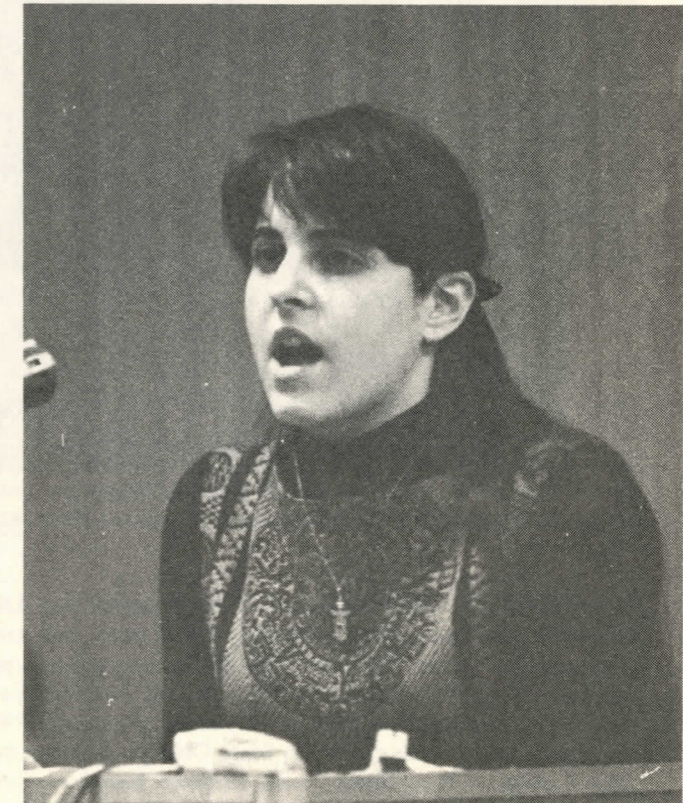
Flax Hermes

Mary-Alice Waters, National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, delivers the Political Report to the convention.



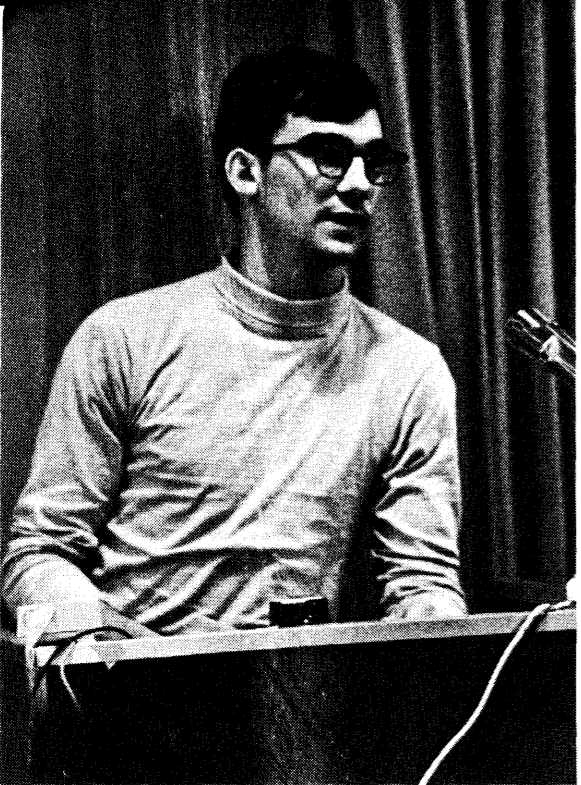
Dave Wulp

Dave Watson, high school student, delegate from Detroit, addresses convention on rise of political consciousness in the high schools.



Dave Wulp

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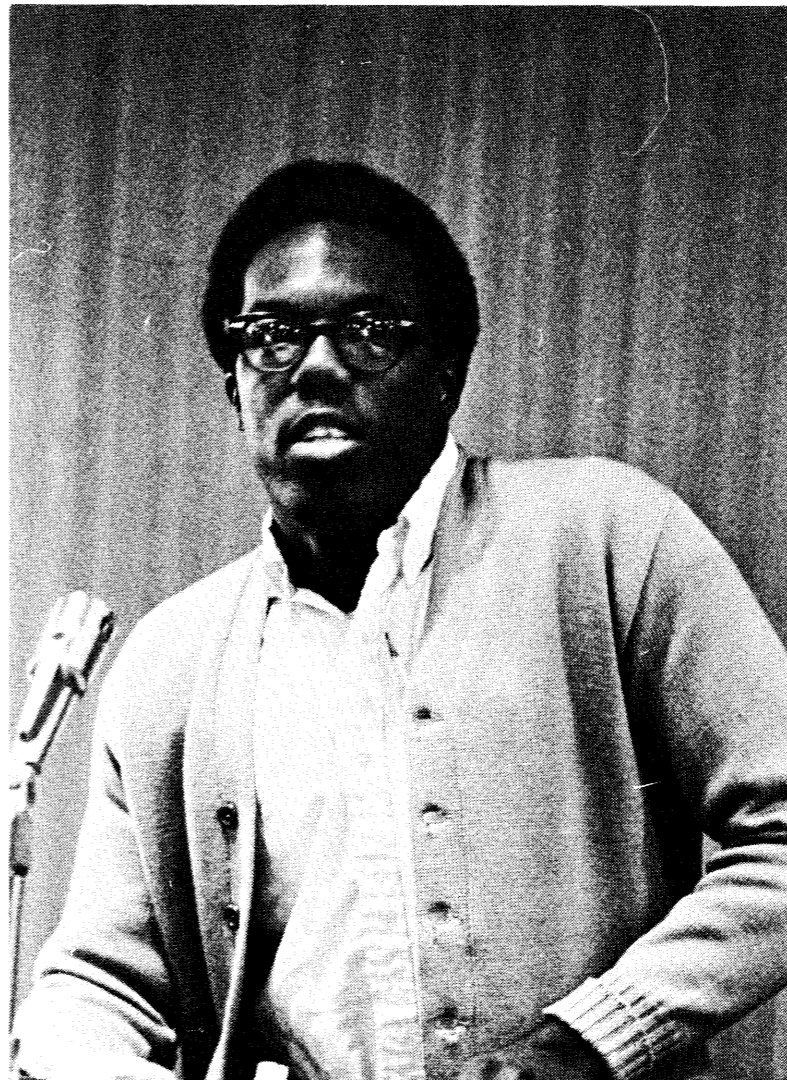
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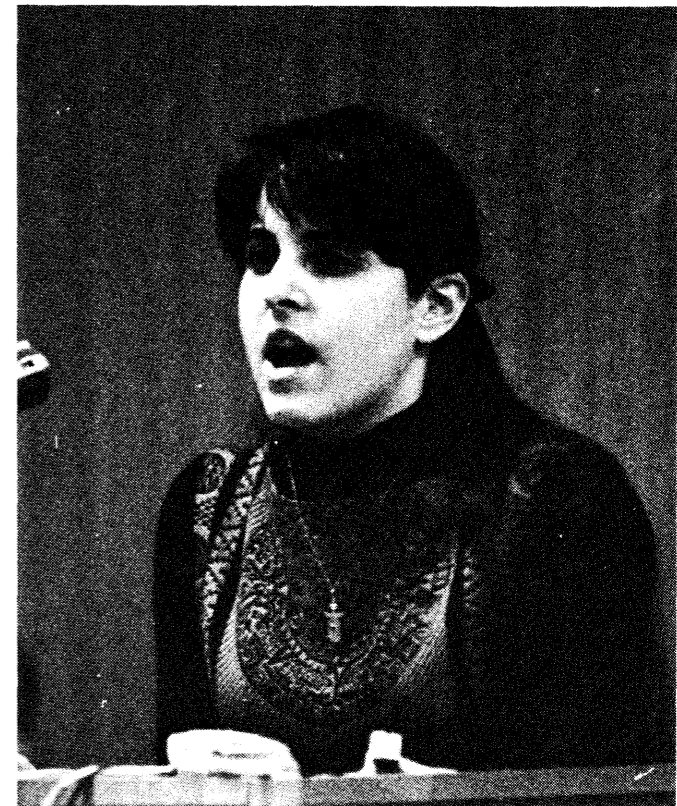
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(continued from p. 11)

...What's Happening



Petitioning to place the Socialist Workers ticket on the ballot in Pennsylvania.

Brian Shannon

"At Washington State University in Pullman the campaign was already well known. Thirteen students at WSU (Washington State University), members of the SDS, CEWV, and Afro-American Alliance, are supporters of the campaign and are active in publicizing the campaign and preparing for Paul's appearance on their campus."

CALIFORNIA Campaign trailblazers from the Bay Area in California have been covering their state well with campaign literature. They have been reaching out to every campus in their area to bring news of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign to interested young people. So far they have gone to Sacramento State College, Sacramento City College, Chico State, Yuba College, San Jose State College, Foothill College, University of the Pacific, Sonoma State, Shasta Junior College, Humboldt State College, Stanford, American River College, University of California at Davis and at Santa Cruz, and Chabot College.

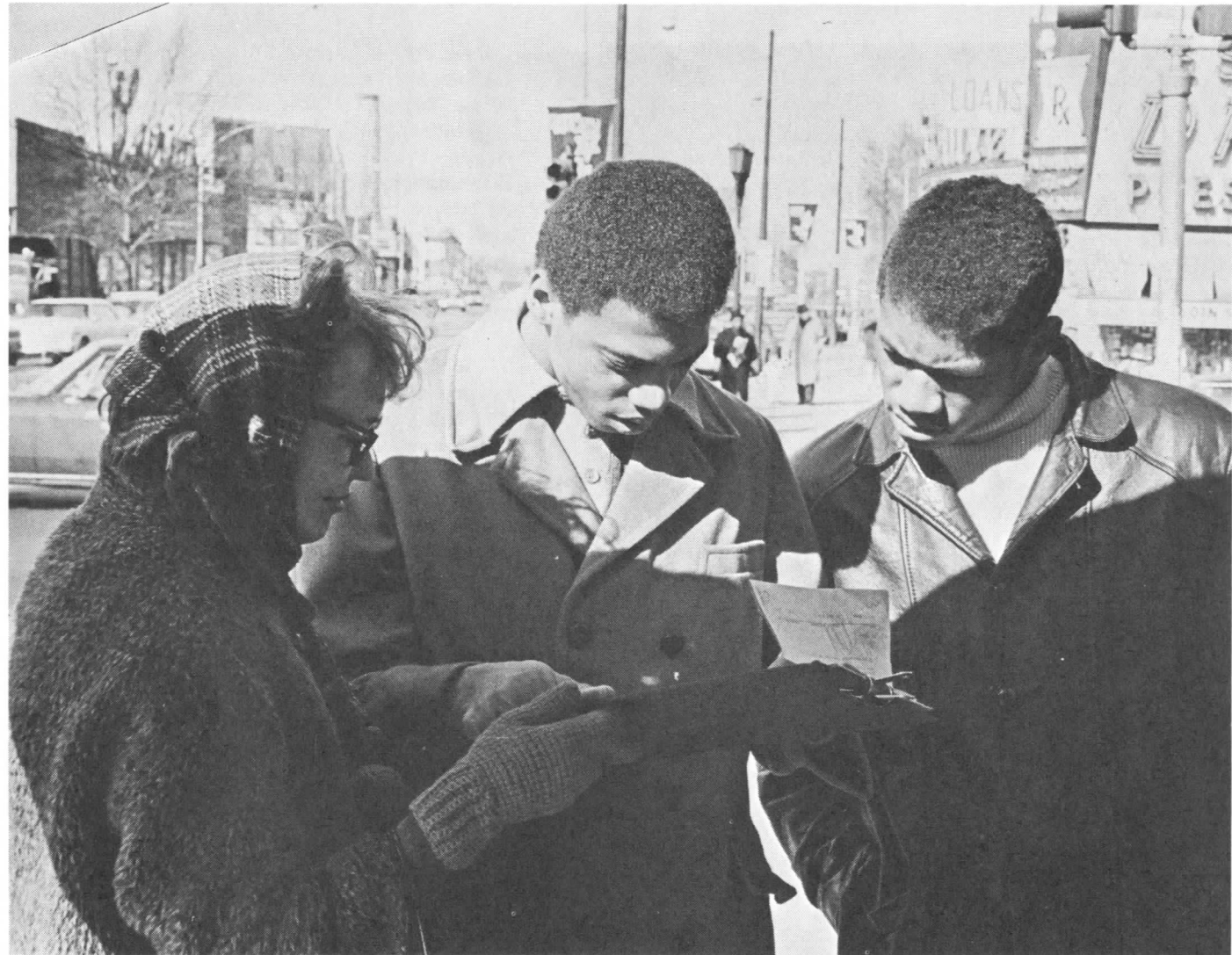
Dianne Feeley reported on how they organized the campaign tour: "We first sent out 215 letters to our contacts on the various northern California campuses. We asked them to make arrangements so that we could set up a literature table on the campus and asked them to help us distribute literature.

"We took a good supply of literature, and found that the most popular pieces were *Granma* (newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party), Che Guevara buttons, the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*, and campaign brochures for Halstead and Boutelle.

"When we arrived on campus we first looked around for the antiwar activists. We either arranged to meet them at a specific place, or went into the cafeteria and asked around. In most cases we located them and then set up the table. In at least two instances we couldn't find them, and since there were streams of students passing, we merely set up the table and proceeded to distribute literature. So far we haven't had to take our table down.

(continued from p. 11)

• ..What's Happening



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"When on the road we have received invitations for places to stay and dinners, plus invitations to attend whatever is happening locally—SDS meetings, meetings of the antiwar committee, philosophy club, etc.

"With a little more encouragement there should be Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle groups on all the campuses we visited."

At Shasta College in Redding, California, a student Rick Perlman was suspended from school for helping the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle to set up their literature table even though he had gone through all the proper channels to obtain permission for the table.

In a letter to Dianne Feeley of Bay Area YSHB, the president of the Associated Students of Shasta College wrote: "Perlman is one of our most dynamic students on campus . . . Because of his antiwar activism, his attempts to secure increased participation by students in school governance, because he is always the first to set up a table to demonstrate against government agencies visiting campus, because Perlman refuses to conform to the apathy the Administration would like to sustain at Shasta College, Perlman has been considered a 'radical', and now he has been suspended . . . We are going ahead with our fight for free speech in spite of the Board's ultra-conservatism. We are going to attempt a cultural revolution here at Shasta and we would like the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle to become a part of that revolution."

INDIANA Russell Block from the Indiana University YSHB reported on a meeting for Fred Halstead on campus: "The attendance was about 275. There were many unfamiliar faces in the audience, but few non-students. Although the meeting lasted nearly 2-1/2 hours few people left before the end of the question period. The audience was largely sympathetic, but even hostile faces turned to puzzled faces by the end of the speech. We took up a collection for the campaign amounting to \$50."

In advertizing for the meeting the YSHB tried placing some spot ads in the *Indiana Daily Student* saying "Better Fred than Dead" and "Big Red Fred is Coming."

MICHIGAN The following letter came in to the Halstead-Boutelle campaign office recently: "High School Students for Social Involvement is in the formative state. We are in the process of organizing for the purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam. We are interested in supporting the Halstead-Boutelle Workers ticket. We do not know of any campaign organization active in our immediate area (Kalamazoo, Michigan). If there is one, could you please send us information as to how we can contact them? If there is no such organization, we, in affiliation with two college protest organizations in our town, would try to form a campaign here."

NEW YORK At Barnard College and Columbia University in New York City there are now chapters of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle recognized as official campus organizations. Paula Reimers from Barnard YSHB writes about their work: "One of the great aids to organizing YSHB has been the use of the campus press. *The Bulletin*, the Barnard campus newspaper, was unable to send a reporter to cover a speech by Paul Boutelle on campus, and asked the YSHB to submit an article on the meeting. As a result, the YSHB now has what amounts to a weekly column in which both the issues of the campaign and activities of the Barnard YSHB are discussed.

"We have found this press coverage to be one of our most effective organizing tools. After the second article explaining why students should support Halstead and Boutelle instead of Eugene McCarthy I received a letter from a girl who had read the article and wanted to join the YSHB. She was very enthusiastic about the campaign platform and said that she only wished the YSHB was a permanent organization which would last after the elections.

- continued

Special Subscription Offer Young Socialists For Halstead and Boutelle

3 Months of The Militant

6 Months of the Young Socialist

for \$1.00

Name

Address Apartment

City State Zip

**Make all checks payable to The Militant
Post Office Regulations Require Your Zip Code—Please Comply**

Clip and mail to: *The Militant*, 873 Broadway, 2nd floor,
New York, N. Y. 10003

"On Tuesday, Feb. 13, YSHBers had a literature table and distributed campaign literature at an organizing meeting for McCarthy.

"Also on Tuesday, YSHBers joined members of the Young Socialist Alliance in circulating petitions in the Barnard and Columbia dorms to defend H. Rap Brown's right to freedom of speech. The YSHB also had a literature table at a rally where H. Rap Brown spoke on Feb. 15 to protest the massacre of the three black students from Orangeburg, South Carolina. Everyone in the crowd of 600 received campaign literature, and \$18 of campaign literature was sold."

New York City YSHB is now in touch with Halstead-Boutelle supporters on 59 different campuses in their area.

KENTUCKY Young socialists from Antioch College have been traveling through Kentucky finding supporters of Halstead and Boutelle to put the SWP on the ballot in that state. They met nine people who will serve as electors for the Socialist Workers ticket, and they found groups of students interested in the campaign at Berea and Frankfort.

THE ARMED FORCES The Halstead-Boutelle campaign committee is building up a mailing list of GIs who are interested in our antiwar campaign. The new campaign brochure *A Letter to GIs* from Fred Halstead is being sent out by the hundreds to GIs directly and to be distributed to GIs by antiwar activists.

The campaign committee recently received a letter from an antiwar GI at Ft. Campbell, Ky. who wrote, "Please send samples of your party's campaign literature. I believe I could secure support here for your campaign (especially among black soldiers). Also I could make use of your *Letter to GIs* for my organizing."

Young socialists from Los Angeles who were returning by plane from a recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Detroit met four soldiers who were all on their way to Vietnam. They reported, "We talked to these four and gave them copies of Fred Halstead's *Letter to GIs* and the most recent *Young Socialist*. They all liked it and were against the war. They really liked the idea of a socialist presidential candidate who was for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. One of them recognized the name of the Socialist Workers Party. As we got off the plane we shook hands around and wished them luck, as they wished us the same.

"In the airport at Los Angeles we passed out Fred's letter to several more soldiers, and were well-received by all of them."

* * *

The *Young Socialist* plans to carry regular news on the developing young socialist movement in this country. As the Vietnamese continue their fight against U. S. aggression in their country, as the Afro-Americans continue their struggle for self-determination, and as the whole U.S. system shows itself to be rotten to the core, more and more youth will be joining the movement to dump

capitalism and institute a rational socialist society. The *Young Socialist* wants reports from all over the country on activities of Halstead-Boutelle supporters. This will help in sharing our experiences in exposing the capitalist politicians and building vast support for socialist candidates in 1968.

The March issue of the *Young Socialist* was in the process of publication when the news of the Choice '68 poll was announced by *Time* magazine. Therefore we are not able to publish all the information already available about this event. The Socialist Workers campaign committee has announced publication of the following pieces of literature concerning Choice '68. Others will follow.

- (1) Posters (17" X 24") duplicating the ballot with red X's for withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, for a permanent cessation of bombing, and for Fred Halstead for President. Cost: 25 cents each.
- (2) Miniposter (8-1/2" X 11") same as above. Cost: \$1.00 per 100.
- (3) A brochure with quotes from all the candidates listed on the ballot. Cost: \$1.50 per 100.

For further information about the poll—whether your campus is listed, how it can apply if not already listed, and what plans the committee has for getting out the vote on April 24, please fill out the form below and send it to:

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee
873 Broadway, 2nd floor, NYC, NY

- Please send me information about Choice '68.
- I would like further information about the Halstead-Boutelle campaign and would like to meet young socialists in my area.
- Although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the Socialist Workers Party, I endorse the SWP's 1968 presidential ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties.
- I want to help the campaign.
- Please send me the following literature:
- Please send me a packet of posters, leaflets and brochures on Choice '68 and the Socialist Workers campaign for 35 cents.
- Enclosed is \$ donation to the SWP campaign.

Name Address

City State Zip

School

Organization

**BALLOT TO BE USED IN THE NATIONAL COLLEGIATE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY
APRIL 24, 1968**

Sample Only - Invalid for Voting

CHOICE68 

Indicate your age as of November 5, 1968:

- 18 and under
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22 and over

Indicate your party preference:

- Democrat
- Republican
- Other Party
- Independent

I am a Foreign Student:

Indicate your first, second, and third choice for President of the United States:

(Your first choice will be tabulated for election purposes. Your second and third choices will be tabulated for statistical analysis.)

FRED HALSTEAD (Socialist Worker)
 MARK O. HATFIELD (Rep.)
 LYNDON B. JOHNSON (Dem.)
 ROBERT F. KENNEDY (Dem.)
 MARTIN L. KING (Ind.)
 JOHN V. LINDSAY (Rep.)
 EUGENE J. McCARTHY (Dem.)
 RICHARD M. NIXON (Rep.)
 CHARLES H. PERCY (Rep.)
 RONALD W. REAGAN (Rep.)
 NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER (Rep.)
 GEORGE W. ROMNEY (Rep.)
 HAROLD E. STASSEN (Rep.)
 GEORGE C. WALLACE (Amer. Ind.)

FIRST CHOICE	SECOND CHOICE	THIRD CHOICE
X		

What course of military action should the United States pursue in Vietnam:

- Immediate withdrawal of American forces.
- Phased reduction of American military activity.
- Maintain current level of American military activity.
- Increase the level of American military activity.
- "All out" American military effort.

What course of action should the United States pursue in regards to the bombing of North Vietnam:

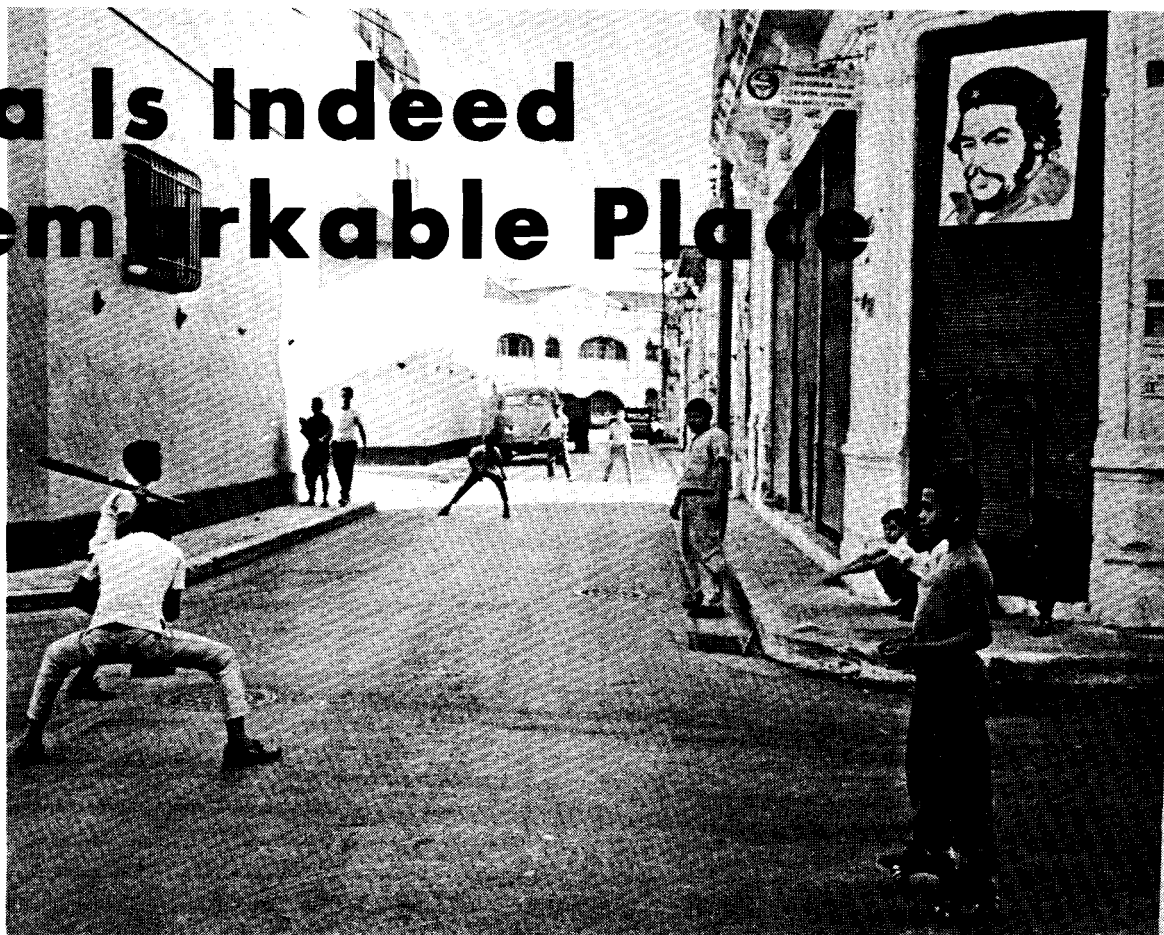
- Permanent cessation of bombing.
- Temporary suspension of bombing.
- Maintain current level of bombing.
- Intensify bombing.
- Use of nuclear weapons.

In confronting the "urban crisis", which of the following should receive highest priority in governmental spending:

- Education
- Job training and employment opportunities
- Housing
- Income subsidy
- Riot control and stricter law enforcement.

Black Control of Black Communities

Cuba Is Indeed A Remarkable Place



Harry Ring

The following notes are reminiscences of a recent trip to the revolutionary island lying South of the U.S. taken by Tom Harmer of the New York City Young Socialist Alliance. Tom entered an international essay contest sponsored by Radio Havana twice a year. The winning essayists are invited to spend a few wonderful weeks touring the Island during one of the two Cuban revolutionary celebrations. This tour took place during the 9th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The topic of the essay, chosen by Radio Havana, was on the letter to the Tri-Continental Conference by Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Tom Harmer's essay was published in the February issue of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*.

Ten of us from the states took the same flight to Havana. We had met at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City. While at the Embassy, one of us had been asked if he were going to Cuba as a journalist. He replied,

"Hell no, man. I'm going as a revolutionary." Actually he was really going as a delegate to the Cultural Congress. So were most of the rest.

For each of us it was the same story. In order to pass through Mexican customs, it was necessary to surrender our papers (in most cases a birth certificate) to the authorities. We then had our pictures taken (by the CIA) in order for our papers to be returned.

Aboard the Cubana Airlines flight to Havana, I noticed a tall black man seated in the pilot's cabin. He was probably a security guard whose job was to make sure the flight was not hijacked by counter-revolutionaries. He remained alert until the plane arrived and landed at Jose Marti Airport. At last, I told myself, you are in Cuba—the *Free Territory of the Americas*.

We arrived at two in the morning on January 2, the 9th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Important anniversaries are celebrated by what are known in

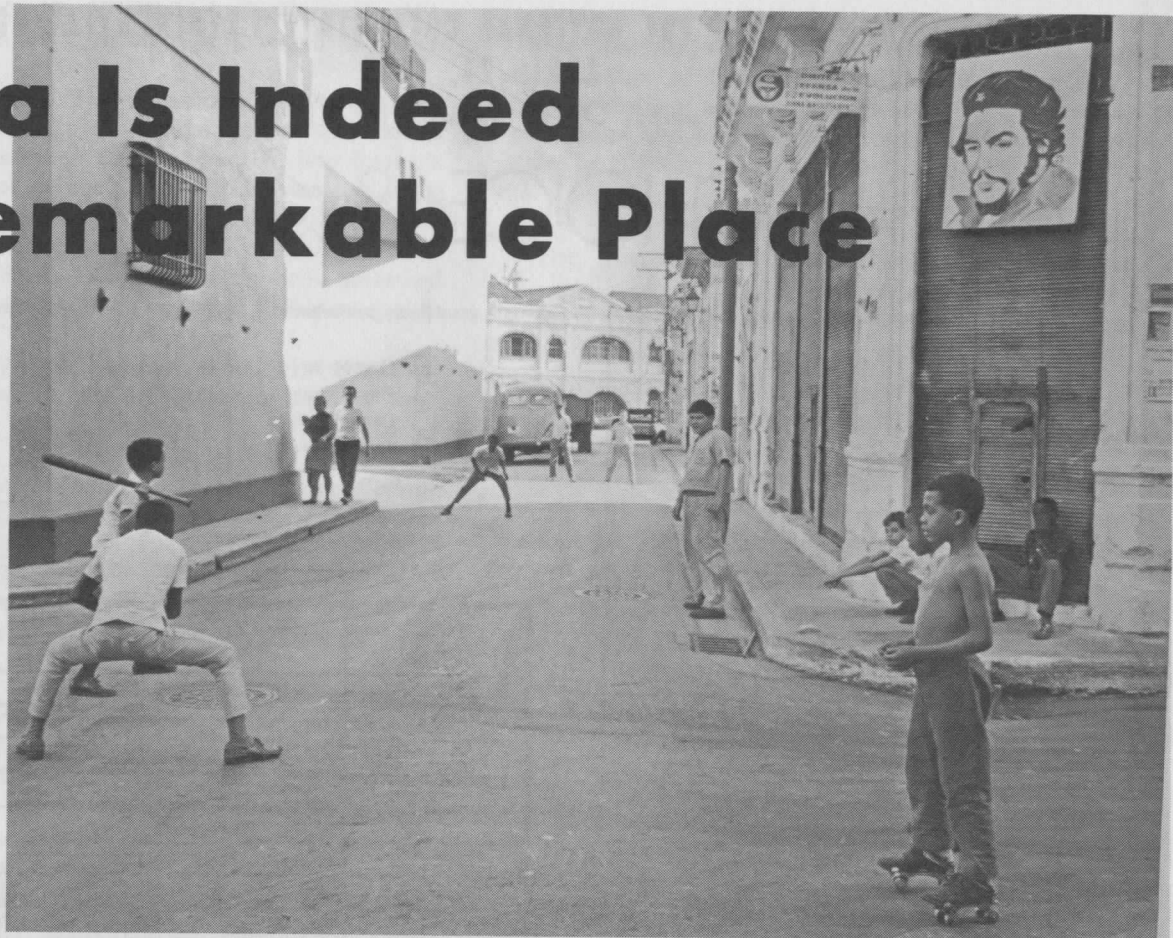
Cuba as *concentrations*. For this particular *concentration* there were close to a million people at the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana.

All the leaders of the Cuban revolutionary government were there—including Fidel. They were immersed in a sea of humanity. To my surprise, there was little "protection" outside of a few bodyguards close to Fidel. Being used to mass demonstrations in the states, I couldn't help thinking, where are the cops? The answer is, none are needed—and none were there. This exemplifies the trust between the Cuban people and their government.

Other aspects of the *concentration* were impressive also. Nurses and scholarship students marched by in blocks of thousands. Free medical care and education for the masses—these fields of achievements are unmatched anywhere in Latin America.

The most dramatic event of the day occurred during Fidel's speech. At one point in his speech, Fidel asked the Cuban people, that if it were a

Cuba Is Indeed A Remarkable Place



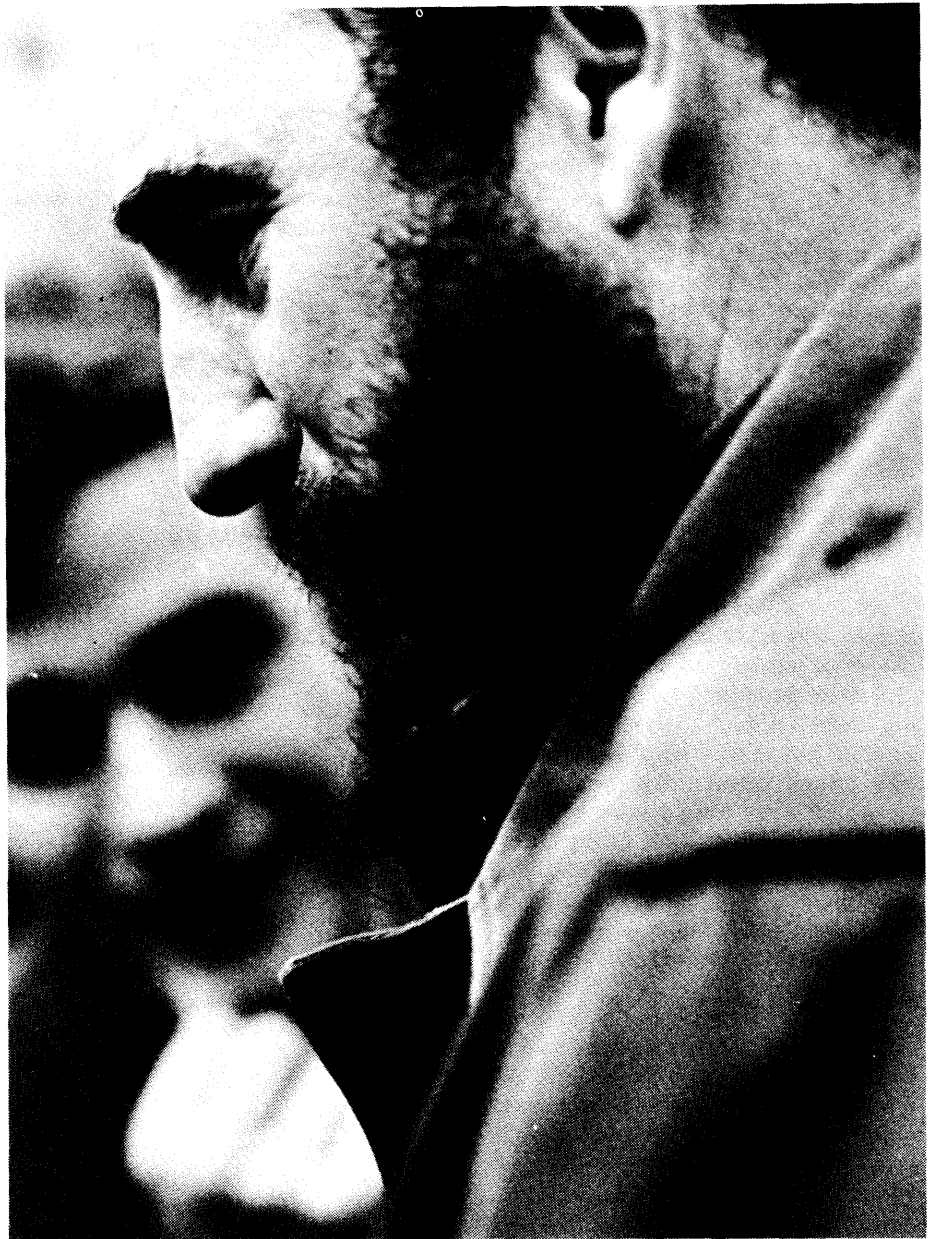
question of either reducing badly needed military reserves of oil or saving fuel by cutting down domestic usage, which would they prefer to do? At this point a roar broke out. Everyone came to their feet and started chanting in unison, "Save, save, save!" I will never forget being in Havana on January 2 cheering in approval at the top of my lungs as so many people were chanting: "Save, save, save."

Upon leaving the states, I brought with me some "Viva Che" buttons, published by the bi-national Young Socialist-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Canada, and distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States. I gave them to my friends in Cuba and we wore them throughout our travels there. The Cubans were impressed and interested that such buttons were available in the United States and widely distributed. One Cuban said that the murder of Che hadn't even been mentioned in the Chinese press. He said, "I guess it is true that there is more interest in Che in the U. S. than in China."

In Pinar Del Rio province, a small boy approached me with his hand held out. I had seen begging in Mexico City prior to my arrival in Cuba. This was very upsetting. Does this still occur despite the revolution, I asked myself? After following me a distance, with his hand outstretched, he finally said, "Viva Che!" I gladly took the button off my shirt and handed him what he wanted all along. Viva Che!

There is now a project underway known as the *green belt*. This plan is to turn the suburbs of Havana into a belt of productive agriculture. This will be accomplished through massive plantings of citrus and coffee. Some 150,000,000 coffee plants are today being planted in the *green belt*.

The amount of volunteer work going into the creation of the *belt* is very inspiring. Workers at the factories in Havana leave on trucks to surrounding areas as soon as they finish their regular employment. On weekends, *all day* is spent laboring on the belt. They spend almost every possible waking hour working!



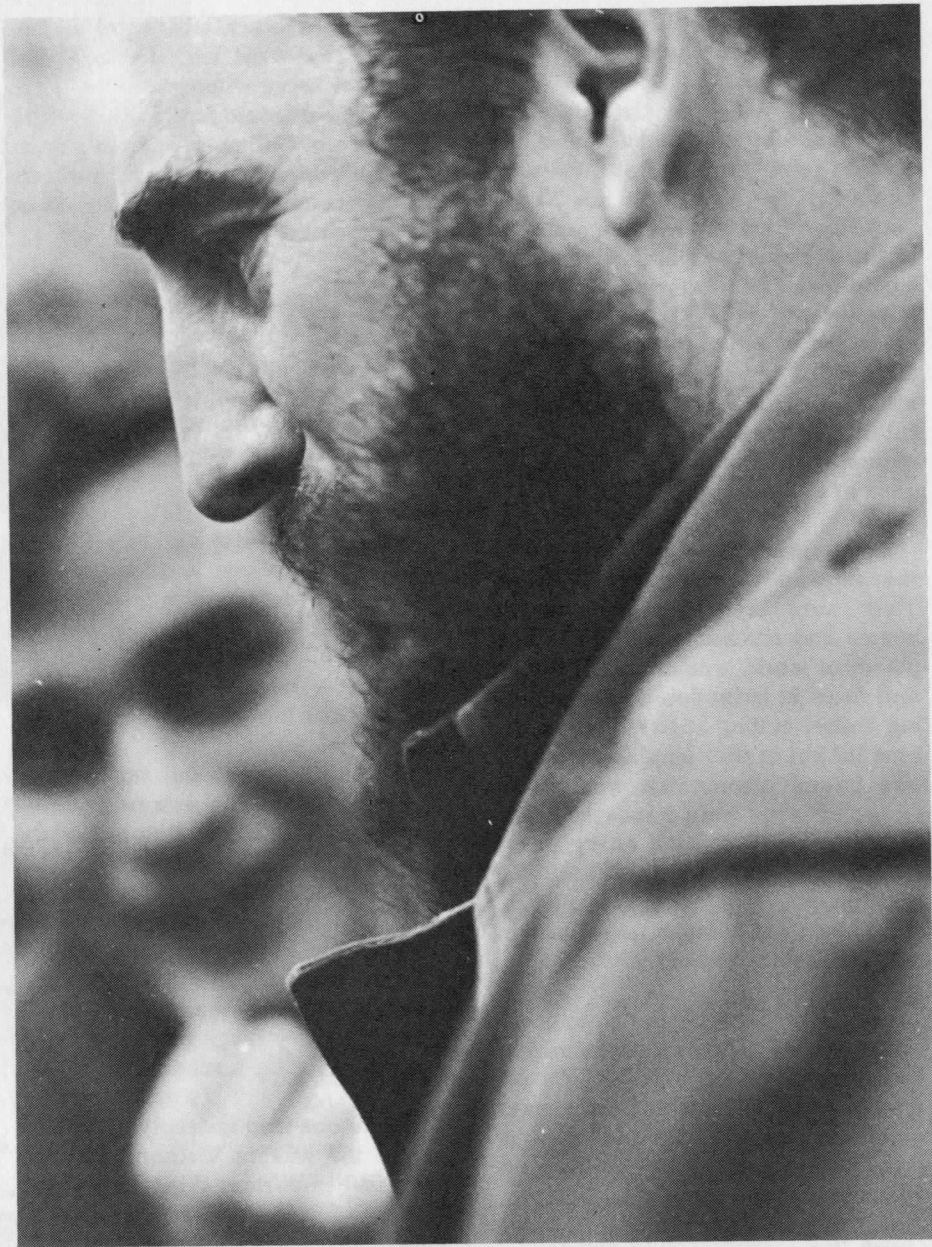
Harry Ring

This is done voluntarily. The prodigious labor now being spent will bear fruit soon. It will belong to the Cuban people who have and are giving so much of themselves to advance the revolution. They understand this well.

I worked for a few hours on one of the state farms in the *green belt*. The man who was working next to me turned out to be a Vice-Minister of Cuban Industry!

It should not be considered that life in Cuba is all work and no play. This is a most exciting place to be. There was a slight skirmish recently,

I was told, between young Cuban women and what were euphemistically described to me as "some old fogies." Apparently last year a few young women were "picked up" by the militia and brought home to their parents because they were wearing miniskirts. However at the Expo 67 World's Fair in Montreal, miniskirts were worn in fashion shows at the Cuban pavilion. When films of these shows appeared on Cuban television, the Cubans were adamant in their position that if Cuban girls can wear miniskirts at Expo, they can wear them on the Island also. Miniskirts are now worn and seen all over



Harry Ring

Havana. This has truly been a revolution within a revolution!

Not only are miniskirts popular, but music by the Beatles and the Mamas and Papas are also very popular. The revolution has had a very liberating effect on the morality of the younger people of Cuba. The traditional Latin bourgeois morality is being destroyed. This hasn't been the result of any conscious policy on the part of the revolutionary government. This revolution in morality is rather the inevitable product of the economic and political transformations in Cuba.

Throughout the six provinces, I saw students working as volunteers. They were everywhere!—riding in busses and trucks, to and from their places of work, washing their hands and faces in irrigation ditches, planting coffee, cutting sugar, and all the time laughing and singing. The Cuban young communists work hard and they also play hard. And one other thing—they also carry guns! A Cuban revolutionary told me, "The real meaning of life is to make jokes, make love, and most important of all to make revolution."

The antiwarriors and young socialists in the U.S. would get along well with the Cuban youth. We see eye to eye. There is one important difference between them and us, however. *Their* government provides them with constructive channels for their desire to create a new and better world. "Ours" is the main enemy of human progress on a national and world scale. But we are unified in our common struggle to change society and to defend the interests of the working people the world over. Their struggle is ours, ours is theirs.

One of the wonderful aspects of the Cultural Congress was the number of people from the states who were there. Among those present were Dave Dellinger, of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; five black militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society; Jules Feiffer; Dr. Sabin, who developed the oral polio vaccine; plus physicists, doctors, artists,

writers and others. We were all impressed by what we saw in Cuba. What intensive opposition the U.S. government would face, not only from the heroic Cuban people but from the antiwar movement and radicals in this country, if it tried to make Cuba the next Vietnam!

Cuba is indeed a remarkable place. In Guane, 70 per cent of the permanent workers on the state farms once supported anti-Castro forces in the Escambray mountains. (Many of us have always wondered what the Cuban government did with its counter-revolutionary prisoners.) Today many of their children as well as they themselves are ardent supporters of the revolution. Many of these youth are joining the Communist Youth. They support the revolution now because it has proven it can produce the "goods."

At Playa Giron, the site of the *gusano* [Cuban for worms, a label applied to counter-revolutionaries] defeat in 1961, a vacation resort for foreign tourists has now been turned into a fishing school which trains seamen for the evergrowing Cuban fishing fleet. On the Isle of Pines, which has been renamed the Isle of Youth, a very large prison is being transformed into a school.

But to one who is deeply concerned about the war in Vietnam, perhaps the most important thing is the way

the Cubans express their solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. In Havana there is a scoreboard decorated with lights which gives the latest battlefield statistics on the war—how many Yankee pilots have been shot down, among others.

One evening, while in a public restaurant in Holguin, a man seated next to me began to yell angrily, waving his hands above his head at me. I was embarrassed and didn't know what to say. Finally, the waitress who could speak both Spanish and English, laughingly explained that the man had mistaken me for a Russian and had emphatically said, "*The Americans are murdering thousands in Vietnam and you lousy Soviets are doing nothing!*"

They disagree with the Soviet line and they are not afraid to speak the truth directly to them. Fidel was asked after the "missile crisis" what would happen if the Soviets cut their shipments of oil to Cuba. His reply was: ". . . then we'll go off into the mountains and eat grass."

While I was in Cuba it was my privilege to address a group of sixth grade students. I promised them that upon my return home I would tell the truth as best I could about Cuba, and I say to them and to you, the readers, that I have done so to the best of my ability. After that there is nothing to say except: *Venceremos!*

—TOM HARMER



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Review

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel. A Young Socialist publication. \$1.00. 78 pages.

At long last, in language understandable to the 20th century student of society, an introduction to Marxist economics is available. No longer is it necessary to spend literally months in a study of Marx's comprehensive three-volume *Capital* to acquire a basic knowledge of Marxist political economy and the scope and the power of the Marxist method.

In the first of three lectures that make up this pamphlet, Mandel demonstrates rigorously how all wealth must be understood as a product of human labor expended over time. He shows how pre-capitalist societies took this fact into account; how commodity-producing society re-

vealed this truth; and once more, how capitalism distorts this principle which lies at its very foundations. He explains the origins of profit, which Marxists include under the more general idea of *surplus value*.

Finally he presents not one but three, scientific proofs of the labor theory of value.

In his second lecture Mandel discusses the three pre-conditions for capitalism and to what extent capital may be found in pre-capitalist societies. He describes the basic laws of the capitalist system. These laws are the irrepressible tendencies of a society based on the ownership and control of private property by a wealthy few, a society based on the anarchy of competition (even when the competitors are giant monopolies) and on the ever greater exploitation of ever more productive labor. Mandel opens our eyes to the underlying causes of alienation, poverty, cultural decadence, racial oppression, and war.

In the third lecture we discover that

Marxist economics is just as much at home in the era of the permanent arms race, inflation, government poverty programs and state intervention in the economy as it was in the "laissez-faire," pre-monopoly days when Marx wrote.

As Mandel's pamphlet popularizes Marxist economics on the campuses, many students will be surprised to discover that there is a kind of economics that is not the "how to" variety. An Asian foreign student recently told me of his discovery that the courses that he had been taking in the relation to the development of semi-industrial countries were essentially courses in "how to exploit" more effectively. Almost all economics courses are "how to" courses. Even the introductory courses teach you how to calculate the Gross National Product (which is not a good index of anything) while trying to convince you that "free enterprise" is the only conceivable world.

Perhaps the ultimate proof of what happens to a "socialist" who learns only "how to" economics is the case

of Labour Party Prime Minister Harold Wilson. Wilson's economic strategy consists of trying to make a dying system work.

Mandel, in the spirit of Marx, is not interested in figuring out how to transplant a "living heart" into an economic organism that is shot through with cancer. Rather, his interest in studying society is to understand it and change it. He understands that wealth accumulated under capitalism is a force whose energies can be harnessed for the good of mankind—under a different social system.

Marx always conceived his economic studies as a tool to aid the

working class in struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Today more than ever before, when the negative, brutal, vulturistic nature of capitalism shows itself ever more clearly on all sides, it is vital that the radical and revolutionary youth pick up this tool and learn how to wield it. These youth will become the organizers of the masses who "have nothing to lose" but a world of war, racism and insecurity.

There is little doubt that Mandel's pamphlet is the best introduction to Marxist economics written since World War II. Unlike certain well-known "Marxist" economic writers, Mandel has made no concessions to the eco-

nomics of the "how to" variety, including the sophisticated school of John Maynard Keynes. That is not only because he has studied and added to Marxist economic theory, but he has participated in the revolutionary movements of his country, Belgium, and has kept in close touch with revolutionary Marxist organizations throughout the world. Behind his ability to explain clearly some difficult concepts lies a fundamental conviction that today's rebelling youth will be tomorrow's revolutionary leaders.

— NEIL BRONSON

...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

Operation "Rescue": "In an editorial February 8, the *New York Times* noted that in Vietnam 'in many instances it is proving exceedingly painful to be rescued.' An unnamed U.S. major, in explaining February 7 why Bentre was bombed, put it even more flatly: 'It became necessary to destroy the town to save it.' The logic of Johnson's war becomes ever clearer. To save Saigon, Hanoi was bombed, to save the center of Saigon, its suburbs were bombed. And if the escalation goes on? Resources still remain. With the H-bomb, Johnson can rescue all of humanity if the need arises."—*World Outlook*, February 16, 1968.

Cuban Culture: A new Cuban musical comedy by Enrique Nunez explores the coexistence of the Communist Party and the Catholic Church in Cuba. The title is, "God Save You, Commissar." Cuba's consciousness about Vietnam comes through in this comedy as well when the heroine accuses the hero of challenging God because he works on Sunday. He replies: "Me? Challenging God? Who challenges him anymore? The one who lets the seed fall in the furrow on Sunday morning or he who invokes His name to let his cargo of death and destruction fall on Vietnam on a working day?" Nunez says that this part draws applause every time.

When Will They Ever Learn? Bettina Aptheker, speaking for the Communist Party on the subject of electoral politics, said, ". . . despite the inherent dangers and limitations of the 'dump Johnson' movement in the Democratic Party, we view the

McCarthy candidacy in a positive light. McCarthy represents that section of the ruling class that wants to terminate the Vietnam venture. The campaign affords millions of registered Democrats who are not *now* prepared to break with the two-party system, the opportunity to express their opposition to the war. One of the most effective means of breaking the pro-war Johnson hold over the labor movement can be through the McCarthy campaign." What *friends* labor has in the Democratic Party!

"Olympics, A Vast Political Propaganda Machine:"

"It is a serious mistake to suppose that the Olympic games are not political. Every game this country plays is a political attempt to maintain its capitalistic way of life and to force others—particularly its victims—to accept its domination.

"The United States has always used the olympics as an important part of its vast political propaganda machine, seeking to bombard the international community with demonstrations of its 'good will.' It is imperative that we halt the flow of lies this country perpetuates to blind and therefore oppress others. It is imperative that we expose the hypocrisy of a country which projects a few individual blacks to justify its intended subjugation to the larger black community."—from H. Rap Brown's letter urging black athletes to boycott the U. S. Olympic Team for the 1968 games.

Trouble Aboard Ship: Five black crewmen of the Coast Guard Ship Half Moon, which returned to New York after ten months of shore patrol, reported that they had more trouble from their racist crewmates than from the "Viet Cong."

— CAROLE SEIDMAN



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4-26-68

**International student strike against
the war in Vietnam**

**Huelga internacional estudiantil contra
la guerra de Vietnam**

**International studentenstreik gegen den
Vietnamische krieg**

**Sciopero internazionale degli studenti
contro la guerra del Vietnam**

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-
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