

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

OCTOBER 1964

25¢



## **What I Saw In Cuba**

-An Interview

16-year-old Cuban  
Militia Girl

**Is Johnson the Answer  
to Goldwater?**

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

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October, 1964

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## Introducing The Young Socialist Magazine

The publication of the *Young Socialist* magazine marks a change in format for the only socialist youth periodical in the United States.

Since our first issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper appeared in October 1957, we have upheld a rich tradition in the struggle to bring socialist ideas and analysis to American youth. Those were the days when concerned young people had the almost impossible task of pulling critical thought up by its bootstraps, of forging a practical, political alternative to the system which breeds war, thrives on racism, and oppresses two thirds of humanity.

The Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev revelations plagued the Communist Party. A regroupment took place of young people who rejected the conservative approach of the Socialist and Communist Parties for the revolutionary one.

The *Young Socialist* newspaper served as the coordinating focus for those youth who seriously sought a replacement of the capitalist system. Out of their efforts grew the Young Socialist Alliance, today the most dynamic socialist organization among American youth. (See pp. 11-14.)

That this should be the case is not impossible to understand. In this era, when young people all over the world are engaging in struggle against their own backward rulers and the power of foreign imperialism, when the ghettoized black masses in this country have declared the "American way of life" anathema and have begun their struggle with it, when youth in every land are raising their voices against poverty and war preparation, a voice that cries for organization against capitalism will pierce many thick barriers.

The *Young Socialist* magazine seeks to be such a voice. Appearing five times a year, it is designed to provide young people with more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can. Contributions by radical and socialist-minded youth are welcome and encouraged.

Subscribers to the *Young Socialist* newspaper will receive the magazine for the duration of their subscription.

— The Editors

# Johnson Is No Answer To Goldwater

by Barry Sheppard  
National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

The two capitalist parties have held their nominating conventions, and, amidst the good clean American fun the well-heeled delegates bought and paid for, they nominated their candidates for the highest office of the land. Helping them make their choice were such men as H. L. Hunt, fantastically rich Texas oil man who supported Johnson in 1960 and who this year poured money into the Goldwater campaign, and who showed up at the Democratic convention saying he wasn't sure which party he would support.

Under the system that passes for democracy in these United States, the sovereign American people will now make their sober and considered choice between the offerings of the two parties of the power structure: a cracker from Texas and the Arizona reactionary.

Goldwater, supported by the ultra-right and the Ku Klux Klan, is running on an openly racist and reactionary program. His vote against even the ineffectual so-called civil rights bill and his stand for "state's rights" are designed to win the votes of racists and make inroads into the Democratic party, not only in the South but also in the North, where Governor Wallace's primaries revealed substantial racism.

Goldwater promises "victory" over communism — a tougher, more war-like stance against the world revolution. His criticisms of the supposed "softness" of the Democratic administration are embellished with such braggadocio as his suggestion to defoliate South Vietnam through the use of atom bombs.

Goldwater is anti-union, anti-welfare, and as ardent a supporter of the witchhunters as they are of him. Goldwater is running on a blatantly reactionary program of war, racism, witchhunt and "to hell with the poor."

Against Goldwater stands the choice of the Dixiecrats in 1960, Lyndon B. Johnson, the man who said from the floor of the Senate in 1946:

"I notice when I go to New York, that the colored people have congregated in Harlem. That is due to an inborn instinct... By this bill [FEPC] there is an attempt to change something that God made. We did not make it. God made my face white and made some other face yellow and some other face black. I did not do it. Congress cannot change that state of affairs." This extract is from the *Congressional Record*, Vol. 92, page 579. President (then Senator) Johnson was arguing against the Fair Employment Practices Bill.

But the Madison Avenue boys have been at work, and Johnson has had his face lifted: he is no longer just a Dixiecrat cracker, he is now a "liberal" although of course he still represents the South. He is also a friend of the Negro and of labor and business — a true candidate of all the people.

The liberal veneer Johnson has acquired stems in part from his championing the "civil rights" bill and the "anti-poverty" bill.

Both of these bills are exercises in deception. They will not substantially help the Negroes or the poor. The civil rights bill, in the first place, offers nothing at all to the Negroes living in the squalid ghettos of the North. And for the Negroes in the South, denied even the elementary democratic rights supposedly guaranteed in the Constitution and in the new bill and in the 1957 and 1960 so-called civil rights acts, the system of enforcement set up by the bill is so cumbersome that little change can be expected there, even if good will were assumed on the part of the authorities.

Johnson has turned the job of enforcing the bill over to the racist local and state governments in the South. He has already demonstrated that he will not enforce the Constitution on even so elementary a right as the right to vote in Mississippi. If he can't enforce the Constitution, why should anyone expect him to enforce the new bill?



**CLIFTON DEBERRY.** The first Negro to be nominated by a political party to run for President, DeBerry has long been active in the struggles of working people. Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, he has been a union organizer in the South and Midwest. A house painter by trade, he was a delegate to the founding convention of the Negro Labor Congress in 1950 and to the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council in 1960. During the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott he organized a Station-Wagons-to-Montgomery Committee.

In a more fundamental sense, the Democrats are tied right into the racist system that has dominated the United States since its birth. The Democratic party runs the racist South and maintains the vicious oppression of the Negro people characteristic of the South.

In the North, it is again the Democrats who run the big cities where the large Negro ghettos are located. In New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit — it's the cops of the Democratic administrations that are busting the heads of Negroes to keep them "in their place." North and South, "liberal" and Dixiecrat, the Democrats have a stake in maintaining the racist system.

Johnson has "discovered" that tens of millions

of Americans live in poverty, some of them on his wife's land in Alabama. While Johnson has been highly successful in his own personal "war on poverty," having accumulated over \$9 million since he took public office according to *Fortune* magazine, his much-touted "war" on the real poverty of 40 million Americans is another deception. The "war" amounts to increasing the \$500 million already spent on existing programs to less than \$1 billion, giving the poor less than \$15 a year more apiece, assuming they actually receive it.

While Goldwater talks war from the sidelines, Johnson is busy making war. His foreign policy is a continuation of the policy of Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. It was this policy that led to American involvement in South Vietnam and Korea. It has included intervention in the internal affairs of countries around the globe — the toppling of the legitimately elected government in Guatemala, the invasion of Cuba, the military *coups* in Brazil and other Latin American countries, a rabid campaign in both hemispheres to seal off tiny Cuba.

In South Vietnam, Johnson and Goldwater have the same goal of preserving U.S. control there. Johnson's attack on North Vietnam, conceived in part as campaign debate with Goldwater over who is the best brinksman, highlights his policy of brutal war against the people of Vietnam in the name of democracy and for this week's dictator in South Vietnam.

The goals of the Democratic Party's foreign policy are the same as the Republicans: to keep as much of the world as possible open for the trade, investment and exploitation that American capitalism needs.

The Democrats have been primarily responsible for writing and enforcing the witchhunt laws, with full support from the Republicans. The Democrats passed the Smith Act, over Roosevelt's veto (who then immediately turned around and used it against the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941). Democrat McCarran wrote the infamous act bearing his name which passed the Democratic Congress in 1950. That Northern liberal Democrat to beat all Northern Liberal Democrats, Vice-Presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey, added the Communist Control Act in 1954 with the help of liberal Wayne Morse. Truman ordered the Attorney General to draw up the infamous "subversive" list so adroitly used by McCarthy and every witchhunter since. That former counsel for McCarthy and McClellan, Robert Kennedy, initi-

ated the prosecutions of the Communist Party, the first such against a political party in U. S. history, during his reign as Attorney General.

Both capitalist parties rule by force and deception. Goldwater would rule with more force and less deception than Johnson. But where deception will not work, as in South Vietnam, Johnson, too, will use force.

Many liberals and socialists, even Marxists, are joining in the Johnson bandwagon behind the rotten union bureaucrats and conservative Negro leaders, under the theory of "lesser evilism." Goldwater is a fascist or almost so, they argue, and must be stopped at all costs, and the way to stop him is to vote for the admittedly bad, but "the best we can do," LBJ.

Goldwater is not a fascist, although he is extremely reactionary and the incipient fascists are supporting him. More important, fascism and the drift to the right in America cannot be stopped by voting for Johnson or any other Democrat.

Fascism is a mass movement growing out of a social and economic crisis, when millions are looking for a way out. Fascist movements are fighting movements, ready to carry out the destruction of worker and Negro organizations, smashing the parties of the left and physically eliminating all organized opposition. Their reactionary program of naked, violent capitalist dictatorship is covered up with radical-sounding demagoguery promising solutions to the problems growing out of the crisis.

Goldwaterism does not have these characteristics of a fascist movement. However, the incipient fascists, the future shock troops of the fascist mass movement, are in the Goldwater campaign and will use the campaign to build their own organizations, and this is an ominous feature of the Goldwater nomination.

Goldwater has tapped the profound insecurity felt by the middle class in the United States, despite their prosperity, in face of the threat of another war and of the irresistible rise of the colonial revolution. McCarthyism grew strong in the early fifties as a result of the "unexplained losses" U. S. capitalism was receiving in the post war period—in China, Eastern Europe, and Korea. The setbacks to U. S. foreign policy continue, in Cuba, Vietnam, Latin America, and Africa.

But Goldwater represents more than the reaction of sections of the middle class to these international factors. His mass vote and support was



**EDWARD SHAW.** The Socialist Workers Party Vice Presidential nominee is a printer by trade. Born in Lake County, Illinois, he went to engineering school in Chicago. After two years of college, when World War II broke out, he joined the Merchant Marine and was on a convoy on the *Murmansk* (Soviet Union) run, in which 15 out of 30 ships were sunk. For a while an auto worker, Shaw went to Cuba in 1960 to see what changes the revolution had made. Since then, he has been active in defending the Cuban Revolution. He is now organizational secretary of the SWP.

based upon the wave of anti-Negro reaction racist America has thrown up against the Freedom Now struggle, the so-called "white backlash." And, in addition to these forces, enormously wealthy new sectors of big business in Texas and the Southwest who seek a bigger voice in ruling America have poured money into the Goldwater coffers.

In the last twenty years American capitalism has moved steadily to the right. The nomination of Goldwater is a case in point of this rightward drift, a drift that will become a landslide toward fascism when the decisive section of the capitalist class is beset by social upheaval which threatens its position of privilege, at home as well as abroad. Goldwater is a *mild* harbinger of things to come.

How can this move to the right be stopped? Can it be stopped by supporting Johnson?

October, 1964

The program that Johnson and the cold war liberals are forced to carry out in defense of the capitalist system feeds, encourages, and ultimately leads to the program of the right wing.

When the right wing asks, "Why aren't we *winning* in Vietnam"—Johnson and the cold war liberals have no convincing answers. They can't say, "Because we are fighting against a majority of the South Vietnamese to uphold dictators they hate and an economic system which impoverishes them." What they do say is that "Communist plotters" in North Vietnam and China are aggressing against South Vietnam. This feeds the anti-communist hysteria of the right wing. In fact, the whole post war "communist menace" theory, which the right wing bases itself on, is an invention of the cold war liberals.

The witchhunt program of the past four administrations introduced the "communist menace" theory into domestic politics. The right wing picks this up and carries it to the extent of damning its "liberal" authors!

Racism is such an integral part of the American economic and political system, with such deep historical roots, that you can't be for this system and really oppose racial oppression. The Democratic party stands first and foremost for the system, and even if it were cleansed of its powerful Southern wing, it is forced by its defense of the system to defend racism. That is why it has consistently refused to guarantee the rights of the Negro people. This failure on the part of all who support the system, including the liberals, has been the source of the racist mentality that poisons our society.

Johnson's "poverty" bill is not going to change the situation for the poor in America. More important, his economic measures, such as the tax reform which gave big tax reductions to the giant corporations, cannot stop the recessions and depressions which will hit even the "rich" U. S.

In short, Johnson cannot solve any of the major problems that confront American capitalism. To support him means to support the system that breeds these problems which are the source and heart of the right wing.

When labor, Negroes, honest liberals and socialists support Johnson as a "lesser evil" to Goldwater, they not only support the system that is the source of the rightward movement in American politics, they are helping the right wing win influence. By not opposing Johnson from the

left, they allow the vocal right wing to be the predominant pressure on Johnson and on the American people, speeding up the rightward movement and giving unnecessary victories to the rightists.

Support to the Democratic party and the theory of the "lesser evil" are not new. For thirty years the labor movement and the Negroes, under the guidance of the labor bureaucrats, the conservative Negro leaders, and the Communist and Socialist parties, have been bloc voting for the Democrats. The net result of this policy has been that the Democratic party has moved further to the *right* than it was thirty years ago. What has happened is not that labor and the Negroes have captured the Democratic party—but that the Democrats have imprisoned labor and the Negroes and rendered them powerless.

The current elections are an example: with the labor and Negro vote tucked in his pocket, Johnson is busy campaigning for the conservative vote Goldwater is after. He offers absolutely nothing to labor even by way of verbal concessions, and only verbal concessions to the Negroes, and few of those.

The only way to fight the drift to the right is to build an opposing movement. A force opposed to the war, racism, poverty and witchhunt program of the two capitalist parties must be forged, a political party based upon the Negroes and the other workers who have the cohesiveness and social weight to fight capitalism and whose interests are opposed to those of the ruling class.

Such a party could begin the fight for freedom and security, and would be a pole of attraction to middle class people disturbed by the conflicts growing out of our system—people who will be won over to the right wing in the absence of a viable alternative on the left.

Even a conservatized organization like the British Labor party is able to give some opposition to the ruling class. During the invasion of the Suez canal in 1956 by Britain and France, the Labor party was able to muster opposition and hold back to some extent the British imperialists. In America there has been the need for some time for a party independent of the capitalist parties. As the crises of our system deepen, the possibility for the formation of such a party becomes greater.

Goldwater's nomination is an indication of the growing polarization. The Negro struggle is another indication, from the left. A process of



**BARRY GOLDWATER.** He has a tough time being more extremist than Johnson.

shaking up is going on in the country, and possibilities for independent political action are opening up in the Negro struggle.

The mood and movement of black nationalism in the ghettos is a reflection of the growing dissatisfaction and alienation of Negroes with American society, and if this spirit of separation from the system and opposition to it can find political expression, then the beginnings of a break with capitalist politics can occur. Already steps in this direction can be seen in the development of the Freedom Now Party and independent Negro candidates for public office.

A black political party, fighting for the interests of the Negroes, will be the most effective weapon to date in winning concessions for the Negro people from the power structure, and will break up the labor-Negro-Dixiecrat-imperialist coalition that votes for the Democrats. It would mean a new era in American politics, with a real choice offered by a mass party, and it would be a powerful stimulus to white workers to join the struggle, too.

In 1964, the elections can be used to expose the rotten programs of both parties, and to support the only national ticket running for freedom now, peace, jobs and democracy: Clifton DeBerry for

President and Edward Shaw for Vice President on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

One argument of those who support Johnson is that votes will be taken away from Johnson by the SWP campaign and this will help Goldwater to win. If the SWP vote is not decisive to the outcome of the election, then this argument doesn't have any meaning. But if it is large enough to make the difference between a Johnson defeat or victory, that would mean a strong pole of attraction was growing on the left which could stop the drift to the right as Johnson cannot do. Both parties of war and racism would be weakened and effectively fought by a large vote for the SWP. Johnson or Goldwater, whichever won, could not ignore the demands of the workers and Negroes with political impunity.

In the case where the SWP vote will be small, as it probably will, the SWP campaign, as the only political opposition to the program of the rulers, will be an effective tool for organizing the growing sentiment for opposition to the rightward drift, and propagandizing for the idea of independent political action.

Everyone who is for human freedom and dignity, who is against racism, who desires peace, who is for freedom of thought and a world of abundance — in a word, for socialism, should not throw their vote away on the Texas cracker out of fear, but should support and vote for DeBerry and Shaw. The only way to win the struggle for freedom is to fight for it, and to fight as hard as you can.

There will be much harsher enemies than Goldwater in the future. When the showdown fight comes with American fascism, we had better have our own political instrument to fight with, and not be choosing between the "lesser evils" of an American Hitler and an American Hindenburg.

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Full weekly coverage on the Freedom Now movement, the colonial revolution, and the fight for peace, democratic rights, and socialism. Introductory offer is \$1 for four months.

The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York.

October, 1964

# Canada's "Negro Struggle"

By R. Brock

*R. Brock is a Canadian Young Socialist presently working in Montreal.*

MONTREAL—Ever since the young terrorists of the Quebec Liberation Front bombed their way into the pages of the world press little more than a year ago, the rebirth of French-Canadian nationalism has occupied first place among the news stories issuing from the province of Quebec.

Much attention has centered on the most sensational aspect of this new nationalism—separatism—which also is its most conscious and coherent expression. Increasingly the question is asked: What is the character of the separatist movement, its inherent direction, its future perspectives? To Quebec socialists, these questions have particular relevancy, for the political history of the past year here has proved conclusively that without a correct appraisal of the "national question," a labor-socialist party can hope for no substantial success, no matter how excellent the rest of its program, nor how dedicated its cadre.

The situation of the French-Canadians bears some obvious analogies with that of the American Negroes. Like the Afro-Americans, they constitute a significant minority of the population—in Canada, 33 percent. Where they are concentrated, they tend to comprise the most exploited sector of the Canadian working class: Montreal's predominately-English suburb of Westmount, whose average annual income, \$16,535, is highest in Canada, lies just across the railway tracks from the French slums of St-Henri, with a yearly average of less than \$1,500.

While the Afro-American rejects the white exploiters' world, the French-Canadian struggles against the tendency of the dominant class to impose its language and religion on the subject nation. In the region of Montreal, "second French city of the world" where 70 percent of the 2.5 million population is of French origin, 60 percent of the workers must speak English at work. And again like Afro-American militants, the advanced Quebec nationalists have been inspired by the victories of the colonial revolution. As a popular saying here goes: "Nous sommes les Cubains blancs"—We are white Cubans.

However, concentrated in Quebec where they

are 80 percent of the population, the French-Canadians form a geographical, ethnic and cultural entity in themselves. Yet 80 percent of Quebec's natural resources and industry is owned by American and English-Canadian capital. This basic alienation of the French-Canadian people from the ownership and control of the basic means of production in the province is at the source of the modern Quebec nationalism. For through its penetration of the French-Canadian market, Anglo-American capital has created the "national question," which reflects the conflict of class forces in Quebec.

In itself, capitalism only aggravates and brings the national question to a crisis. But at the same time, by uprooting the traditional rural society and proletarianizing large masses of hitherto undisciplined workers, it creates the *conditions* for the solution of the problem. Only the nationalization of the foreign-owned industries and their operation by the workers themselves can preserve the distinctive French-Canadian national heritage and effectively counteract the natural tendency for "English-speaking" capital to impose its language and culture. And this can only be accomplished by the workers themselves, acting through a working-class socialist party.

Because separatism seeks to resolve the problem without the participation of the English-Canadian workers, and often in opposition to it, it is a reflection of the weakness of the Canadian left. The Quebec separatists do not want to wait for the English-Canadian workers to place the question of national emancipation on the agenda. In effect, they want "Freedom NOW!"

Unlike the almost completely working-class Afro-Americans, French Canada has a developed "national bourgeoisie" which, collaborating with Anglo-American capital and in fact largely dependent on it, has managed to achieve at least formal control of the political and cultural life of Quebec.

The ability of this class to exploit the rising nationalist trend is demonstrated in the measures taken by the current "reform" administration of



Liberal Premier Jean Lesage, such as its recent nationalization of the giant American-owned power monopolies and its projected development of a state-owned iron and steel complex, designed to decrease its dependence as a class on foreign capital.

Although making concessions here and there to the desire of the masses to be "maitres chez nous" (masters in our own house), the national bourgeoisie enjoys only a limited maneuverability. Caught between its shrinking opportunity for expansion and the rising agitation for fundamental social change, French-Canadian capitalism exploits nationalism and yet seeks to suppress the separatist movement. This class's basically reactionary nature has been starkly revealed in recent labor struggles, such as the lockouts at *La Presse*, Canada's biggest newspaper, and Dupuis Freres, a Montreal department store, two of the biggest French-Canadian-owned enterprises.

While black nationalism in the United States inherently assumes a "left" orientation, reflecting the generally homogeneous proletarian character of the Negroes, the political coloration of French-Canadian separatism differs according to its respective class base. Where it represents the aspirations of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, separatism is doomed to become increasingly reactionary. The very causes of separatist agitation — the economic underdevelopment of the province, coupled with the political unripeness of working-class organizations — confirm the utter incapacity of the national bourgeoisie to resolve by capitalist methods the problems caused by the very pattern of capitalist investment.

A real possibility exists that separatism could give birth to a serious fascist movement — already there are incipient tendencies in this direction. The demagogic neo-fascist protest movement Social Credit, with 13 deputies in the federal parliament, is at time of writing in the throes of deciding whether to adopt a clearly separatist orientation.

But the dual character of Quebec nationalism means that separatism is also an expression of the opposition of French-Canadian workers to (English-Canadian) bosses. Thus the separatist left is increasingly socializing its program. Going beyond simple nationalist demands, new formations are sprouting up which train their heaviest polemical artillery on the commanding heights of French-Canadian capital interests.

This process does not take place without major splits and regroupments, and the left is still relatively weak and unorganized. This weakness is complemented by, and in fact largely the result of, a labor movement which remains disgustingly tied to the "a-political" policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies."

Split into two rival federations — one nationalist, the other pan-Canadian — Quebec labor is not likely to launch its own much-needed political party in the near future. The class collaboration of the official labor leaders flies in the face of an unprecedented wave of union organization extending even to civil servants and white-collar workers. (It might be added that the absence of a mass labor-socialist party also encourages adventuristic acts on the part of inexperienced revolutionaries — hence the terrorism of the frustrated youth of the FLQ.)

The default of the left in general is accentuated by the false position of the Communist Party, which has refused to acknowledge any progressive implications whatsoever in the upsurge of French-Canadian nationalism. Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, has split over the national question, with the majority of its Quebec forces forming a separate organization, the *Parti Socialiste du Quebec*.

But equivocating on the crucial national question, plagued by the crass elitism of its largely middle-class membership, with no significant roots in the working class, the PSQ has already suffered one major split (the separatist wing breaking away) and at present it appears highly doubtful that the PSQ as presently constituted can provide the vehicle for the labor party in Quebec.

Separatism, then, poses both challenge and opportunity. The resolution of the national question can in the last analysis only be achieved by the abolition of the capitalist system. But a Quebec socialist party must start with a correct appreciation of the progressive content of French-Canadian nationalism.

To ignore this potential is to forfeit the leadership of the struggle for national independence to the right wing, which can only demoralize and ultimately destroy the mass movement. To recognize it is to take a necessary step forward in a social struggle which may well mark the beginning of the Canadian Revolution.

August 10, 1964

October, 1964

# Johnson's Dirty War in Vietnam

By Ted Fagin

The U. S. government is engaged in a war in South Vietnam — that is a fact. Our involvement is so unjustifiable that our President is obliged to fabricate, before the nations of the world and the citizens of his own nation, a story of aggression from the north, a story that is a mask for oppression and an exercise in hypocrisy.

As Senator Wayne Morse said in his August 5th Senate speech, "I have been briefed many times, as have the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee; and all this time witness after witness from the State Department and from the Pentagon have admitted under examination that they had no evidence of any foreign troops in South Vietnam from North Vietnam, Red China, Cambodia, or anywhere else.

"The sad fact is that the only foreign troops that have been in South Vietnam in any numbers have been American troops."

The history of official hypocrisy extends unbroken from 1954, when the French colonial army suffered its final defeat at Dienbienphu. The Geneva agreement, drawn up and signed by all parties to the conflict except the United States, provided for a neutral, democratic and united Vietnam. The U. S., however, made public promise of its intention to honor the accord.

The U. S. government cynically violated specific and concrete sections of the agreement by pouring in troops under the guise of advisors and perverting the 1956 elections for national unification.

Our government set up Ngo Dinh Diem, a Vietnamese landowner as head of the South Vietnamese state and successfully represented him as a leader of a "Free World" nation. It was not until the dramatic suicides by fire of Buddhists last year that the American people became aware of the shell game artistry with which they had been tricked.

The Geneva Agreement limits the number of any foreign military group to 685 persons. Captain Edward D. Shank, killed on March 24 while in

combat in South Vietnam, wrote letters to his wife which were made public by Congressman Charles Halleck. In describing the role of the thousands of U. S. "advisors," Captain Shank wrote:

"How our government can lie to its own people — it's something you wouldn't think a democratic government could do." And again: "What gets me the most is that they won't tell you people what we do over here. I'll bet you that anyone you talk to does not know that American pilots fight this war. We — me and my buddies — do everything. The Vietnamese 'students' we have on board are airmen basics. The only reason they are on board is in case we crash there is one American 'adviser' and one Vietnamese 'student.'"

The Liberation National Front is itself a resistance movement developed in 1960 in response to barbaric oppressions of the Diem regime. It traces its heritage from the fighters against Japanese occupation through the heroic men and women who defeated the French at Dienbienphu. It consists of former fighters of the anti-French resistance, peasants who have felt the sting of serfdom, intellectuals, opposition political groupings of several persuasions, and escapees from the government's concentration camps. The LNF is largely under the leadership of Communists, but is not a "Communist" movement in the sense suggested by official government statements. The Liberation National Front enjoys the support of the overwhelming bulk of South Vietnamese, and indeed could not operate as a guerilla movement if it did not. The Saigon government controls little of the country outside of Saigon itself, Hue, and a few other cities.

According to Senator Morse, "considerable snickering abroad" will greet "the pious phrases of the resolution about defending freedom in South Vietnam. I think even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty upon the word. We are

defending General Khanh from being overthrown; that is all. We are defending a clique of military generals and their merchant friends who live well in Saigon, and who need a constantly increasing American military force to protect their privileged position."

The coup which overthrew Diem, and the coup which overthrew his successor, Minh, have resulted in no improvement in living conditions, but only in a frantic campaign to carry the war to the North. On February 22, Keyes Beech reported from Saigon for the *Chicago Daily News*: "...In Washington U. S. officials confirmed that... plans to step up the war are under consideration but said no decision had yet been made. The plan to take the war to the North goes beyond the conventional pattern of counter-guerilla warfare..."

"The raids would be carried out by the South Vietnamese forces with U. S. support, but U. S. servicemen would not physically set foot on Communist territory..."

The recent "day that will live in infamy" attack against North Vietnam by forces of the U. S. Seventh Fleet constitutes the latest and most outrageous event in the history of American mendacity and brutality in that part of the world.

On August 8, Senator Wayne Morse entered into the Congressional Record a dispatch by Richard Fryklund which appeared in the *Washington Evening Star*, and which reads in part:

"Units of the South Vietnamese Navy took a raiding party to the island of Hon Me, about 10 miles off the coast of North Vietnam on Saturday. Guerilla forces were put ashore for dynamiting raids.

"The American 7th Fleet was not told about the operation, even though American advisers in Saigon were kept informed."

The *Maddox* "had left Formosa July 28 specifically to see if the new talk in North and South Vietnam about expanding the war had resulted in increased Communist operations.

"She sailed North past the Red Chinese island of Hainan, looped up no closer than 12 miles from the Red Chinese mainland and then started southward, well out from the North Vietnamese coast on Sunday.

"As she sailed past Hon Me Island... she detected on her radar a concentration of junks, which the North Vietnamese Navy uses for coastal patrol craft, and four PT boats.

"*Maddox* officers did not know it, but these

ships were picking up the pieces after the South Vietnamese raid.

"The *Maddox* turned slightly aside to avoid them, and sailed on unconcerned.

"The North Vietnamese, American officials now believe, probably thought the *Maddox* had been shelling the island or at least had escorted the raiders.

"So four furious PT boats tore out at 50 knots to slay the dragon..."

Senator Morse observed August 8 that:

"...if Castro used his Communist patrol boats to bombard Key West and we observed Russian warships or submarines even as far as 60 miles from Key West, we not only would look upon the incident as a provocation, but we would fire upon them if they did not immediately surrender."

Senator Morse had been prompted to ask in an August 5 speech: "Was the U. S. Navy standing guard while the vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam? That is the clear implication of this incident."

Lastly, consider the remarks made by the President of the United States on August 3rd:

"...Aggression by terror against the peaceful villages of South Vietnam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America..."

"And just a few minutes ago I was able to reach Senator Goldwater and I am glad to say that he has expressed his support of the statement that I am making to you tonight.

"It is a solemn responsibility to have to order even limited military action by forces whose overall strength is as vast and as awesome as those of the United States of America.

"But it is my considered conviction, shared throughout your Government, that firmness in the right is indispensable today for peace.

"That firmness will always be measured. Its mission is peace."

With these words Johnson asked Congress for the blanket power to take "all necessary steps, including the use of armed force," in "support of freedom and in defense of peace in Southeast Asia." As if to underscore the basic identity of the two major parties, Congress on August 7 voted approval with but two nay votes in the Senate. They thus approved after the fact Johnson's "counterattack" on North Vietnam which laid destruction to bases, naval installations and an oil depot.

October, 1964

# The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America

by Elizabeth Stern

Last June 350 young people gathered in San Francisco to attend what was ostensibly the founding convention of an "action-based socialist youth organization" which would "develop a program which could unite diverse elements in the young left community."

A new organization was founded, but it has none of the broadness it pretended to have beforehand. The new group, called the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, has the old and familiar Khrushchevite line on all important questions.

However, young people of many persuasions were at the conference, at least when it began. There were, in addition to the Khrushchevites, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Progressive Labor, Young Peoples Socialist League, and a number of youth who were not committed to any particular view or organization.

The first day and a half the delegates met in different workshops which took up such issues as civil rights, civil liberties, political action, culture, and the trade union movement. Each workshop passed resolutions which were then presented to all the delegates at plenary sessions which took place the last day and a half.

In the workshops it became clear that the conference was split between the Khrushchev wing who favored working for the Democratic Party, and the minority who opposed supporting either of the two capitalist parties. On almost every resolution this split was evident, as the Khrushchevites refused to oppose the system as a whole and were especially adamant in their support of the "liberals" and the Democrats.

The view of the DuBois Clubs on the Negro struggle is to support the "respectable" Negro leadership. Their resolution failed to support the right of self-defense by the Negro people, and failed to see the progressive nature of black nationalism, although they did add a sentence to their resolution (as a concession to pro-nationalist people at the convention) that said, "Wholesale and blanket criticism of the black nationalist movement is therefore inappropriate." (Sic!)

On the most important question facing the convention, the 1964 elections, the minority, led by

some 40 West Coast YSAers and including the six members of PL, called for independent political action. The majority gave *de facto* support to Johnson and the Democrats.

Remaining consistent with their stand for the Democratic Party, the Khrushchevite delegates voted down a minority amendment calling for support to the Freedom Now Party. They were also put in the absurd position of voting against another minority amendment opposing congressmen who voted for the Smith or McCarran Acts. (Most Democrats, including Johnson and Humphrey, are in this category.) At this point a Young Democrat rose to accuse the majority of having less guts than the average Young Dem — and that's saying something!

Throughout the conference the organizers showed blatant disregard for democratic procedures. They were all for "broadness" — until "broadness" meant political discussion and opposition to their line. They allowed time for the presentation of only majority resolutions from the workshops. The delegates never heard a full presentation of the minority viewpoint, which had to be presented as amendments.

A unanimous resolution came out of the civil liberties workshop. The Khrushchevites reacted violently to this resolution, which mentioned the "liberal power structure" and the responsibility the "liberals" have for the erosion of democratic rights. The majority mustered 228 votes to 202 to strike out all references to the liberals in the resolution.

Actually, the Khrushchevites did not win a majority of the delegates on this question, but they had a system of weighted votes which gave more votes to people from the East and Midwest (mostly their own people) than to people from the Bay Area.

Toward the end of the conference, its real nature was exposed. The Khrushchevites ramrodded a motion to exclude from the organization members of other national socialist youth organizations. With this explicit rejection, members of the YSA were forced to walk out of the conference. Individuals and other groups left, too.

# Introducing the Young Socialist Alliance



**INDICTED YSA MEMBER SPEAKS.** Just a few days before the hearings in Bloomington, Indiana, defendant Tom Morgan explained his case to 500 Los Angeles City College Students. Soon afterwards, under pressure of the national spotlight focused on the case by the defendants and their supporters, the local judge threw out the case and the notorious Indiana "Sedition" law.

We were taught in grade school that the United States is a land of freedom, equality, justice and plenty. But as we have grown up in this society we have become aware that the opposite assertions are much closer to the truth.

We, the students and young workers who make up the Young Socialist Alliance, are angry and determined - angry with the injustices and inequalities we see in our country, and determined to build a world of genuine freedom and equality.

The prospect of nuclear war frightens us as it must every thinking person. We are opposed to the systematic preparation for World War III, which, if it comes, will destroy human civilization if not humanity itself.

We are angered by the oppression of the Negro people, who are crowded into the slums of the ghettos, given inferior education, forced into the worst jobs at the least pay, with twice the rate of unemployment, and with all the humiliation that

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a racist society heaps upon Negroes. We are disgusted with a system that perpetuates and rationalizes this oppression.

While the very rich live in wealth, millions of Americans — in the black ghettos, on the migratory farms, in Appalachia, on the unemployment lines — live in poverty and squalor, deprived of the opportunity to lead decent lives. Meanwhile “our” government spends some \$50 billion on still more ICBMs with nuclear warheads, CIA invasions, and the care and feeding of such pillars of the free world as Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, Salazar, and this week’s dictator in South Vietnam.

We are opposed to the constant erosion of the Bill of Rights, the anti-labor laws, anti-Negro practices, and prosecutions of dissenters because of their ideas. We are angered by the attacks upon academic freedom, the conformism and careerism imposed upon the American campus, and the cultural and intellectual sterility in American society as a whole.

There are in this country countless numbers of young people who feel the same anger and disgust at war, racism, poverty and thought control that

we do. But such feelings dissolve into cynicism when they cannot give rise to action; and that’s why we in the YSA are concerned with *politics*.

Participation in politics for us means participation in the struggle to end the system of inequality and insecurity under which we live, that system called capitalism, which places enormous political and social power in the hands of the tiny minority who own and control the economy. Our aim is to replace this system with a socialist organization of society, by which we mean the most profound and widespread democracy in all aspects of economic and political and cultural life. If it is not to be a Utopian dream, democracy can only be based upon a nationalized and planned economy, controlled and administered by the working people.

Socialism is a necessity if civilization — indeed humanity itself — is to survive. Writing in the 19th century, Frederick Engels recognized this when he stated as the alternatives facing humanity: “Socialism or Barbarism.” No one put it better than the late C. Wright Mills in his book *Listen Yankee*: “Yankee imperialism is in the process of being defeated. It’s in a deadly struggle, and the



**IN DEFENSE OF CUBA.** YSA members participated in demonstration at United Nations during the Cuban crisis in 1962. As an organization, YSA has undertaken tours in defense of Cuba. It has taken the lead in the U.S. in distribution and sales of literature on Cuba and by the Cuban revolutionaries.

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**AGAINST THE ULTRA-RIGHT.** The YSA joins and defends such actions as this non-exclusive picket line against the Ultra-Right rally staged by the Young Americans for Freedom in Madison Square Garden.

U. S. imperialists know this very well. They are not going to die without fighting... Maybe it is going to mean an hysterically anti-Communist totalitarian state, the likes of which mankind has not yet known."

Young people throughout the world — in Japan, South Africa, Venezuela, South Vietnam, England — have engaged in combat against their own rulers, and consequently against American imperialism. But the fight against these imperialists, the fight to take away their terrible and real power to destroy the world, must be carried on first of all right here, in their stronghold, in the United States.

The Young Socialist Alliance exists because we believe that the experience of the modern world has shown that only *organized* action can be effective in changing the social system. We believe that a study of this experience will also show that only the working people in a country like ours have the capacity to do the job, and then only if they have leaders who do not have a stake in the system they are supposed to be fighting against.

That is why we do not waste our time trying to "capture" the Democratic or Republican parties. These parties, rotten to the core, are responsible

to the war-makers, racists, and witchhunters — to those who profit from this system.

The ever-rising tide of the Negro struggle has placed political action by the working people upon the immediate order of the day. The most oppressed and revolutionary workers, the black workers of the ghetto, have begun to struggle, and their next step must be, if they are to make any real gains, to separate themselves from the Democrats and Republicans and build a black political party. Such a party would be the most powerful instrument yet devised to struggle for Negro demands and would help break up the two-party con game that passes for democracy in the U. S. It would be a powerful stimulus to white workers to enter the political struggle, too.

We are socialists because we hate inequality and oppression, and that's why we oppose the system of rule by a bureaucratic elite that prevails in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. We support the efforts of the workers to establish their own democratic rule, as in the Polish and Hungarian revolutions. At the same time, we recognize the decisive importance of the gains made in those countries through the abolition of capitalism, the nationalization and



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**SOUTHERN FREEDOM FIGHTERS.** These Albany, Georgia, youth are part of nation-wide struggle against system of racism and oppression.

planning of the economy, and we are against any attempts by capitalism to restore itself to power.

The YSA is resolutely opposed to the attempts of the imperialists to overthrow the Cuban socialist revolution. Not deformed by a privileged bureaucracy, the Cuban revolution is a mighty example to the peoples of Latin America and the world.

The YSA is aware that to influence the present and future, we must study the past. To this end, the YSA chapters in various cities carry on classes and seminars, encouraging our members to explore American and world history in directions where the warped high school and college textbooks rarely lead. Recognizing the importance of *theory* in understanding human society, we study the great contributions that have been made by Marxist thinkers.

But education is not merely study. More and more in this country, there arise opportunities to engage in the fight for Negro equality, for civil liberties, against wars both little and big, in support of the Cuban revolution . . . and YSAers have responded to these occasions.

A wide range of YSA activities is designed to spread the ideas and program of socialism. Besides holding public forums and debates, the YSA prints its own publication, *The Young Socialist*. As the only youth magazine in the United States expressing revolutionary socialist thought and analysis, *The Young Socialist* is capable of linking

together the efforts of those youth who have swung into action against many of the most vicious outgrowths of this system.

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To help further the ideas of socialism, and to fight for independent political action against the Democrats and Republicans, the YSA actively supports the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party, collecting signatures to put the SWP on the ballot, publishing and distributing posters, leaflets, buttons and other campaign material, sponsoring candidates as speakers, etc.

When three members of the YSA chapter at Indiana Univeristy were indicted by a local witch-hunting prosecutor, the national YSA, along with many democratic-minded students and professors, formed a powerful defense committee which resulted in an early victory for the defendants, giving the witchhunt an important setback.

As an independent and democratic socialist youth organization, the YSA guarantees to all its members the right to freely express their political ideas and to share fully in all political and organizational decisions. As a revolutionary youth organization, we are in fraternal solidarity with the only revolutionary American political party, the Socialist Workers Party.

The YSA is engaged in the fight for peace, equality, democracy and abundance — in a word, for socialism. If you feel that our actions and goals are an expression of your own, then — join us.

## JOIN THE YSA

Clip and mail to Young Socialist Alliance,  
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York City,  
New York 10003

- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance
- Please send me a catalog on literature about socialism and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_



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# Reflections on the Harlem Events

by Robert Vernon

It all seemed so simple to superficial observers and supporters of the Negro struggle before the bottles and bricks answered the cops' nightsticks, guns, teargas, dogs, and waterhoses on the streets of New York, Rochester, Paterson and other Northern urban centers in the past summer.

Negroes had been conducting a dignified struggle, with middle-class ideals and circumspect methods, to gain their rightful place in the all-American picture. The Negro revolt, the civil-rights protest movement, the peaceful March on Washington, had become fashionable, acceptable, and had won the support of "everybody." To many, "victory" seemed to be just around the corner, with only die-hard segregationists from a past century trying to "delay the inevitable." Liberals, the nations' press, and even government figures from the President on down flashed their approving smiles.

But the new element, which so increased the ulcers and the fears of the liberals and politicians like New York's Mayor Wagner, is not really new at all. The struggle of the black masses in the overcrowded ghettos of the North did not spring up just yesterday and only now enter into national events. It has been taken into every calculation of the urban political machine since the race riots in New York during the Civil War, although now those calculations may not serve to contain it.

\* \* \*

Students of the history of revolutionary struggles will note that every struggle, in its very beginning, does not appear in full form, with its ultimate goals fully defined and its methods worked out with a high degree of sophistication and efficiency. It takes a very modest approach, simply seeking a more just and fair accommodation with existing society.

This is not a strategy of deception or caution. It reflects the simple fact that every deep-seated disturbance in human society affects a variety of people at different levels. Those most favorably placed, whose demands are most in keeping with the traditions and structure of the existing society

but who share much in common with the masses who will ultimately power the revolution, are the first to express themselves. In the present case, the Negro middle-class were the first to begin responding to the upswing of the colonial revolution and the rumblings of the future storm among the black workers in this country.

The in-between elements are more articulate and have more leisure time, more avenues of communication at their disposal, and consider themselves the true expression of the cause. The further the revolution proceeds, the deeper the layers drawn into the foreground of the struggle, in their own name, with their own methods and with their own far-reaching goals. The layers who first sought to lead the struggle and set its goals and methods are thrust aside if they persist in standing in the way of the more determined and resolute lower classes.

\* \* \*

Superficial observers contrast the naive moods of love, hope, faith in America and so on, which they adore and promote in the Southern non-violent movement to the sullenness, "hopelessness" and brooding hostility that they see in the Northern ghettos (and in the black ghettos of Atlanta, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Birmingham and other urban centers in Dixie as well). Implied in their views is the notion that acceptance into the American Way of Life is the greatest thing that anyone could possibly hope for, and therefore, that lack of interest in such acceptance is equivalent to hopelessness.

These are not just moods, however, but different class attitudes, most sharply expressed in the North where the specific weight of the black working class is more predominant.

The urbanized working class clearly feels from its situation, and rightly so, that the ruling class has no concessions of any importance to grant them. In the South, there may be a few concessions, in integration of public facilities and eventual elimination of the most humiliating aspects of overt Jim Crow "customs." But if Dixie

can be rendered, gradually and in its own sweet time, more similar to the liberal, "integrated" North, this is little comfort to the impoverished masses of the slums of Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, or Atlanta.

\* \* \*

But, some skeptics will ask, aren't the people of Harlem lucky to be living in the North instead of racist Mississippi? What are their gripes?

Infant mortality in Harlem is twice the rate in New York City as a whole. Tuberculosis incidence is twice the city rate. In most Northern cities, and Harlem is no happy exception, the unemployment rate for black workers runs far ahead of the figure for whites. Over the past decade, the differential between the average wages of white and black workers has widened, as automation progressively wipes out the gains registered by black workers in the '40s and '50s in key industries like auto, rubber, steel. Construction and other paying jobs less vulnerable to automation are sewed up by white job trusts called "unions" by force of habit.

Only 50 percent of the housing units in Harlem are considered "sound" by the city's figures. The other 50 percent are not just unsafe and deteriorating, but also overcrowded, meaning it accounts for well over 50 percent of Harlem's population. Poor electrical and plumbing work, high rents, poorly lighted and unstable stairways and halls, no heat or hot water even in the winter — these are the rule, rather than the exception.

The most important problem facing the vast majority of black people is to "integrate" some "bread" into their pockets and bank accounts, to "integrate" their children with some useful education in a world of automation and in a shrinking labor market, to integrate some paint on the wall and steam heat in the radiator, to integrate themselves with some housing where they can feel secure that when the baby cries it is not because a hungry rat is sniffing around in the baby's crib.

\* \* \*

Another major reason for the despair and disgust of the black man on the Harlem street is his lack of "integration" with any power or property whatsoever. Why this is so can be seen if we ask: Who owns Harlem? What is there to own in Harlem?

There are no big businesses, no major industries, no commercial or sales institutions employing any large number of workers. Most of the stores are small and owned by whites. Rundown and reno-

vated tenements alike are owned by people the tenants never see. Businesses, bars, theaters, many marginal and cockroach businesses are owned by whites. Only a few minor retail and service shops are owned by Negroes.

Big rackets such as numbers, prostitution, narcotics, which siphon money out of Harlem as the legitimate businesses do, are in the hands of whites from "downtown" — Even "illegal" power thus is "separated" from the Harlemit.

Both "legitimate" and racket businesses suffered during the July "riots." Both thrive best under Law and Order. Not a number could be hit or paid off without New York's "Finest" being in on the take. Retail sales of narcotics — the cheap, diluted stuff — are made on the street market, and the local agents on the street have to be on good terms with the Law or they would find their operations impossible. (Also, they would be unable to control their burgeoning competition). But the people "downtown" who import the undiluted high-priced treasures of heroin and cocaine, grown in the Free World democracies of Iran, Turkey, Thailand and Laos, maintain their friendly relations with higher-ups who are even Finer than the Finest.

A prostitute working on 110th Street couldn't turn a trick without excellent community relations with the cop on the beat. The situation is well summed up by a Harlemit quoted in a recent issue of *Newsweek*: "The real criminal is Harlem is the cops. They permit dope, numbers, whores, gangsters to operate here, and all the time they get money under the table — and I ain't talkin' about \$2 neither."

\* \* \*

The Harlem "riots" posed in a clearer way than has been apparent for a long time the question of power. The clash between the residents of Harlem and the aggressive club-swinging provocateurs in blue uniform drew the line between the ghetto poor and the agents of the capitalist white power structure. The "race" question receded in face of the class question in some areas, where poor whites took advantage of the turmoil to join Negroes in looting the stores whose owners had made a profession of gypping them. (But this will be of little comfort for those who see "racism in reverse" in every demonstration of Negro militancy.)

The class bias of the liberal commentators too became apparent, when they sought to blame the riots on the "dirty, desperate mobs" — being careful to add that there are "good, well-mannered Negroes" and that "not all whites are perfect"

# Appeal in Bloomington Students' Case

By Robert Shann

On the very last day before the deadline, the Bloomington, Indiana Prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, filed appeal briefs before the Indiana Supreme Court, reopening the Indiana "subversion" case. The attention of democratic-minded students and civil libertarians must once again be turned to this precedent-making litigation.

Hoadley's attack upon civil liberties started in October, 1962 when YSA members and other students at I. U. held a protest demonstration against the illegal blockade of Cuba. At that time a group of right-wing students and some local hooligans attacked the demonstrators.

Thomas Hoadley, narrowly elected Prosecutor in November, took office in January 1963. His first public act was to dismiss charges against

two toughs arrested by police during the October demonstration "in order to clear the way" for an investigation of the YSA.

On May 1, Hoadley succeeded in securing indictments under the notorious Indiana Anti-Communism Act, a law which states that its purpose is "to exterminate communism, communists, and any or all teachings of the same." Indicted were the three officers of the Indiana University chapter of the YSA, Jim Bingham, Tom Morgan, and Ralph Levitt.

The three were charged with having assembled on March 25 at an authorized campus meeting, where Leroy McRae, a Negro and national officer of the YSA, spoke on the struggle for civil rights. McRae's remarks that Negroes have the right to defend themselves from racist violence were twisted by Hoadley into "advocacy of force and violence."

During the summer another count under the same law was tacked on, charging the three students with having again assembled on May 2—the day after the first indictments were handed down—to "advocate force and violence." The defendants had met on that day in a friend's apartment to discuss their defense against the first indictment.

The Prosecutor, acting in collusion with the landlord, taperecorded this meeting. The students now faced a possible six year jail sentence under the two counts of the indictments.

Two parallel movements were set in motion, based on opposite conceptions of democracy. Hoadley, supported by the American Legion and rightist elements, began a systematic campaign of slander aimed at depriving the YSAers of their rights. At the same time, the defense, organized in the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, alerted people around the nation and abroad to the facts of the Hoosier witchhunt. Both



Attorney Boudin in the courtroom



**Attorney Boudin in the courtroom**



sides had some successes which should give us an idea of the nature of the prosecution and how young people can fight back against attacks upon their right to protest.

Hoadley, through the especially cooperative Indiana press like the Indianapolis *Star* and *News* chain, made allegations which, although totally fabricated, had some effect on the Indiana community.

A few examples of these charges typify witch-hunt tactics: 1) The YSA in Bloomington, Indiana, was formed by "Moscow-trained agents." (The YSA is Trotskyist in its political orientation and would be outlawed and jailed in the Soviet Union.) 2) "The YSA used narcotics to recruit its membership." (Hoadley was later forced to admit that this was a total lie.) 3) The YSA advocates the "violent overthrow of the governments of the United States and of Indiana." (The YSA is opposed to violence, and points out that it is the reactionaries like Diem, Eastland, and so forth, who cause and initiate violence and use violence to suppress human rights.)

In recent months Hoadley has widened the scope of his activities and given us an even clearer view of his true outlook and motivation. In his role as guardian of the state against "subversion" and "alien influence," the Bloomington Prosecutor has turned his attention to Louisiana and the case involving the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

SCEF, highly respected both North and South for its work for civil rights, has in the past year borne the brunt of a vicious attack waged by arch-segregationists and reactionaries, including Mississippi Senator Eastland who used his influence on the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to widen the witchhunt against SCEF.

The Louisiana and Indiana cases have much in common. In each instance unconstitutional state sedition laws were implemented and the specter of communism was used to create an atmosphere of intolerance and hatred in order to violate the defendants' rights to a fair hearing.

Hoadley, wishing to see the Louisiana sedition act upheld to strengthen his own attempt to save the Indiana equivalent, has filed a brief as Friend of the Court against the SCEF.

From the outset of the Bloomington case the Prosecution denied that its intentions were in any way associated with racism or the ultra-right (in spite of the fact that the Indiana University

YSA members were indicted for attending a speech given by a Negro about civil rights, under a law which attacks freedom of speech and assembly). His entry into the struggle against the Negro movement alongside Southern bigots gives the lie to all Hoadley's protestations.

While Hoadley was building his campaign of smears, the defense was presenting the facts of the case to as many people as it could reach. The defense committee formed by Indiana University students after Hoadley's initial newspaper attack early in 1963 expanded into the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students after the indictments hit. The CABS grew into a national organization, with sponsors and chapters across the country.

From Boston to L. A., students and citizens rallied to the side of the indicted YSAers. Over 700 professors and public figures became sponsors of the Committee—including Bertrand Russell, James Baldwin and SNCC chairman John Lewis.

The CABS printed leaflets, pamphlets and brochures explaining the issues involved, including the transcript of the "seditious" speech by Leroy McRae. CABS newsletters refuted Hoadley's slanders as he spewed them out.

Morgan, Bingham and Levitt went on several speaking tours. They presented the truth about the case to thousands at over 100 colleges and universities, and to many more on radio and TV programs. Students and professors gave thousands of dollars and much effort to make the defense a winning proposition, for it became widely realized that a victory for Hoadley would be a sharp defeat for academic freedom and the Bill of Rights.

The NSA, the British Labor Party Youth, and many college groups passed resolutions denouncing the witchhunt. Five hundred students at Carleton College gave up a dinner and turned the money thus saved over to the defense. The campaign snowballed. Before long its impact began to be felt in Bloomington, and Hoadley's support weakened under the glare of the national spotlight thrown on the case.

On the legal side of the defense, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee provided its General Counsel, Leonard B. Boudin. Louisville attorney Daniel T. Taylor III joined Boudin in a powerful defense team.

The confrontation came on March 20, 1964. At the pre-trial hearing on the constitutionality of the law, Hoadley met face to face with the two

defense lawyers who were vastly his superior both in their knowledge of the law and in their understanding of democratic rights. The defense argued that the Indiana Anti-Communism Act was unconstitutional and in violation of the rights of free speech, assembly and association, and superceded by Federal legislation. The court upheld the defense and the law was declared unconstitutional.

Hoadley has now appealed this decision to the Indiana Supreme Court. If he should win at this level, Hoadley would again hold the club of this medieval law over not only the YSAers but all

voices of dissent at Indiana University. Witch-hunters all over the nation would be given a precedent and stimulus.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students is preparing to fight Hoadley's appeal at the Indiana state level, to go through a trial and to fight the case if need be up to the United States Supreme Court.

Help stop the Bloomington witchhunt, and strike an important blow for freedom by supporting the CABS. For more information, write to CABS, P. O. Box 213, New York 3, New York.



**IN THE BLOOMINGTON COURTROOM.** Although barred from the courtroom, a local photographer snapped this picture of the three defendants through the glass door. Ralph Levitt (left), Jim Bingham (center), and Tom Morgan anxiously await judge's ruling on defense motions March 20.

## MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

**ANTIOCH:** YSA, c/o Kathy Winston, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs

**BERKELEY-OAKLAND:** YSA, c/o Mary Alice Styron, 1793 Oxford St., Berkeley

**BOSTON:** YSA, c/o Horowitz, 1 Linden St., Boston 34

**CHICAGO:** YSA, Debs Hall, 302 So. Canal St. CLEVELAND: YSA, c/o E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. 25

**DENVER:** Perdue, 1890 Race, Apt. 1

**DETROIT:** YSA, 3737 Woodward

**KENT (OHIO):** YSA, c/o Wittmaack, 134 E. Oak St.

**LOS ANGELES:** YSA, 1702 E. 4th St.

**MADISON:** YSA, c/o Leonard, 508 W. Johnson St.

**MINNEAPOLIS:** YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240

**NEW YORK CITY:** YSA, 116 University Pl.

**PHILADELPHIA:** Ted Fagin, c/o Chertov, 2708 Sterner

**SAN DIEGO:** Lud Carter, 2837 M. Ave., National City

**SAN FRANCISCO:** YSA, 1580 Fulton

**SEATTLE:** YSA, c/o Larry Shumm, 1711 Greenbrier Way.



**IN THE BLOOMINGTON COURTROOM.** Although barred from the courtroom, a local photographer snapped this picture of the three defendants through the glass door. Ralph Levitt (left), Jim Bingham (center), and Tom Morgan anxiously await judge's ruling on defense motions March 20.

# What We Saw in Cuba - An Interview With Two Students

The *Young Socialist* had the opportunity to interview two young people who visited Cuba this summer with the trip sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. The trip itself has been made the object of an attack by the witch-hunting Un-American Activities Committee. Ann Kramer is 22 and a student at Los Angeles City College. Charles Johnson, 23, is a Negro student at Wayne State University in Detroit.

**Q. Why did you go to Cuba?**

**Charles:** Most people went to Cuba to test the travel ban and establish the right to travel. But I went in order to get away from this country for a while, to get a relief from the racist atmosphere that prevails here.

**Ann:** I wanted to see Cuba for myself.

**Q. What was your most important single impression?**

**Ann:** I was most impressed with the educational system, from nursery school through college. There is an obvious lack of hatred and decadence among the youth. They have healthy goals and they study a lot. There is virtually no juvenile delinquency in Cuba. Students there have no racial prejudice, or, at least, I didn't see any. Like teen-age girls everywhere, Cuban teens have idols. But instead of the Beatles or Elvis Presley, Cuban girls carry around pictures of Che and Fidel.

I was most impressed by the love that people have for one another. It is their revolution and the future is their own. It did a lot for our group to be there.

**Charles:** The contrast with American society is very strong. In the U. S. A., we have moral decadence and lack of values. In Cuba, young people are dedicated to self-betterment and the improvement of their society. On the other hand, the feeling of freedom is paramount. It is like a weight is lifted when you leave "race-land," America. In Cuba you can see more clearly.

In Cuba, black people don't have to fight Jim Crow: they can do what they want, without fear of intimidation and violence. The resurgence of

Afro-Cuban culture is being financed by the government. Take for instance, the *Yuruba* dances, from Africa, which had been lost to the public for centuries.

**Q. Would you like to go into some detail on the race question in Cuba?**

**Charles:** Yes. Essentially, my ideas about the race question in America became crystallized in Cuba. The Cubans had racism, and slavery, and they picked up a lot of racist ideas and practices from the nearby U. S. A. Even today there are three main racial groupings: Afro-Cubans, mulattoes, and whites. But, unlike the situation before the revolution, no group is elevated or degraded because of their color. Cuba was previously a color-caste society: social groupings were based on color. Some Afro-Cubans could move up, usually on the basis of money, but in the main they were on the bottom. The direction now is to change this and promote freedom from these racial attitudes.

The tendency is in a strongly anti-racist direction, although there are some vestiges still of the old. But, there is no possibility of activating racist attitudes. The government is *dead serious* in its opposition to racism.

**Q. The American press presents a picture of poverty and deprivation in Cuba. Is this true?**

**Charles:** Many Cubans invited us into their homes. The basic meal is black beans, rice and chicken. This is standard fare. In addition, there is a ration of beef. Before the revolution, the majority of Cubans never saw meat. Now, they ration it and what there is gets around. There is definitely a shortage of beef now.

But, there is no ration on pork, chicken and fish.

What they are now doing is building their cattle herds and not slaughtering many cows. The purpose of this is to build a large beef stock. In a few years, there should be plenty of beef too.

**Ann:** Now, people can purchase what they couldn't afford before the revolution.

Luncheons are served in factories and schools,

and this eases the burden of the rationing.

**Charles:** In addition, all over Cuba, every child under seven gets one liter of milk per day. A liter is a little more than a quart. In Camaguey province, the milk center, there is unlimited milk for everyone.

**Q. What about housing?**

**Charles:** The government policy is to emphasize housing. They have turned the architects loose on workers housing projects. There's nothing in New York to compare with the revolutionary concepts of architecture in Cuba. The new houses are fabulous. The policy is to give new houses first to those who lived in the slums.

In the provinces, they started with individual block houses. Now, they are building apartments. The various cooperatives are building them. In the cities, most construction is pre-fab, and constructed with heavy machinery.

**Ann:** Former sharecroppers were given housing and furniture outright. Those who rented before now own their homes.

**Charles:** There are still slums in Cuba. There is still great underdevelopment, dysentery is still common in the provinces.

**Ann:** They are working up. There's still a housing problem in Cuba, but they're working on it hard.

We were in a charcoal farm. We talked to a man who learned to read and write after the revolution. He was so proud to show us his daughter's diploma and his modern new home. The whole cooperative had new housing. Before, when the place had been owned by American business interests, they didn't even have a doctor. Now they have doctors, dentists and schools.

There is *no* illiteracy, except for the infirm and the very old. School is part of work, and classes are part of the work day.

**Charles:** Rents are very low: about 10% of one person's income.

**Q. What about merchandise in the stores?**

**Charles:** There are no American goods. Che explained that the price the Cubans would have to pay for them would be enslavement, because of the political conditions the U. S. puts on trade.

The stores are not full of goods. There are shortages which are aggravated by the American blockade. People actually have more money now

than they can spend.

**Q. Do the people support the regime?**

**Charles:** Most Cubans would fight to the death against an American invasion. They have a defiant attitude towards invasion. Even Cubans who are anti-Castro would fight against a foreign invasion. That was proven to be true during the *Playa Giron* attempt.

**Ann:** I met only one opponent of the regime, although some of the people on the trip said they met several. Some would come to the hotel to talk with us.

**Charles:** I didn't meet any. That's probably because the counterrevolutionaries don't like Negroes and don't want to talk to us.

**Ann:** He spoke freely. He missed the decadence and immorality of the old dictatorship and admitted it. And he made numerous accusations against the government, apparently not fearing any penalty.

**Q. What about sabotage and counterrevolution?**

**Charles:** The militia stops any of that. They guard stores and factories. One Negro woman I



U.S. Students at work site in Cuba.

saw was about 50 years old. She was guarding a hotel with a machine gun. From the looks of her, no counterrevolutionaries would get near that hotel.

**Q. Before the Revolution, Cuba was known as a center of vice. Has this changed?**

**Charles:** Most of the gamblers and vice-chiefs have flocked to Miami and Puerto Rico. The government has closed down the gambling casinos. They ran the gangsters out.

**Ann:** There are rehabilitation centers for ex-prostitutes.

**Q. Did you go to the rehabilitation center?**

**Ann:** No. That would be humiliating for the women. But we did speak to the heads of both the Prostitution Rehabilitation Center and the Criminal Rehabilitation Center. Some couldn't be changed because they were so hardened.

They have schools to teach them trades and how to live a normal life.

**Q. What is the medical situation?**

**Ann:** It's all free of charge.

**Charles:** There are some problems. A lot of doctors fled. Then, they limited the income of doctors too much. This was a mistake, in my opinion, because it caused more doctors to leave.

There's a real shortage of skilled doctors. Many people take minimum courses in medicine. The Soviet Union has helped them a lot in this respect. But, many young people are studying to be doctors. The shortage shouldn't last more than five years.

**Ann:** Women get full pay while they are having a child. They get layoffs of as much as 3 months. The amount of time depends on the nature of their work: a factory worker gets more time off than an office-worker. But, they all get 100% pay.

There are excellent nursery schools. The children are well-integrated racially. They can start as young as forty-five days old.

If you are disabled on the job, you get full pay for the duration of the time that you can't work. If you are disabled for life, you get full pay the rest of your life.

I was very impressed with the facilities for treating mental patients. Before the revolution, hospitals were often brutal: people often died of

diseases they caught in the hospital.

Now they are very concerned with the individual. They have auditoriums and cultural events. There are enough doctors, nurses and medicine to treat the patients. Particular attention is paid to mental patients, many of whom can now be reached and helped. There is no food rationing of any kind in the hospitals.

**Q. Could you describe culture and education?**

**Charles:** There are many scholarship schools which are actually sort of boarding schools. These schools are completely free.

There were some restrictions on the personal lives of the students which I don't agree with. But this is really over-compensation for the decadence and moral breakdown that existed prior to the revolution.

Cuban culture is heavily Afro-Cuban. This is easily detected in their music and dance. Many of the first Cuban painters and poets were black. The government has emphasized this reality.

Many dance schools and painting schools have been set up for the common people, for amateurs. There is a great interest in early Soviet filmmaking, like the films of Serge Eisenstein.

Many troops, theatrical and musical, travel across the country.

**Ann:** Worker's concert groups exist which play the great works of Western music. Contests exist across the country. There is great popular participation.

**Q. How were you treated as Americans?**

**Ann:** The Cubans treated us royally. The feeling there is strongly pro-American. They separate the government from the people and feel very sympathetically towards the latter.

**Q. Is there anything in Cuba that we, in the U.S.A. should emulate?**

**Charles:** Yes, their attitude on race. We should copy this attitude. Similarly with their values: the revolutionary process has changed their values with respect to life and society.

**Ann:** Our decadent society should change in the direction of Cuba. There, people can use their energies that are beneficial to themselves and to society.

# Books

Almost from the first day of formal education, a youth growing up in our society is taught to think in tight, formal compartments. Almost everything, he learns, has its price to which it is equal and for which it can be bought. If he wants it he must pay that price and not a cent less. If he has any sense, he won't pay any more.

He learns to lead a social life that depends upon what one, or two, "best friends" think of him; if he learns to have long-range social goals in his lifetime, he is in a small minority.

The science he learns consists of statistics, isolated "variables," individual facts which have no connection with anything else unless in a one-to-one relationship. He learns late in life, if he learns at all, that some things aren't so automatic; thus relatively simple concepts, involving motion, in calculus or modern physics become unfathomable.

He learns history as a collection of names, dates, battles, each isolated from the rest, whose major use is in passing tests.

The major cause of this disease — whose result is the inability to consider things in their contexts, in development over the long run and in their relationship to one another — is commitment to formal logic.

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**AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM.**  
By William F. Warde. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003. 1963. 107 pages. \$1

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William F. Warde — in this reprint of his excellent introduction to Marxist logic, which had previously been available only in mimeographed form — considers the need for, and the limitations of, this manner of thinking according to the "law of identity," which says a thing is equal to itself (A equals A, etc.).

Identity is the basis for all classification; it allows one to recognize himself and others from day to day; it allows one to continue a job as long as it remains to be done.

But it ignores the fact that fish evolve into non-

fish, amphibians; that some people are schizophrenic and become non-selves; that capitalism may be abolished or that armed fascist gangs may replace capitalist democracy. In short "A is non-A."

Warde discusses in detail the forms of the ever-present transformation of things into their "opposites."

He shows that the dialectical way of viewing the universe itself grew out of centuries of experience and give-and-take of thinkers and doers. He demonstrates that it alone accurately reflects the world, because it alone accepts change as inherent in nature. He illustrates the laws of dialectics with many examples from natural science, industry, finance, geography, sociology, history of philosophy and many other fields.

Warde explains how, under the influence of the Industrial Revolution in technology, the French Revolution in politics, and the Copernican-Newtonian-Leibnitzian revolution in science, the German father of dialectics, Hegel, sought to shatter the logic of medievalism which held that all things were static; and how Marx and Engels were able to overcome Hegel's idealism and provide a materialist foundation for dialectics.

He thus shows how dialectics alone explains itself as well as other approaches rooted in the development of society at a given stage.

The dialectical method, unlike formal logic, does not lend to facile, formal rules. It is best taught by practice and practice is best done with a rounded, dialectical approach. Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* is one of the most monumental examples of dialectics and at the same time the narrative of the most monumental act of human history.

As Warde notes, "the ideas of formal logic constitute the most tenacious of all theoretical prejudices of our society." A whole host has combined to uphold them against the inroads of Marxist logic: From Sidney Hook who rejects the "religion" of dialectics, to the professor who says the dialectic is just a clever way of lying, to the "Marxist" bureaucrat who justifies his privilege by "dialectics."

Warde's book is a real help in clearing away the fog.

— J.G.

# Books

Isaac Deutscher, the internationally known scholar and author of the three-volume biography of Leon Trotsky has compiled and edited this 365-page collection of the writings of the great revolutionary leader: *The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*. The selections, representing but a fraction of the literary and theoretical contributions of the "Old Man," have been carefully made, to give the reader a valuable

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***The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*. Edited by Isaac Deutscher, with the assistance of George Novack. Dell paperback. New York City, 1964. 365 pages. Price 95¢.**

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introduction to Trotsky's writings and the method of revolutionary Marxist theory.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of this volume. The contents cover the entire sweep of Trotsky's participation in the working-class struggles of the twentieth century: The young agitator among the workers in South Russia; the chairman of the first Soviet in the Petersburg uprising of 1905; the formulator, at 27, of the famed theory of Permanent Revolution; the strategist for Russia's October Revolution in 1917; the signer of peace at Brest-Litovsk; the organizer of victory in the Civil War; the co-founder with Lenin of the Communist International; and then, after Lenin's death, the leader of the opposition to Stalinism, the foremost Marxist to explain it, and the founder of the Fourth International.

At each stage of his life, the most pertinent products of his thoughts are placed before the reader for study and analysis. Besides his political works, selections from his writings on literature, dialectical materialist philosophy, science, and the communist future of the United States are included.

For the student of modern history, this compilation is of immense value to understand the motive forces that have shaped the world around us and of the whole evolution of the socialist movement. For those young people in this country who intend to have a say and play a role in the solution of the burning social questions of our day, Leon Trotsky is must reading.

— R.L.

When Art Preis left Ohio State University in 1932, he could not have imagined that he would participate in the greatest organizing work of his generation, that quiescent labor would break the bounds of the American Federation of Labor to organize millions of workers in the Congress of Industrial Organization.

In the years he spent founding the Unemployed League in Toledo, Ohio (which subsequently grew into the largest such organization in the country), or as chairman of the Works Progress Administration Union of Toledo which organized 23,000 workers in militant class struggle, or as staff writer of *The Militant* during the post-World War II strike wave, neither he nor anyone else could have foreseen that a time would come when the story of these years would be almost completely forgotten — and generally unknown.

Today's youth do not hear the story of the CIO, even from the leaders of former CIO unions, who today have much to say about "statesmanship" and "defending freedom." The last thing the labor agents of the bosses want today's youth to recall is the inspiring, grass-roots crusade the CIO generation conducted when they were young. And the last question they want today's youth to ask is: Why did the CIO lose its fighting power and is there anyone carrying on that struggle still?

Art Preis never turned his back on that fight. He is one of the very few people who are capable of writing the story of the CIO, who can bring to

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***Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO*. By Art Preis. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003. 550 pages with index. \$7.50**

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the youth generation of the 'sixties the flavor of the mass struggle of the 'thirties and 'forties and offer some answers to those questions which the labor "statesmen" are so anxious to avoid.

Art Preis spent six years writing *Labor's Giant Step*, processing material and memories from three decades of labor history. The *Young Socialist* highly recommends this vivid 550-page account of labor's leap from craft unionism to industrial organization. For the disinherited, now on the march again, can learn from this man who was there when the disinherited last shook the nation.

— J.G.



# Books and Pamphlets

## THE BLACK REVOLUTION

- George Breitman, **How A Minority Can Change Society**. The real potential of the Negro struggle. 25¢.
- Frederick Douglass, **Life and Times of Frederick Douglass**. Autobiography. \$1.50.
- W. E. B. DuBois, **Black Reconstruction**. The classic history of the post-Civil War Period in the South. (paper) \$3.45.
- Daniel Guerin, **Negroes On The March**. A survey of the Negro struggle to 1954. (paper) 50¢.
- Robert F. Williams, **Negroes With Guns**. An account of Williams' struggle for the right of self-defense in a Southern town. (paper) \$1.95.

## JAMES P. CANNON

- First Ten Years of American Communism**. Report of a participant. \$6.50.
- The History of American Trotskyism**. Report of the founder of the American Trotskyist movement. \$2.00 (paper).
- Socialism on Trial**. The court record of Cannon's testimony in the 1941 Minneapolis Trial. An excellent introduction to basic socialist ideas. 50¢.

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- Capital**. An analysis of capitalism. Vol. I. \$2.
- Wage Labor and Capital**. What is meant by exploitation? 35¢.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**. Is Socialism an ideal world to be realized only if men wake up to the fact that it is necessary, or does it grow out of the development of society? 65¢.
- The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State**. A discussion of the origins of inequality and modern social institutions. 60¢.

## FIDEL CASTRO

- History Will Absolve Me**. Speech on the Moncada Barracks raid, July 26, 1953. \$1.
- On Marxism-Leninism**. December 2, 1961. \$1.
- The Second Declaration of Havana**. Cuba's answer to the OAS. 25¢.
- The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought**. March 13, 1962. 15¢.
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- History of the Russian Revolution**. Epic narrative of the nine months that shook the world. \$12.50.
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