

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

NOV-DEC 1965

25 c



BOSTON



CLEVELAND

**INTERNATIONAL  
DAYS OF PROTEST  
OCTOBER 15-16, 1965**

NEW YORK



BRUSSELS

BERKELEY



MINNESOTA

## INSIDE: A HISTORY OF THE BRING THE TROOPS HOME MOVEMENT

# YOUNG SOCIALIST

NOV-DEC 1965

25 c



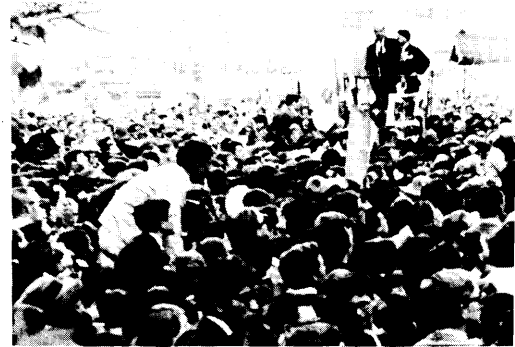
BOSTON



CLEVELAND

**INTERNATIONAL  
DAYS OF PROTEST  
OCTOBER 15-16, 1965**

NEW YORK



BRUSSELS

BERKELEY



MINNESOTA

**INSIDE: A HISTORY OF THE  
BRING THE TROOPS HOME  
MOVEMENT**

Vol. 9, No. 2(67)

NOV.—DEC. 1965

**Editor:** Doug Jenness

**Business Manager,** Dan Styron; **Circulation Manager,** Will Reynolds; **Design,** Melissa Singler; **Technical Assistants,** Robin David and Bonnie Sheppard

**Editorial Board:** Jon Pederson, Jack Barnes, Dick Roberts, Elizabeth Barnes, Ralph Levitt, Mary-Alice Styron

Subscription Price: \$1. per year. Bundle rate: 20 cents per issue on orders of 5 or more (15 cents for newsstands). The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published bi-monthly. P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, 10003. Phone, YU 9-7570. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

## Table of Contents

GREEK REVOLUTION .....	5
INTERVIEW WITH ENGLISH SOCIALIST .....	8
BRING THE TROOPS HOME MOVEMENT .....	12
NEW BOOKS ON MALCOLM X .....	22
BOOK REVIEWS .....	28

### In This Issue

MARY-ALICE STYRON graduated from Carleton College in 1963 with a major in English. Currently she is on the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Editorial Board of the *Young Socialist*. "A Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War" is the text of a speech she gave during a recent tour.

RALPH LEVITT, one of the three Bloomington defendants is a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSA and is on the Editorial Board of the *Young Socialist*.

DERRICK MORRISON is a student at Wayne State University in Detroit, Mich. and has been active in promoting the study of Negro history at Wayne State. He is an alternate member of the YSA's National Committee.

JOYCE DEGRÖOT is a graduate of Northwestern University in English and currently National Secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

**3 G.I.'S VICTIMIZED FOR RESISTING TRANSFER TO VIETNAM:** A U. S. Army court has ordered stockade sentences at hard labor for three members of the First Cavalry Division who resisted shipment to Vietnam by refusing to board a troop train at Fort Benning, Ga. and "while aboard ship, refusing to eat for their own physical well being." These men, Percy L. Green, 24, of Chicago; Harold J. Brown, 22, of Stanford, Florida, and David Clark, 26, of Coral Gables, Florida, were demoted from private first class to private, ordered to forfeit all pay and allowances, directed to be discharged on completion of their sentences and sentenced to terms of two to ten years. This case provides additional evidence of the mounting anti-Vietnam war sentiments in the army. The heavy penalties handed down suggests a less permissive attitude toward this anti-war sentiment by the military authorities than was the case a few months ago.

**PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT STEPS UP PROTEST AGAINST VIETNAM WAR:** The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) is stepping up its campaign against U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the drafting of Puerto Ricans to fight in that war. This was announced recently by Norman Pietri, a leader of the movement, at a large demonstration at Fort Buchanan, one of many U. S. military installations in Puerto Rico. He denounced the drafting of Puerto Ricans into the U. S. army as "an expression of U. S. colonialism in Puerto Rico" and reaffirmed MPI's support for the National Liberation Front's struggle against U. S. aggression in Vietnam.

**FRENCH INTELLECTUALS PROTEST SCHEDULED HANGING OF QUEBEC SEPARATISTS:** In a joint letter to Canada's Prime Minister Pearson and Premier Lesage more than fifty leading Frenchmen of letters have asked for commutation of the death sentence passed against Francois Schrimme and Edmond Guenette, by a Quebec court. Among them were the noted Catholic writer Francois Mauriac, Louis Aragon, Roger Garaudy, and Prof. Jacques Bargue.

Schrimme and Geunette have been condemned to death for the shooting of one of two shopkeepers who were killed when police ambushed the young

(continued on page 30)

# VIETNAM: WHAT PRICE "VICTORY"?

On the eve of the November 27 March on Washington and the National Convention to End the War in Vietnam, it is important that we take stock of the progress of the movement against the American intervention in Vietnam and assess the problems which confront us in the fight to mobilize the American people to force the U.S. government to get out of Southeast Asia.

There have been significant changes in the character of the Vietnamese war in the short time since the first March on Washington, April 17, and these changes have made the task before the anti-war movement even more pressing.

The United States has openly taken over the war against the Vietnamese. There are no more "advisers." American troops are fighting all the major battles, American generals are giving the orders, and American G.I.'s are getting killed in daily combat.

There has been a new serious escalation of the war both in the size and the nature of U.S. involvement. Where American forces numbered less than 50,000 last April, today they officially number 165,000. It is admitted that there will be between 200,000 and 300,000 U.S. troops in combat in Vietnam by the middle of 1966.

U.S. bombing raids over North Vietnam have increased. Targets no longer are claimed to be purely military. They now include dams, industrial centers, and even hospitals. Since July, giant Guam-based B-52 bombers have been flying daily missions against villages in South Vietnam. The almost genocidal saturation bombing of the South Vietnamese countryside is more intensive than even that carried out in Korea.

## **The Price of Victory**

Recently, in the Iadrang River valley near the Cambodian border, Vietnamese forces held an entire U.S. division at bay for five weeks. They inflicted the heaviest casualties on American troops since the beginning of the war, as they chewed several battalions to pieces. And this was done in the face of the constant air support by U.S. bombers.



American GI screams in pain from wounds received in combat

This has resulted in an unprecedented leap in the number of homeless, foodless and diseased refugees who have been pouring toward the major cities for relief. In September, these refugees numbered 60,000. International relief agencies predict that by December they will exceed one million — in a country of 15 million people.

## **The Resistance Deepens**

But the sharp escalation of U.S. military action in Vietnam has not been accompanied with any decrease in the intensity of resistance by the Vietnamese. In the face of the daily napalm and other advanced instruments of death in the hands of U.S. troops, the Vietnamese guerrillas appear more determined than ever to drive the American forces out of their country.

It is clear that the U.S. cannot win in a matter of weeks or months. If "victory" is possible, it will take years. And the price that both the Vietnamese and Americans will have to pay will be a nearly unbearable one.

It will take the destruction of virtually every village and hamlet in Vietnam. It will mean concen-

tration camps for the several million refugees who flee from the targets of the bombers. And it will mean young Americans dying no longer by the tens and twenties, but by the hundreds, week after week after week.

The potential mass opposition to such a prospect is well known to the Washington policy makers. Each step of escalation in Vietnam has been accompanied by a carefully prepared campaign of lies and omissions designed to obscure it, to test potential American reaction, and to announce accomplished facts long after their occurrence.

### Division Among the Warmakers

Faced with these facts America's ruling circles are divided over not only how to proceed in Vietnam, but how to react to the anti-war demonstrators. Their approaches range from extreme red-baiting smears of the anti-war movement to conciliatory debate. An all-out campaign in New York City by the Hearst syndicate to drum up a demonstration of super patriotism in support of the war proved an utter failure. It turned out fewer war supporters than the anti-war Parade had brought out two weeks earlier.

Senators like Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse, who are opposed to the administration's present methods of prosecuting the war, have contradicted important administration "facts" about the war.

Last week's expose zeroed in on the "unconditional negotiator" himself. Columnist Eric Sevareid revealed that Johnson turned down an attempt by North Vietnam to negotiate a truce last fall—before the bombing of North Vietnam even began.

These divisions helped deepen the sentiments against intervention in Vietnam. During the International Days of Protest, October 15-16, 100,000 anti-war demonstrators turned out across the country. The impact of this massive turnout could not be hidden even by the universal falsifications as to its size in the daily press.

### The Depth of the Opposition

The fact is that among the American people opposition to the war is much deeper than even the large protest indicates. Opinion polls regularly report that at least 25 per cent of the American people are opposed to the war and that a significant number favor immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. The potential activists against the war in Vietnam number in the millions, not in the thousands.

On campuses the opposition is even greater. A November 1965 poll taken at San Francisco State College revealed that 44 per cent of the students supported Johnson's war policy and 40 per cent

opposed it. Of the students polled, 17 per cent considered themselves activists opposed to the war in Vietnam.

But this is only the beginning. It is only the beginning of the escalation of the war in Vietnam, and it is only the beginning of the construction of a movement large enough to stop it.

The experiences in France during the Algerian war showed that an imperialist power can be tied down by the growth of opposition at home. But it also indicated the extent to which these powers will go before they concede defeat.

In Korea, the United States fought a war which ultimately cost 56,000 American lives. In Algeria, with U.S. guns and money, the French rulers murdered over one million civilians, and put hundreds of thousands more in refugee concentration camps similar to those in South Vietnam.

The simple fact is that the American people will not support a war in which tens of thousands of young Americans will be butchered and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese civilians annihilated to support a puppet government and crush a struggle for self determination. The central responsibility the anti-war movement faces is the necessity to organize themselves to bring the truth about the war against Vietnam to the American people.

A movement of 50,000, if this is the number of the present anti-war activists, is not capable of forcing an end to this war. But it is capable of bringing the truth to the millions more who can.

In a moment of uneasy and unusual candor the November 19, 1965, *New York Times* published an editorial appropriately entitled "The Disasters of War."

"The war in Vietnam, with its mounting lists of its steady escalation of men and material, its deepening American and North Vietnamese involvement, all point to one conclusion. Vietnam is on the way to becoming another Korea in size and duration, despite obvious differences of technique and terrain.

"But what price Victory? The reckoning is much greater than anyone in Washington or the American command in Vietnam had led the American people to expect, presumably because they could not calculate accurately in advance."

Not because they could not calculate the price accurately in advance, but because they know *the American people will refuse to pay that price if they know what it will be.*

If it continues to be hidden from them, the war will spread. But if the anti-war activists bring the truth to enough of the American people and point out the unbearable price to be paid, not thousands, but millions will demand "Bring the G.I.'s Home."

Over 150,000 people gather for funeral of socialist martyr, Sortiris Petroulas, in summer, 1965.



# TURMOIL IN GREECE

## Background to the Recent Political Crisis

BY RALPH LEVITT

Last summer, the storm-center of political strife in Europe descended on one of the continent's most remote corners, the Kingdom of Greece. Numerous mass street demonstrations and the absence of a stable government — in short, a continuing power struggle — have placed a question mark over the entire social system and future of this country. Even a brief glance at the history of Greece should amply demonstrate that the origins of this crisis are planted firmly in the past, particularly in the unfulfilled revolution of the 1940's.

From the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century until the rise of the nationalist movement four centuries later, the Ottoman Turks governed most of the Balkan peninsula without interruption. In the 1820's, inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution, the Greek people launched their War of Independence. Led by a prospering commercial middle class and by the warrior chieftans, the Klephts, they began to assault the garrisons of the Sultan. The war soon

became the paramount threat to the status quo of the European Holy Alliance; and its dynamism attracted to it many of the most militant liberals of the day, most notably Lord Byron who died fighting there.

The Great Powers intervened, first to assure Greek independence, but also to impose extremely unsatisfactory boundaries and a Bavarian King, Otho. For the next ninety years, Greek political life was dominated by the irridentist ambitions of its ruling class, and its social life by the abject poverty of the peasantry and working people.

In 1897, after the monarchy had initiated a disastrous war against Turkey, the major powers once again stepped in, this time to save the dynasty from overthrow. In 1917, the Allies landed in Piraeus and forced King Constantine to abdicate in order to effect the country's entry into World War I.

One consistent factor in Greek history should be kept in mind, for it is still a grave threat to

the course of the Greek revolution. That is the continual intervention by the colonialist nations, particularly Great Britain and later the United States, in the affairs of Greece whenever the people have appeared ready to carry their social demands beyond "respectable" limits.

The pattern between the two wars is similar to that of most of Eastern Europe: a democratic period in the 1920's; with deep political and social uncertainty accompanying the Depression of the 1930's. Profiting from the rise of fascism, and the failure of the Communist and Socialist parties to oppose it, the Metaxas dictatorship seized power and held it for the next few years.

## The Second World War

The Second World War changed *everything*. In the spring of 1941, the Nazi Wehrmacht swiftly defeated the Anglo-Greek army and occupied the entire country. The experiences of the war years, and those immediately following, are beyond question the most decisive in Greek history. In and of themselves, they constitute a remarkably brilliant pageant of war and revolution, heroism and treachery. They remain today imbedded in the minds of the people and are basic to an understanding of contemporary Greece.

Conditions of life deteriorated to sub-human levels and the people looked around desperately for a way out. The traditional political leaderships were discredited. Some collaborated with the Germans and others fled to Cairo to form an exile government; none provided resourceful or energetic action. The Communist Party, on the other hand, did not hesitate to tackle the job. It offered the Greek people the prospect of a democratic and progressive government after the war. The stresses and pressures of war and foreign occupation propelled the Communists, a persecuted minority in the 1930's, to a position of prominence in the 1940's.

From the commencement of the resistance, the National Liberation Front (EAM), and its military arm ELAS, inspired by the Greek Communist Party (KKE), became the center for the fight against German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation.

EAM soon became an immensely popular organization, including in its ranks six bishops, hundreds of priests and many of the country's labor leaders. The overwhelming majority of the working and farming people supported EAM: they responded to its slogans with enthusiasm, joined its educational and cultural activities, and fought in its army. ELAS, led by Colonel Stephanos Saraphis, harassed the occupation forces, destroyed bridges

and transport, liberated large areas, and tied down German divisions which would otherwise have been employed against the regular armies of the Allies.

That this was the role of EAM and ELAS is a generally accepted view of competent scholars, in spite of any subsequently invented Cold War mythology to the contrary. The respected historian L. S. Stavrianos of Northwestern University writes that:

"During those three and a half years [of occupation], 30 percent of the nation's wealth was destroyed, 7 percent of the population (500,000 out of 7,000,000) perished in battle or of starvation and diseases, while collaborationists and black marketeers added moral degradation to the material hurts of the nation. . . . Out of this misery emerged a resistance movement that attracted the support of a substantial portion of the population and attained a significance comparable to that of Tito's partisans in Yugoslavia. The Communist-controlled National Liberation Front was the leading resistance organization in Greece. There is no agreement as to the size of EAM and its subsidiary organizations. Estimates range from 500,000 to 2,000,000." (*The Balkans Since 1453*, chapter 38).

We cannot describe in detail the story of the Greek resistance: suffice it to say that EAM and ELAS fought bravely, rendered valuable aid to the Allied cause and wrote a grand chapter in Greek history. The heroism of ELAS ought to be as well known to us as are the efforts of the Yugoslav partisans. But, it is not; and this brings us to the tragic side of this history and to the reason why the Greek people are now squaring off against their government in the streets of Athens.

The answer is to be found in the first instance with the "democratic" Allies who rewarded the bravery of EAM with absolute hostility and military suppression, and in the second place with perfidy from the ruling Communist Party in the Soviet Union who, one would think, should have been staunch allies of EAM.

The British have long considered Greece to be a strategic key to their control of the whole Eastern Mediterranean area. The Greek peninsula straddles the trade route from the West to the Near East and Suez; it flanks the present British military installations in Cyprus, and, in 1945, those in Egypt and Palestine. They were determined to frustrate any decision by the Greek people which might endanger their hegemony in this part of the world. The political program of EAM and KKE did not call for a socialist Greece after the war; quite the opposite, in line with Stalin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the liberal section of

the ruling class, the leaders of EAM merely asked that Greece be a democracy with welfare measures, trade unions, and so on.

But the "liberal" exile leaders, along with the British, viewed even this settlement with suspicion. What they wanted, first and foremost, was a guarantee that the socialist aspirations of the Greek population would be held in check, and that the post-war situation would be conducive to free enterprise. They had learned, as have our pundits in Washington, that the entry of the armed populace into political affairs can be very dangerous to the status quo, no matter what the intentions of various leaders may be.

Within the context of the Anglo-American hostility to EAM, the attitude of the leadership of the Soviet Union was of extreme importance. Stalin felt the Greeks and their social progress were expendable. He was primarily motivated by the narrow interests of the Russian bureaucracy in establishing his foreign policy decisions. His main concern was to seek an agreement with the Western powers which would, he thought, assure the Soviet Union of amicable treatment by the USA and Britain: his illusion that Russia's wartime allies could be "trusted" laid the basis for the institution of the Cold War, beginning in Greece.

So, at Teheran, Potsdam, Yalta and the other conferences at which the Big Three cynically divided up the world, it was agreed that Greece would be part of the British "sphere of influence" and that the latter would be free to do with the country what she wanted.

### The Civil War

In late 1944, the German army began its evacuation, leaving EAM as *the* governmental institution in Greece. The British, however, proposed that the exile government, stationed in Cairo during the war and enjoying minimal popular support, should come to power. Incredibly enough, at Caserta the EAM and KKE agreed to its return. In October, George Papandreou, Prime Minister of the Cairo government and a leader of the Social-Democratic Party, and his officials arrived to be greeted as follows: "The capital and the port of Piraeus were a blaze of lights, thanks to an ELAS band that had fought off a German demolition squad ordered to dynamite the power plant. Three particularly large electric lights stood out above the rest. They spelled out the initials, EAM, ELAS and KKE."

Papandreou immediately made a number of exorbitant demands of EAM, centered around the question of disarming ELAS. Some demands

EAM agreed to, others it could not possibly accept. A large protest demonstration was held in the streets of Athens, supporting EAM's position. Papandreou's police fired on the unarmed crowd, killing and wounding hundreds. This event sparked the Civil War.

Several points should be emphasized here, for they are among the most valuable lessons of the Greek experience of the 1940's, lessons relevant not only to the problems of the Greek people but to all those who intend to contribute to the general fight for social justice. The leaders of EAM subordinated the independent organization of the working people to the concept of coalition with the less noxious elements of the old ruling class — that is they supported the "lesser evil." Burdened by this illusory dogma, EAM allowed Papandreou and his British entourage to return, thus preparing the way for the defeat of the Greek revolution.

One of the biggest of the Cold War myths is that the Communists were planning to seize power wherever they had any influence; in fact this fable serves as one of the firmest buttresses for the whole post-war foreign policy of our government. The recent history of Greece cuts through this mendacity and reveals quite another picture. In referring to this conception, Professor Stavrianos asks: "If EAM-ELAS planned to seize power, why did it not do so during the weeks prior to the British arrival when the Germans were fleeing the country?"

(continued on page 26)

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ENGLISH—  
CHE GUEVARA'S

"MAN AND SOCIALISM"

Jan.-Feb. Issue: 50 Cents  
Year Subscription: \$2.50

116 University Pl., N.Y., N.Y. 10003





Unemployed union men protest in front of House of Commons, March 26, 1963

Julian Atkinson is a 24 year old socialist who was the National Secretary of NALSO (National Association of Labor Student Organizations) for two years from 1962-1964. He is now an active member of the Woolwich Branch of the Labor Party, and is a sponsor of *The Week*. He recently received a Certificate of Education from Leicester University and he has received a Science Degree from Nottingham University. This interview was obtained by Jack and Elizabeth Barnes, the National Chairman and National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, while in England in August of this year.

\* \* \*

**Q. What is NALSO?**

**A.** NALSO started out way back in 1947 as a right wing split from a student group called the Student Labor Federation. It became a small right wing coterie for prospective Labor Party candidates working their way up in politics. In the late 1950's though, owing mainly to the struggle against nuclear weapons, new layers of radical youth came into NALSO. It quickly became an organization to the left in the Labor Party.

**Q. How big is NALSO now?**

**A.** As soon as it became more left wing it began to grow and it is still growing now. We have approximately 7,000 members and about 100 clubs in teacher's training colleges, universities and technical schools.

# INTERVIEW WITH AN ENGLISH SOCIALIST

**Q. What were the issues that brought radical students into NALSO?**

**A.** The major preoccupation was with the protest against nuclear weapons. NALSO was against Britain possessing nuclear weapons and British participation in the Nato alliance. It always contributed a large contingent to the Aldermaster Peace Marches which began in 1958.

**Q. What about the question of the war in Vietnam?**

**A.** Recently there has been a lot of interest in the war in Vietnam. NALSO has presented petitions to the American Embassy calling for the removal of troops from Vietnam and support for the National Liberation Front. Ho Chi Minh was elected honorary vice-president of NALSO.

**Q. What has been the attitude of students in general on the question of Vietnam?**

**A.** The majority either have no interest in the question or go along with what they read in the press. But there is significant feeling against the war and there have been a number of teach-ins in various areas. Even conservative students do not go all the way with the views of the U.S. government as could be seen by the reception the U.S. representatives received at the Oxford teach-in.

I should point out that British students in general are quite conservative. They make up a smaller and more elite portion of the population than do students in the United States. Only about twenty per cent of the students vote Labor.

**Q. What is the attitude of NALSO to Wilson and the Labor Party government?**

**A.** NALSO was the first part of the Labor Party to oppose Wilson after he was elected leader of the Party. We passed a resolution against his foreign policy.

**Q. Why do you remain active in the Labor Party when its official policies differ from your ideas?**

**A.** Any left-wing or socialist program in Britain has to build a base in the Labor Party if it is to get the support of the workers. In Britain the trade unions are strong and they are the backbone of the Labor Party. The trade unions are represented on every governing body in every constituency party. The affiliated membership of the Labor Party is 5,500,000 which is ten per cent of the English population. Workers in Britain are more politically conscious than those in the United States. They believe in having their own party and they look to it for political leadership. In working class families this idea is something you grow up with.

**Q. What has been the reaction to Wilson's policies in the ranks of the Labor Party?**

**A.** While maybe even gaining in the country as a whole Wilson has become unpopular very quickly among trade union militants and left wingers. His solutions to Britain's economic difficulties are especially disliked by the trade-union militants. The workers do not want a Tory government. A Tory government if it came in now would take even harsher measures against the unions than Wilson has. As Wilson discredits himself more and more, they will be left without a perspective if there is no alternative left-wing built in the Labor Party.

**Q. What about the left-wing in the Labor Party?**

**A.** After the famous Scarborough Conference four years ago when the left put the Labor Party on record for unilateral disarmament, the left wing has declined. *Tribune*, which was the most widely read organ of the left wing until recently took a less and less critical attitude toward the right wing. There is a magazine called *The Week*, sponsored by left-wingers and Marxists in the Labor Party, which is putting forth alternatives to the policies of the right wing.

Within the trade unions themselves there is a paper called the *Voice of the Unions* which offers

a left-wing perspective. The paper deals with many of the specific problems which the workers are concerned with, for example, contracts within specific industries. It also deals with more general questions such as those connected with industrial democracy.

There is an important discussion going on now in Britain on the question of industrial democracy. Many ideas are being put forth, all the way from the Fabian conception of joint management-labor control to the Marxist conception of worker's management of nationalized industry. The *Voice of the Unions* has sponsored conferences on this question. One of the most successful was attended by 100 people, nearly entirely made up of steel workers.

**Q. What is the circulation of the *Voice of the Unions*?**

**A.** Around 15,000. It is hard to say exactly. The *Voice of the Unions* has about eight different editions, some on the factory level, some industry-wide. There is one edition for all the unions in general.

**Q. Who is involved in putting it out?**

**A.** Most of those who put out the paper are trade union activists and shop stewards. There are quite a few Marxists and leftists involved.

**Q. What do you see as the role of Marxists in Britain?**

**A.** To build a movement which can put forth revolutionary socialist ideas and join with the Labor Party which can take on the right wing and offer a viable alternative to it.

\* \* \*

Since this interview was obtained the Labour Party held its annual conference at Blackpool, September 27-October 1. The *Young Socialist* asked Julian Atkinson to send in the following report on this important conference.

\* \* \*

The Labour Party Conference is the occasion when all sections of the Party — the constituency parties and the affiliated trade unions — meet together to discuss and to vote on questions of Party policy. One of the fights within the Party has been on the question of how much power the conferences have, that is, whether the conference decisions are binding on Labour Party MP's.

When Gaitskell disapproved of the decisions of the 1960 Labour Party Conference, he announced that these decisions were not binding on the Parliamentary Party and that he would "fight and fight and fight again" to reverse them. At that time Wilson opposed Gaitskell on this question. But at this year's Blackpool Conference where Wilson's views dominated, Chairman Gunter set the tone when he announced that criticism of the government was all right, but the conference could not expect to tell the government what to do.

The decisions coming out of this year's conference endorsed the right wing policies being carried out by the Wilson government. A correspondent of the *Financial Times* a paper of big business, cynically applauded the conference for laying the foundations of a new socialism, based on bombing Communists, keeping the blacks out of the country, and attacking the unions. He was referring to the fact that the conference had voted in favor of the U. S. policy in Vietnam, a racist immigration bill and the government's wages policy.

But, the picture is not one of unrelieved gloom. Although the left still remains weak, after four years it has finally broken from its state of total inanimation. On just those issues which the *Times* reporter referred to — on Vietnam, immigration, and incomes policy — the left fought back with opposing resolutions and speeches. The government's stand on Vietnam got a substantial majority with 4,065,000 votes cast in favor, but there were 2,284,000 votes in opposition.

Cabinet members who had previously been considered part of the Labour Party left-wing either sat on their hands at the conference or bobbed up and down in their seats to cheer Wilson and Brown. An exception was the head of the Transport and General Worker's Union, Frank Cousins, who with his delegation put the union's one million votes against the government on major issues.

In the voting for the National Executive Committee of the Party, there was some indication of a trend to the principled left. Frank Allaun of the *Voice* chain, collected 239,000 votes on his first attempt to get on the N.E.C. Many other *Voice* and *Week* sponsors picked up useful votes, including Ken Coates who led the fight on the Vietnam issue at the convention.

Another encouraging aspect of the conference was the organization of left-wingers to bring out a daily bulletin during the conference — "Briefing." The *Week*, *Voice*, *New Left Review*, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and others united on this project.

Wilson's strength lies in the fact that there is no obvious left-wing alternative to him. The role of the left in the next period must be to provide that alternative. On Vietnam, the immigration bill, and incomes policy it must be the left that "fights and fights and fights again." On day to day issues, as well as the long term policies such as nationalization under workers' control, the left has to push. It was the quiescence of the left that led to Blackpool. If the left does not organize and fight now, the coming defeats will be more terrible.

## MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

ANN ARBOR: YSA, 543, 4th S. St., Ann Arbor, Mich., tel. 665-0735

BERKELEY—OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Ernie Erlbeck, 920 Cornell Ave., Albany, Calif. tel. 525-6932

U. of Cal.: Syd Stapleton, 2328 Oregon St., tel. 848-0355

Oakland City College (Meritt Campus): Jaimey Allen, 3108 B. Harper St., Oakland, Calif. tel. 845-2149

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Judy White, 6 Hancock Place, Cambridge, tel. 491-8893

Boston U.: Carole Seligman, 199 Bay State Road (Apt. 4), tel. 247-8393

Harvard U.: Kim Allen, 608 Franklin St., Cambridge, tel. 868-6617

Tufts U.: Carol Lipman, 241 River St., Cambridge, tel. 547-4532

Northeastern U.: Stephen Fogg, 42 Peterborough St., Boston, tel. 266-2195

M. I. T.: Nat London, Baker House (M. I. T.) 362 Memorial Drive, tel. 864-6900

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., tel. 939-5044

Roosevelt U: YSA, c/o R. U. Activities Office

U. of Illinois (Chicago Campus): Carrolyn Jasinski, 2819 W. Division, tel. 227-6263

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. No. 25

DENVER—BOULDER: YSA, c/o Bill Perdue, 1860 Race St., tel. 222-4174

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE 1-6135

Wayne State U: YSA, Box 49, MacKenzie Hall, WSU

KANSAS U.: Richard Hill, 1134 Ohio, Lawrence, Kansas. tel. UI 3-8902

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN 9-4953

Los Angeles City Col.: Irving Kirsch, tel. 664-9236

UCLA: Mike Goldman, tel. GR 9-9592

Santa Monica City Col.: Pat Wolfe, tel. GR 4-6873

MADISON (Wisc.) YSA, 204 Marion St., tel. 256-0857

MINNEAPOLIS—ST. PAUL: YSA, 704 Hennepin Ave., Mpls., tel. FE 2-7781

St. Paul: John Chelstrom, 151 Western Ave. N., tel. 225-3419

U. of Minn.: Bob Mears, 1819 16th Ave. S., Mpls.

NEW YORK: DOWNTOWN: YSA, 116 University Pl., tel. AL 5-7852

Hofstra: c/o John Chairer, 50-10 94th St. No. 6H, Elmhurst, N. Y.

NYU: Albert Hinton, 52 E. 1st St., Apt. 8, New York, N. Y.

UPTOWN: YSA, c/o Caroline Jenness, 516 E. 11th St., tel. 982-1846

N. Y. City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., No. 3e, tel. CI 6-2348

Columbia U.: Seman Bassin, 422 Hartley Hall, Columbia U., tel. MO 3-6600

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, P. O. Box 7593, Philadelphia

SAN DIEGO: YSA, 1853 Irving, tel. 239-1813

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, Pioneer Book Store, 1722 Page St.

San Francisco State College: Kipp Dawson, 652 B. Clayton St., tel. HE 1-6827

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Dennis Bayard, 1992 Bowers Ave., Santa Clara, tel. 248-9030

SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Ron Ginther, 3815 5th Ave. NE., tel. LA 3-5950

DISTRIBUTORS OF THE YS IN CANADA:

VANCOUVER: Young Socialist Forum, 1208 Granville, tel. 682-9332

OTTAWA: Young Socialist Forum, Box 4093, P. O. E

TORONTO: Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil St., tel. 924-0028

# ***I.B. Tabata Tours U.S. Seeking Aid For Victims of South African Racism***



I. B. Tabata, President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, is presently touring the United States to gain support for those being victimized in South Africa for their opposition to the white supremacist regime of Verwoerd. Tabata is widely regarded as the leading political theorist of the South African liberation movement and is the author of many important works on the subject, including: **The Rehabilitation Scheme, A New Fraud; The Boycott as a Weapon of Struggle; The Awakening of the People; and An Education for Barbarism in South Africa.**

Tabata has been an active South African revolutionary for more than three decades. Fired from his job in the early thirties for union activity, in 1935 he became a delegate to the All African Convention. Mr. Tabata was a co-founder of the Non-white Unity Movement in 1943 (now known as the Unity Movement), and a leader of the Transkei peasants resistance to government attempts to deprive the blacks of their land and cattle in the late 1940's and early 1950's. In 1956 he was placed under a five year ban confining him to Capetown. Arrest being imminent, in May 1963, he fled from the country and set up a permanent foreign headquarters in Zambia.

Tabata's tour of the United States began in September and will continue through December. He is speaking under the auspices of the Alexander Defense Committee (ADC) which was formed in response to the case of Dr. Neville Alexander, a young South African scholar who was arrested along with ten of his associates and is now serving a ten-year sentence in the Robben Island concentration camp. Sponsors of the ADC include Ossie Davis, James Forman, Staughton Lynd, A. J. Muste, Linus Pauling, and Paul Sweezy. The purpose of this committee is to raise funds to support the legal defense of persecuted opponents of apartheid, to aid the families of these victims, and to help those who have been exiled for their opposition to the South African regime.

Speaking on "The Liberation Movement in South Africa," Tabata has been very well received by community groups, African student associations, and college audiences wherever he has spoken. In Boston a meeting was held at the largest Unitarian Church in the United States, and while in Detroit, Michigan State Senators Roger Craig and Coleman Young, both of whom are sponsors of the Alexander Defense Committee, appeared on the platform with Tabata. Cocktail parties, buffets, and similar gatherings have been held to raise funds for the ADC and to allow for more informal meetings with Tabata.

Before returning for speaking engagements in New York, Tabata will spend the first two weeks of December addressing audiences on the West Coast.

- I would like to receive more information on the Alexander Defense Committee.
- Enclosed is my contribution to the Alexander Defense Committee.

Name .....

Address .....

Mail to Box 345, Canal Street Station, N. Y. 10013

# A HIDDEN CHAPTER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR



U. S. soldiers carrying torches march along Champs Elysees shouting: "We want to go home!"  
— Paris, January 8, 1946

BY MARY—ALICE STYRON

One of the major debates now going on in the growing national movement against the war in Vietnam centers on the problem of reaching out to the non-student layers of the American population. How can we enlist the active participation of the community at large? How should we approach the problem of the draft? How can we appeal to the draftees being sent to Vietnam? How can we increase public awareness of connections between foreign and domestic policy? These are all questions of vital importance, but they are not new questions. In the months immediately following the Second World War not only were these same issues raised, but they were settled by a mass movement which had profound significance for the entire post war era.

I have called this a "Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War" because the vast majority of our generation is totally unaware of the fact that the end of 1945 and the beginning of 1946 saw the greatest troop revolt that has ever occurred in a victorious army. The central issue was whether the troops would be demobilized, or whether they would be kept in the Pacific to protect Western interests from the growing colonial revolution.

The typical American college textbook makes only a passing reference to the "Bring the Troops Home" movement. A good example is found in

*The American Republic* by Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron (p. 641). "At the end of the war, strong pressure arose within the army and among civilians for the return of American soldiers from overseas. The government responded so quickly that for a time it seemed that we might be incapable of even occupying the countries we had defeated." The text then goes on to state that this "impaired the United States position in international affairs."

This is the officially endorsed interpretation of the troop revolts and their consequences. American military officials said the same thing in order to defend themselves against the angry demands of the troops and their supporters in the U. S. But the G. I.'s had another point of view on demobilization. A pamphlet issued by the Soldiers' Committee in Manila during the height of the demonstrations declared:

"According to a War Department spokesman, 'demobilization is proceeding with alarming rapidity.' Alarming from whose point of view? Alarming to generals and colonels who want to go on playing war and who do not want to go back to being captains and majors? Alarming to business men who stand to make money having their investments rebuilt at Army expense?

Alarming to the State Department, which wants an army to back its imperialism in the Far East?"

The conflicting interests illustrated by these two statements generated a mass movement that changed the entire course of post war history.

### Resentment Among Troops Explodes

When V-J Day brought an end to the war in the Pacific, the American troops expected to be speedily returned to the U. S. Quite naturally, they felt that there was no longer any need for fifteen million men in arms and that they should be released.

Contrary to their expectations, however, the army command started transferring combat troops from Europe to the Pacific. The official explanation was that troops were needed for occupation duty. Congress was immediately flooded with petitions and letters from the G. I.'s protesting this action. Even the White House announced on August 21, 1945, that it had received a protest telegram from 580 members of the Ninety-fifth Division stationed at Camp Shelby, Mississippi.

The Ninety-seventh Infantry Division which had already spent five and one-half months in Europe was ordered to the Pacific. En route across the U. S. the soldiers displayed signs from the train windows saying "Shanghaied for the Pacific," "We're Being Sold Down the River While Congress Vacations," and "Why Do We Go From Here?" (*Saint Paul Dispatch*, September 6, 1945). Several reporters who tried to interview soldiers on the train were arrested by the Army Security Guard under the pretext that troop movements were still classified information. They were released several hours later after the military command reprimanded the Security Guard for exceeding their peacetime authority.

The New York newspaper, *PM*, carried a January 13, 1946 dispatch from Nuremberg, Germany saying:

"The fact is the G. I.'s have strike fever. Almost every soldier you talk to is full of resentment, humiliation and anger . . . The G. I.'s now feel they have a legitimate gripe against their employers. If the gripe does not include a wage scale, that is purely a minor consideration. They don't like their conditions of work, they don't like the length of their contract, they don't like their bosses."

On December 26, the day after the large demonstration in Manila, Col. Krieger, an army personnel officer in the Philippines, assured 15,000 men in the Replacement Depot that they would be swiftly returned to the U. S. on January 4. However, *Stars and Stripes*, the widely ready army

newspaper, carried an announcement by the War Department that Pacific demobilizations would be cut from 800,000 to 300,000 per month due to the difficulties in obtaining replacements. On the same day Lt. General Lawton Collins, Director of Army Information, admitted, contrary to earlier statements by the military, that shipping was available to bring back all eligible men overseas in three months.

The G. I.'s were infuriated. Their mood was well expressed by a soldier whose letter was read into the *Congressional Record* on January 23, 1946. He wrote, "First it is not ships, now no replacements; are we going to sit by and let them black-mail our families and hold us hostages to push through their compulsory military training program?"

On January 6, 1946, thousands of these "hostages" demonstrated at different points in Manila. One group was dispersed at Quezon Bridge and another "broken up" by Military Police as it approached Lt. General Styer's headquarters.

Demonstrations continued on the following day. Two thousand-five hundred marched four abreast to the General's headquarters carrying banners reading, "What does Eligible mean?", "Service yes, but Serfdom, Never."

That night between 12,000 and 20,000 (reports vary) soldiers jammed into the bombed out shelter of the Philippine Hall of Congress to continue the demonstration and listen to speakers angrily denounce U. S. aggression in North China and the Netherlands Indies, and demand that the Philippines be allowed to settle its own problems. A UPI dispatch from Manila on January 7 described the capital as "tense."

During the fall of 1945 the campaign to bring the men home increased as families and friends held mass meetings across the country, and as resentment among the troops grew stronger. Drew Pearson reported on September 15, that "General Harry Lewis Twaddale, Commander of the Ninety-fifth Division, Camp Shelby, Mississippi [the same group which had earlier protested to the White House] assembled his troops to explain occupation duty in Japan. The boos from the soldiers were so prolonged and frequent, it took him 40 minutes to deliver a 15 minute speech."

By December, the resentment among the troops had reached explosive proportions and on Christmas Day in Manila 4,000 troops marched on the Twenty-first Replacement Depot Headquarters carrying banners demanding: "We Want Ships." The demonstrations, touched off by the cancellation of a troop transport scheduled to return men to the U. S., lasted only 10 minutes. The high

point of the day occurred when the enraged Col. J. C. Campbell, thundered, "You men forget you're not working for General Motors. You're still in the army." At that time there were 225,000 workers picketing General Motors plants across the United States. Since the G. I. demonstrations coincided with the greatest labor upsurge in American history, the obvious similarities between the actions of the soldiers and the actions of the striking workers in the U. S. drew comments from many quarters.

As news of these mass protests spread, the wave of G.I. protests began to sweep around the world. On January 7, the second day of demonstrating in Manila, 2,000 G. I.'s staged a mass meeting at Camp Boston, France, demanding a speed up in European demobilization. On January 8, 6,000 soldiers on Saipan wired protests against the slow-down in demobilization and on Guam 3,500 enlisted men of the 315 Bombing Wing of the Twentieth Air Force staged a hunger strike. The following day on Guam, 18,000 men took part in two giant protest meetings. From Honolulu, Alaska and Japan, thousands of cablegrams flooded into the U. S. directed at friends, families, Congress, churches, veterans groups, and unions, demanding that pressure be put on the War Department to bring the troops home.

On January 9 the protests continued to spread. At Andrews Field, Maryland, 1,000 soldiers and WACs booed down their commanding officer when he tried to explain the delay in discharging them. In Frankfurt, a demonstration of 5,000 was met at bayonet point by a small group of guards and 20 were arrested. Five thousand soldiers demonstrated in Calcutta and 15,000 at Hickman Field in Honolulu while in Seoul, Korea, several thousand protested and a resolution was reportedly issued stating, "We cannot understand the War Department's insistence on keeping an oversized peacetime army over seas under present conditions."

At Batangas, Philippines, 4,000 soldiers voted funds for a full page ad in U. S. papers demanding the removal of Secretary of War Patterson, "whose incompetence has been shown by his own statement that he didn't know men overseas had stopped accumulating points." Simultaneously, a service paper issued in Hawaii bore the headline: "Patterson Public Enemy #1."

As the G. I. demonstrations developed greater organization and militancy, the protest within the United States deepened too. For months the troops had been rubber stamping the mail sent to the U. S. with slogans such as: "Write your Congressman — Get Us Home" and "No Boats — No Votes."

They had been carrying on a vigorous letter writing campaign themselves, writing Congress, families, friends, and newspapers demanding they be released and asking others to write letters too. In the midst of the G. I. revolt, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, head of the Military Affairs Committee complained to the press: "Constituents are on their (Congressmen's) necks day and night. The pressure is unbelievable. Mail from wives, mothers, sweethearts demanding that their men be brought home is running to almost 100,000 letters daily." That phenomenal figure did not include appeals direct from the servicemen!

As the first wave of mass protest subsided the issues became broader and the soldiers protested against other abuses. On January 13, 1946, 500 G. I.'s in Paris adopted a set of demands which a UPI release characterized as "a revolutionary program of Army reform."

The Enlisted Man's Magna Charta, as this program was called, demanded:

- 1) Abolition of officers messes with all rations to be served in a common mess on a first-come first-served basis.
- 2) Opening of all officers clubs, at all posts, camps, and stations to officers and men alike.
- 3) Abolition of all special officers quarters and requirement that all officers serve one year as enlisted men except in time of war.
- 4) Reform of army court martial boards to include enlisted men.

In addition, the soldiers demanded the removal of Secretary of War Patterson. They elected a committee to present the Magna Charta to a Senate investigating committee scheduled to come to Paris in two weeks. The final action of this important meeting was to establish the "G. I. Liberation Committee" and urge everyone to join its units and organize for further actions.

### **Officers Fail to Curb Revolt**

The danger to the U. S. military system posed by this massive G. I. revolt was certainly not lost to the Truman Administration. The army of WWII was not designed to permit criticism from the ranks and G. I.'s who protested to their congressmen or participated in any similar actions left themselves open to severe reprisals. However, the massive character of the G. I. protests after WWII did not give the authorities much leeway. They could not victimize the leaders without stirring up even larger protests; and at the same time it was difficult to crack down on hundreds of thousands of men at once. Yet, from the military's point of view the situation was critical and the rapidly dissolving

discipline had to be halted somehow. When privates and sergeants started requisitioning planes and jeeps to carry elected G. I. representatives to meetings with Congressional investigating committees to talk about arranging transportation home, the officers knew they were in trouble.

The military used a soft hand at first, merely "requesting" that all complaints go through normal channels, and imposing greater censorship on service newspapers. On January 11 the staff of *The Daily Pacifican*, an army newspaper in Manila printed a statement that, "new restrictions on freedom of expression imposed from above no longer enable us to bring full news and full truth to our G. I. readers."

However, demonstrations continued and broadened in scope, as indicated by the Paris meeting where the Magna Charta was proclaimed. Furthermore, the military had no intention of immediately living up to the promises it had made to pacify the soldiers. A UPI dispatch on January 16 announced that, "The USS Cecil, carrying veterans to the U. S. left Manila one third empty, the Navy disclosed today." The Manila Soldiers Committee on that same day, January 16, announced plans for another mass demonstration.

At this point the army decided things had gone too far and on January 17, Chief of Staff General Eisenhower issued an order banning any further soldier demonstrations. A similar order was issued by General McNarney, commander of U. S. forces in the European theater who stated that, "further meetings may prejudice the prestige of the occupation forces," and Lieut. General Richardson ordered court-martial for any soldier or officer in the mid-Pacific who continued to agitate for speedy demobilization.

On the same day, General Richardson also confined to quarters three leaders of the Honolulu protests while the army "investigated" their remarks about the demobilization policy. The three were later released. Other minor reprisals followed, primarily in the form of transfers and threats of disciplinary action. Two men were removed from the staff of *Stars and Stripes* and sent to Liknawa — considered the "Siberia of the American Army" — for signing a joint protest against official muzzling of the paper.

Leaders of the Manila Soldiers Committee were also transferred to Okinawa and one of these leaders was Sgt. Emil Mazey, former president of the militant Briggs Local 212 of the CIO United Auto Workers. Mazey had led the fight at the 1943 UAW convention to revoke the no-strike pledge and introduced a resolution to form a labor party. Although his recent history hasn't been so inspiring

— Mazey is now Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW and Reuther's right hand man — the leading role he played in the "Bring the Troops Home" movement was extremely significant.

### Workers in Army and Unions Unite in Struggle

A conscript army of many hundreds of thousands depends on the working class for its human raw material, and many of the men who served in the U. S. forces during WWII had just participated in the greatest labor upsurge in American history. Thousands upon thousands of them had taken part in the CIO organizing drives of the late 1930's and had learned the methods and tactics of mass struggle from their experiences. They had gained organizational ability and knew the power of united action. These lessons and the abilities of men like Emil Mazey were used with great effectiveness by the revolting troops.

At almost every base where soldiers demonstrated they began organizing themselves immediately. One news item after another reported, that "the soldiers elected representatives to present their demands" or "the G. I.'s chose a committee to plan further action." The highest point of organization was reached by the Manila Soldiers Committee. On January 10, 156 delegates, elected by each outfit in the Manila area, and representing 139,000 soldiers, held their first meeting. The delegates unanimously elected a chairman and adopted a program. The chairman appointed a central committee of eight, which according to the *New York Times* (January 11), included "two officers and (was) widely representative of creeds and backgrounds." In addition to Emil Mazey, the group was composed of a North Carolina Negro, an Alabama white, a Jew, an Italian, and regional representatives from different sections of the U. S.

The protesting soldiers were as conscious of their union allies as Col. Campbell had been when he reminded the soldiers that they were not working for General Motors. The outfit stationed at Batangas, Philippines, headed by Mazey, sent an appeal to the United Auto Workers asking for support. The cablegram was immediately made public by the union and UAW President R. J. Thomas issued a statement saying:

"I have the utmost sympathy for the outraged feelings of these G. I.'s. The War Department having made a public commitment on the rate of discharge, that commitment should be carried out in full at least in non-hostile countries. What soldiers and sailors do we need to occupy the Philippines? To ask the question is to expose how ridiculous it is." The CIO council of Los Angeles



1945

This letter was written into the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Vursell of Illinois on December 3, 1945. Excerpts from the letter follow:

Tangku, China  
November 13, 1945

Dear Dad:

This letter is meant mainly for you. I'd like to have you pass it on to the St. Louis papers or one of them, and put your name on it, or the usual "officer's name withheld." Here's the scoop: Today General Wedemeyer stated that the marines would remain in North China until the "unsettled affairs are settled." That means that we must repatriate the Japs at the rate of 76,000 a month for 33 months as there are 2,500,000 of them here. That means we are protecting the Chinese nationalists from the Communists. That is the truth. We are preventing the Communists from controlling this area until the Nationalists get here. In short, we are deciding what government China should have. We are doing exactly what we told Russia not to do. No wonder they don't trust us in Russia.

Third, today a Jap came up to one of our officers and asked, "I'm looking for some Standard Oil men to come in here. I want an inventory before they arrive." We're protecting the tanks against the Chinese Communists.

Fourth we are protecting the Japs from the Chinese. Boy what a set-up. . . .

My point is that the United States job is finished here. We accepted the Japanese surrender but we are in an Allied nation and they should take care of their own repatriation problems. Russia is doing it, so can China. A question: If Russia was threatened by civil war would we rush troops in there to prevent it? Well, that's just what we are doing here. Are Wedemeyer and Truman using the repatriation as a pretext for actually settling Chiang's revolution for him? . . . Well, Dad, there you have it. Am I griping too much, or am I asking the same things you are? What the hell is the trouble back there? . . . Byrnes says, "All marines in north China will leave immediately." Wedemeyer says a couple of days later, "All marines will remain in China until the unsettled affairs are settled." What the devil is coming off? We, yes we, are the ones who say: "We're not in Washington . . . We, yes we, are the ones who say: "A few clashes between marines and Communists have taken place. It is regrettable." You are damn right it is regrettable. A few marines have been hurt. Sure, he'll keep the marines here while the Army goes home.

Dad, I've written a lot. I've made my words and sentences strong. I don't like to swear in writing, but I'm boiling and so is everyone else. We've all been writing home . . . We will assist other nations, but we will not run their governments. We can't do everything and we can't carry the whole world on our shoulders. So forgive me if I seem bitter and seditious, but this sort of thing must stop, and you people must force the withdrawal of marines from China, before some of our men, possibly me or anyone, gets his Purple Heart for doing China's job for the Chinese for no purpose or reason.

Best of luck, Dad,  
Your Son

# BRING THE TROOPS HOME

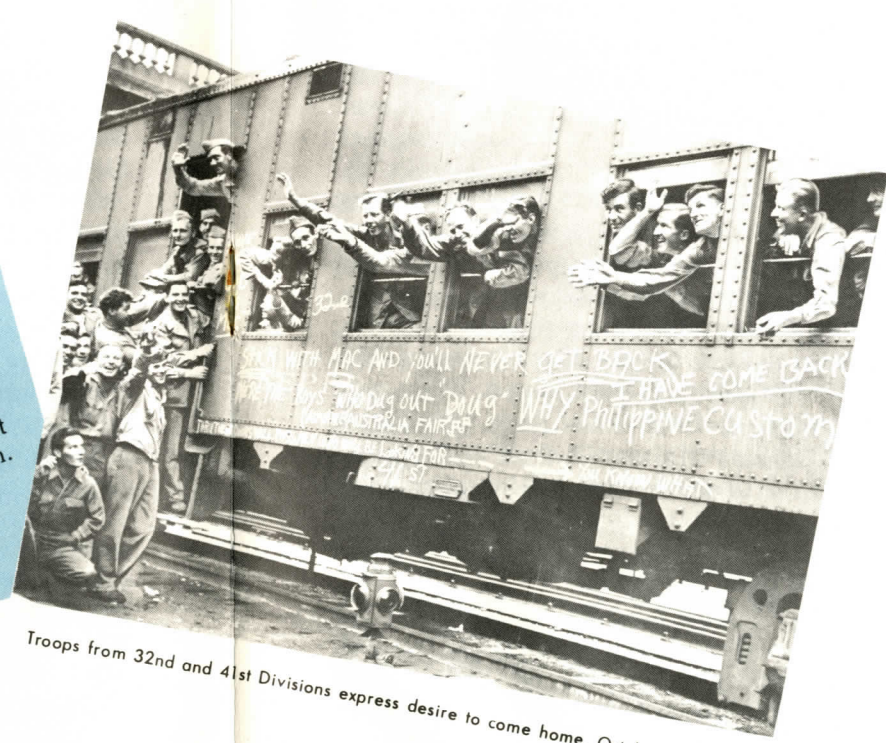
1965

An AP dispatch of September 30 from Wichita, Kansas quoted the following excerpts from a letter Cpl. Ronnie W. Wilson in Vietnam wrote to his mother:

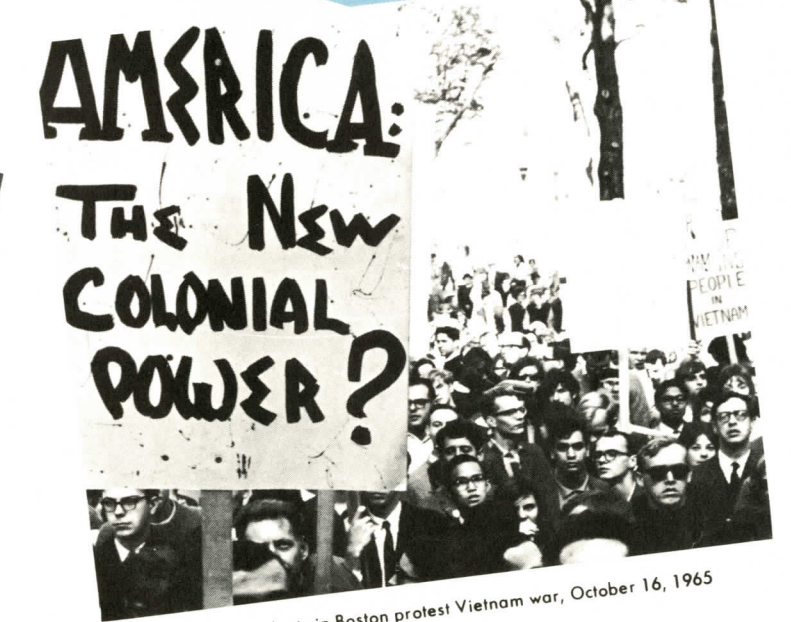
There are so many Cong here that in three days we captured 12 VC and killed 33. Mom, I had to kill a woman and a baby. We were sweeping the jungle and all of a sudden the Cong opened up on us. People were falling and Cong were clipping 81 mortars on us. The lieutenant had us move out toward the firing. We killed eight Cong and about 30 got away.

Anyway we were searching the dead Cong when a wife of the one I was checking ran out of a cave and picked up a sub-machine gun and started firing at us. I shot her and my rifle is automatic, so before I knew it I had shot about six rounds. Four of them hit her and the others went in the cave and must have bounced off the rock wall and hit the baby.

Mom, for the first time I felt really sick to my stomach. The baby was about two months old . . . I swear to God this place is worse than hell. Why must I kill women and kids? Who knows who's right? They think they are and we think we are. Both sides are losing men. I wish to God this was over.



Troops from 32nd and 41st Divisions express desire to come home, October, 1945



Students in Boston protest Vietnam war, October 16, 1965

# 1945

This letter was written into the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Vursell of Illinois on December 3, 1945. Excerpts from the letter follow:

Tangku, China  
November 13, 1945

Dear Dad:

This letter is meant mainly for you. I'd like to have you pass it on to the St. Louis papers or one of them, and put your name on it, or the usual "officer's name withheld." Here's the scoop: Today General Wedemeyer stated that the marines would remain in North China until the "unsettled affairs are settled." That means that we must repatriate the Japs at the rate of 76,000 a month for 33 months as there are 2,500,000 of them here. That means we are protecting the Chinese nationalists from the Communists. That is the truth. We are preventing the Communists from controlling this area until the Nationalists get here. In short, we are deciding what government China should have. We are doing exactly what we told Russia not to do. No wonder they don't trust us in Russia.

Third, today a Jap came up to one of our officers and asked, "I'm looking for some Standard Oil men to come in here. I want an inventory before they arrive." We're protecting the tanks against the Chinese Communists.

Fourth we are protecting the Japs from the Chinese. Boy what a set-up. . . .

My point is that the United States job is finished here. We accepted the Japanese surrender but we are in an Allied nation and they should take care of their own repatriation problems. Russia is doing it, so can China. A question: If Russia was threatened by civil war would we rush troops in there to prevent it? Well, that's just what we are doing here. Are Wedemeyer and Truman using the repatriation as a pretext for actually settling Chiang's revolution for him? . . . Well, Dad, there you have it. Am I griping too much, or am I asking the same things you are? What the hell is the trouble back there? . . . Byrnes says, "All marines in north China will leave immediately." Wedemeyer says a couple of days later, "All marines will remain in China until the unsettled affairs are settled." We're not in Washington. . . . we, are the ones who say: We're not in Washington. . . . Today Wedemeyer says, "A few clashes between marines and Communists have taken place. It is regrettable." You are damn right it is regrettable. A few marines have been hurt. Sure, he'll keep the marines here while the Army goes home. Dad, I've written a lot. I've made my words and so is everyone else. We've all been writing home. . . . We will assist other nations, but we will not run their governments. We can't do everything and we can't carry the whole world on our shoulders. So forgive me if I seem bitter and seditious, but this sort of thing must stop, and you people must force the withdrawal of marines from China, before some of our men, possibly me or anyone, gets his Purple Heart for doing China's job for the Chinese for no purpose or reason.

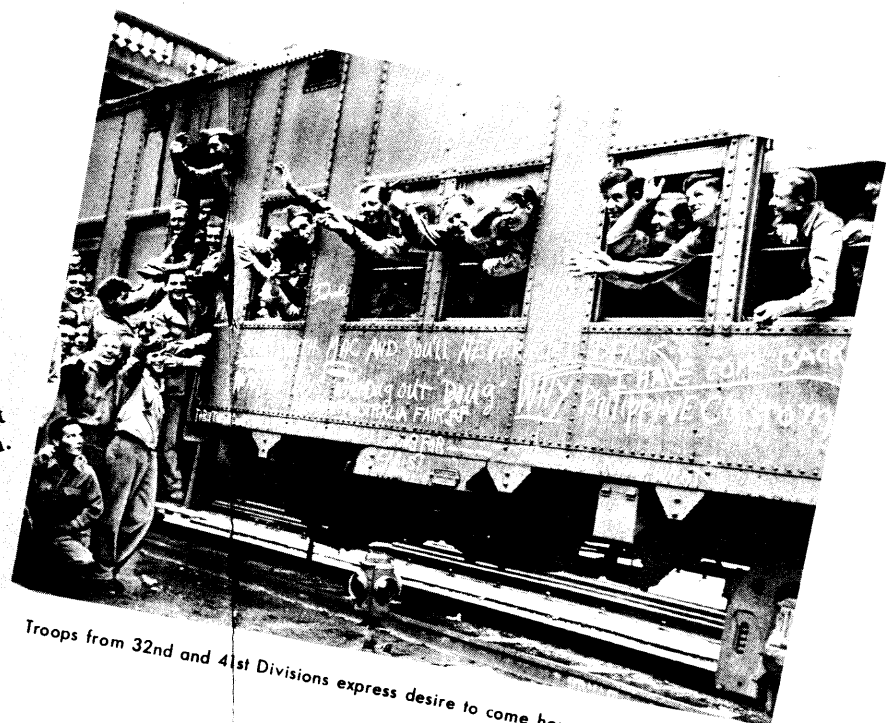
Best of luck, Dad,  
Your Son

# BRING THE TROOPS HOME

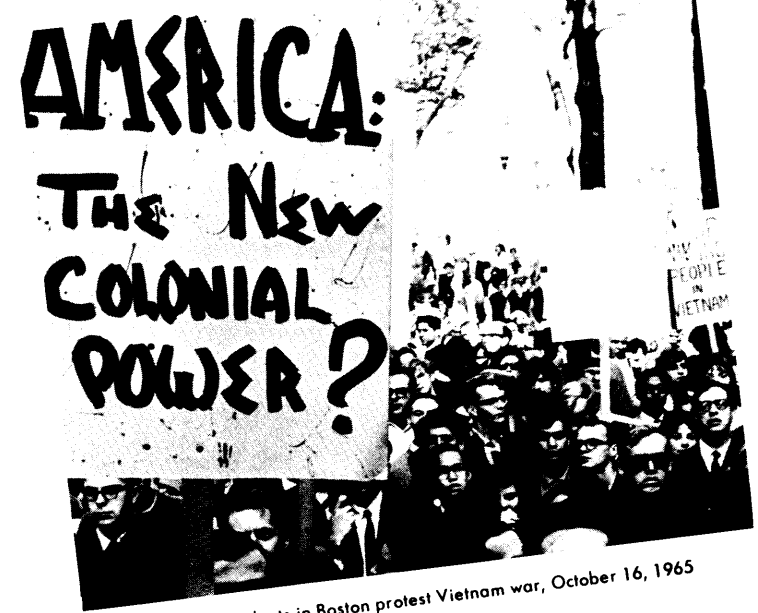
# 1965

An AP dispatch of September 30 from Wichita, Kansas quoted the following excerpts from a letter Cpl. Ronnie W. Wilson in Vietnam wrote to his mother:

There are so many Cong here that in three days we captured 12 VC and killed 33. Mom, I had to kill a woman and a baby. We were sweeping the jungle and all of a sudden the Cong opened up on us. People were falling and Cong were clipping 81 mortars on us. The lieutenant had us move out toward the firing. We killed eight Cong and about 30 got away. Anyway we were searching the dead Cong when a wife of the one I was checking ran out of a cave and picked up a sub-machine gun and started firing at us. I shot her and my rifle is automatic, so before I knew it I had shot about six rounds. Four of them hit her and the others went in the cave and must have bounced off the rock wall and hit the baby. Mom, for the first time I felt really sick to my stomach. The baby was about two months old. . . . I swear to God this place is worse than hell. Why must I kill women and kids? Who knows who's right? They think they are and we think we are. Both sides are losing men. I wish to God this was over.



Troops from 32nd and 4th Divisions express desire to come home, October, 1945



Students in Boston protest Vietnam war, October 16, 1965

called a demonstration in front of the Chinese consulate on January 5 in order to show their support for the G. I.'s demands, and many unions passed resolutions similar to the one passed by the Akron CIO Council which stated, in part:

WHEREAS: Committee of soldiers in Manila and other fields of occupation have requested the aid of the labor movement in speeding their return to their homes and families.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Akron Industrial Union Council joins in the soldiers' protests against the slowdown in demobilization and gives support to the millions of workers in uniform who long for peace, for home, and for a return to normal life, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Akron Industrial Union Council is in full accord with the demonstrating soldiers who protest against being used to protect the wealth and foreign properties of such anti-labor corporations as Standard Oil and General Motors . . .

These would be surprising words to hear from the American labor movement today, but in 1946, while the troops were demonstrating abroad, the unions on the home front were engaged in a struggle for their very existence, and these two fights were really twin battles in the same war.

From 1941 to 1945 the American labor movement operated under tremendous restrictions imposed by the Roosevelt government with the assistance of the labor bureaucracy. A War Labor Board was established which settled all disputes by compulsory arbitration. Hours were lengthened, wages were frozen at the pre-war level and a war Manpower Commission was established with control over some 2,300,000 federal employees, including workers in many of the industries classified as "essential." Civil liberties were severely curtailed and outspoken opponents of the war, such as leaders of Teamster Local 544 in Minneapolis, members of the Socialist Workers Party, were jailed under the Smith Act. All the major political tendencies in the country united in support of the war drive and in denouncing any attempts by workers and Negroes to protect their rights. This left the field wide open for the right wing to launch an all out attack on the gains made by the unions during the thirties. They were not long in taking advantage of this opportunity. As Admiral Ben Moreell, Chief of the U. S. Bureau of Yards and Docks, told a meeting of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Department in October, 1942 in Toronto, "I will admit that no one can live without labor, but they certainly can live without labor unions. They are living without them in Germany, and in Italy and in Japan and

they seem to be doing right well — at least for the moment — and in my opinion, they will damn well live without them here if all of us don't get in there and pitch."

As the war drew to a close, the bitterness of the workers toward the restrictions and toward right wing attempts to destroy their organizations reached explosive proportions. Within six months after V-J Day, there were more than 1,700,000 men and women on the picket lines in the U. S. demanding better hours and decent wages to compensate for the soaring cost of living.

The employers, remembering the post World War I era, hoped that the millions thrown out of jobs by the cut back in war production plus the millions of returning veterans could be used to break the unions. But the labor situation in 1945 was far different from that of 1919, because the struggles of the 1930's had developed a high degree of consciousness of the need for labor solidarity.

Also, during the war, the unions had guaranteed jobs, full seniority rights, and other benefits to their members in the armed forces. The union consciousness of the leaders of the troop demonstrations helped to assure that the vast majority of veterans would be sympathetic to organized labor. As a result, returning veterans joined the picket lines and fought with the unions for a decent standard of living. It was a common sight to see men marching under banners that read: "This Entire Group — Veterans of World War II," and "Veterans Demand 18-1/2 cents an Hour."

### **American Troops Refuse to Crush Colonial Revolts**

One of the most important results of the "Bring the Troops Home" movement was that it served notice to all that the American troops would not allow themselves to be used against their brothers, either at home or abroad. The resolutions, letters, and telegrams written by the G. I.'s themselves give a clear indication of their mood. They protested being used to back what they themselves labeled American imperialism in the Far East and resented the role of protecting business interests abroad. What was behind these accusations, and what were the American troops being used for that created such bitter resentment?

The events in Indochina are an excellent example. At the Potsdam conference it was decided that northern Indochina would be awarded to Chiang Kai-shek's government as a sphere of influence, and that southern Indochina would be given to the British. Immediately following V-J Day, the anti-Japanese guerrilla forces led

by the Viet Minh, rode to power on the wave of a popular revolution and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. When the British occupation forces arrived, the Ho Chi Minh government welcomed them with open arms, only to find that the British had no intention of allowing Vietnam to become an independent nation. As the British were having their own troubles in India, Burma, and elsewhere, they returned the colony to France, and French troops, together with Japanese troops, launched a military campaign to wipe out the Vietnamese liberation army (See *War and Revolution in Vietnam*, Doug Jenness). American troops stationed in the Far East were well aware that the U. S. was aiding the effort to subjugate the Vietnamese people. In addition to other material aid, many U. S. troop ships, instead of bringing American soldiers home, were used to transport French reinforcements to Indochina. The New York newspaper, *PM*, carried the following story on November 12, 1945: "Victory ships Taos and Pauchog left Marseilles on October 31, each carrying more than 1,000 troops to Indochina. The crewmen of the Taos signed on in New York with the understanding that they were to proceed to India to bring American troops home. Upon their arrival (in Marseilles) they learned they were also to be used to carry French troops to the Orient.

"Prior to the sailing of the Taos and the Pauchog, three other [American] Victory ships left for French Indochina carrying French troops."

The Indochinese story was repeated in the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia). With the conclusion of the war against Japan, the Indonesian nationalist forces set up a government and proclaimed their independence. The Dutch launched a campaign of extermination against them which can easily be compared to the atrocities committed by the U. S. in Vietnam today. An AP dispatch on December 30, 1945, pointed out that American aid to the Dutch was considerable. "Two thousand American-trained and equipped Dutch marines arrived off Batavia [Indonesia] today . . . Trained at Quantico, Va., Camp Lejeune, N. C., and Camp Pendleton, Calif., and fully supplied with American equipment, the marines are considered among the finest troops in the Netherlands armed forces."

An extremely bitter marine stationed in China described how the soldiers felt about American aid to the Dutch in a letter to his father read into the *Congressional Record* by Rep. Vursell of Illinois on December 3, 1945. He asked, "Is our Navy to be used for ferrying supplies to the Dutch in Java or for getting our troops home? . . . We have a great fleet, but when a group of ships carrying United States troops are stopped at Hol-

landia, the troops ordered off, and supplies for Java put aboard, then it is time to call a halt. That little story we got from our First Marine Division news sheet."

Why was the U. S. government so concerned with the situation in the Netherlands Indies? The December 28, 1945, *United States News* explained it by saying, "If the Javanese people are successful in their challenge to Dutch rule, the effect may be felt through a large part of Asia. Already in Sumatra, Malaya, Siam, and French Indo-China, there are evidences of unrest . . ." The outcome of the events in Java " . . . may determine what happens to the white man's position in neighboring areas inhabited by hundreds of millions of people."

The U. S. government was vitally concerned that these hundreds of millions of people and their countries rich in natural resources should not be lost to American economic domination. Several months before the war was over, Senator Tunnel, in a speech to Congress on February 15, 1945, spelled it out very clearly. "It would be an anomalous position for the United States to occupy, after putting up the men, the money and enduring all the sacrifices which these mean, to have our country precluded from the markets we liberated."

The most blatant use of American troops to suppress the colonial revolution occurred in China. At the end of the war Chinese communist forces were supported by the vast majority of the Chinese population, but Chiang Kai-shek's troops still controlled part of the south. The U. S. immediately moved in American soldiers to support Chiang and try to suppress the revolution. China was *the* great prize market of the Pacific, and men like Senator Tunnel did not want the U. S. to be excluded. According to the U. S. *Foreign Policy Bulletin* of November 30, 1945, the strength of Nationalist troops "was reinforced by the presence in North China of over 50,000 United States marines, who have made possible the entrance of Chanking divisions by holding certain cities for them until their arrival, jointly patrolling these centers with the Central troops thereafter and guarding stretches of railway in the Peiping-Tientsin area."

How did the American soldiers feel about being used this way? A pilot in the Army Air Force at Kunming, China, wrote a bitter letter to the New York newspaper *PM* on December 2, 1945, saying, "We hear news reports daily over the radio about the Chinese war and the United States' intention of staying out. We know now that our country lies even as German Nazism lied to the German people." He then went on to explain how American

pilots were ordered to paint over the insignias on their planes before they flew missions.

The marine who wrote the letter that was entered in the *Congressional Record* on December 3, by Rep. Vursell (quoted earlier), complained that, "Today General Wedemeyer stated that the marines would remain in North China until the 'unsettled affairs are settled.' . . . That means we are protecting the Chinese nationalists from the communists. That's the truth. We are preventing the communists from controlling this area until the Nationalists get here. In short we are deciding what government China should have. We are doing exactly what we told Russia not to do. No wonder they don't trust us in Russia." After asking why Wedemeyer and Truman are using repatriation of the Japanese forces as a pretext for settling Chiang's revolution for him, the marine goes on to say, "Dad, if I could only impress you with the bitter hatred that exists among the marines over this, perhaps you could understand how we feel."

### Why Did American Troops Revolt?

Today, American troops are again fighting in Asia. They are being used in a colonial war even more brutal and destructive than those which followed World War II. Their morale is low, and most do not like what they are doing, but their resentment has not yet reached the heights it did following the Second World War. Why did soldiers refuse to fight then?

First of all, they were just plain tired of fighting. They had had enough and wanted out. But this does not adequately explain their rebellion. Had they been convinced of the need to fight, and had they felt it was their duty to crush the growing colonial revolution they might have done so. However, five years of war-time anti-fascist propaganda could not be wiped out in a matter of months. World War II had been described as a war to liberate subjugated people from the yoke of fascism, as a war to destroy a system that practiced genocide, as a war against Nazi totalitarian oppression of the working class and its organizations. At the end of the war, when the allied powers tried to reconquer their former colonies, the American soldiers simply said, "No, this is not what we fought and died for." In an open letter to President Truman, reported in the December 22, 1945 issue of the *New York Times*, an Army psychiatrist warned of a "psychological breakdown" among the troops as a result of "being used to stifle the very democratic elements they hoped to liberate."

Another reason the soldiers refused to go on fighting was that a fear of communism that overturned all other considerations had not been ingrained in them yet. The Soviet Union had been an ally in the fight against fascism, and the American troops were not psychologically prepared to fight their former friends.

A final and very significant aspect of the troop revolt was the racist character of U. S. foreign policy. The role of the American Negro population during World War II is another hidden chapter in U. S. history, but the important point here is that the Jim Crow practices of the American military machine did not make the Negro troops very enthusiastic about subjugating Asia. They knew from long, bitter experience the racist attitudes that made wholesale slaughter of non-white people "acceptable" to the military command.

### Historical Consequences of Troop Revolt

The mass demonstrations to "Bring the Troops Home," brief as they were, had far reaching consequences in the post World War II era. First of all, *they did force the U. S. government to demobilize the troops*. Fifteen million men and women served in the armed forces during the war, and by mid-summer 1946 the army had been reduced to one million five hundred thousand troops. The strength of the revolt, its size and depth, and the massive support it received within the United States brought about a near disintegration of the American military machine. The government had no choice but to disband the large draftee army.

Second, the revolt gave notice to the military that the entire concept of a permanent, disciplined, peacetime conscript army could not be easily foisted on the American population. It is hard for our generation to comprehend this fact, but a conscript army never existed, except in time of large-scale war, prior to our lifetimes! The charges made by the soldiers that they were being used as hostages in the military's campaign to force universal military training made it evident that the American people wanted no part of such a program, and it was two years before Congress could safely pass a law instituting universal military training. Madison Avenue advertising techniques had to swing into high gear before Americans "bought" the idea.

Third, the "Bring Us Home" demonstrations made it clear that a new propaganda campaign was needed and must begin immediately if Americans were to be convinced of the "communist menace" and the need to pay a world-wide counterrevolutionary role. It was time for the Cold War to begin in earnest when American troops rebelled

at fighting the Chinese Red Army and "communist" guerrillas. Anti-fascism propaganda had to be replaced by anti-communist propaganda, and the struggles of the colonial people for independence had to be transformed into "Communist conspiracies."

Fourth, the troop revolt postponed the entire post-war time schedule as proposed by Churchill and Truman for the war against the Soviet Union. Because the American army served notice that it would no longer fight, and because it became necessary to allow time to generate the Cold War atmosphere, the Soviet Union gained a breathing space to recoup from the war, to rebuild its economy, and to develop into a nuclear power. This breathing space gave the colonial revolution a chance to advance, and prevented the U. S. from crushing the Chinese Revolution. The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the possession of nuclear arms by the Soviet Union produced a stalemate during the Korean War and prevented the American government from reversing the North Korean revolution.

The inability of the U. S. to win in Korea, and the unpopularity of that war, in turn, made Americans very hostile to entering the Indochinese war on the side of the French in 1954. This, and the decision by France to turn down Eisenhower's offer, were the only factors that prevented him from asking Congress for permission to use nuclear weapons already en route to Vietnam at the time of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

Fifth, the close ties that existed between the Come Home Movement and organized labor made it evident that returning soldiers would not be anti-union and could not be counted on to serve as strike breakers. This gave a tremendous boost to the labor struggles occurring simultaneously in the U. S. It meant that the CIO was not crushed in the post war period, but on the contrary made significant gains. Although, the Cold War red-baiting campaign served to split and seriously weaken the unions, they were not physically destroyed as were the working class organizations of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan under fascism. Had such a defeat occurred in the post war era the working class would probably not yet have recovered. A case in point is Spain, where thirty years after the smashing of the Spanish workers, they are only now beginning to rise again.

Sixth, the struggle for Negro emancipation was given impetus by the Come Home Movement. The inclusion of Negroes on the soldiers' committees and the inter-racial solidarity against the most blatant racist aspects of American foreign policy served only to encourage the freedom struggle within the U. S. as well as abroad.

And seventh, the "Bring Us Home" movement is graphic proof of the fact that the American working class is capable of mass action on non-economic issues. The American community can be moved by something other than its stomach.

Finally, the post war troop revolt has tremendous significance for those of us involved in the anti-war movement today. One of the most important questions being debated on the west coast last summer at the time of the troop train demonstrations in Berkeley and Oakland was the problem of how to approach the troops, how to reach them and appeal to them to join our protest. The Come Home Movement provides an answer to those questions as it gives proof that ultimately, when the troop resentment is great enough, the American G. I.'s will unite in a protest that will shake the very foundations of American foreign policy and the American military machine.

Furthermore, "Bring the Troops Home" is the slogan they will raise and is the major slogan that will mobilize the hundreds of thousands of men and women we must mobilize in order to stop the war. A demand to negotiate, or to call a cease fire, or to send in the United Nations — which for the soldiers simply means exchanging a brown hat for a blue one — will be recognized by the troops as a subterfuge for continuing the war. When the troops and their supporters have had enough, they will want out and nothing less.

What are the prospects for such a mass movement against the war in Vietnam? There are two very promising indications. For the first time in American history an anti-war movement has emerged at the *beginning* of a war. Never before has an organized opposition to a war grown and gained momentum while the war was actually being fought. The significance of this cannot be underestimated.

Second, anti-communism as an almost religious justification for any act of American aggression abroad is on the defensive, not the offensive. We are moving away from the McCarthy period, not towards it, and more and more American people, especially the students and youth, are beginning to question the basic premises of the entire Cold War era.

As the number of conscript troops in Vietnam grows, their response to demand to "Bring the Troops Home" will increase. We should raise this demand continuously and settle for nothing less, as our uncompromising fight at home will let them know they are not alone in their dissatisfaction with the war in Vietnam. This time we will not have to wait for the end of a six year war involving over 15,000,000 troops. The process is beginning now.



# TWO BOOKS ON MALCOLM X

BY DERRICK MORRISON

Two books by and about Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and *Malcolm X Speaks*, illustrate the monumental significance of this man to black freedom in this country. The books supplement each other. The autobiography gives an account of his early life up to his split with the Muslims, while the speeches graphically show the development of his revolutionary thought in the last year of his life.

The autobiography was written as Malcolm told it to Alex Haley, a Negro writer.

The book begins with the turbulent years of Malcolm's youth. When he was only seven, his father, an advocate of Garveyism, was killed. The family believed it was done by white racists.

Afterwards, the family of eight children was split up when Malcolm's mother was driven into a mental hospital by welfare authorities. Finishing the eighth grade where he showed exceptional abilities, Malcolm dropped out of school and went to live with his half-sister, Ella, in Boston.

Following his attraction to the "sharp dressed young 'cats' who hung on the corners and in poolrooms, bars, and restaurants, and who obviously didn't work anywhere, . . ." Malcolm, not quite sixteen, drifted into the jungle world of numbers, dope, hustling, women, and crime. The description of his life during those years gives some knowledge as to what life is like in the black ghettos across this country, and illustrates how the white power structure profits from the degradation and exploitation of blacks.

This jungle world existence, which was centered in Harlem, was to last for five years until he was arrested for house burglary early in 1946. Not quite 21 years old at the time, Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in prison.

## Malcolm Joins Muslims

While in prison, he was converted to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam by his brothers and sisters who had already become members.

Released from prison in 1952, he devoted full time to building the Nation of Islam for the next twelve years.

Early in 1964, Malcolm split with Elijah Muhammad. It is believed that one of the factors was Elijah's jealousy of Malcolm on one hand and Elijah's hypocrisy toward his followers on the other hand.

However, the main factor in the split, of which Malcolm fully became aware sometime afterward, was the Muslims refusal to participate in the growing struggle of Negroes for equality. Malcolm felt this inadequacy as he saw his influence and popularity increase among non-Muslims more so than Muslims. Because he was in close contact with the ghetto, he knew their needs and aspirations more so than most "Negro leaders." Malcolm saw the necessity to create a leadership that would serve as an alternative to the sell-out artists such as King, Rustin, Wilkins and Co. This impatience with inactivity was also felt by a number of young Muslims who went with Malcolm when he split.

In March, 1964, the month of the split, he set up the Muslim Mosque Inc., an organization which "would embrace all faiths of black men, and it would carry into practice what the Nation of Islam had only preached." However, the name of the organization seemed to contradict his purpose.

His views on the race problem changed after his first extended trip abroad when he visited Algeria as well as Mecca in April, 1964. When he came back, he formed the Organization of Afro-

American Unity (OAAU), styled after the Organization of African Unity, (OAU). He left the United States again in July for an OAU meeting in Cairo. He was attempting to get the African nations to present the case of the U. S. government's denial of human rights to 22 million Afro-Americans before the United Nations. After visiting several countries, he came back to the States on November 24, 1964, denouncing the role of the U. S. government in the Congo. He made several speeches which reflected his new thinking before he was brutally assassinated on February 21, 1965.

It should be noted here that after his first trip to Africa and the Middle East, he wanted to make some changes in the chapters in his autobiography dealing with the Muslims. However, Haley prevailed upon him to leave the book as it stood. Had the book been done over, a more thorough criticism of the Muslims might have resulted, going into the problems that beset the organization because of its abstention from the Freedom Now struggle.

In the epilogue, Haley points out the stresses that Malcolm underwent in the last year of his life. He received a hail of death threats and knew that attempts to kill him were planned. He also reveals that Malcolm began to question the assumption that it was mainly the Muslims who were trying to kill him. This rethinking came after he was refused entry into France by the French government a week before his assassination. This incident suggested that a much greater force than the Muslims was out to get him.

*Malcolm X Speaks*, however, shows clearly how in the last year of his life his analysis of this racist society and the black freedom struggle was developed and refined. The book contains 14 speeches, all except one given after his split with the Muslims; the letters he wrote from abroad in April and May of 1964; and a collection of his answers to questions asked by the audiences where he spoke.

### Malcolm as an Internationalist

The speeches show that it was Malcolm's internationalism that was at the root of his differences with the "civil rites" leaders and most other black nationalists. He always looked at the struggle of black people in this country in terms of its connections with and implications for the colonial revolution taking place in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. He developed the basics of this world outlook during his two trips abroad in black Africa and the Middle East.

While trying to teach this concept to the OAAU in December of 1964, Malcolm said, "Here in

America, we have always thought that we were struggling by ourselves, and most Afro-Americans will tell you just that — that we're a minority. By thinking we're a minority, we struggle like a minority. This type of struggle takes place only because we don't yet know where we fit in the scheme of things. It's impossible for you and me to know where we stand until we look around on this entire earth. Not just look around in Harlem or New York, or Mississippi, or America — we have got to look all around this earth. We don't know where we stand until we know where America stands. You don't know where you stand in America until you know where America stands in the world."

His international perspective was based on the fact that the U. S. government and its partners in Europe stood in opposition to the colonial revolution and benefited from the exploitation of the colonial peoples through its control of the world's wealth.

"Colonialism or imperialism, as the slave system of the West is called, is not something that is just confined to England or France or the United States. The interests in this country are in cahoots with the interests in France and Britain. It's one huge complex or combine, and it creates what's known not as the American power structure or the French power structure, but an international power structure. This international power structure is used to suppress the masses of dark-skinned people all over the world and exploit them of their natural resources, so that the era in which you and I have been living during the past ten years most specifically has witnessed the upsurge on the part of the black men in Africa against the power structure."

Since it was the U. S., inextricably connected with this "international power structure," that upheld racism the world over because it was profitable, it would be impossible for the U. S. government to grant freedom to 22 million black people here. How can this government grant equality to non-whites here when it was the first and only nation to use atom bombs on non-whites, killed thousands of black Congolese in attempting to smash their revolution, and is now committing untold atrocities against yellow people in Vietnam? In light of this analysis, Malcolm saw the necessity for black people to break with the Democratic and Republican parties, the two parties that support aggression against the colonial revolution in the interests of the American ruling class. He realized the need for a black political organization totally independent of these two parties but had not reached strong conclusions on how to go about building such an organization.



Turning their backs upon the colonial struggle, the "civil rites" leaders spend their time trying to get integrated into the "Great Society," attempting to ingratiate the white power structure. This means tying the struggle hand and foot to the Democratic Party, thereby castrating it of its effectiveness and supporting the counterrevolutionary aims of the U. S. abroad. An illustration of this is the civil rights movement's inability to respond positively to the growing movement against Johnson's war in Vietnam, by organizing the widespread anti-war sentiment that exists among black people. This is a consequence of the fact that the anti-war movement is independent of the capitalist parties while the civil rights movement is dependent upon the capitalist parties.

As opposed to other black nationalists who have not participated in the anti-war movement because of its predominately white character, Malcolm X would have surely set the forces in motion in the black ghetto to tie into and give a more militant stance to the present anti-war movement on the campuses.

### **Self-Defense Vs. Racist Violence**

The aspect of Malcolm's ideas that the press slandered most was the idea that black people have a right to defend themselves. Because of the flood of attacks that this idea received, Malcolm patiently explained the concept of self-defense as opposed to the non-violent approach that was espoused by the "civil rites" leaders. In light of the fact that most Americans are not appalled at the 60 billion dollars that are spent on "defense," or the genocidal warfare being waged by the U. S. in Vietnam, only goes to show how deeply embedded racism is in the American psyche when you consider the uproar raised against a man who simply says that Negroes should apply equal and opposite force to any racist attack.

"I myself would go for non-violence if it was consistent, if everybody was going to be non-violent all the time. If they make the Ku Klux Klan non-violent, I'll be non-violent. If they make the White Citizens Council non-violent, I'll be non-violent. But as long as you've got somebody else not being non-violent, I don't want anybody coming to me talking any non-violent talk. I don't think it is fair to tell our people to be non-violent." think it is fair to tell our people to be non-violent unless someone is out there making the Klan and the Citizens Council and these other groups also be non-violent."

### **Social System at Root of Rascism**

After he had come back from Africa in November, he said that he would be hard pressed to give

an overall definition of his philosophy of black nationalism. This was so because he knew that the black man's problem was not an entity in itself, but a problem that was connected with the struggles of peoples of all colors for a better world.

This development in his outlook was stimulated by talking to many revolutionaries in Africa and observing concretely how, "None of them are adopting the capitalistic system because they realize they can't. You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a bloodsucker. Among Asian countries, whether they are communist, socialist — you don't find any capitalist countries over there . . . Almost every one of the countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America — who are looking for a job, . . . better housing, . . . better education — before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated, into this capitalistic system, you should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing, education, food, and clothing."

As a result of understanding that racism was caused by a system that dominated this country and the world, Malcolm observed that whites were racist because they were brainwashed or miseducated to believe themselves superior. He saw that there were some whites, mainly among the younger generation, who were rebelling against the system. Therefore, while in the process of formulating his ideas, he accepted aid and worked with those whites who were genuinely against the system.

The two Malcolm X books are of great value for understanding the life and ideas of a man who was continually besmirched and lied about by the ruling class and its press. He is probably the most noted black revolutionist in this country in the twentieth century.

Young people who are in rebellion against this system will find the books informative and educational. As Malcolm X once said of himself, with the characteristic tongue in cheek humor that all his opponents missed and all his followers loved, "Yes, I have cherished my 'demagogue' role. I know that societies often have killed the people who have helped to change those societies. And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America — then, all of the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine."

# REPORT ON BLOOMINGTON CASE

BY JOYCE DEGROOT

National Secretary, Committee to Aid Bloomington Students

Anti-war activists, civil rights workers, students, and faculty members throughout the country are watching with great interest the legal fight of the three Indiana University students indicted in 1963 under the Indiana Anti-Communism Act. For their socialist ideas and their opposition to U. S. foreign policy, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan and Jim Bingham face from one to three years in prison. The support they have won in their three year battle against an unconstitutional state statute offers an example of the broadening protest that exists today against encroachments on basic constitutional freedoms.

The latest legal action in the Bloomington Case has put it within the jurisdiction of the federal court. The three students have filed an appeal in the U. S. District Court in Indianapolis requesting an injunction to stop the prosecution now taking place and a declaration that the law is unconstitutional. In this appeal they have been joined by two faculty members of Indiana University and two citizens of Indiana who feel that the existence of this unconstitutional law violates *their* constitutional freedoms. James A. Dinsmoor, Professor of Psychology, and Joseph Schneider, Professor of Sociology, along with William and Rhoda Lindner, citizens of Indiana, are protesting the law's infringement on *their* freedom of speech and assembly. The existence of the law harms not only the students who have been indicted, but also those whose freedom of expression is inhibited by the threat of indictment under this law.

## Beginning of Case

Just as October, 1965, was a month of nationwide protest against the war in Vietnam, October, 1962 was a month of demonstrations on a much smaller scale protesting the U. S. blockade of Cuba. Such a demonstration took place at Indiana University and was supported by several political groups on the campus, including the campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The following January, the newly elected county prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley, initiated his campaign to remove the YSA from the Indiana University campus. He publicly smeared the October demonstration and announced an investigation of the organizations that had taken part. On February 18, 1963, he requested that Indiana University withdraw its recognition of the Indiana Uni-

versity chapter of the YSA. When the University refused to comply, Hoadley obtained an indictment against the three officers of the campus chapter, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, on the charge of attending a meeting where "violent overthrow of the government was advocated."

The meeting referred to was a public campus meeting attended by 125 people at which Leroy McRae, a national officer of the YSA, spoke on the need for self-defense of the Negro people against racist violence. (The complete text of the speech is available from the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003).

When this indictment was quashed on a technicality, the prosecutor returned a second indictment based on an additional meeting. This meeting was held in a private home May 2, 1963, the day following the first indictment, at which the defendants, attorneys, and friends, gathered to discuss the defense. In direct violation of the defendants' right to plan an effective defense against the criminal proceedings instituted against them the previous day, the landlord in collusion with the prosecutor, eavesdropped on this meeting.

At the same time, prosecutor Hoadley initiated a witch-hunt against the YSA. He publicly charged that the organization was recruiting by using marijuana, was founded by "Moscow trained agents," and was part of the "Communist conspiracy." These baseless accusations were part of his campaign to force Indiana University to remove the YSA from the campus and prevent it from functioning as a legitimate campus organization.

In pre-trial proceedings in March, 1964, the section of the law under which the students were indicted was declared unconstitutional by Judge Nat U. Hill of Bloomington. The prosecutor appealed this decision to the Indiana Supreme Court, which in a split decision on January 25, 1965, reversed Judge Hill's ruling.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students was formed to publicize the case of the three students and to raise money for the legal expenses involved. Over 1,200 faculty members on 95 college campuses in the U. S. and Canada have become sponsors of the Committee. Send your contribution to: **Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003.**

# ... Greece

(continued from page 7)

Why did it permit the landing of a handful of British troops in early October? Why did it not assume power in Athens during the three days between the departure of the Germans and the arrival of the British, when, in fact, it controlled the city? Finally, why was ELAS caught unprepared for battle, as we shall note shortly?" (*op. cit.*, pp. 826-7).

The British went to war against the Greek people with the following instructions from Prime Minister Churchill to General Scobie, in charge of British operations there: "DO NOT HOWEVER HESITATE TO ACT AS IF YOU WERE IN A CONQUERED CITY WHERE A LOCAL REBELLION IS IN PROGRESS." (*Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 289, original emphasis). This was the attitude of "free world democracy" toward the most popular national organization in Greek history.

The first clashes were favorable to ELAS despite its lack of preparation. However, in a few weeks, United States troop carriers, piloted by American fliers, brought in two full British divisions and continued to pour in troops and supplies during the course of the entire war.

The Truman administration soon took over the major responsibility for supporting the Greek counterrevolution. The British were unable and unwilling to continue the job, just as the French were unwilling to continue in Vietnam in 1954. Greece became, for the U. S. State Department and Pentagon, the major arena for their crusade against "communism." Our government threw its weight behind a reactionary Greek regime, gave it gigantic military and financial support and collaborated with such undemocratic practices as making striking workers subject to the death penalty.

By 1949, after over three years of bloody civil war, the Greek people were defeated and the long terrible night of unbridled reaction set in. The monarchy was reinstalled, civil liberties were throttled and the horrendous economic and social conditions of the people were guaranteed continued existence by the counterrevolution.

## Years of Reaction

Political activity and dissent were outlawed, as were the opposition press and political organizations. Executions were common and accused persons were deprived of the right of legal defense. Prison camps, set up on Aegean islands, were filled with individuals charged with political crimes. Many of the partisan fighters chose

exile to remaining in their own country. In short, the government made every attempt to break the will of the Greek people, to shatter the rebellious and democratic spirit that they so strongly exhibited during the war, and to deprive them of any vision of improving their lives and society.

The Greek people suffered a momentous defeat. They could not easily say the next day: "We lost yesterday, but we will begin again immediately." These were working and farming people who had seen their dreams and hopes, all they had fought for in the army of ELAS, vanish beyond their grasp. This was not easy to overcome — it took time. But, now, after over a decade of silence, they are once again reasserting their long-muted demands, and preparing to complete the revolution of the 1940's. That brings us back to where we started, to the present crisis in the land of the Hellenes.



Workers gather to celebrate 26th anniversary of Greek Communist Party (KKE), Dec. 3, 1944.

The economic and social quagmire in which contemporary Greece finds itself — and this is the cornerstone of the present events — is pretty well-known. The countryside suffers from overcrowding, underproduction and a generally poor agricultural situation. The living conditions are stagnant and among the worst in Europe. The economy is tied to the success or failure of a few products: olives, currants, etc., and the prices that they can command in a world market over which the Greeks

have little control. Industrialization has been slow; and, the economy is, like any semi-colonial country, dependent on the industrial nations, chiefly the USA and Britain. Progress, in spite of the general boom which the capitalist world is now enjoying, has been totally unsatisfactory when measured against the needs of the people.

The recent regimes have given Greece little cause for inspiration: parallel to the lack of economic advance, there has been little political democracy. The Court and the army have substituted themselves for the Greek people. The King of Greece is the most politically powerful ruling monarch in all of Europe. And, this is not exactly the age of monarchy and monarchial power.

Probably nothing so markedly illustrates the source of grievances for the average person as the incredible disparity between his poverty on one hand, and the immense wealth, fabulous even by American standards, of the big shipping magnates on the other hand. These tycoons anchor their million dollar yachts in Cannes and St. Tropez, while they cavort extravagantly with the *haute* wealth of the European continent. They rank, along with the Texas oilman, as the symbol of the biggest money in the world.

### The Struggle is Reborn

In the early 1960's, these conflicts began to force their way to the surface of Greek life, and the power structure became less and less stable. Demonstrations against the government broke out. British students, proving how effective militant actions can be in influencing world politics, rallied against Queen Frederika on her visit to London in 1963. They seriously embarrassed the monarchy and exposed its complicity in the murder of a radical leader, Lambrakis, in Saloniki.

The shipping interests and the military stuck close to the government, but a more liberal section of the ruling class, fearing an imminent explosion, started to press for democratic reforms, to put it succinctly, to plead for a safety valve for the pressure that was building up from below. This current is led by the Center Union Party and by Papandreou whom we previously met at the close of the Second World War.

Papandreou won a majority in the elections of early 1964 and formed a government that enacted a number of reform measures. For the first time in years, the people won a little elbow room and the repressive monarchial regime was off their back — at least for a while. The nub is that the real political and military strength lies in the hands of the reaction. When the King felt ready to put an end to Papandreou's liberal policies, he was

able to do so. In a swift coup, Constantine deposed the elected government. It might be asked: where was Lyndon B. Johnson who purports to be such a zealous defender of "democracy" all over the world? Apparently he was much too occupied "emancipating" Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In fact, of course, the U. S. government is favorably disposed to the anti-democratic side in Greece.

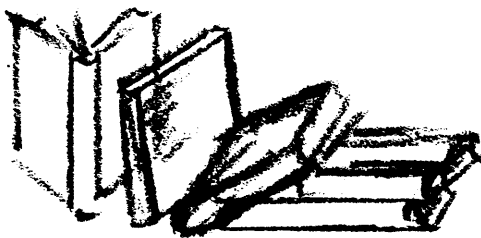
The essential problem that is posed for the Greek movement for social justice is: to repeat the terrible error of the 1940's by supporting Papandreou once more or to conduct the struggle independently, with the only criteria being what is good for the majority of the people and their future. That does not mean that they should dogmatically refuse to back up every move that Papandreou makes. They should, if he takes steps in their direction, accept such help; but, to trust him and the people he represents would be suicidal. This is the most hotly debated political question in Greece today.

All summer, Constantine tried to find a stable governmental coalition. He pushed forward various figures with liberal records, like Novas and Tsirimikos, to act as covers for the monarchial rule. But, it has not been his failure to accomplish this that has attracted the attention of the whole world: rather it has been the enthusiastic and impressive demonstrations of the trade unionists and students that have exerted such dynamism and it is this force that holds the key to the future of Greece.

The police have responded savagely to these street demonstrations. During one assault on a protest march, they killed a young man who is today the leading martyr and rallying cry of the Greek revolution. He is Sortiris Petroulas, recently expelled from the EDA (United Democratic Left) for "Trotskyism." A popular youth group was recently formed named after this Greek revolutionist that may play an important role in the coming events.

The crisis must continue as all sides clearly recognize. The reason is that for the first time since the 1940's, the Greeks are mobilizing, articulating their demands and shaping positively the course of events. Given the unstable economy and social life of the nation, a return to "normalcy" is unlikely, at least for any protracted period of time. The people are gaining confidence and stating ever more loudly their criticisms and demands.

When a really stable situation is reached, it will be based either on the traditional power of the throne, army and reaction, or on the organized might of a people who have completed the revolution begun by their fathers and mothers.



## The Origins of Materialism

It is a common assumption, bolstered and even promulgated by the academic establishment, that the school of philosophical materialism is a peculiar and pernicious invention of Karl Marx, or that at best it traces its origins to the 18th century French materialists, Holbach and Helvetius. George Novack, the well-known Marxist essayist and lecturer (perhaps more familiar to readers of the *Young Socialist* under the pen name of William F. Warde), attempts to put the historical record straight in *The Origins of Materialism*.

Here he traces the roots of an explicitly materialist world outlook more than 2,500 years into the past to the very beginning of Western philosophy among the Ionian Greeks.

Most treatments of the pre-Socratic philosophers consist of bare statements of philosophic propositions, such as Thales' belief that "Everything is water." Since any schoolboy knows more science than the most erudite of the ancient Greeks such statements appear both foolish and inexplicable.

### THE ORIGINS OF MATERIALISM

By George Novack

Merit Publishers, New York

1965. 300 pp. \$6.95

Novack sets himself the task of answering *why* particular, seemingly arbitrary beliefs took root in men's minds rather than others. He delves into the history, sociology and technology of the age he is exploring to find the answers to this question.

Both Thales and Homeric legend depict the Earth arising from the sea, but where Homer attributes this to the intervention of the god Oceanus, Thales insisted that it was a purely natural process. This apparently slight difference, despite the laughable backwardness of Thales' science, marks the first break of mankind from the chains of religion and superstition, and his first faltering step onto the high road of philosophy and science.

This freethinking interest in philosophy and science grew out of the rich commercial civilization that sprang up in the Greek trading centers in the 5th and 6th centuries B. C. It was fostered

by merchants and artisans who had a broader intellectual vista than the more backward landed aristocracy who contended with them in fierce class battles for control of the Greek city-states.

The democratic elements produced the first scientists in the Milesians; also Heraclitus, one of the intellectual titans of antiquity, who grasped the elements of modern dialectical materialism and first formulated many of its laws. Later Leucippus and Democritus developed the theory that the universe was made up of ever changing combinations of tiny invisible particles called atoms.

The discoveries of the Atomists are often dismissed by modern idealist-oriented writers as merely a lucky guess, but Novack cites evidence which suggests that they were real scientific insights based on acute observation of natural phenomena.

The great classical idealists, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were conscious opponents of their materialist predecessors. They allied themselves with the aristocratic reaction against the democratic forces in Athens. Their philosophy was in great measure an attempt to find rational arguments to defend religion and established authority by postulating static eternal truths that derived from the mind rather than from the material world.

Novack follows the materialist rebuttal from the Epicureans to the Roman materialist poet Lucretius, and closes with Lucian, the bitter Roman satirist of the 2nd century A. D., who marked the end not only of materialism, but of science and philosophy for more than a millenium.

On the whole George Novack handles his subject in a rich and excellent fashion and *The Origins of Materialism* should find a place on our bookshelves beside the works of Kautsky and Plekhanov.

— Leslie Evans

## The Wretched of the Earth

Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* is the blunt manifesto of the dispossessed black world. Speaking in the name of the African vanguard, this book, by a black-psychiatrist-turned-Algerian-rebel, represents an abstract course for the African revolutions. If abstract, however, it is highly honest in explaining the problems and contradictory dynamic of the process.

It is difficult to do Fanon's book justice, because he is speaking to an audience with which we are unfamiliar — the young African, of Pan-

Africanist leanings, who seeks the program for revolutionary success in his country or, at the most, in the underdeveloped world as a whole.

Marxists start beyond this framework, in grasping the role of Europe and the United States in maintaining the degradation of the colonized peoples. It is not our job, as Sartre says in his introduction, to "leave old Europe [or America]." We must break that unholy bond which ties our peoples to imperialism and deprives our colonial brothers of our aid. One way to begin this is to appreciate the progress of the colonial revolution, including the conscious element represented by Fanon's book.

#### THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH

By Frantz Fanon

Preface by Jean-Paul Sartre

Grove Press, New York

1965. 255 pp. \$5.00

Fanon begins his dissertation with a defense of the element of force that surrounds the anti-colonial struggle in its birth. It is in the crossfire of bullets, and the atmosphere of bloodshed, that national consciousness, the culture of the new people, is attained. It has been said that a new idea is attained through criticism of the old. But the impoverished slaves of imperial Europe and America have little chance for the arms of critique; they must elect the critique of arms and of struggle.

This consciousness is a culture of the future, of *becoming*, of the collective effort in the struggle for the land. It is this struggle that defines the rising nation: Not the culture of *non-being*, i. e. the colonialists' imposed bourgeois culture, whose very acceptance is the implicit denial of the existence of the black native as human. Nor is it the culture of *static being*, the frozen fossils left over from the precolonial feudo-tribal past which are incapable of helping the African live in the modern world.

Fanon is suspicious of parties "based on the European model" — content to base themselves in the town and leave the rural barbarism untouched.

Fanon describes the selective process of the revolution itself: the replacement of colonial trade unions with national trade unions; the divisions in the old nationalist parties, weeding out those who fail to link themselves with the people; the political reflection and clarification of some of the most advanced leaders in the colonizers' prisons; the flight of others from the towns to the suburbs, from the suburbs "towards the countryside and the mountains, toward the peasant people."

"These men get used to talking to the peasants. They discover that the mass of the country people have never ceased to think of the problem of their liberation . . . in terms of taking the land back from the foreigners, in terms of national struggle, and of armed insurrection . . . These men discover a coherent people who go on living, as it were, statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact. They discover a people that is generous, ready to sacrifice themselves completely, an impatient people, with a stony pride."

The ex-urban radicals teach the people how to use arms; they learn willingly and the armed struggle has begun.

The emergence of the most oppressed people as a decisive factor in determining historical events strongly marked the course of both the Algerian and Cuban Revolutions. In the colonial world, the mobilization of the back-country will continue to be a prerequisite for victory. As we follow, from outside, the standing up of rural Africa to the full height of twentieth century self-consciousness, we will gain inspiration for our share of the fight.

—Jan Garrett

\* \* \* \* \*

## Two Speeches By Malcolm X

25 cents

## Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas

by George Breitman

25 cents



PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
5 EAST THIRD STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y., 10003

# Notes

(continued from page 2)

rebels as they were attempting to obtain weapons for their revolutionary independence group.

In their letter the French intellectuals protest that these two political members of the revolutionary army of Quebec have been judged, not as political prisoners, but as common criminals.

More than 75 French Canadian students resident in Paris have signed a petition in protest against the death sentence.

This information has been completely blacked out by the Canadian mass media which has been identifying itself with campaigns to eliminate the death penalty.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS TOUR COUNTRY:** Two leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance have for the past few weeks been touring the country helping to build the anti-Vietnam war movement and speaking on "A Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War," the story of the Come Home Movement among U. S. troops at the end of World War II, its significance to the colonial revolution and relevance to the current struggle against the Vietnam war. Mary-Alice Styron began her tour in the Midwest and will wind up on the East Coast. Peter Camejo has been speaking on the West Coast.

Beginning in Minneapolis on October 14, Mary-Alice spoke at Carleton College, the University of Wisconsin, and Illinois Teacher's College. She spoke to a street meeting of 200 while in Minneapolis, and to the teach-in at the University of Minnesota during the International Days of Protest. In Chicago she appeared on two television programs and five radio shows and participated in a panel at Roosevelt University with Paul Booth, national secretary of SDS, and Earl Silbar, regional coordinator of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, on "Where is the Anti-war Movement Headed?" She spoke on the same topic in a Detroit panel with Alvin Harrison of the Northern Student Movement and John Hawksley of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Mary-Alice Styron, 23, is a graduate of Carleton College. Until recently, she was active in the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley. Peter Camejo, 25, former national secretary of the YSA, has spoken in Los Angeles, San Diego, and the Bay Area of California. Both are members of the YSA national committee.

**TWO NEW YOUNG SOCIALIST PAMPHLETS OUT:** Two new additions to the Young Socialist Pamphlet series are now available. One, "War and

Revolution in Vietnam" by Doug Jenness, provides an historical analysis of the Vietnamese people's struggle for freedom from a socialist point of view and what our attitude should be toward that struggle and the current efforts of the Johnson Administration to crush it. The other pamphlet, entitled "Malcolm X Talks to Young People" is a collection of speeches made by Malcolm X to youthful audiences plus an interview granted to the *Young Socialist* shortly before his assassination.

**YSA LAUNCHES RECORD FALL FUND DRIVE:** The amount pledged for the fall (October through December) Young Socialist Alliance Fund Drive has set another all-time record. This financial support, provided by YSA'ers and their friends throughout the country, will insure the continued publication of the expanded *Young Socialist* and the growing activities of the YSA generally. It will aid the publication of more Young Socialist pamphlets like the latest two: "War and Revolution in Vietnam" and "Malcolm X Talks to Young People." Here is the scoreboard as of November:

AREA	ACCEPTED QUOTA	AMOUNT PAID
Los Angeles	\$300.00	\$250.38
New York—Uptown	600.00	369.10
Boston	850.00	448.50
San Francisco	150.00	75.00
Berkeley	650.00	300.00
Chicago	1,000.00	445.00
Philadelphia	200.00	69.50
Detroit	500.00	139.00
New York—Downtown	600.00	148.00
Twin Cities	500.00	100.00
Washington, D. C.	150.00	30.00
Cleveland	300.00	50.00
Kansas		35.00
Ann Arbor	150.00	
Denver	25.00	
Kent	25.00	
Madison	65.00	
San Jose	150.00	
Seattle	25.00	
Totals	\$6,240.00	\$2,459.48

**PETITION CAUSES STIR AT WAYNE STATE:** A petition requesting the inclusion of courses in "Afro-American and African history" in Wayne State's history program was circulated last month by about a dozen students. The petition, initiated in late September by freshman Derrick Morrison

and Nursing sophomore Judith Hagans has been signed by over 1,000 students. In explaining why such courses are needed Morrison stated, "I doubt if five per cent of Wayne students know who Nat Turner was. At least 90 per cent think that John Brown was insane; that Lincoln always wanted to abolish slavery; that black people have always wanted to integrate into white middle class America." In view of this the petitioners are convinced that the present history curriculum at Wayne State is inadequate for the study of the history of the Afro-American and African peoples.

The reaction of the administration and faculty to the petition was equivocal. Dr. Harlan Hagman, Dean of Administration, indicated support but with the qualification that there should be no separate course in Afro-American history but that it should be taught as a part of a general American history course. Some of the faculty have pointed to the lack of qualified scholars in these fields. But as Jan Garrett wrote in his column in Wayne State's *Daily Collegian*, "It is not our duty to worry about the neuroses of the Board of Governors, the state legislature, or anyone else looking for scholars. Their job is to provide a solution to the gap in the educational facilities here. Until they have made a serious attempt to hire scholars trained in the field, the lack of instructors will provide no excuses."

The petitioners plan to ask the University's Board of Governors to review their petition.

**A PLEA FOR HUMANITY IN IRAN:** According to the Iranian newspaper *Ette'laat*, the Iranian police recently arrested 14 students in Teheran claiming that they were instrumental in the recent attempted assassination of the Shah by one of his personal guards. The government claims that it found in the possession of one of the students some books dealing with guerrilla warfare. The government thus charges the students with an attempt to initiate guerrilla warfare in Iran.

These 14 young men spent time away from home and family to become educated and take the benefits of their education back to Iran . . . only to be wrongly accused, imprisoned, without the benefit of council and, according to some reports, tortured. The secret military court which is trying these students has asked the death sentence for four of them, and life or long term imprisonment for the other 10.

A National Committee for Defense of Iranian Students has been initiated in response to this frameup attempt by the U. S. supported dictatorship of the Shah. It is not surprising that this unfair and illegal "trial" is being almost completely ignored by the American press. The defense committee is asking Americans who condemn this

travesty of justice to help defend these students and other victims of persecution under the Shah by: "Writing to public leaders asking that they take a stand, writing to newspapers explaining the facts of the case, sending much needed contributions to help finance a genuine defense of the students, and joining with us in public demonstrations across the country and throughout the world protesting the treatment of the defendants.." For further information write: National Committee for Defense of Iranian Students, P. O. Box 252, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

**NEW JOINT SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE OPENED:** A nation-wide subscription campaign has been launched by the YSA to introduce the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant* to over 1,800 new readers before December 15.

*The Militant* is a socialist weekly giving news and analysis on the antiwar and civil rights movements, revolutionary movements throughout the world and the labor movement. A subscription to these two socialist publications is an excellent way for young people to become acquainted with socialism and its relevance to today's turbulent world. The national scoreboard as of November follows:

	ACCEPTED QUOTA	SUBS RECEIVED
Ann Arbor	75	51
Berkeley	175	2
Boston	250	85
Chicago	225	42
Cleveland	75	15
Denver	25	1
Detroit	125	29
Los Angeles	100	42
Philadelphia	75	21
Madison	25	31
New York (Downtown)	200	100
New York (Uptown)	125	60
San Francisco	75	9
San Jose	25	8
Seattle	25	1
Twin Cities	200	28
Washington, D. C.	25	6
At Large		22
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>1,825</b>	<b>553</b>

**subscribe now!**



A YOUNG SOCIALIST PAMPHLET

# WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

BY DOUG JENNESS

10 cents

YOUNG SOCIALIST P. O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION NEW YORK, N.Y., 10003

## ***SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER***

**READ 6 MONTHS OF THE  
YOUNG SOCIALIST  
AND 4 MONTHS OF  
THE MILITANT  
FOR ONLY \$1.00**

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST, A BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND THE MILITANT, A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED AND GIVE YOU BACKGROUND TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, THE NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT, THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION, CUBA, AND MORE.

Enclosed is \$1.00 for an introductory combination subscription to the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the MILITANT.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIPCODE .....

MAIL YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO: THE YOUNG SOCIALIST, P. O. BOX 471,  
COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., 10003.

A YOUNG SOCIALIST PAMPHLET

# WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

BY DOUG JENNESS

10 cents

YOUNG SOCIALIST P. O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION NEW YORK, N.Y., 10003

## ***SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER***

**READ 6 MONTHS OF THE  
YOUNG SOCIALIST  
AND 4 MONTHS OF  
THE MILITANT  
FOR ONLY \$1.00**

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST, A BI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND THE MILITANT, A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED AND GIVE YOU BACKGROUND TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, THE NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT, THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION, CUBA, AND MORE.

Enclosed is \$1.00 for an introductory combination subscription to the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the MILITANT.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIPCODE .....

MAIL YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO: THE YOUNG SOCIALIST, P. O. BOX 471,  
COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., 10003.