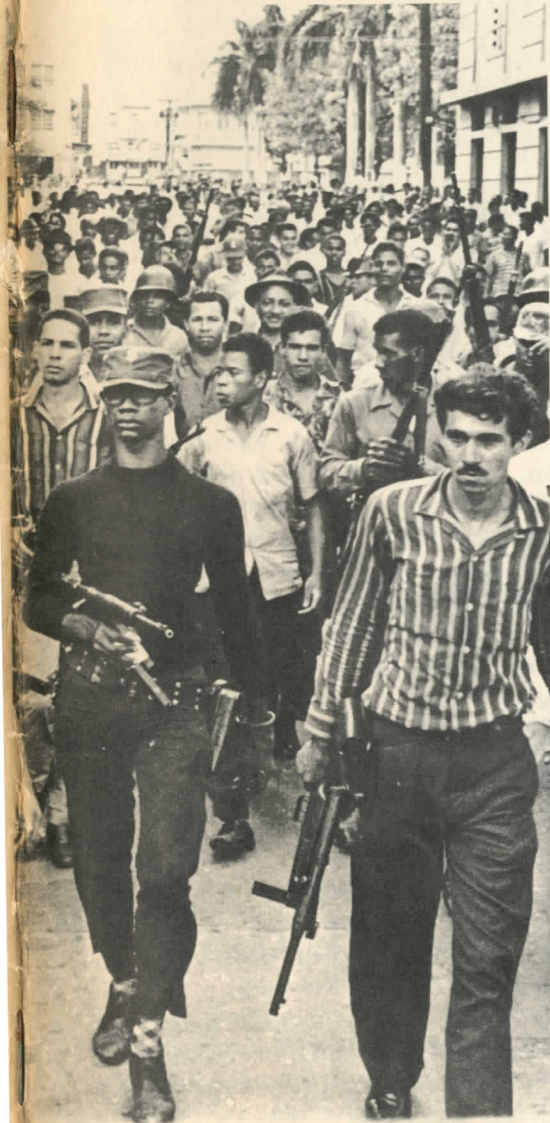


# YOUNG SOCIALIST

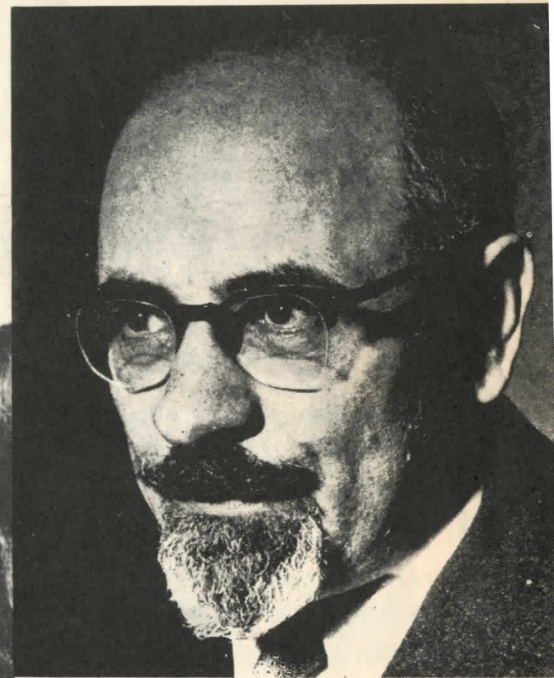
JULY-AUGUST 1965

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## THE NEW ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT



THE TRUTH ABOUT  
SANTO DOMINGO



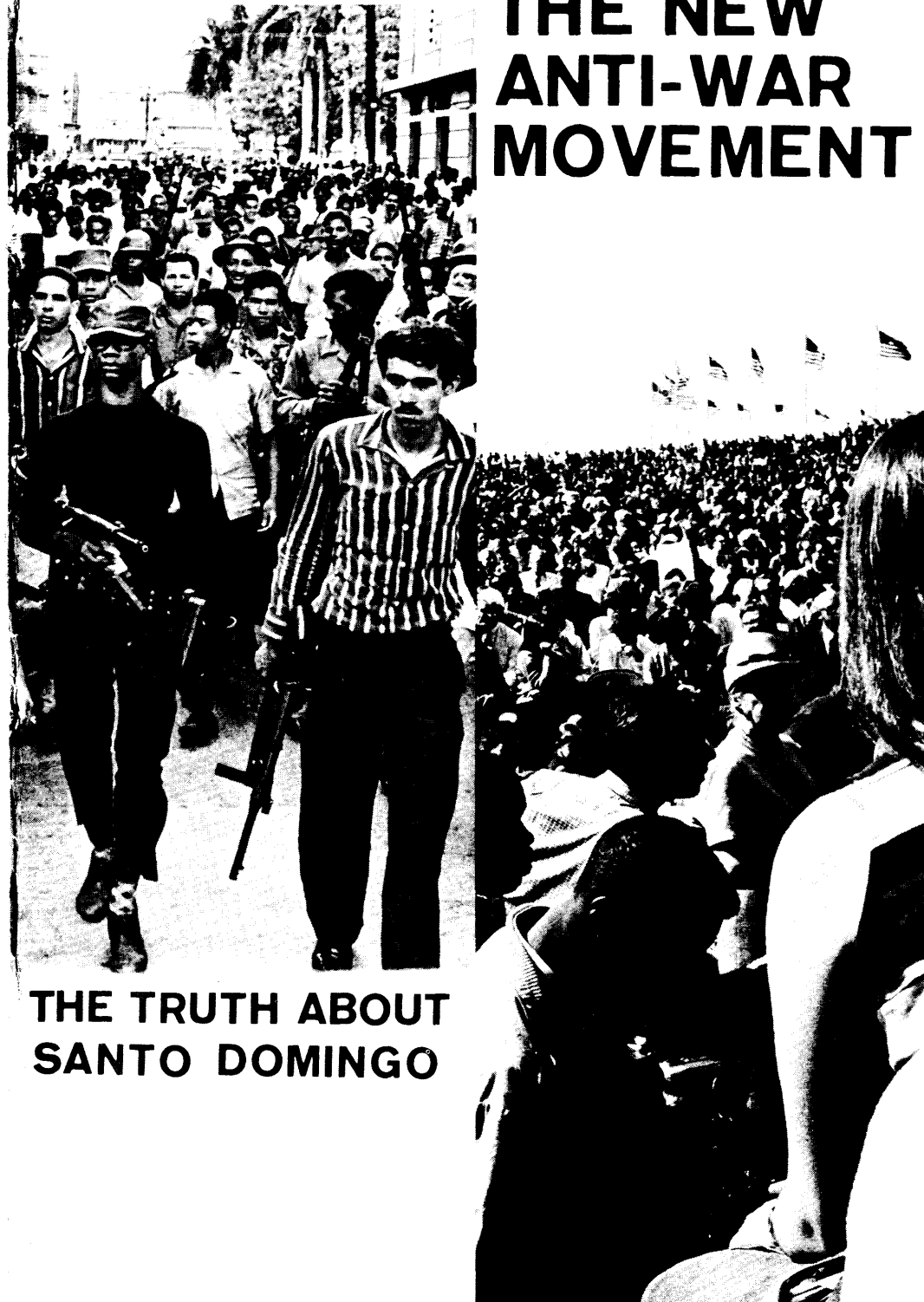
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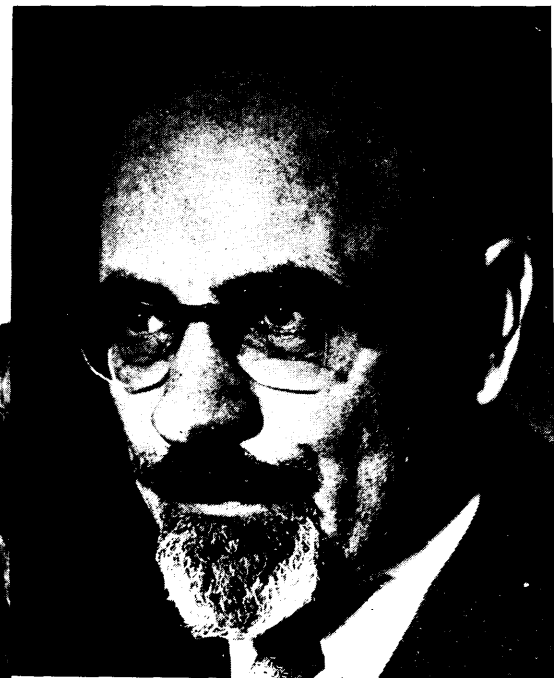
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INTERVIEW WITH  
ISAAC DEUTSCHER

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

# YOUNG SOCIALIST NOTES

Vol. 8, No. 5 (65)

JULY-AUGUST 1965

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**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOLS:** Summer schools sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance will be held in eleven different cities this year. They will feature lectures, discussion groups, tapes and assigned readings. Topics to be studied are Marxist economics, Negro history, labor history, history of the American anti-war movements, history of the Cuban, Russian and Chinese revolutions, history of the American socialist movement, and fascism and the police state. To find out more about the schools, contact the YSA in your area.

**FREE UNIVERSITY:** Students and faculty alike are busy painting and fixing up the rooms which will house a new kind of educational institution, a Free University. It will be a place where teachers can say whatever they please without fear of losing their jobs. Some of the 18 courses being offered are: Seminar on Press and Satire by Paul Krassner, The American Radical Tradition to 1900 by Staughton Lynd, and The Permanent Revolution by Lynn Henderson. School starts July 6 and each course costs \$24.00. For more information write to the Free University, 20 East 14th St., N. Y., N. Y.

**A NEW ENCOURAGING PHENOMENON:** The March on Washington helped give birth to a new species of organization — "Committees to End the War in Vietnam." They exist in most major cities, and on hundreds of individual campuses and are important vehicles for organizing protests. Some of the more active committees were set up in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Berkeley, at Columbia in New York, Chicago and Detroit. Most of the committees welcome everyone to take part, so that they have served to unite the anti-war efforts of all the political groups who oppose the war.

**THE BIGGEST TEACH-IN:** Before the 36-hour outdoor Berkeley teach-in, the two professors who withdrew called it "an ideological circus," and "symbolic of the new anti-intellectualism that is gaining strength today." In general the press echoed their condescending attitude. But for most of the 15,000 students who took part, the teach-in was another impressive witness to the dead serious concern of our generation of students about the question of peace and war. The students listened quietly

(continued on page 22)



April 17 March on Washington

# Anti-War Movement Continues To Grow

BY JACK BARNES and ELIZABETH BARNES

National Chairman and National Organizational Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance

The rallies, marches, and teach-ins that make up the movement against the war in Vietnam are a new phenomenon in American history. Never before has such large scale vocal opposition to a war been manifested while the war itself was in progress. "Peace movements" that have occasionally blossomed have always collapsed as soon as the shooting began. This was the case in World War I, World War II, and the Korean war.

The anti-war protests embracing hundreds of thousands of students from coast to coast have spread very rapidly. The Student March on Washington was called in January of this year and the

first teach-in took place only last March 24 at the University of Michigan. A sense of urgency seemed to underlie the pace at which the protest spread across the nation.

Paul Potter, the President of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the April 17 March on Washington, discussed the urgency and apparent suddenness of the student protest:

"Most of us grew up thinking that the United States was a strong but humble nation, that involved itself in world affairs only reluctantly, that respected the integrity of other nations and other systems, and that engaged in wars only as a last

resort. This was a nation with no large standing army, with no design for external conquest, that sought primarily the opportunity to develop its own resources and its own mode of living. If at some point we began to hear vague and disturbing things about what this country had done in Latin America, China, Spain, and other places, we remained somehow confident about the basic integrity of this nation's foreign policy. The Cold War with all of its neat categories and black and white descriptions did much to assure us that what we had been taught to believe was true.

"But recent years, the withdrawal from the hysteria of the Cold War era, and the development of a more aggressive, activist foreign policy, have done much to force many of us to rethink attitudes that were deep and basic sentiments about our country. The incredible war in Vietnam has provided the razor, the terrifying sharp cutting edge that has finally severed the last vestiges of illusion that morality and democracy are the guiding principles of American foreign policy."

#### **The U. S.: World Policeman**

Until recently the surface appearance of world events seemed to corroborate what we were taught and "grew up thinking" about the United States. The modern history of the United States is replete with incidents of violence and intervention against the people of the colonial countries, especially those of Latin America. But the United States was not a major imperialist overlord of a colonial empire

as were Spain, Portugal, Britain and France. While in many cases the United States financed colonial repression and benefited from the colonial rule of other powers it let their armies set up the colonial offices and occupation regimes.

Thus our teachers could moralize against carrying the white man's burden, defend self-determination and following World War II lecture about the British and French moral responsibility to liquidate their colonial empire.

But France and Britain's relative weakness in the face of the momentous rise of the colonial revolution following World War II resulted in their withdrawal or defeat in country after country. The U. S. financed the war against the Vietnamese, but the French did the fighting — and lost. The years following the fall of Dien Bien Phu saw America more and more occupying the stage alone as the only capitalist nation economically and militarily powerful enough to assume the role of world policeman against the colonial revolution.

The Korean war was disguised as a "police action" against a "foreign" invading army. The 1954 invasion of Guatemala was veiled by the CIA's use of "native" troops. The 1957 occupation of Lebanon was brief and relatively bloodless. The 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba was a CIA operation carried out by Cuban mercenaries, not American GIs.

But by the early 1960's in Vietnam there were no more convincing veils; the CIA wasn't enough,

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there was no more financing some other western foreign army to do the fighting, and there was no quick victory. North America's "non-colonial" power became Mr. Imperialism as the United States openly shouldered the White Man's Burden in the form of a foreign occupying army fighting in the name of a hated puppet regime in a dirty war of napalm, torture and all the rest. It was no longer the French in Algeria, the Belgians in the Congo, or the British in India. It was Uncle Sam in person!

It was *this* that the students rebelled against. The web of lies spun by the government and press to "explain" the war became too transparent. It was not, as Paul Potter later said in his Washington speech, "the beginning of the American counterrevolution." That had begun long before and had scourged through the Philippines, Korea, Guatamala, Lebanon, Cuba and the Congo, among others. But it *was* the beginning of the "American counterrevolution's" most naked and undisguised stage — and the beginning of the student's recognition of its true character.

### **The Response of Government Spokesmen**

The hostile reaction of the administration and its spokesmen to the anti-war movement served to deepen the political understanding and heighten the anger of the rebels. Instead of answering the criticisms of the anti-war movement, the administration and their spokesmen in the universities and press first evaded them by attacking the "competence" of the dissenters.

This attitude was capsulized in an article in the May 16 *Los Angeles Times* entitled "Egghead Revolt in Full Swing." It states in part:

"Columbia's respected president, Grayson Kirk said, "I have observed, with no little embarrassment for my profession, the extent to which the professors who have been lecturing to students in the so-called teach-ins have been drawn from academic fields which could have given them no possible fund of special knowledge about the difficult and complicated problems of Vietnam.'"

But it was against this very concept that the "egghead revolt" had taken place. The "experts" with their "fund of special knowledge" are the ones who, with their Harvard sheepskins and Texas homilies, have arrogantly decreed their monopoly on the decision making powers over war and peace. Behind warnings of the "complexity of the issue" they have manhandled the truth about the war by pumping a steady stream of lies to the American people. The students came to the conclusion that the liberal "experts" and their White House chief have proven themselves the *least* qualified to exercise the powers to make war or to uphold truth and democracy.

To the students whose sensitivity to democracy has been sharpened by their struggles and sympathies for civil rights and civil liberties, the monopoly on decisions and the transparently false propaganda of the warrior experts are as heinous as the inhuman character of the war itself.

The lies and obfuscations which covered up the truth about the war in Vietnam for a period of time sparked the explosion that followed and turned it not only against the U. S. intervention in Vietnam, but against the Washington leaders who subverted truth and democracy to justify their war. Not only their right to decide to make war, but their capacity to govern at all tended to be brought into question.

The "terrifying sharp cutting edge" of the Vietnam reality was superimposed on the growing awareness at home of the fraud of much of America's vaunted constitutional democracy. The students protesting the war in Vietnam did not get their political education in a "peace movement." They received most of it by their participation in the fight of the Negro people for democratic rights and in their own fights for free speech. It was in the civil rights struggle, the demonstrations against HUAC, and rallies for free speech that the chasm separating the American democracy that was preached from that which was practiced started becoming apparent. The simple fact that this country is very ill-fitted to carry democracy abroad became more and more evident.

### **The "Cunning" Reds**

A second line of attack against the students' actions was the attempt to shift the focus of their attention from the actual history of the war and the consequent responsibility it put on Washington to a hunt for the "international Communist conspiracy." James Reston, Associate Editor of the *New York Times*, spoke in late May to the University of Michigan commencement audience.

At the birthplace of the teach-in he said, "The Communists are going to see to it that we are constantly embroiled in highly ambiguous situations where the arguments are not clear but vague, and any decision is risky." In his column of the same day, writing on the Vietnam peasants' guerrilla war, he affirmed, "It is a cunning strategy. It forces Washington to yield or fight on Communist terms in unnatural [sic] surroundings, with unstable and divided allies, and it confuses public opinion in this country."

Thus, the growing conflict between the war-makers and the anti-war movement, is explained away quite neatly as the result of the confusion, vagueness and ambiguity created by an international "cunning" that would make Salem witchcraft look crude.

The less sophisticated versions of the Communist conspiracy develop such a Jekyll and Hyde mystique about the peasants' struggle for land that they come almost full circle back to the truth. The Associated Press bureau in Saigon released a story on April 2 that was carried in many daily papers. Headlined "Faces of the Viet Cong: Guerrilla May Be Rice Farmer By Day, Sly Killer By Night" it begins:

"Who are the Vietcong who prosecute the cruel, stealthy jungle war in South Vietnam?"

"A Vietcong guerrilla may be an innocent-looking rice farmer by day, toiling in his rice paddy, who is transformed by night into a furtive killer. He may be an elusive assassin, a suicidal terrorist or a highly disciplined guerrilla soldier.

"He does not call himself Vietcong. That is a term invented in Saigon, short for 'Vietnamese Communist'. The odds are that he considers himself a patriot . . .

"The VC travels light. Often he carries only his gun and home made dagger, his water canteen fashioned from a bamboo log and his sack of rice.

"Often he may wear only black peasant clothing, or just a pair of shorts, coolie hat and sandals made from old rubber tires."

At the National Teach-In, Professor Scalapino of Berkeley, speaking in place of the number one teach-in drop-out, McGeorge Bundy, denied that the Vietnamese peasant guerrillas were an indigenous force, denied they gathered their following around socio-economic issues, and denied that they commanded the support and allegiance of the people of South Vietnam. He stated that their strength was not based on "appeals which they have been able to make on social, economic, or nationalist issues," but rather were "attributable to organizational skill."

Scalapino's assertion that the strength of the "Vietcong" is attributable to organizational skill begs the question in the same way that the conspiracy theory does. To bolster his assertions, he has to fly in the face of the following historical facts brought into the open at the teach-ins:

During their eight-year war (1946-1954) against the French imperialists, the peasants carried out a land reform which was reversed by the U. S.-backed Diem regime in 1955. In order to carry out this counterrevolution Diem initiated a campaign of terror against the peasantry which involved mass arrests, imprisonment and executions. Diem and the U.S. stood against national elections. It was in response to these repressions that the guerrilla war was launched in South Vietnam.

In the question period at the National Teach-In the question was asked: Why doesn't the U.S. turn its policies around 180 degrees and itself

"subvert" and "organize" the peasantry by supporting a revolution against the landlords and the Saigon clique around the social and economic issues that we supposedly believe in.

The mere posing of this question points to the fact that it is not the "Vietcong's" talent for "subversion" and "organization" that is fueling the revolt against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. It is only by digging into the Vietnamese past and the role played by Western capitalism that the full answer can be unearthed. Thus, it is not surprising that in Ann Arbor, Michigan, James Reston ended his presentation by warning: "The debate will have to go on, but it will not be effective unless it concentrates a little more, not on the past but on the hard dilemmas of the present."

### **What does the Future Hold ?**

The logic of the troops buildup, the bombings of Vietnam and the occupation of Santo Domingo, is so frightening because it leads to the inescapable conclusion that what is intended is a perpetuation of the unbearable conditions in the colonial countries. As long as such conditions remain, the peasants and workers will rebel against oppressive regimes.

Johnson outlined American capitalism's reply to the colonial revolution in unmistakable terms in his May 28 address at the Baylor University graduation exercises:

"The first reality is that old concepts and old labels are largely obsolete. In today's world, with the enemies of freedom talking about wars of national liberation the old distinction between civil war and international wars has lost much of its meaning.

"Second is the reality that when forces of freedom move slowly — whether on political, economic, or military fronts — the forces of slavery and subversion move rapidly, and decisively.

"Third, we know that when a Communist group seeks to exploit misery, the entire free inter-American system is put in deadly danger. We also know that these dangers can be found today in many of our lands. There is no trouble anywhere these evil forces will not try to turn to their advantage. We can expect more efforts at triumph by terror and conquest through chaos . . .

"The path is long and the way is hard. We must in the words of the prophet, 'Mount up on the wings of eagles, run and not grow weary'."

Johnson, who should rate as an expert on the subject, has his "birds" confused. A more appropriate mount, for LBJ, would be the vulture. As if in response to the students' demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and the occupation of Santo Domingo, Johnson insists that it is only the beginning. All civil strife everywhere is to be made

(continued on page 21)

# *Apartheid regime in South Africa continues arbitrary arrests and illegal jailings of freedom fighters*

**BY ROBERT LANGSTON**

Executive Secretary, Alexander Defense Committee

On March 25, 1965 the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court rejected the appeals of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten comrades. Arrested in July, 1963 and charged under the "Sabotage Law" the Eleven were convicted on April 15, 1964 and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. In reality, they have been sentenced to indefinite terms. Under South African law, any prisoner can be held, *after* having served his sentence, as long as the Minister of Justice deems his further detention to be "in the public interest."

Dr. Alexander and his friends were never accused of having committed any act of violence; nor even of having planned one. The evidence introduced by the prosecution showed only that they had formed study groups to investigate possible methods of conducting the struggle against apartheid.

Actually none of the defendants had a long political past. Dr. Alexander, it is true, had been active at the University of Capetown in student organizations affiliated with the Unity Movement of South Africa, but his initiative in forming the study groups was his first act of political leadership. For the other defendants, joining the study groups was their first political act of any sort. That such severe penalties were imposed on novices, whose work was still in the stage of general discussion, demonstrates how terrified the regime is of any potentially serious opposition.

A different pattern of repression is illustrated by a case which has recently come to the attention of the Alexander Defense Committee. Leo L. Sihlali, a former President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, and Louis L. Mtshizana, a former branch Chairman of the Society of Young Africa, an affiliate of the Unity Movement, have been active in the liberation struggle for years. Over the years they have been subjected to relentless persecution, gradually increasing in intensity, until now they have long, indefinite prison terms.

Mr. Sihlali was fired from his teaching position



**Neville  
Alexander**

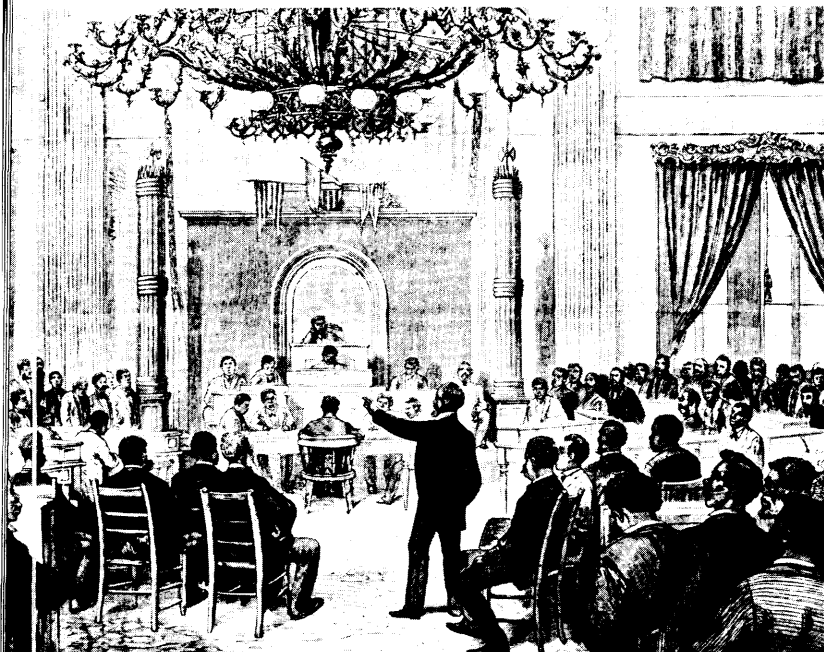
in 1955 and black-listed throughout South Africa. The police successfully "discouraged" potential employers from giving him a job of any sort. When he was able to open a small business, his shop was continually raided by the police — and by burglars, who somehow were never caught. From 1960 on, he was forced to go underground in order to continue even minimal political work. Finally arrested in 1964, he was banned and placed under house arrest.

Mr. Mtshizana is a lawyer who has defended hundreds of people charged with political offenses. Over the years, he has been framed on a weapons-possession charge; he has been convicted of "attempting to defeat the ends of justice" for advising clients of their constitutional right to refuse to answer questions; he has been jailed under the "Ninety Days Detention Clause;" he has been banned and forbidden to communicate even with his law partner.

Now Mr. Mtshizana has been sentenced to four and one-half years imprisonment, and Mr. Sihlali to two and one-half years, for breaking the "Suppression of Communism Act" and for attempting to leave South Africa without valid documents. Only through vigorous international action is there a chance to save them from the Robben Island concentration camp. They must have funds for an appeal, and anyone within South Africa soliciting money for the defense in political cases is himself liable to be prosecuted under the "Suppression of Communism Act."

No further legal steps are possible in the Alexander case, but families of the Eleven must be supported. The legal defense of Mtshizana and Sihlali must be financed. The world must not be allowed to forget the plight of these partisans of liberty. Contributions and correspondence should be sent to: Alexander Defense Committee, P. O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.





Colored National Convention,

held April 5-7, 1876, in Nashville, Tennessee

## The Second American Revolution Part Two:

# RECONSTRUCTION and REDEMPTION

BY PETER CAMEJO

National Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance

In part one we traced the causes of the Civil War and the establishment of Reconstruction in the South. To understand how Reconstruction ended it is necessary to review briefly why it began.

### Northern Capitalists Support Reconstruction

Professor C. Vann Woodward in *The Journal of Negro Education* (1957) explains how Northern capitalists "saw in the return of a disaffected Democratic South a menace to the economic order that had been established during (the Civil War) . . . On nearly every delicate and disturbing economic issue of the day — taxation, the National Bank, the national debt, government bonds and their funding, railroads and their financing, regulation of corporations, government grants and subsidies to business, protective tariff legislation — on one and all the business community recognized in the unreconstructed South an antagonist . . . (the) Northern business community . . . put aside conservative habits and politics and threw its support to Radical Reconstruction."

The capitalists, however, could not establish Reconstruction governments without a popular base in the South. They sought to give the Negroes, who comprised 44% of the Southern population, the vote and with some support among Southern whites establish state governments favorable to industrial capitalism.

Thaddeus Stevens, speaking before the House in January, 1867, expressed the fear of Northern capital that they might lose their electoral control of the federal government when he stated, "If impartial suffrage is excluded in the rebel States . . . they (Southern plantation owners), with their kindred Copperheads of the North, would elect the president and control Congress . . ."

### Negroes Demand Land

The most active force for Reconstruction, without question, was the Negro population in the South. It was through Reconstruction that they won many civil rights including the right to vote and hold office. They saw these rights as the road to improving their economic situation.

Conventions and rallies were called by the Negroes throughout the entire South to discuss Reconstruction. The crucial question of the relationship between large landowners and the non-land owning freedmen was raised over and over again. The Negroes demanded land reform and raised the slogan, "forty acres and a mule."

Speaking to Congress on the day the 13th Amendment was passed, Thaddeus Stevens, argued that "By . . . forfeiting the estates of the leading Rebels (70,000) the Government would have 394, 000,000 acres . . . Give, if you please, forty acres to each adult freedman . . . (which) leaves 354,

000,000 of acres for sale." The capitalists did not want to question the right of property and President Andrew Johnson pardoned the ex-slave owners right and left to protect them from expropriation.

With the establishment of democracy in the South the Negro people organized themselves politically and pressed for social legislation. The all Negro National Labor Union urged the U. S. government to divide "public lands in the southern States . . . (into) tracts of 40 acres each . . ." There was 46,344,059 acres of such land available in five southern states alone.

The NLU also protested the brutality of large landowners against the freedmen.

### **Plantation Owners Have Economic Troubles**

Since the agriculture of the South was very primitive, and since cotton prices were falling and expenditures were high, the plantation owners wanted to drive Negroes into the status of landless agricultural workers with no rights whatsoever. They wanted to exploit the Negroes to the limit in order to produce cotton as profitably as possible. Plantation owners opposed Reconstruction because it threatened to hurt them economically by strengthening the political power of their labor force and thus raising the "dangers" of taxation for schools, anti-lynching and whipping laws, labor reforms, etc.

Perry, a pre-Reconstruction Governor of South Carolina, feared that the poor whites and landless Negroes would get together and divide the land. He wrote in the *Columbia Phoenix* during 1867, "I fear there are many white persons in South Carolina who will vote for a (Reconstruction) convention . . . This class may influence the Negro vote to unite with them, and then, in return, they can unite with the Negro in parceling out the lands of the State. One step leads to another: Stay-law first — repudiation next; and then follows a division of lands and an equal apportionment of property amongst all persons . . ."

### **Democratic Party**

The land-owners with backing from some conservative industrialists began a concerted effort against Reconstruction. Their party, the Democratic Party, had full political rights under Reconstruction but could not expect to win through free elections. Nearly all Negroes and many whites supported the Republican Reconstruction policy and easily defeated Democratic Party candidates in fair elections.

The plantation-bosses used their economic hold on the Negro people to break their political power. They tried firing and black-balling the most vocal

Negro radicals. They also organized illegal, secret armed bodies of men to kill white and black radicals and try to terrorize the Negro people in order to smash Reconstruction. The most widely known of these groups was the original Ku Klux Klan. General Gordon, Confederate General, Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia in 1868, and Grand Dragon of Georgia's KKK, explained to federal investigators that the KKK, ". . . was simply a brotherhood of the property holders . . ."

Besides the KKK there were many other armed groups including the Red Shirts, White Leagues, Democratic Rifle Clubs, and Democratic Military Clubs. Otis A. Singletary in his book, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* states, "It is not too great a generalization to say that the rifle companies were merely the armed wing of the Democratic Party."

### **Federal Government Vacillates**

These armed gangs used nearly every available means of terror and brutality to prevent Negroes from exercising their civil rights. They attacked entire Negro communities, raping and whipping untold numbers. In one county in Florida alone, over 150 Radicals and Negroes were murdered.

The federal government faced a decision either to defend democratically elected Reconstruction governments or to permit armed gangs to violently overthrow them. At first they opposed the Democratic Party's clandestine activity and carried out several investigations of terrorist groups. Occasionally federal troops were deployed and a few terrorists would be arrested and convicted.

However, the only real solution was for Negroes to organize into self-defense units and to carry out a land reform against the plantation owners. These two acts would have broken the financial basis of the plantation owners and destroyed their popular base among the poor whites by opening up the rich lands to the landless, both black and white.

The Negro people, of course, wanted to take these necessary steps and began requesting arms and demanding the organization of state militias. Some state militias were organized but both the state Reconstruction governments and the federal government feared a "race" or "class" war and began vacillating in their support of Reconstruction. In Florida, for instance, a militia was organized but was not given arms.

Other factors led to the vacillating stance of Northern Reconstructionists as well. Many of the Southern plantations were bought by Northern capitalists which linked the Northern industrialists more closely with Southern agriculture. Furthermore, the gradual diffusion of capital to the South

created a class of Southern business interests having common interests with Northern industrialists.

In fact many Southern Democrats began explaining to their moneyed countrymen of the North that they did not oppose pro-industry legislation. These interests controlled the dominant sections of the Democratic Party and argued that they could administer Southern state governments in the interests of Wall Street better than the Reconstructionists.

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|---|------------------------|
| <p>Young Socialist Pamphlet</p>   | <p>By Dick Roberts</p> |
| <p><b>REVOLUTION</b></p> <p>IN THE</p> <p><b>CONGO</b></p>                |                        |
| <p>Pioneer Publishers<br/>5 East 3rd Street<br/>New York, N. Y. 10003</p> | <p>25 cents</p>        |

Professor William Pierce Randel, in his recent book, *Ku Klux Klan*, points out that "in spite of universal denunciation of Northerners, businessmen were not molested by the Klan."

Professor C. Vann Woodward in *Reunion and Reaction* and *Origins of the New South* documents these developments. He points out how the Republicans in the North "learned (one thing) about these Redeemers (which) was that whether they were old Whigs or not, they were not the old antebellum planter type of conservative. They spoke for much the same type of railroad and industrial interests as did the Republicans and took a 'practical' view of things."

Another influential factor in creating doubts among the Northern Reconstructionists was the pressure of protest movements among Western farmers and urban wage workers. The depression of 1873 generated mass opposition to the "Eastern Capitalists" which was far more serious than the threat of the Southern landowners. The Granger movement in the West and the national railroad strike of 1877 were significant manifestations of this unrest.

As the federal government wavered more and more in its defense of Reconstruction, the Democrats in the South grew more daring in their armed attack on the Negro people. Rich Republicans in the South began switching over to the Democratic Party. From their viewpoint, the more Reconstruc-

tion fulfilled their objectives in the South, the less they needed it.

### Redemption Triumphs

In 1875, after some Southern states had already been redeemed through intimidation and fraud at the polls the Democrats, through the armed White League, came close to capturing Mississippi through armed insurrection. President Grant sent G. K. Chase to work out a "cease fire" which required the legal state Negro militia to disarm and disband while leaving the illegal White League armed and organized. The Democrats "won" the next election.

With the approach of the 1876 elections the remaining Reconstruction governments were challenged including South Carolina, the stronghold of Reconstruction. In South Carolina, where Negroes outnumbered whites, the Democratic Party prepared for the elections of 1876 by arming groups in every county. The overthrow of constitutional and democratic government was prepared openly under the direction of ex-Confederate general Martin W. Gary. The following orders were given by him to his band of "Red Shirts":

"That the Democratic Military Clubs are to be armed with rifles and pistols and such arms as they may command . . ."

"Every Democrat must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one Negro, by intimidation, purchase, keeping him away . . ."

"In speeches to Negroes you must remember that argument has no effect upon them: they can only be influenced by fear, superstitions, and cupidity . . . Treat them so as to show them, you are the superior race, and that their natural position is that of subordination to the white man."

". . . a dead Radical is very harmless."

With 90,000 Negroes registered to 60,000 whites, the pro-Reconstruction Republicans should easily have won. However, the Democrats contested the election and Republican President Hayes ruled in favor of the Democrats.

### Northern Capital Still Rules

The change from Reconstruction to Redemption did not mean the end of Northern industrial capitalist dominance in the South and the restoration of the old planter class. Redemption continued the industrial dominance at the state level through the Democratic Party and mobilized illegal armed bodies, now with official sanction, to subjugate the Negro people.

In the rural areas the planters did "return" to power through their control of the local sheriffs and county administrations. However, the policies of the Redemption governments in all aspects, in-

cluding the racist anti-Negro terror campaigns, were the decision of the dominant pro-industrial conservatives.

A survey of the leading Redemption politicians (see chart) shows their ties with industry and railroad interests. The continuity of capitalist rule can be seen in individuals such as Georgia's Reconstruction governor Bullock who became head of Atlanta's Chamber of Commerce under Redemption and the moderate Reconstruction governor of

Most of the Redeemers had ties with business, usually industry or railroads. The following examples are from C. Vann Woodward's, *Origin's of the New South* (chapter 1):

**Tennessee:**

John Brown — first Redemption governor; Vice President of the Texas and Pacific R.R.; later president of the Bon Air Co.

John Porter — followed Brown as governor; President of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis R.R. Co.

**Mississippi:**

Stone and Lowry — served as Redemption governors for a combined 20 years; both were railroad lawyers.

Lamar — Senator; corporation lawyer.

**Alabama:**

George S. Houston — first Redemption governor; director of a branch of the Louisville and Nashville R.R. Co.

Rufus Cobb — followed Houston as governor; attorney for the L & N R.R. Co.

**Georgia:**

Joseph Brown — first Redemption governor; President of the Western Atlantic R.R. Co.; part owner of Southern Railway and Steamship Co., Walker Coal and Iron Co. and Dade Coal Co.

John B. Gordon — ex-Confederate general; head of Georgia's KKK; held investments in insurance, mining, publishing, real estate and manufacturing; on payroll of L & N R.R. Co. for \$14,000 per year.

Alfred Colquitt — plantation owner; interests in the Tennessee Fertilizer Factory and in coal mining.

**Florida:**

"Millionaire Drew" — first Redemption governor; from New Hampshire; lumber tycoon.

**Virginia:**

Gilbert C. Walker — "carpetbagger" Republican; first Redemption governor; Norfolk banker.

Mississippi, Alcorn, who prepared some of the worst anti-Negro legislation for the Redeemers.

### Modern Jim Crow Established

The end of Reconstruction meant stepped up attacks against Negroes and the illegal stripping of their rights, a process that culminated in complete disfranchisement by the turn of the century. They were denied all rights normally associated with wage labor under capitalism. They were tied to

the land through debts and the terror of the local governmental structure. Corporal punishment was established for crimes such as failing to show up for work, attempting to change jobs, etc. Slave labor camps were set up where unemployed Negroes were sent after being arrested on any whim of the authorities. From these camps they were often leased out to businesses for work on chain gangs.

Committees which investigated these labor camps reported that the average annual death rates ranged from 11% in Mississippi to 25% in Arkansas. The prisoners, including women and children, were worked to death. Failure to meet work quotas meant floggings.

The Northern press openly turned against the Negro. Printing every "atrocious" story the Southern press carried, they kept the people in the North ignorant of the developments in the South. Middle class ex-abolitionists also participated in the campaign to blame the Negro for the failure of Reconstruction. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, wrote from Florida in the *New York Tribune* that conditions for Negroes were "All they ought to desire."

History books were written to justify this particular racist line of American capitalists and Columbia University took the lead in turning them out. The American Book and Bible House published a book entitled *The Negro A Beast*. Before one generation had passed the true history of Reconstruction and the causes of Redemption were totally submerged in this barrage of lies and distortions.

### Who is to blame?

Chattel slavery was established and flourished in the early years of American capitalism. However, with the development of industrial capitalism, chattel slavery became an obstacle to the further development of American capitalism. This is the underlying reason why the industrial capitalists opposed and finally destroyed chattel slavery. This was the last major progressive act of the American capitalists, and their failure to continue and deepen their support of Reconstruction proved it.

Although racism has its roots in chattel slavery, the death of democracy in the South and the establishment of the Jim Crow system can only be attributed to modern industrial capitalism.

For years Northern Democrats and Republicans have blamed the South for extremes in racial oppression. The facts reveal, however, that it was only through the direct intervention, and continued support of Northern capitalism that racism reached its vicious extremes in the South and permeated all aspects of American society.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT SANTO DOMINGO



above — a crowd gathers and follows rebel leader Caamano as he walks from one headquarters to another

left — an American marine peers from his tank as he moves into position in Santo Domingo



BY DICK ROBERTS

The United States intervention in the Dominican Republic added a new record in brutal and cynical intervention in the affairs of another country. Today that country is locked in a state of indefinite crisis and prolonged military occupation where the possibility of a treacherous blood bath of the civilian revolutionaries boxed in the downtown slums of Santo Domingo, looms overhead.

A popularly-backed democratic revolution has been stalemated by U. S. occupying troops. On one side are the guns and tanks of the United States paratroops. On the other, the armed and militant Dominican people, digging themselves in for a last ditch battle against the United States. Leading the revolt is a small group of military officers who so far have been unwilling to surrender to a new United States dominated military clique.

On Saturday, April 24, these officers seized the radio station in Santo Domingo and announced an end to the military dictatorship of Donald Reid Cabral. That was the beginning of a long series

of events that is still continuing today.

#### Revolution: April 24—4 PM April 28

Although the radio station was temporarily retaken a half hour later, and several speakers arrested, the Saturday afternoon, April 24, announcement sparked off waves of enthusiastic demonstrations. Reid boarded himself up in the Presidential Palace, wary of an impending ouster and hoping to be rescued by his generals, who procrastinated in an air force base southeast of the city.

The people, however, did not procrastinate and on Saturday evening, armed with weapons given to them by the revolting soldiers, they recaptured the radio station and seized the tanks defending it. By the next morning, Santo Domingo was in the hands of the rebels.

The military supporters of the revolution, who defended the return of former president Juan Bosch, went to the Presidential Palace where they demand-

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The military supporters of the revolution, who defended the return of former president Juan Bosch, went to the Presidential Palace where they demand-

ed and received Reid's resignation. Word of the victory went to Puerto Rico, where Bosch promised to return as soon as possible. Preparing to return to his country, Bosch appointed Rafael Molina Urena (elected head of parliament in 1963 along with Bosch) as acting president. Developments later, Sunday, however, postponed Bosch's return indefinitely.

A small component of the Dominican military elite, commanded by Trujillo-trained General Wessin y Wessin, refused to capitulate to the popular revolt. Four hours after Reid's resignation, they told the leader of the revolution, Col. Francisco Caamano Deno, that either he should surrender immediately, or they would bomb the town and retake it with tanks.

Caamano not only refused to surrender to Wessin, but he threw the arsenals of the army bases open to civilians, drove truckloads of guns to a park in the center of the city, and rallied the populace to defend Santo Domingo against Wessin's attack. That evening the spirit of revolution was high as soldiers and civilians marched arm in arm in the streets.

Wessin, on the other hand, made good his threat. At 4:30 Sunday, his planes bombed and strafed the palace. The following morning, April 26, while continuing to bomb the city and army bases, Wessin's tank force attacked the city, attempting to cross the Duarte bridge linking their air base to downtown Santo Domingo. The bespangled general, however, underestimated the power of an armed populace. His tanks met civilians and soldiers, and by Tuesday afternoon, April 27, after two days of fierce combat, he was forced to retreat.

Meanwhile in Washington the Johnson Administration watched the events in the Dominican Republic very closely. Ambassador William Tapley Bennett had arrived in Washington on Friday, April 23, and was consulted about the situation as it developed. On April 25 and 26, when the Constitutionalist movement had ousted Reid and was hailed by the overwhelming majority of people in demonstrations throughout the country, the State Department made no move toward recognition or support.

"When the embassy, still in Bennett's absence, recommended that American officials establish contact with Bosch," *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc revealed May 16, "the State Department vetoed the idea. Bosch followers were very surprised."

Washington made no move until the rebelling officers handed out guns to the people. The major goal of the U. S. from that moment on was to get the arms out of the hands of the people.

**U. S. Intervention: April 27-28**

At about 4 PM, Tuesday, April 27, Bennett arrived in Santo Domingo and convened a hurried meeting with Rafael Molina Urena, other Bosch supporters, and Caamano and his officers, and told them to surrender.

At the time of the foregoing revolution, the press relied entirely on dispatches from the State Department. According to the State Department reports, there had been two days of rioting, terrorism and mass executions. Then suddenly after the meeting between Bennett and Molina Urena, the State Department triumphantly reported Wednesday morning, April 28, that the Bosch forces had collapsed.

These reports were false. What actually happened was that Molina Urena and several of his followers, quaking at the threat of a U. S. invasion, capitulated to Bennett at the April 27 meeting.

# INTERVIEW WITH A DOMINICAN

The following is part of an interview given by Marcello Bermudez to Young Socialist editor Doug Jenness on June 14. Marcello Bermudez is a founding member of the June 14th Movement in the Dominican Republic and was a guerrilla fighter against the Trujillo regime. He was captured and spent nine months in jail before being deported to Venezuela. After four months in Venezuela he tried to re-enter the Dominican Republic but was refused entry and sent directly to New York where he has spent the last six months. The June 14th Movement has a program for national liberation which includes land reform.

**Q. What were some of the economic, social, and political conditions that brought about the April revolt?**

**A.** The largest sector of the national budget was allotted for military expenses while other needs such as education, public works, and economic development were completely put aside. The conditions of the workers and peasants especially those working in the sugar mills, was miserable.

Large numbers of workers in the sugar mills were put out of work and into the streets with the excuse that the cost of production needed lowering.

Corruption and smuggling existed on a national scale and there are facts to prove that the U.S. ambassador was involved in smuggling.

Bennett, however did not receive the surrender of Col. Caamano. Caamano later told Bernard Collier, the *Herald Tribune* reporter, May 7, that he was "very offended at this stupid attitude. At that moment we made the decision to fight." Far from collapsing, the revolutionary forces had stiffened their resistance to the U.S.-backed junta. **Johnson "Justifies" Invasion**

Despite its numerous public statements pointing to the danger of 54 "known Communists," the Johnson regime was far more concerned about the possibility that *the entire armed populace* would carry the revolution beyond a struggle for a constitutional government and lead it toward a socialist revolution. The example of the Cuban Revolution, begun as a popular struggle for land reform and democracy but of necessity carried to socialist conclusions, was indelibly burned in the



MARCELLO

BERMUDEZ

**Q. Who was responsible for arming the people?**

**A.** The people asked for arms and the honest sectors of the young military led by Caamano handed them out.

**Q. The American government has stated that there were "known Communists" controlling the Constitutional movement. What do you think about this?**

**A.** I think it is absurd that 58 "communists" could control a fight for constitutional government where there were thousands of people, in fact almost the entire population, involved in the movement. It is also a fact that a few of the people that they say are "communists" were outside of the country or in jail. Only a child could believe the story about the 58 "communists".

**Q. What is your attitude toward the Cuban Revolution?**

**A.** Cuba has made a revolution for its people and has the right to defend it and fight against aggression.

**Q. In what way can U.S. students and young people best help the Dominican revolution and the Constitutionlists in the Dominican Republic?**

**A.** I know that in the U.S. there are many young people who are backing our constitutional fight and have responded to the aggression against my country responsibly. Those who understand the undemocratic character of this invasion should mobilize more youth throughout the United States to denounce this act of aggression.

memories of the American rulers.

The very fact that Caamano had helped to arm the people, was proof to the Johnson administration of his incapability of stemming the tide of popular revolution. Analyzing these events in the international press service, *World Outlook*, published in Paris, Joseph Hansen points out that the American government can have little confidence in the Caamano's around the world, particularly when they follow decades of dictatorship, as in the Dominican Republic. If they have any choice at all, the U.S. will inevitably take the Chiang Kai-sheks, the Syngman Rhee's, the Diems, the Batistas, the Castelo Brancos, the Somozas and the Francos. In the Dominican Republic, Johnson had to find another Trujillo, and for the time being, that man was General Wessin. According to *Washington Tribune* reporter, Dom Bonafede, this decision was approved by participants in an April 28th congressional briefing given by CIA chief, Admiral William F. Raborn.

There was one dissenting voice in the congressional briefing, Senator Wayne Morse. On the following Monday, May 3, Morse told the Senate why he opposed recognition of the Wessin clique: "I warned then that to recognize the junta would create serious problems for the United States in Latin America . . . There is no question that General Wessin y Wessin is the military dictator who has destroyed the constitution of the Dominican Republic."

**Bennett's Press Conference**

At the same time that Johnson was lying to the American people about saving civilians, the first of over 20,000 American troops were embarking to crush the Dominican Constitutionlists. Actual evacuation of American civilians *who wished to leave* Santo Domingo had been completed at 3:15 PM *the previous day*, (see the *New York Times*, April 27 report from San Juan by Tad Szulc). Bennett called a press conference later that night where he made it arrogantly clear to reporters what the U. S. intended to do.

Many of these reporters later became completely fed up with the contradictions between what the State Department was saying and what they saw in Santo Domingo. Three weeks after the press conference Bernard Collier gave the following description:

"After a few perfunctory answers to reporters' questions, Ambassador Bennett launched into an attack on Col. Caamano." Then, says Collier, Bennett described the "atrocities" committed by the "rebels" and showed reporters his copy of the CIA's indubitable list. "That was the kind of stuff that makes black headlines," Collier continues, "and

the correspondents in the room fueled the fires burning against the rebel regime by filing what they had been told by the highest U.S. official in Santo Domingo."

"The trouble was that none of it — as far as anyone has been able to determine — was true . . . From that time on information coming from the U. S. embassy grew less and less credible and reliable . . . The Communist issue swelled to an overwhelming excuse of force, without any resort to discussion. Military moves were made secretly at first and accounted for, often falsely, later. But in retrospect, the pattern is clear. Every U. S. action was made to see to it that Col. Caamano's regime was wiped out in the shortest possible time." (*Herald Tribune*, May 18).

Early the next morning, April 29, a certain Dominican Brigadier General, Antonio Imbert Barreras, was quietly flown to the Boxer, command ship of the U.S. task force, where he remained for consultation exactly one week. (*New York Times*, May 15)

#### **Occupation: April 29-May 4**

By the time enough Marines and paratroops had landed on the island to occupy Santo Domingo, Wessin's forces had completely collapsed. A force that at the highest estimate numbered 2,000 was pitched against at least ten times that number of armed Constitutionalists.

On Thursday, Wessin's troops "were tiring badly and lost ground all day." (*Herald Tribune*, April 30) Friday the revolutionaries attacked and captured a huge police arsenal, and by Saturday, the *Tribune* reported: "United States troops . . . took over the job of wiping out rebel assistance to the Dominican Republic's new military junta [sic] . . . The demoralized, dwindling group of perhaps 2,000 loyalists troops under [Wessin] have virtually given up."

United States occupation in this stage was swift. On one side of the city, the Marines took the International Zone, a legal fiction adopted by the OAS April 30, and on the other, air borne troops, landed at the San Isidro base, forcing the Duarte bridge, where Wessin had utterly failed. The two prongs of infantry equipped with the most modern weapons of counter-guerilla warfare pushed through the center of the city, establishing a corridor that divided Santo Domingo and surrounded most of the Constitutionalists in the working class district, *Ciudad Nueva*. The combined operation took five days.

#### **Rebels Resist Occupation**

In the eleven days between the initial U.S. occu-

pation of Santo Domingo and May 15, the U. S. transformed the Trujillist military clique from a defeated force into a powerfully financed military regime, under the man who had spent a week on the Boxer receiving instructions, General Imbert. It was Imbert's job to crush armed civilian resistance in the northern part of Santo Domingo, thus confining all revolutionaries to the completely surrounded area of *Ciudad Nueva*.

Refurbished junta troops, taken through the "neutral" zone to the northeastern segment of the city, were let loose on the people, Saturday, May 15, backed by U.S. tanks and troops. Marcel Niedergang, the veteran Latin American correspondent for the Paris daily, *Le Monde*, gave a graphic description:

Imbert's troops followed "prudently behind the tanks," as they advanced into the poorest and most heavily populated area of the city. They were "constantly caught in the violent fire of the civilian commandos. Boys fifteen years old are firing away at the side of the workers." Casualties piled into the hundreds. It was a "pitiless and bloody struggle, proceeding street by street, house by house," Niedergang reports.

"The counterrevolutionary forces, with considerable material superiority, are able to get reinforcements and in addition have logistic support from the Americans. The popular militia display great courage and complete disdain of death."

Bernard Collier explained just what this logistic support amounted to: "U.S. troops following in the wake of the junta advance . . . have occupied up to 15 blocks north of the corridor . . . This means that rebel forces who remain in the district after the junta forces have moved through can be considered snipers, and the U.S. troops can fire back at them. The U.S. occupation also serves to maintain junta control over territory through which they have passed." (*Herald Tribune*, May 21)

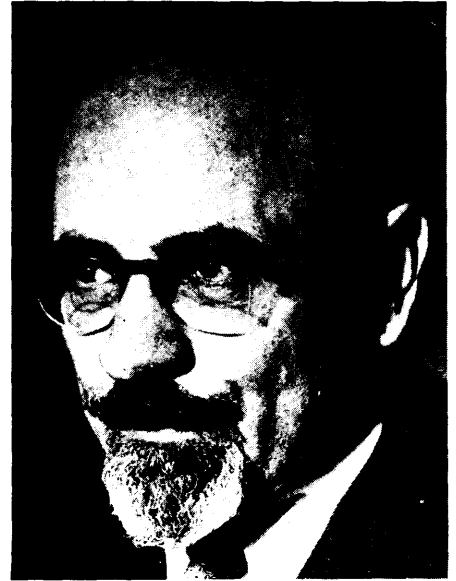
When Imbert "agreed" (i. e. received orders from Washington) to a cease-fire on May 21, northern Santo Domingo had been occupied. Seven or eight thousand homeless refugees fled from the battle zone to the nearby countryside (*New York Times*, May 21). Juan de Onis reported on May 25 that Imbert had taken about 3,000 prisoners, (*New York Times*, May 26). Most ominous was the single sentence appearing in the *Tribune*, May 25: "The OAS said it asked the UN to send a human rights committee to prevent the continuation of mass executions by the junta forces."

(Emphasis added) To date there has been no further word on this.

June 4, 1965



# ISAAC DEUTSCHER



The following interview was given by Isaac Deutscher to Young Socialist editorial board members Doug Jenness and Jon Pederson several days after the National Teach-In in Washington, D.C. Mr. Deutscher is the author of numerous books and articles on the Soviet Union including a biography of Stalin (*Stalin*) and a three-volume biography of Trotsky (*The Prophet Armed, The Prophet Unarmed and The Prophet Outcast*). He wrote the introduction to a selection of Trotsky's writings recently published by Dell (*The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*).

Mr. Deutscher received an enthusiastic response from students when he spoke at the National Teach-In in Washington, D.C. on May 15 and at the Vietnam Day Community Meeting in Berkeley on May 22. Even though the editors of the *Young Socialist* are not in agreement with all of Mr. Deutscher's comments in this interview, we feel his ideas are of interest to the anti-war students who heard him speak in this country.

\* \* \*  
**Q.** For about a decade, Khrushchev was identified with the de-Stalinization of the USSR. Did his ouster signify the end of this trend, or is de-Stalinization continuing without him?

**A.** De-Stalinization is continuing, and even gaining momentum without him. If one reads Soviet theoretical periodicals that have been published since Khrushchev's fall, one sees many symptoms of the continuing de-Stalinization. Those who can read and translate Russian would be interested in an article that appeared this year in *Novy Mir*, a journal which sometimes publishes "heretical" viewpoints. The article tries to assess from a Marxist point of view the implications of the development of science in three major branches: physics, chemistry, and biology. It's a reasoned argument, that draws some very important, purely Marxist conclusions from the crises in biology and physics, and relates these crises to Marxist think-

ing. *Novy Mir* publishes over 100,000 copies monthly and is read in Russia by an enormous and educated public.

The references to Stalin which Brezhnev made recently, where to some extent he tried to restore Stalin's place in the history of the Second World War, does not contradict my view at all. These references were ambiguous and were calculated to rectify the idiotic excesses of the Khrushchevite de-Stalinization. For example the attempt to delete Stalin's name from Russian history, especially from the record of the Second World War was as much an excess as Stalin's attempt to delete Trotsky's name from Russian history.

Another reason why Brezhnev and Kosygin now refer to Stalin in a less derogatory manner is to give a sop to the Chinese. The Chinese insist that Stalin's role in Russian revolutionary history was positive and the Russian leaders make concessions in this direction in order to help restore a common front over Vietnam against America.

**Q.** During this process of continuing de-Stalinization, do you see more signs of decision making power in the hands of the workers, that is, more workers' democracy?

**A.** No. Not yet. No workers' democracy, if by workers' democracy we mean that workers are free to voice their opposition and criticism of the government. No workers' democracy if under workers' democracy we mean any institutionalized form of workers' control or participation in the management of industry.

There is something less than that, and perhaps leading to that, and that is an increasing pressure on the bureaucracy by the working class, an increasing fermentation and anti-bureaucratic mood among the workers. For instance, shortly before

Khrushchev's downfall, there was a strike in a large motor car plant in Moscow, with strikers picketing the site.

One is also told about the great strikes and clashes between workers, police and even troops in the Donetz coal basin, one of the major industrial areas in the Southern part of the Soviet Union.

The increasing rebellious activity on the part of the workers is scattered and so far purely economic, carrying with it no political content.

I think that the absence of an articulate and institutionalized workers democracy must be due not only and not so much to the pressure of the bureaucracy, which has been weakening, as to political inertia and lack of political awareness on the part of the workers. This, of course, is the result of the decades of Stalinism, of the absence of any open debate and the lack of any genuine educative political work among the working class.

**Q. The cracking of the Stalinist monolith around the world and the development of polycentrism among the Communist parties has led to the formation of many tendencies such as Titoism, Maoism, Khrushchevism, and Castroism. What do you think each of these tendencies represents in the world struggle for socialism?**

**A.** The breaking up of the Stalinist monolith has, of course, its positive and its negative aspects. The positive aspect is that the monolith was reactionary. Its disappearance is bound to facilitate the development and crystallization of genuine currents of opinion and genuine debate in the communist world. The negative aspect is the extraordinary, repulsive, and unproductive form in which the controversies are pursued and the conflicts fought out. The debate between the Chinese and Russians, especially during the Khrushchev era, was conducted in a quasi-Stalinist style, by imputation, falsification, and denigration of the opponent's positions, without a real crystallization of the points at issue. The Stalinist traditions still mark all the currents that have emerged.

I am not speaking of Castroism, which is to some extent on the margin of the whole development. It does not participate genuinely in the internal struggle between the Communist parties. It does not intervene in that struggle. For a variety of reasons, which one can understand, Castro and his party try to keep, shall we say, a diplomatic reserve without contradicting their own views.

The major currents in the communist movement: Titosim, Khrushchevism, and Maoism, represent a division between right, center, and left in this corresponding order. But one can speak of this division only with very important reservations, since all of these currents are based on the interests

of the various national bureaucracies. None of them has crystallized in an intellectually and politically healthy manner. All are equivocal and combine new attitudes with old Stalinist habits. This is true of Titoism as much as Maoism and Khrushchevism.

Certain elements of right, left, and center attitudes pervade each of these groupings. In the foreign policy practiced by the Maoists, it is obvious that a leftish element is dominant; however there are also elements of great power politics and opportunism. We also see in Maoism more and more elements of something like a shamefaced doctrine of socialism in one country. The latter is a reaction to the Soviet economic reprisals against China. In China's domestic outlook, the bureaucracy and inequality seem weaker in some respects than in Russia. The bureaucracy is less greedy, less formed as a privileged group, and closer to the masses than the Russian bureaucracy has been.

The backwardness of the country leads to a number of features of the regime which, from a Marxist viewpoint, are highly retrograde. For example, the dogmatism, the deification of Mao and the absolute lack of dissent. This, of course, reflects the profound backwardness of China, whose population still consists mostly of illiterate peasants, living in very primitive conditions; a backwardness that refracts itself in the whole mentality of the ruling caste.

It is evident now that the Soviet Union is in the throes of a crisis, almost as grave as that which followed after Stalin's death. But it is a crisis on a much higher level of development. The increasing economic pressure from the working class, the growing ferment and criticism among the intelligensia, and the continuing obstruction from the peasantry, coupled with a disastrous agricultural policy, has led to the current dangerous tendencies in the whole national economy.

**Q. Do you think the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has not abandoned many of the methods of Stalin explains their violent anti-Trotskyism?**

**A.** In my view, this violent anti-Trotskyism is partly a polemical tactic. Partly, however, it is rooted in their party tradition. The paradox of the situation is that Mao and his comrades were "deviationists" during the Stalin era. After all, they made the revolution in 1948-49 against Stalin's explicit advice. They conducted their acts of warfare for a decade-and-a-half in explicit or implicit opposition to Moscow, and Mao Tse Tung was for many years regarded by the Comintern as a heretic. Their belated conversion to Stalinism is also due to their fear that de-Stalinization unleashed right-wing tendencies in the Soviet Union and in Eastern

Europe. Therefore, since the Hungarian uprising, the Chinese have sought reassurance against these tendencies, in a relapse to Stalinism.

The fact that they are the rulers of a very backward country has always made them partly inclined to adopt many of the Stalinist methods. The Chinese example shows that Stalinism has to be seen against the background of the economic, social, and cultural conditions of its original country, and not just as a conspiracy or as the product of Stalin's ill will or of something peculiar to Russia or to Bolshevism.

**Q. Do you think that the course of historical events has confirmed Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution?**

**A.** The course of historical events confirms Trotsky's theory, as any course of events confirms any correct theory; that is by confirming it in the broad outline and refuting its details and specific elaborations.

**Q. Do you find that there is more interest in the ideas and personality of Trotsky today in Europe, the United States and Russia, than there was five or ten years ago?**

**A.** I don't believe that there is much interest in the sectarian Trotskyist organizations. *I believe that there is a tremendously growing interest in the person, the tragic fate, and the great ideas and literary legacy of Trotsky.* As an illustration of how this influence of Trotsky works in your own country, I will quote from a letter sent to me by one of the men who asked me to speak at the National Teach-In. He writes: "Your biography of Trotsky has, I confess, forced me to revise entirely my thinking about Trotsky as a man, as an intellect and as a revolutionary. By rehabilitating Trotsky in the West, who was, after all, the quintessence of the revolutionary intellectual, you have taken an enormous step toward rehabilitating the possibility of radical thought and action in our part of the world. Indeed, no one has done more to disentangle the Western radical from the twin dangers of cold war demonology and enervating apolgia. In the long run, I am convinced that the deepest impact of your work will be to make the position of the European and American radical intellectually defensible, after it has been internally corroded by Stalinism, and externally battered by twenty years of cold war."

While in Washington, I discussed many problems of socialist theory with literally hundreds of students, and I found that these students and a surprising number of young professors reacted in the same way, so I feel that this is a typical reaction.

I lectured for the last six or seven weeks in Western Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Sweden, and

England, and I found in all these countries a movement parallel to the one that you have on the campuses here. Not as large and not as dynamic, but very much akin to it. I have found in all of these countries the same intense, and to me personally, immensely satisfactory response to the image of Trotsky, emerging from my trilogy, which has now appeared in all major European languages.

As to Russia, I can give you one curious incident. I was told that a group of Russian students, some months ago, were assembling regularly to read my biography of Trotsky in one of the Western European translations. One of the students knew the language, and was translating it directly into Russian. There were regular meetings for reading this work in the home of a student who was the son of one of the party's chiefs. One day the father walked in, took the book and said, "Boys, you know what awaits you if you are caught with this subversive stuff!! Fifteen years, I tell you, fifteen years in prison." And then one of the boys stood up and said, "We know it, and it is worth it." And the others expressed their solidarity with this boy. The father walked out with a very long face.

**Q. Are you still planning to write and publish your projected biography of Lenin?**

**A.** Yes. I think that it will be the most important part of the trilogy in some respects.

**Q. There is a strong tendency for young people in this country who want to change society to shun ideology. Is this true of young radicals that you've met in Europe?**

**A.** If we mean by ideology, and this is not the most accurate use of the term, the adherence to a revolutionary idea, or to the idea of Marxism, then I have noticed a revival of the interest in Marxism, especially among the youngest generation of students in the six countries where I have spent the last two months.

**Q. Including the United States?**

**A.** Including the United States, where I don't think such an interest in Marxism as there is now has existed in the last thirty years. When there was an interest in Marxism thirty years ago, it was corrupted and distorted by Stalinism, and I hope that this time no such corrupting influences will intervene. I hope that this new American interest in Marxism will link up with the better American radical Marxist tradition of the pre-Stalinist era that it will gain its own momentum, and rise to the level of our times, and our difficult problems, and that while drawing on international experience, it will develop with an intellectual and political ambition which will be altogether its own, into something really great and creative.

# Support Grows For Indicted I.U. Students

BY DOUG JENNESS

From Berkeley to New York, hundreds of people have attended hootenannies, variety shows, concerts and cocktail parties held by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. In some areas students have gone door to door asking for rummage to be sold at CABS sponsored rummage sales.

These activities are part of a campaign by CABS to raise money for appealing the case of Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, the three Indiana University students indicted more than two years ago under Indiana's Anti-Communism Act.

Thomas Hoadley, who secured the indictments against the three natives of Indiana, charged them with assembling for the purpose of "advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States, or of the State of Indiana be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means . . ." If convicted under this law Tom, Ralph, and Jim would face one-to-three year jail terms.

The three defendants are members of the Young Socialist Alliance and at the time of the indictments were officers of the Indiana University Chapter of the Y.S.A., a campus-recognized organization.

After the indictments, the three students had to face months of a small town witch hunt waged by Hoadley in Bloomington. He spread rumors and

slanders against the three students and accused them of being almost everything from "dope pushers" to "Moscow agents."

The students denied that they had ever assembled to advocate the violent overthrow of the government of Indiana or any other government, and contended that the Indiana law is unconstitutional.

Support came from professors and students throughout the United States and Canada who found out about the case. The pressure grew and even Hoadley admitted that he had lost the "battle for public opinion." As a result the indictments were quashed in March, 1964.

Hoadley, continuing his attack on the students, then appealed the case to the Indiana State Supreme Court where the decision of the Bloomington court was overruled in January, 1965.

An appeal filed by Leonard Boudin, whose services are furnished by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Daniel Taylor, III, Louisville attorney, for a re-hearing in the high court of Indiana was refused early in April. Now the case is in the federal courts and in all likelihood will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

One of the many incredible aspects of the case is the law itself. Passed in 1951 during the McCarthy era, its stated aim is to "exterminate communism, communists, and any or all teachings of the same." It is this McCarthyite type of thinking that the defendants have had to fight in order to defend themselves from jail sentences. All three defendants have toured this country and parts of Canada explaining the facts of the case and the important issues it raises. Over 900 professors and prominent persons have become sponsors of CABS and many dollars have been contributed. However, in order to pay the costs involved in appealing the case in the federal courts another \$6,000 must be raised.



Ralph Levitt  
in Berkeley

National Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students,  
P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.  
Phone: YU 9-7680 Area Code 212

# ...Anti-war

(continued from page 6)

American capitalism's concern and business; the responsibility of being capitalism's policeman is to be borne openly and imposed upon the American people; revolutionary struggle by peasants and workers against corrupt and oppressive regimes for land and democracy are to be opposed and with sufficient forces to do the job; and finally all such movements will be labelled "evil forces" and stigmatized as "International wars" by definition.

## Opposition at Home

Thus the course of the international Great Society is charted. But will the Great Society that cannot permit democracy and self determination abroad allow it at home? The answer is self-evident. As Reston informed the students at Michigan, the next generation must become accustomed to "calculated limited" wars and the prosecution of such wars "will require the transformation of popular American attitudes."

Opposition at home already is and will increasingly be ascribed to the same "cunning evil forces" as is opposition abroad. W. Averill Harriman drove this point home at Cornell University on May 12 where, on a "truth" mission for the administration, his fairytale version of the Sino-Soviet split was greeted with derision from the audience. The *New York Times* reporter present wrote:

"Mr. Harriman responded to the hisses, boos, screams, laughs and catcalls of the demonstrators by asking repeatedly whether there were any Communists in the audience."

To challenge Johnson's proclaimed war program, the teach-ins, marches, and rallies must be extended to more campuses and to the American people.

The right to self-determination of the colonial people is absolute. And so is the right of the American people to know the truth about what is happening in the world and to have the ultimate say on the life and death question of war and peace.

The greatest threat to the obfuscators in Washington is the truth with which the anti-war movement is hammering.

During a speech at the University of Pittsburgh on May 13, Hubert Humphrey angrily replied to a student critic: "Keep your mind on the enemy, and the enemy is not in Washington." By this angry outburst he betrayed his real fear that in their fight against war abroad and for real democracy and civil rights at home the student move-

ment will discover that the main enemy is indeed in Washington.

Clark Kissinger, the National Secretary of SDS, reached toward this truth in a talk on June 8 to a SANE sponsored Madison Square Garden rally attended by 18,000 people. He said, "If we are to end the war in Vietnam, we must understand why the administration is incapable of any response to the Vietnamese revolution other than spiraling counterrevolution."

"Our problem," Kissinger emphasized, "is America. The war in Vietnam is rooted deep in the American system and the only way we can root it out is with a political movement to change the system."

What the students are rebelling against, and what Kissinger was pointing at, whether consciously or not, is the political dead end of liberalism. It was not reactionary Goldwater, anti-intellectual Miller, conservative Dirksen and a Republican Congress that directed the invasion of Santo Domingo, the war in Vietnam and the consequent risk of nuclear annihilation. It was "lesser-evil" Johnson, ADA Humphrey, Phi-Beta-Kappa Bundy, and a "liberal" Democratic Congress.

It is not the individuals or their errors in judgment that are at the root of the problem — it is the social system which dictates the framework and the limits of the policies of both its political parties. That is why the high point of the recent mammoth Berkeley teach-in was Professor Staughton Lynd's rejection of "coalition politics within the Democratic Party" which he identified as "coalitionism with the marines." The rejection of coalition politics within the framework of the capitalist two-party system, is the beginning of political wisdom.

Among a number of proposals for further action submitted to the Berkeley rally, Lynd made a public appeal that "there come together in Washington a new continental congress, made up of representatives from community unions, Freedom Parties and campus groups, which would say in effect: This is a desperate situation; our government no longer represents us; let us see what needs to be done."

Lynd's proposal should be grasped by the students with both hands. In addition to the representatives Lynd enumerates, delegates should be solicited from trade unions, Negro organizations, and socialist organizations. The aim of such a continental congress should be to set in motion the forces in American society capable of wresting the war-making powers from the hands of an administration and congress that by its conduct has forfeited the right to speak or act for the overwhelming majority of the American people.

June 9, 1965

# ...NOTES

(continued from page 2)



YS salesman at Washington Square rally

for hours to one speaker after another. They gave the loudest and longest applause to Staughton Lynd, history professor at Yale University. Lynd's speech called for a rejection of "coalition politics within the Democratic Party." He said that there should "come together in Washington a new Continental Congress made up of representatives from community unions, Freedom Parties and campus groups, which would say in effect: This is a desperate situation; our government no longer represents us; let us see what needs to be done."

**CUBAN TRAVEL BAN UPHELD:** Freedom of travel for U. S. citizens was given another blow by the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the right of the Secretary of State to bar Americans from going to Cuba. The decision was especially ominous for the legal fight of the American students who defied the ban and went to Cuba last summer. It will also allow the State Department to continue to keep young people who would like to "see for themselves" from going to Cuba. Before the travel ban, hundreds of young people went to Cuba and many were radicalized by the contrast between what the press said Cuba was like and what they saw.

**THE "LESSER EVIL" BROADENS HIS SUPPORT:** Johnson's policies in Vietnam drew the following compliment in an editorial in the May 1965 issue of the *New Guard*, the magazine of the Young Americans for Freedom: "Conservatives should be more than willing to throw the liberals some words and phrases, such as "negotiations" and "economic aid," as long as we get the action we want. And the fear that the President may change his course tomorrow doesn't change the fact that, as of today, his policy has been exemplary — one that hard anti-Communists have been urging for years."

**THE PROTEST IS WORLD WIDE:** The American press is giving scant coverage to the protests in Latin America, Africa, Canada, Europe and Asia against U. S. actions in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. Although few people even know it occurred, Mexico saw its largest protest in years. Twenty thousand people marched through the center of Mexico City shouting slogans and carrying placards and massed in Alameda Park for a giant rally. Among the many slogans, "Yankee Go Home" was prevalent. Stress was put on the theme: "Get Mexico out of the O.A.S." One of the chants called the O.A.S. the "Ministry of Colonies."

**JAPANESE PROTESTS:** In Japan the protest against U. S. actions in Vietnam has been strong. Robert Trumbull writes in the June 5, 1965 *New York Times* that "Mr. Sato (Premier of Japan) will face the voters next month on the defensive not only on economic issues, but also on the question of the government's endorsement of the United States policies in Vietnam. This endorsement has been overwhelmingly condemned in expressions of Japanese public opinion."

The General Council of Trade Unions, a giant Japanese Union representing 4,212,754 of the total 9,799,653 organized workers, has announced that it is sending aid, including medical supplies, to North Vietnam.

Numbers of leading Japanese Universities have cancelled speaking invitations for the U. S. ambassador after protests by student organizations. The President of Hosei University, one of the six largest Universities in Japan, recently signed a statement along with 93 other intellectuals condemning U. S. bombings in North Vietnam.

**GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS:** The May and June issues of the *Monthly Review* feature two important articles by Adolfo Gilly on the Guatemalan guerrilla movement. Gilly spent time in the Guatemalan countryside with the guerrillas in order to find out about their movement first hand. He de-

scribes how and why the guerrillas have come to the conclusion that the fight for democracy and land for the peasants is the fight for socialism. He illustrates his findings with long quotes from his discussions with guerrilla leaders.

**WAY OVER THE TOP!** The Young Socialist Alliance has just completed the largest fund drive in its history. With a grand total of \$5,641.06, we went way over our accepted quota. As the scoreboard shows, the record fund drive was made possible by the combined efforts of almost every YSA local. The fund drive will help to support the *Young Socialist* and will make it possible for YSA representatives to attend the World Youth Festival in Algiers.

| AREA              | ACCEPTED QUOTA | AMOUNT PAID    |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Madison           | 50.00          | 85.00          |
| New York—Uptown   | 250.00         | 420.56         |
| Chicago           | 750.00         | 1016.50        |
| Detroit           | 500.00         | 606.00         |
| Washington D. C.  | 50.00          | 55.00          |
| Philadelphia      | 100.00         | 105.50         |
| Boston            | 850.00         | 856.50         |
| Los Angeles       | 250.00         | 251.00         |
| Ann Arbor         | 50.00          | 50.00          |
| Antioch           | 50.00          | 50.00          |
| Berkeley          | 750.00         | 750.00         |
| Kent              | 50.00          | 50.00          |
| New York—Downtown | 500.00         | 500.00         |
| San Francisco     | 150.00         | 150.00         |
| San Jose          | 50.00          | 50.00          |
| Twin Cities       | 500.00         | 500.00         |
| Cleveland         | 150.00         | 110.00         |
| Denver            | 25.00          | 5.00           |
| Seattle           | 25.00          | —              |
| At Large          | 50.00          | 30.00          |
| <b>Totals</b>     | <b>5150.00</b> | <b>5641.06</b> |

**RECORD RUN SELLS OUT:** The May-June issue of the *Young Socialist* has sold out. It was the biggest run so far for the YS in magazine form with 7,400 copies printed.

The *Young Socialist* is taking orders for a new 25 cent pamphlet, *Revolution in the Congo*, by Dick Roberts. It contains a history of the struggle in the Congo from the break with Belgium to the present.

**HIGH SCHOOL PROTEST GROUP:** Around 50 New York high school students have organized a protest organization called "Students Against So-

cial Injustice." (SASI) According to the head of SASI, Billy Kochyama, the group was formed because "we wanted to have our own group, independent of groups set up to protest specific issues such as peace or civil rights. We wanted to protest all forms of social injustice." The students who formed the group were especially inspired and influenced by the ideas of Malcolm X. After Malcolm's death they helped raise money for his family by holding a folk concert. SASI gave a party to raise money for Jim Bingham, YSA defendant in the Bloomington subversion case and invited Jim to speak for them. They have been active in picket lines against the Vietnam war and went on the March on Washington where several of them sold pamphlets with speeches by Malcolm X.

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**PUERTO RICAN YOUTH CONFERENCE:** Peter Camejo, National Secretary of the YSA, spoke at the 4th National Conference of the Movement for Independence of Puerto Rico (MPI). Approximately 200 Puerto Rican young people attended the conference of the MPI which calls for Puerto Rican independence from the U.S.

— ELIZABETH BARNES

**Peter Camejo addresses MPI conference**



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