

YOUNG SOCIALIST

S. N. C. C. Vows "No Stop Now"

"You hit the picket line, we'll take the Integrated School!"

By Helen Mason

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Militant speeches by writer James Baldwin, SNCC chairman John Lewis, and SNCC's Mississippi project director Bob Moses set the tone of the leadership training conference of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee held here over the weekend of Nov. 29-Dec. 1.

The fighting youth organization, led by Negro activists immersed in the Southern struggles, indicated its determination to continue the fight for freedom without let-up at a time when other civil rights organizations have called off demonstrations.

The conference was the largest SNCC ever held. Some 400 persons, including observers, Northern supporters and delegates from action groups in Washington and further South attended. Dressed in the blue-denim work clothes of the people they do their day-to-day work with, the Deep South delegations set the tone for the conference.

In a discussion of the economic and political structure of the South, Bob Moses declared that SNCC was aiming for the "political overthrow" of the Southern system as presently constituted. Answering *Life* magazine's vicious attack on SNCC (see editorial p. 2) he declared that SNCC would not pick and choose its associates by the criteria of others, but by its own needs and criteria.

Moses pointed out that SNCC has succeeded in banding together a group of tried and tested cadre, and that the main task in the next period is to develop and strengthen them, and broaden their understanding and program. "The cards are on the table. We, SNCC, believe that the two-party system, as it functions now, doesn't work . . . SNCC has reached the point where it must stand and say" how it is going to achieve freedom.

James Baldwin, the keynote speaker of the Conference, spoke informally in the spirit that typified the entire proceedings. "I'll tell you what I know about Freedom," he said. "Persons like Chico [Neblett] and Jim Forman are much more free than most of the white people I know in this country. They know exactly what they are and where they are going . . . You do not lose your freedom by being overtaken by the invader. You lose your freedom by not fighting for it."

Speaking of the assassination of President Kennedy, Baldwin said, "This happened in a civilized nation . . . a lunatic blew the President's head off . . . I don't want to sound rude . . . We all know that for many generations black men's heads have been blown off and nobody cared . . .

"We need a clear understanding of reality in this country — by reality I mean that another human being is another human being. With this kind of understood reality, then the assassination of Medgar Evers would have aroused the country . . . He was a man, he had a wife, he had children . . . Six kids were murdered in Birmingham, in a Christian country, in a Christian church, in Sunday school, and nobody cared!"

He went on to say that "We must make it known that the terrible events of the last week have done nothing to alter the struggle and, if anything, have made it important to proceed . . . because we have seen what happens when you can get away with anything against a human being . . . The hesitation that existed before — the hesitation to liberate oneself — this hesitation has vanished. We have seen with our own eyes what happens to a country when this country allows itself to be ruled by the most abject, the most

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Democracy Is Issue In Indiana Univ. Students' Case

By Robert Shann

President Johnson, in his address to Congress on Nov. 27 said, "The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and personal beliefs to understand and to respect one another." And on the following day, in his Thanksgiving address to the people, he said, "Let us today renew our dedication to the ideals that are American. Let us pray for His Divine Wisdom in banishing from our land any injustice or intolerance or oppression to any of our fellow Americans whatever their opinion, whatever the color of their skins, for God made all of, not some of us, in His image."

These welcome words reflecting the spirit of democracy have a bearing on the case of the Bloomington students, because in that case basic rights of the defendants are being violated and democracy is being trampled upon.

Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan and Jim Bingham, officers of the YSA chapter at Indiana University in Bloomington, have been indicted under the Indiana Anti-Communism Act, passed in the hey-day of McCarthyism. They are charged with having "assembled" last March 25, presumably at a public gathering with over 120 other people.

At this meeting, Leroy McRae, a national officer of the YSA and a Negro, spoke on the Negro struggle for equality. The local prosecutor Thomas Hoadley twisted McRae's advocacy of the right to self-defense by the Negro people when violently attacked by racists, into "advocacy of the overthrow of the State of Indiana and the United States by force and violence."

Hoadley's prosecution implies that not only should Negroes never defend themselves as is their Constitutional right, but they are unlawful even to discuss the question of self-defense.

The Indiana law and this prosecution violates both the Indiana and Federal Constitutions. The

Indiana Constitution says that "No law shall restrain any of the inhabitants of the state from assembling together in a peaceable manner, to consult for their common good; nor from instructing their representatives; nor from applying to the General Assembly for redress of grievances." And the State and Federal Bills of Rights guarantee freedom of speech, thought, and writing, all of which are violated by the Indiana Anti-Communism Act, which outlaws an "assembly" solely because its purpose is the teaching of "doctrine."

The Bloomington students are being charged with thinking wrongly, of having committed *thought crimes*. Although the defendants deny that even their thoughts are what the Prosecutor contends, nevertheless the law is itself un-American and an attack upon the Bill of Rights in its making thought into a crime.

Although McRae was the speaker, three Indiana students who merely attended the meeting were indicted. This is a prescription of guilt by association, which violates the Fourteenth Amendment as well as the Indiana Constitution.

Neither the law nor the indictment spells out exactly what the defendants were supposed to have done wrong. It doesn't mention where the violation took place, at what time, what the violation consisted of, how it was carried out — whether written, oral or in some other manner. This violates the Indiana Constitution which states that the accused has the right "to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him."

Since the first charge was handed down last May 1, another has been tacked on, of the same form as the first, which charges that the defendants again assembled on May 2 in violation of the law. The defendants did meet on

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Atmosphere of Hatred Led to Assassination

By Barry Sheppard
National Chairman, YSA

The grave and terrible assassination of President Kennedy and the subsequent lynching of his accused murderer, Lee H. Oswald, shocked and amazed the entire world. One of the contradictions of our time is that these events, reminiscent of the days before the establishment of responsible government, were in great part telecast almost immediately to viewers around the globe.

Abroad many felt that the United States had gone berserk. In this country people were tremendously bewildered, and did not know what to expect next.

The double assassination raised the profound question of how could such a thing happen? What is wrong in American society? The answer lies in the growing "hatred that consumes people, the false

accusations that divide us and the bitterness that begets violence" in the words of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

The atmosphere of hatred, violence and political terrorism has intensified and is evident in the violent acts of the past year by racist and right-wing fanatics. It is evident in the assassinations of William Moore and NAACP leader Medgar Evers. This atmosphere grew more virulent when unknown and unpunished assassins murdered four little children in a Birmingham Sunday school. The shootings and beatings of young freedom fighters in the South, with tacit police approval, added fuel to the flames of hatred.

This racist and rightist terror has itself been nurtured by the officially sanctioned witch-hunt atmosphere against those who would not conform to the Establishment's Cold War policies. For twenty years the American people have been subjected to this violation of democracy and freedom.

In Dallas itself, such fanaticism has run wild. Dallas is the home of notorious General Edwin Walker, who led a racist riot against the U.S. government when James Meredith entered the University of Mississippi — two were shot down dead by the racists at that time.

Dallas is the city where in 1960 Lyndon Johnson was jeered as a "socialist" and where several weeks ago Adlai Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the U.N. was physically attacked by ultra-right demonstrators. Dallas is the home of H. L. Hunt, oil billionaire, who gives approximately \$1 million annually to right-wing organizations.

The Dallas police, right at the moment when reason should have prevailed, acted to fan the very flames of hatred and violence which underlie the President's death. They bear the direct responsibility for Oswald's lynching and the breakdown of law, order,

(Continued on Page 2)

Northern Militants Plan for Action

By Thadd Beebe

The author of this article was a participant at the all-Black Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference recently held in Detroit.

"We don't have to apologize for Negroes' action taken to get the white man off our backs."

"We are constantly being sold out by Negro leaders who must burn segregation and discrimination to the ground; stop the parades and church gatherings and implement militant plans."

These were the sentiments expressed by two Negro youths at the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference held in Detroit Nov. 9-10. The first statement was made by a member of Uhuru (the Detroit group whose name is Swahili for "Freedom!"); the second was made by a young

Negro from Chicago who has been active in Freedom Now Party work. This spirited feeling marked the whole course of the Grass Roots Conference and concluding rally.

Workshops

The workshop session of the conference was attended by some 156 Negroes — whites were asked not to participate — from 18 cities and nine states. The workshop discussions revolved around six points: economic struggle, equal education, urban renewal, independent political action, self-defense vs. non-violence, and future organization.

In the discussion on economic struggle, three points were resolved: (1) a boycott and selective buying campaign will be waged against General Motors

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Leroy McRae

... No Stop

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incompetent, the most inhumane, etc. This is what happens when a country confuses its politics with a popularity contest!"

After Baldwin's talk Friday night a Freedom Rally lasted late, as freedom songs "raised the roof" and personal stories from the battle lines in the South were recounted.

The conference was formally arranged to give the SNCC staff

workers in the field an acquaintance with government and union programs that might help provide food and jobs for people in depressed rural areas of the South. To this end, Saturday was largely devoted to speeches by government officials and bureaucrats from the AFL-CIO. Since few of the speakers offered concrete aid, these sessions were not met with the same enthusiasm and spirit from the delegates.

Jack Conway, executive director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, warned SNCC not to get "across-grain" with society but to follow the example of the labor "leaders" who have institutionalized (!) their movement within the present framework of our society. SNCC should not make the "mistakes," he said, of the Chartists, Populists, IWW and the Socialist Party of Debs. And he brought his warning down to earth with the threat: "You depend on the generosity of others."

The political point of Conway's talk was that SNCC should get in behind Johnson and the Democrats in the coming elections. This appeal from the Establishment was in marked contrast to Baldwin, who said that he hadn't made up his mind just what to do about a third party, "but this I know: As long as Eastland is in the Democratic Party, I cannot become enthusiastic about the Democratic Party."

The officials' positions put a strain upon the workshops, which were organized around the problems of getting food and jobs in the depressed areas of the South. But even 1963-style labor "leaders" know how to talk out of both sides of their mouths, and the workshops came to the general conclusions that fundamental political changes, union organization and a planned economy would be necessary to solve the problems of the South.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the March on Washington, spoke on Sunday morning and expressed the wish that the delegates had paid more attention to Jack Conway's speech, since Conway had outlined the support of the trade union movement. The rest of Rustin's remarks were confused and seemed both militant and conservative at the same time, making it unclear as to what he really stood for.

To this observer, one of the most striking features of the conference was the quality of the people themselves, especially the Deep South cadre. James Forman, SNCC's executive director, was seen bussing dishes after the delegates finished eating — and this spirit of working together pervaded these people. To someone familiar with the general lack of humanity which is the norm in our society the spirit of friendliness and warmth was an inspiration and affirmation of the real dignity and potential of man.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis gave the final address which closed the conference. He gave the meat of the talk which the "Archbishop and other persons stopped me from giving" at the Washington March Aug. 28: We might be forced to march through the South as Sherman did and burn Jim Crow to the ground in non-violent fashion to put the South back into the democratic structure.

"If this movement that we are involved in is to continue to maintain non-violent discipline, then it must develop a program radical

... Democracy

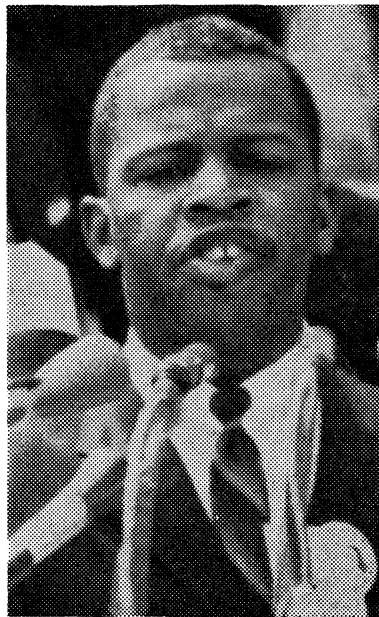
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that date to discuss their defense against the first charge. Hoadley brags that he has tape-recordings of this private meeting taken through a ventilator — if this is so, violation of democracy is heaped upon violation. Such a practice is worthy only of a police state. On this charge, too, the defendants have no particulars as to what they were supposed to have done or said.

This 1984 type law, and the vicious prosecution being waged against the three students under it, violates the rights of free speech, thought and assembly, attacks the right of self-defense, sanctifies Big Brother type snooping, and is so vague that almost any interpretation can be given it at the whim of the Prosecutor. For example, any of the audience of 120 at the March 25 meeting could have been indicted under the provisions of this act if it so suited Mr. Hoadley.

All of this is compounded by the trial by newspaper Hoadley has conducted against the defendants, raising every kind of smear possible, in violation of the right of due process of law. That someone representing the people in a responsible post should act in this manner is fantastic.

Those who agree with the President's words that injustice to "any of our fellow Americans whatever their opinion" should be banished from this land must add their voices to the growing number who have come to the aid of the beleaguered Bloomington students. This open, flagrant and vicious violation of democracy must be countered! Write today to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P. O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y.



John Lewis

enough to inspire the most oppressed Southern masses.

"We must develop pockets of power where the masses can satisfy their needs . . . I don't know how long the people will follow non-violence . . . The people in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, no longer listen to our dreams . . . We've been promising pie in the sky . . . we must have a program to satisfy the needs and aspirations of these people."

Lewis finished to a prolonged, standing ovation.

As we go to press it is announced that Ralph Allen, one of the three SNCC field workers framed on charges of assault with intent to murder in Americus, Ga., has been convicted. Allen, a white college student from Melrose, Mass., had been held without bond on insurrection charges, along with Donald Harris, a Negro college graduate from New York, and John Perdew, a white Harvard student. After a three-judge federal panel ruled the Georgia insurrection law unconstitutional, the three were reindicted on the assault charge.

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Dec., 1963-Jan., 1964

'Life' Smears S.N.C.C.

Just before the recent SNCC conference in Washington, D.C., was held, Life magazine published a slanderous attack on the entire movement for Freedom Now. The article, by Theodore H. White, singled out SNCC, claiming that "alien" and "lunatic" elements determine SNCC policy. This treacherous blow was struck in the very tense days following the President's assassination.

White writes: "On two occasions — once in Jackson, Miss., once in Birmingham — agents of this group tried to convert a peaceful march into a violent Putsch on government offices . . ."

He continues: "One of the most chilling documents this writer has seen recently was the draft 'Battle Plan' discussed by SNCC (and rejected by Negro leaders) for use this fall in Alabama. It advocated a march on Montgomery in 'nonviolent battle groups,' with their own insignia and flags. These 'battle groups,' trained in street-battle tactics, were to cut Montgomery off from all communication with the outside world — presumably to provoke 'nonviolent' combat between Alabama and the U.S."

"It cannot be overstressed that such lunatics and aliens are, at the moment, no more than irritants . . ."

The SNCC leadership was not to be moved: For those who were looking for "agents" inside SNCC, Lewis said, "We are the agents." SNCC will choose its own associates, by relevant criteria, emphasized Bob Moses.

Answering the charge that SNCC was trying to bring about a crisis, Moses continued "It is true . . . What we have found is that the South will not change until the federal government makes it change. What we are asking for in the South is just such a confrontation between the Federal government and the local officials."

Contrary to White, he added, this is not a lunatic move. In the South SNCC stands alone. This method of accusing SNCC of inciting violence when the violent actions of racists go unhindered, of intimidating subversion when SNCC plans to assemble the masses to demand a redress of grievances, is meant to do only one thing: to apologize for the racists, to undermine the just demands of America's black people. We must all oppose Life's attempt to alienate the nation-wide grass-roots support on which SNCC's existence depends.

... Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

Corp., Cadillac division, because of unfair hiring practices in the sales and distribution of Cadillacs; (2) the idea of a Christmas boycott was supported; (3) and full support was given to the already existing All Trades Union, which was set up for the organizing of unemployed and disenfranchised Negro workers.

On the question of equal education, methods of protest were discussed such as a national Negro boycott of schools in order to force an end to biased treatment of Negroes in textbooks and to unequal education.

Urban renewal was shown up for "Negro Removal." Big real estate interests buy up land; Negroes are relocated in other slums; and when new buildings are built in old slum areas, the rents are too high for working class Negroes to move in. The conference went on record against this.

One of the major points on the agenda was the Freedom Now Party. There was unanimous agreement in favor of such a party. Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Michigan chairman of the F.N.P., set the tone of the discussion, stating that it must be a "black party."

He added, "Many Negroes do not vote because they would have to vote for no-good whites. Uncle Toms will be standing in line to run on the F.N.P. ticket when the Negro masses quit the Democratic Party."

In the same determined tone, a rally was held Sunday in the King Solomon Baptist Church where some 2000 Negroes listened enthusiastically to militant speeches by Malcolm X, Rev. Albert Cleage, Gloria Richardson, William Worthy, and others.

The Conference was called by the Group On Advanced Leadership (G.O.A.L.), a militant civil rights group active in demanding fair treatment in school texts, among other items. Rev. Cleage,

a GOAL official as well as a member of the Detroit Council on Human Rights (DCHR) had taken the initiative in a call by the DCHR for a Northern Negro Leadership Conference — (NNLC).

As the Conference date neared, a split took place between Rev. Cleage and DCHR chairman Rev. C. L. Franklin when Franklin decided to exclude discussion of the F.N.P. and participation of black nationalist groups, after pressure from conservative Negro leadership.

At this point Cleage made a call for the Grass Roots Conference to coincide with the D.C.H.R.-sponsored Conference, even though the latter had such attractions as Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and Mahalia Jackson. In the D.C.H.R. workshops were some 40 well-established Negro leaders and white observers.

In the conservatives' wind-up rally which featured Powell and Jackson, 3000 persons showed up when Franklin had expected some 40,000 to participate in a motorcade-march and an overflow crowd at the rally itself.

The failure of the DCHR-sponsored Conference demonstrates the need for an organization that is in tune with the pulse of the Negro masses, whereas the success of the Grass Roots Conference indicates that such an organization is not only possible but already is taking its first steps.

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YSA TO HOLD GATHERINGS

The Young Socialist Alliance is holding two area conferences over the Holidays. An east coast conference, scheduled for December 21-22 in New York City, will highlight talks on the Sino-Soviet Dispute, the Algerian Revolution, American Labor from the New Deal to the New Frontier, and New Trends in the Negro Struggle.

A midwest conference, scheduled tentatively for the Jan. 25-26 weekend in Chicago, will present discussion of the Negro Struggle, the Bloomington Case, the Colonial Revolution, and Goldwater and the Next Election.

These conferences present an excellent opportunity for young people interested in socialist ideas and action to get together and exchange experiences and opinions. If you haven't made reservations, call GR 7-3640 in New York or 684-0182 in Chicago and do so now.

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YOUTH IN ACTION

SNCC ON 'DANVILLE'

The more than a dozen Negro demonstrators who were hospitalized in Danville, Virginia, on June 10th of this year will question the report of the Danville Chamber of Commerce which "Invites You to Make Our City Your City — a Fine Place to Live and Work." Police brutality against the Negro citizens in this city parallels another "fine place"—Birmingham, Alabama.

The pamphlet *Danville, Virginia*, published by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, is a photo-studded review of "Democracy" in an upper Southern state; it highlights the heroic demonstrations of the city's Negro community last summer.

Nearly one-third of the population is denied the right to see motion pictures in the downtown theatres unless they sit in the balcony; they cannot sleep at the city's motels; and with virtual segregation in every walk of life, they were ready for action and requested SNCC assistance.

SNCC and the Danville Christian Progressive Association organized protest demonstrations to march on city hall, where they were met by high pressure firehoses and nightstick-wielding cops.

The pamphlet's photographs portray the brutality employed by the cops in the face of the Negro people's determination to win their just rights. The Negro people will continue to protest in spite of the bloody repression, but all America must hear of their fight.

The costs of the pamphlet have been borne by SNCC so that the Danville story could be told. SNCC would greatly appreciate contributions to cover printing costs and to further the struggle for Negro liberation. Make checks payable to SNCC. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from SNCC, 6 Raymond St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

—Shelly Weltman

* * *

STUDENTS PICKET PRISON

BALTIMORE — Some 50 students picketed Baltimore city hall October 18 in an attempt to pressure Governor Tawes into commuting the death sentence of the Giles brothers and Johnson, three Negro youths convicted of the rape of a 16-year-old white girl from Silver Springs, Maryland.

In light of new evidence concerning the reliability of the girl's character and testimony, five of the jurors who heard the case stated that they would reverse their verdict. They argued that the harsh sentence handed down went against the wishes of the jury. The 3 prisoners have already spent 22 months in jail, four months over the state minimum sentence for rape.

The pickets, students from John Hopkins University, Goucher College, the Maryland Institute and Morgan State College, demanded commutation of the death sentence and immediate release of the three. The slogans noted the Zantinger case of a year ago, when a rich white planter drew six months in jail for beating a Negro barmaid to death.

When four of the pickets went into city hall to demand that the Mayor issue a statement on the case, he produced a nine-year-old statement he made against the death penalty when he was governor of racist Maryland. The pickets told him they were uninterested in what he had to say nine years ago, and demanded a statement on this specific case. When he refused, the students left angrily.

Singing freedom songs, the group then marched to the state penitentiary, where they picketed the jail. When the Negro prisoners saw the signs which the demonstrators held aloft for them to

read, shouts of "keep it up" resounded from the jail. They produced such a favorable response that police feared a riot and told the line to picket in front of the building where no one would see them. The signs in the demonstration proclaimed: "Rich White — 6 Months, Poor 'Nigras' — Death; New Trial Without Racist Judges and White Man's Justice; The Law Is a White Man; and Governor Tawes Is Somewhat Of a Bigot."

An hour after the prison demonstration the radio announced that Governor Tawes had granted a stay of execution. The state still awaits his decision as to the fate of the three young Negroes.

* * *

WALLACE NOT WELCOME

BOSTON — Although the student movement generally is at a lull, at sporadic intervals there is a militant outburst. A recent example was the response Alabama Governor Wallace received when, on Monday, November 4, he delineated his racist doctrines to an audience of 1200 at Harvard's Sanders Theatre.

For one hour before his talk he was picketed by over 200 — students from all the Boston colleges and young Negroes from the Boston ghetto. The newly-formed Boston Friends of SNCC sponsored the picket line and carried signs such as "Wallace Is Responsible For the Murder of 6 Children," "Alabama Is a Police State," and "One Man — One Vote in Georgia."

The picketers then went to a counter-rally nearby under the auspices of the Harvard Civil Rights Coordinating Committee, which featured Rev. James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He urged the swarming of Alabama with civil rights activity, filling the jails, etc.

* * *

FREEDOM BALLOTS

The vote of over 90,000 disenfranchised Negroes in 200 communities throughout the state of

Mississippi through "freedom ballots" in churches, schools, pool-rooms and "votemobiles" has been hailed by SNCC chairman John Lewis as "one of the most significant events of the civil rights movement."

The Freedom Vote candidates, Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale and the Rev. Edwin King of Jackson, received almost all of the votes cast, with less than 50 split between the Democratic and Republican candidates. The vote climaxed many months of voter registration work that SNCC has been involved in.

Robert Moses, director of SNCC's Mississippi vote drive, said the campaign was "a political breakthrough in Mississippi." How revolutionary this event will prove to be in the consciousness of the tens of thousands of Southern Negroes still disenfranchised remains to be seen. But it represents a show of power and a masterwork of organization whose effects will be felt for years to come.



TRYING TO REGISTER. Risking their lives as they face all-white registration board, Mississippi Negroes have without success sought constitutional right to vote.

Muslim Explains Program to CCNY Students

By Karen Stone

Minister Malcolm X, the national representative of the Nation of Islam and the Hon. Elijah Muhammed, spoke to 600 students under the auspices of the E. V. Debs Club at City College of New York on Nov. 7.

He began by stating that what is called the black problem in the U.S. is the white man's problem. "The problem stems from the unwanted presence of 22 million black people in this country."

"They tell the Negro that his ancestor, and he himself, is a savage, a cannibal. They don't mention that while Europe was deep in the Dark Ages, there were advanced civilizations in Africa.

"The Negro in this country is dead. He has been killed by the greatest brainwashing device ever

invented, the American education system. Socially, politically, culturally, and economically, the black man has been put to death. The only way for the black man to become alive in this country is to restore the knowledge of his past, who we were, what we were, who brought us here, and what they did to us here.

"Americanism" and "democracy," said the Muslim leader, "was used to destroy us. All the hell the black man has ever caught has been in the name of democracy.

What Happened

"Hitler practiced and preached the same thing; Uncle Sam practices one thing and preaches another. The methods of killing were perfected long before Hitler. Any historian will tell you that 100 million Africans were brought to America during the slave trade. After the Civil War there were 20 million black people on the whole continent. You tell me what happened to the other 80 million black men.

"George Washington traded a slave for a barrel of molasses — it could have been my grandfather. And if you tell me I have to look up to this kind of man as a founding father, you are out of your mind."

Malcolm X contrasted what he called the "Negro Revolution" with the "Black Revolution." The first is "a diversion" — "Whoever heard of a revolution that begs for a cup of coffee at a lunch counter, that begs for jobs?" But the world-wide "Black Revolution" will end white domination.

"All the powers of technology, automation and modern warfare were held to a truce in Korea by peasants in sneakers, with rice bowls and rifles. The same thing has happened and is happening in Southeast Asia, in Algeria, and in Latin America. The white man has won his last war."

Freedom Thru Struggle, Not Escapism

By Barry Sheppard

Harvard University has recently come into considerable publicity in *Look* and *Post* magazines over the antics of two ex-professors fired by Harvard last spring. It seems that the two psychology experimenters introduced the "magic" of hallucinogenic drugs like LSD to fairly wide circles of Harvard students under the guise of "research."

While Harvard has terminated its connection with the pair, who are now busy organizing their "International Federation for Internal Freedom," the Harvard Square area of Cambridge remains a center of drug "experimentation" and addiction. The use of hallucinogens (drugs which induce many symptoms of certain forms of mental illness) has often led to more serious use of narcotics, and the Square has become a center for pushers and users.

The use of drugs, and the personal degeneracy which goes along with it, is not confined to the Boston area "hip" crowd of students and ex-students. Beatnikism and degeneration are growing on the American campus in general, and while the IF-IF Harvard professors intensified this process, they are not the fundamental cause of it.

Drug addiction, crime, and the breakdown of personal and social morality are growing in our society, and are present at all levels. The *dolce vita* of the "socialites" — the upper class — apparent at their public and private parties, in their call-girls, and in the antics of their young men (like the re-

cent case of mansion-wrecking in Long Island), is the reflection, in those who rule, of the lack of human objectives and values in our cynically egoistic American Way of Life.

At the other end of the social ladder, in the slums of the cities of our "affluent" society, crime, prostitution, and drug addiction flourish for different reasons. Poverty, unemployment, police oppression, rats, roaches, filth have produced a demoralization in this section of the working class — a demoralization which can be overcome when the people see a way to struggle to get out of their misery, as the Muslims have demonstrated.

The widespread infection of personal disintegration, which has hit a section of the American campus, springs from the anxieties and tensions of our time and society and from the reaction of some students to these realities. We are not speaking of those young members of the ruling class who are sowing their wild oats in preparation for taking over the corporations and government and beginning their lives of systematic exploitation and corruption. We are referring to often sincere, confused young people who are repelled by the established values of our dog-eat-dog society but who see no way to combat them except through personal, anarchistic revolt.

The appeal of beatnikism, drug addiction, sexual and personal degradation, to young people in the first stages of revolt is sometimes strong. In their search for some

meaning in their life many turn to some kind of special "experience" not included in the range of officially approved activities.

The ugly reality of life in this society even for well-paid college graduates becomes apparent to many young people when they begin to seriously think about the future. Every profession, from scientist to writer to executive under our magnificent competitive system, entails *selling* one's self and principles to the narrow minded conservative bureaucracies of the war machine and the Establishment.

Young artists repelled by commercial art and advertising, young scientists unable to swallow weapons manufacture, and the ordinary college students who just can't face a nice mindless life as an "executive" in an insurance company, look around for some way out. Many are also repelled by the drift toward atomic war, the racism that festers in America, and the restrictions on thought imposed by our ruling class.

Many have gone on picket lines and sit-ins, and have given voice to their rebellion through action. But isolated student action is impotent against the powerful ruling class, and students have come to understand this, even if unclearly. These facts of life have caused the best of the student rebels to become more determined and committed to the long term struggle for a better world. But others have sunk back into cynicism, despair and the search for a personal solution.

Repelled by reality, unable to

find a way to change reality, these so-called "radicals" (even "revolutionists") turn their backs on struggle. They search for a "new" reality and meaning within themselves, and wind up believing that their LSD-inspired hallucinations are "more real" than the real world. A whole ideology, a simple-minded philosophical idealism, has been invented by these pitiful "radicals" to justify their flight from the difficult and sometimes harsh struggles of social reality. Unable to find freedom or purpose in *this* world, they have turned to the illusion of "Internal Freedom."

Marxists approach the world in exactly the opposite way. As materialists we accept the existence of the reality around us and apply the methods of scientific investigation to that reality. We see the necessity and possibility for social change within the real struggles of the real world, and we enter into those struggles as active participants.

The beatniks, dope-addicts, and theorists of the "consciousness-expanding" drugs, are the refuse of the student movement. They are neither radical nor revolutionary, because in their flights into fantasy they are turning their backs upon struggle, and only struggle can achieve any betterment in the condition of man.

Revolutionists are compelled to fight the drug "experimentation" and general demoralization of the degenerates on campus. Freedom can be won, but only right here on earth, and only by fighting for it.

Letters

Minneapolis

To the Editor:

Here in Minneapolis there has been a consistent trend of high school students coming to the Labor Book Store to buy literature and to talk about socialism.

Such events are something new, but certainly not surprising when one considers the very high rates of unemployment among youth in this country. At least 15% of the nation's youth are without jobs, and this is more than doubled among Negro youth. (In one Minneapolis ghetto, where unemployment is lower than the national average, the figure reaches 30%.)

Automation continues to lay off workers and the youth are the first to go. Add to this the fact that by 1970 there will be 45% more people under 25 available for work than in 1960 and you have the basis for mammoth unemployment.

No solution is at hand as our government appears helpless in the face of such a development. And indeed, they are, for capitalism at this stage is completely unable to find solution to this problem, just as it adamantly refuses to grant the Negroes their constitutional rights and freedom.

American youth faced with a life filled with the misery of unemployment must and will turn to the alternative — socialism. We view the few high school students we have talked to recently as the beginnings of a larger group of working class youth who will turn to socialism as the only way out of the massive crisis facing the nation today and in the future.

Law Jones

New York City

To the Editor:

The fact that William F. Buckley states that "No one is ever truly lost" does not therefore make it untrue. In fact, I believe my experiences prove that the Bard of Babbity is in this sense correct.

Just two years ago I was a sworn enemy of anything left of Barry Goldwater's right-hand pinky. To the pits of damnation I committed the likes of the Stevensons, Roosevelts and, yes, even the liberal Republicans like Dirksen and Rockefeller. I knew that socialism (unbloody tyranny) and communism (bloody tyranny) were to be stamped out by any means in order to preserve freedom.

I was opposed to unions, not in principle but because they were run by crooks and not in the interest of their members. I opposed federal aid on the premise that the local areas could better handle their local problems and that in fact such things like Social Security and old age pensions did not alleviate the needs that they were instituted for.

I saw corruption everywhere and thought: if only we could get the socialist-thinking liberals out of office, our problems would be solved. I also was an avid follower of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy and thought that all the talk about "methods" was so much smoke, for both liberals and conservatives agreed that Communist thinkers should not teach, work, or be in any official post in society.

If we accept this premise as liberal society does, why argue about methods used to get rid of them?

There are those who would have given me up as an unregenerate Fascist, but I was honestly concerned with society. In the question of individual freedom, my reason for being a conservative proved to be my reason for not remaining one. I saw Batista's Cuba as a U.S. Marine — it was a production house of poverty and misery. The sudden interest of the Right for the welfare of the Cuban people shook me, for the Right had never uttered a comma about the century of misery in Cuba prior to Castro. Secondly, these same conserva-

Walter Pero



LIBERATION FIGHTERS. This drawing, which originally appeared in late 1950's in East German paper, portrays group of Algerian peasants as they arm themselves for struggle against French imperialism, a long and drawn-out struggle which French transformed almost into war of extermination.

Youth Exercise Power in Algeria

By Jay Garnett

"The young people, long disinherited, are discovering the joy of living, dignity and the certainty of growing up strong," President Ben Bella noted in a press interview on Sept. 23. Indeed, this, the most quickly conscious revolution since the Bolshevik-led Soviet Republic, has moved so fast and gone beyond the old shibboleths so decisively — that only those in whom the old traditions and old

tives that would use Federal troops to free the Cuban people from the Revolution (of the Cuban people) would not lift a finger to free the Afro-American citizens of the U.S., whose sufferings we are still free to observe, but not to protest. So I lost confidence in conservatism as a meaningful solution to the problems of society as a whole.

But liberalism too was not only a dead body, the stench of which drives honest seekers away from it. (Unemployment insurance is no answer to growing unemployment; legislation *ad infinitum* has failed to secure civil or human rights for the black man; and playgrounds have failed to eliminate poverty or its effects on human beings.) It is a smoke screen for reactionism. Robert Welch called for the blockade and invasion of Cuba one year before liberal U.S. enforced it — what is the meaningful difference?

It was at this point that the truth about class society hit me and I started to question the different interests involved. I found that only historical materialism honestly dealt with class society and gave a true evaluation of the past. And only revolutionary socialism faces the problem of racism, of war and peace, of unemployment and overproduction; and gives a freedom upon which the individual can develop himself to the fullest, a freedom to exploit science and automation for the benefit of all.

betrayals have not had time to take root can keep up with it.

Vanguarding the struggle against French imperialism — in the face of the betrayals of the traditional "left" parties headed by Mollet and Thorez — were the youth of Algeria and France, in the latter case especially the students. In Algeria, all the young people — the peasantry, the working class, and even what there was of a national bourgeoisie — were drawn into the struggle against the colonial power.

The Algerian liberation fight created a collective consciousness determined by the peasantry and the working people generally, who made up the movement's active base. This consciousness, crystallized in the leadership of the National Liberation Front which emerged after the Evian agreements, has drawn not only from Algeria's experiences, but also those of the Cuban Revolution.

War of Liberation

Despite the racial-national character of the terror carried out by the last-ditch stand of the OAS, the FLN has understood that the popular war was at base a war for the liberation of the exploited classes.

They stated at the FLN Conference in Tripoli in the summer of 1962: "The seizure of power in Algeria must be clearly understood. National unity is not unity based upon the bourgeoisie." They added, "After the armed struggle must come the ideological struggle, after the struggle for national independence must come the Popular Democratic Revolution."

What is meant by the Popular Democratic Revolution is "the conscious construction of a country according to socialist principles with the power in the hands of the people."

The realization of this began when FLN leader Ahmed Ben Bella several months ago declared former French latifundia to be "vacant property" and turned them over to the workers' management councils. A recent high

spot in the development of Algeria's economic democracy was the three-day Congress of Peasants held in Algiers October 25-27.

While the eyes of the world were focused on the Algeria-Morocco border war and the mostly verbal rebellion of the so-called Front of Socialist Forces in the Kabylia area, this Congress became a milestone in the development of political consciousness among the Algerian people.

David Rousset in *Le Figaro Littéraire* reports of his impression of the about 300 delegates who came from all over Algeria. They were genuinely of the soil, men "who had never in their lives spoken before a microphone or camera."

The first day when they approached the rostrum where government officials sat, they were diffident and a little ill at ease. When they turned toward the audience, they felt at home. By the second day they knew the congress was really theirs and they showed it in everything they did. "They spoke before the president of the Republic, before the ministers, before the nation, without any attention to manners, in their direct manner, crude, hard, the way they think."

Of the 11 peasant delegates whose remarks were chosen at random by the Algiers daily *Le Peuple*, six were under 29.

Said Salem Djelloul, 27, chairman of a management committee at Ameur Smain: "I'll tell you first of all, 'Long live socialism and long live Ben Bella.' I will add, 'We'll break the aggression of Hassan II and all the enemies of socialism the way we break clouds [of earth].'"

Said Ali Rahmani Mohamed, 22: "We wish full success to our Congress and we reaffirm our total support to the socialist policy of Brother Ben Bella. We must, however, indicate the lack of mechanics on our farms. We have to say in addition that we were obliged to call on private transport to deliver our products."

The following excerpts from a letter sent by a young Cuban girl to her American friend, we believe, should be of interest to our readers in the portrayal of the determination of the still youthful Revolution to overcome the greatest natural disaster Cuba has had to face for many years:

Havana, October 26

"... You can imagine how it is now; aside from all the material damage that the enemies of the Revolution have inflicted upon us, nature also harms us in the form of a hurricane, Flora, which has caused many losses. Not even before the onslaught of the hurricane will our Revolution stop.

"You should have seen how in the middle of a disaster the people were more united than ever before — helping their brothers; nobody holds back whatever they can give to the poor victims. And the Revolutionary Government is giving all the victims housing, furniture, clothes, pork, poultry.

"In former times, that is to say, under prior governments, we wouldn't have seen this. On the contrary, when something like this happened, they would make an investigation or inspection and that's all. They wouldn't give anything to anybody and they wouldn't help anybody, and even less, would a prime minister go to the disaster area.

"Now our prime minister almost lost his life trying to save those who were in danger. Fidel, as well as our other leaders, was in the disaster area for as long as the hurricane lasted. If it hadn't been for the rapid intervention of the armed forces and all the other mass organizations who quickly started to evacuate all the persons who were in the gravest danger, I don't know how many more persons would have died."