

YOUNG SOCIALIST

JAN-FEB 1966

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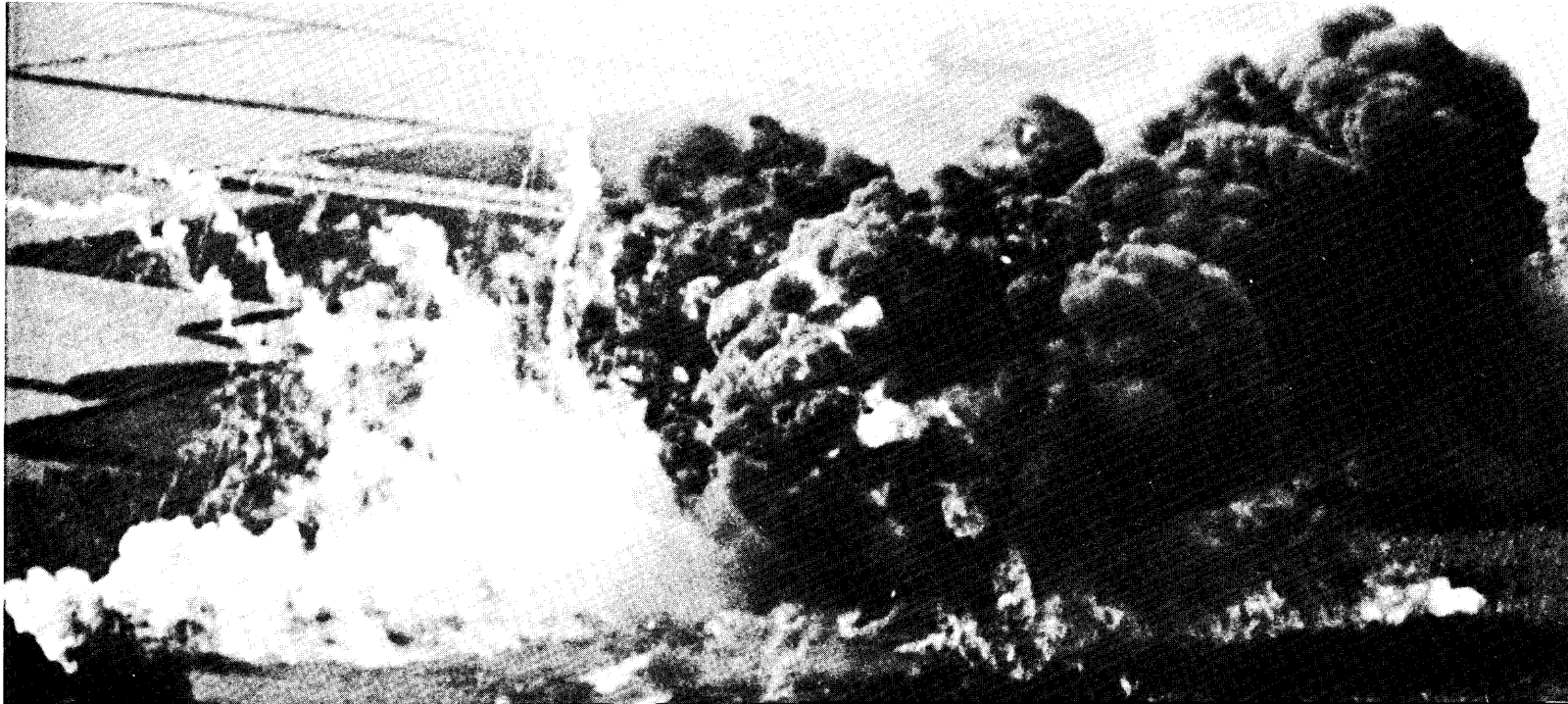


**VIETNAM:
WITHDRAW OR
NEGOTIATE?**

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Vol. 9, No. 3(68)

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In This Issue

DAN STYRON graduated from Carleton College in 1963 with a major in history. He is presently on the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and business manager of the *Young Socialist*.

MARY-ALICE STYRON, also a Carleton College graduate, has written several major articles for the *Young Socialist* before. She is a National Executive Committee member of the YSA and spoke on many campuses throughout the Mid-west and East coast last fall.

LES EVANS attended the University of California in Los Angeles before moving to San Francisco where he is an active leader of the YSA. He is a member of the YSA's National Committee.

Young Socialist Notes

700 HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TURN OUT FOR TEACH-IN: A high school Vietnam teach-in drew 700 students in New York for an afternoon of anti-war speakers and 1,300 for a "sing-in" in the evening. The teach-in, sponsored by SNCC and the N.Y. Students for Peace in Vietnam, was an encouraging sign of the potential for the anti-war movement in the high schools. The Independent Committee on Vietnam at Columbia is working with high school students to organize Vietnam Committees at local high schools.

HIGH COST OF KILLING: "Even the men most intimately involved in Vietnam decisions seem horrified at the resulting budget bite. 'I think,' says one of them, 'that even we are under the illusion that a little old war in the jungles of Southeast Asia couldn't really cost much. Now we're finding out that when you start dropping thousands of tons of bombs and losing helicopters and sending more men, the money goes pretty damn fast.'" —From an article in the Dec. 21st *Wall Street Journal*.

ANTI-WAR G.I.'s FACE SEVERE CHARGES: A cryptic announcement by army officials in Okinawa broke the news blackout on the whereabouts of the two G.I.s released in October by the NLF. The two men have been charged with aiding "the enemy in efforts against the United States." They "arrived in Okinawa Dec. 7th and since their situation has been a closely guarded secret." These G.I.s now face extremely serious charges and all possible efforts must be made to defend them against victimization and to make it possible to hear what they have to say.

JUST TOO MUCH: The tendency for the press to exaggerate the size of radical youth organizations reached unprecedented proportions recently in an article in *Newsday*, a Long Island Daily. It said that the Young Socialist Alliance "claims about 10,000 members on 12 campuses." Imagine — an average of 833 YSAers for each campus!

PETITION FOR BEN BELLA: A petition to secure elementary rights for Ben Bella is being circulated in a number of countries. Arthur Adamov, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean Paul Sartre, Françoise Sagan and François Mauriac, are among the supporters of the petition in France.

CRISIS IN INDONESIA

BY LES EVANS



Remains of burned Communist Party Headquarters in Jakarta after right-wing demonstration October 8, 1965

A deepening witch-hunt of incredible ferocity has been unleashed in Indonesia in the wake of the military take-over there last fall. The officer caste of the Indonesian army led by General Nasution has opened a drive to smash all opposition to the military regime, especially the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which with 3,000,000 members and 20,000,000 supporters is the largest communist party in the capitalist world.

Time magazine reports that ". . . Communists, Red sympathizers and their families are being massacred by the thousands . . . army units are reported to have executed thousands of Communists. . . . The murder campaign became so brazen in parts of rural East Java that Moslem bands placed the heads of victims on poles and paraded them through villages.

"The killings have been on such a scale that . . . [there are] small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies; river transportation has at places been impeded." (*Time*, Dec. 17, 1965, pg. 29-30) The PKI is being paid off with a vengeance for its years of servile support of "Brother" Sukarno and his "progressive" capitalist police state.

What are the issues that draw a blood line between protagonists who claim to a man that they are all (even General Nasution) striving to build a socialist commonwealth in Indonesia? To find the answer we must briefly survey the history of the Indonesian Revolution.

The independent island kingdoms of the East Indies were subjugated by the Dutch in the early 17th Century. Cash crops were introduced, and the village communal economy was destroyed. The Dutch used the native Indonesian aristocracy as their agents to brutally compel the peasants to

produce for Dutch export. "The over-all system operated to exploit as much from the villages as was possible. Their populations were compelled to make forced deliveries of a large portion of their crops and to perform non-agricultural forced labor on an extensive scale . . . being allowed to keep just enough of its produce to sustain its inhabitants as a labor force." (*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, George McTurnan Kahin, Cornell Univ. Press, 1952, pg. 7)

The small Javanese merchant class was destroyed and, except for the aristocracy which was incorporated into the lower rungs of the Dutch administration and civil service, a steady impoverishment of the mass of the Indonesian people began that continued to deepen until the revolution after World War II ended the Dutch occupation.

In 1925, which was a boom year, the average income for a *family* of agricultural laborers, sharecroppers or casual laborers was about \$45 for the year.

At the height of the depression in 1939, 70 percent of the population of Java, the biggest population center in Indonesia received the incredibly low annual wage of \$8.32 *including the value of crops consumed as food*. (Kahin, pg. 19)

The Nationalist Movement Grows

As the perpetual economic crisis worsened, resentment against the Dutch overlords smoldered among the Indonesian masses and finally broke forth in the early years of this century in the formation of a nationalist movement under the leadership of the small western educated Indonesian middle class and disaffected sons of the aristocracy.

The Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), founded in 1912, and the Indonesian Communist Party

formed in 1920, reached mass proportions in the early twenties and called for independence from the Dutch. The Dutch responded by jailing and exiling leaders of the two organizations.

In 1926 the Communist Party, with its leadership sharply divided and its supporters ill-prepared, staged an insurrection against Dutch colonial rule in Sumatra and Java. The rebellion was suppressed and many thousands from all the nationalist organizations were deported to concentration camps in New Guinea. The PKI was outlawed.

In this period most of the central figures of the Indonesian revolution emerged as leaders of the innumerable nationalist and revolutionary groupings and parties: Tan Malaka, Comintern representative for South East Asia, and a founding leader of the PKI who broke with the PKI after the abortive 1926 uprising and led a militant underground from exile in Burma; Soetan Sjahrir and Mohammad Hatta, leaders of an Indonesian student organization in Holland who returned to Indonesia in the early thirties only to be imprisoned for years by the Dutch, and eventually to emerge as the first Prime minister and vice president of the Republic in 1945; and of course Sukarno, the golden-tongued orator of the middle-class Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) who was to become President and absolute dictator of the Republic.

As the Second World War approached most of the prominent nationalist leaders were in prison or exile, with the exception of the leaders of the officially illegal PKI and a few other conservative groups which now advocated cooperation with the Dutch in the "Popular Front" against fascism. As the Third International around the world adopted this "Popular Front" strategy of subordinating the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of the Netherlands, for many years the leading advocate in Holland of a free Indonesia, abruptly announced itself opposed to Indonesian independence on the specious grounds that Indonesia needed Dutch "protection" from the advance of "Japanese Imperialist Fascism." (Kahin, pg. 51)

In February and March of 1942 the Japanese attacked Sumatra and Java, administering an ignominious defeat to the Dutch in a matter of days. The Japanese occupation was to prove a strange admixture of exceptional brutality and remarkable permissiveness toward the nationalist forces, as the Japanese attempted to organize the Indonesian economy in support of their war effort.

Nationalist leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta worked closely with the Japanese throughout the war, speaking and writing both as nationalist organizers and as propagandists for the Japanese,

while retaining close ties with a number of underground resistance organizations led by Sjahrir, Adam Malik and others unconditionally opposed to the occupation. The resistance groups were unable during the war to mount sufficient strength to threaten the Japanese military.

As it became apparent in the last months of the war that defeat was inevitable, Japan's rulers prepared to grant the demand for Indonesian independence, but the Japanese surrender preceded the date set for independence and the Japanese forces were ordered by the Allied command to maintain the status quo until British troops could arrive to disarm and repatriate them.

The Revolution Begins

The nationalists knew that their hour had come: if they waited until the Dutch returned they would never have their freedom — they must rise against the Japanese and form a government before the Allied landing.

On August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Hatta issued a very moderate and vague proclamation announcing the establishment of the Indonesian Republic. They called a mass meeting to present the declaration. The Japanese authorities prohibited the meeting, deploying machine-gun detachments at the gathering place. Sukarno, with his typical revolutionary fearlessness, printed up a leaflet calling off the meeting. Groups of Indonesian youths (the Pemuda), who were supposed to distribute the leaflet, crossed out the phrase calling off the meeting; and despite the Japanese machine-guns, a great crowd gathered at the indicated place. Groups of Pemuda went to the homes of Sukarno and Hatta and forced them to come and speak. And so the Indonesian Republic was proclaimed.

British troops began to land at the end of September after heavy fighting had broken out between the revolutionary forces and the Japanese. Their first acts were to call for the return of the colony to the Netherlands and then to land Dutch marines, trained and equipped by the United States. The Allied command, in Indonesia supposedly for the sole purpose of disarming and repatriating the Japanese, revealed its true purpose by ordering ". . . Japanese commanders to attack and recapture Indonesian-held cities such as Bandung." (Kahin, pg. 144)

"Republican resistance in heavily populated southwest Celebes was so intense that the Dutch were obliged to resort to the most brutal tactics to gain control. Here in early 1946 they employed the notorious Captain Westerling to 'pacify' the country, large numbers of Indonesians, civilians as well as guerrillas, being lined up and methodically

executed by his firing squads . . . nearly 30,000 Indonesians were killed in this manner and in the course of fighting." (Kahin, pg. 145)

In March of 1947 the Dutch, to facilitate the return of Dutch prisoners of war who had been interned by the Japanese, signed the Linggadjadi Agreement, granting limited sovereignty to the Indonesian Republic along with two Dutch states under the catchall designation of the United States of Indonesia. No sooner had the Dutch prisoners been evacuated than the Netherlands violated the agreement and invaded Indonesia. Bitter years of war followed in which the republican government retreated to the hills and carried on guerrilla warfare against the Dutch invaders. Agreement followed agreement, and violation followed violation until the final withdrawal of the Dutch and the signing of the Hague Agreement in 1949, and the adoption of a provisional constitution in July, 1950, for a united Republic of Indonesia.

Throughout the war the Sukarno leadership had found itself constantly pushed to the left by the armed mass of the Indonesian people. Where Sukarno would compromise or retreat, spontaneous organizations and actions of the workers and peasants held fast and forced de facto recognition from the republican government of their victories. In 1948 the PKI, recently emerged from underground, recognized this fundamental fact, but without *organizing* its potential mass base it attempted to seize power from Sukarno in an ill-advised and disastrous coup that was quickly suppressed and left the PKI in ruins.

The Dutch Legacy

The Indonesian Revolution faced grave difficulties, both political and economic, following its assumption of state power, not the least of which

flowed from the character of its leadership.

The Dutch tended to centralize in their own hands and in the hands of a small Eurasian and Chinese immigrant class whatever existed in the way of private industry. The vast majority of Indonesians performed manual labor for their Dutch masters or at very best occupied lower posts in the colonial civil service. Thus the native capitalist class in Indonesia at the time of independence was extremely small, even measured by the standards of most underdeveloped countries. The leadership of the revolution rested in the hands of the educated middle class, for whom Sukarno was the chief political spokesman. In the period after independence was won this class has been made up primarily of the intellectuals, the military, and state functionaries.

For this class to carry out any serious program of industrialization required extensive use of the state apparatus which it controlled to supply the necessary capital, and thus the process of industrialization has taken the *form* of nationalized property. Frequently this led to clashes with independent entrepreneurs whose private enterprises found themselves in competition with the government.

Anti-capitalist demagoguery has been stock-in-trade for Sukarno in clashes with domestic and foreign capital, and the government has carried out extensive nationalizations of private enterprises (almost all foreign owned, primarily Dutch).

Despite the superficial similarity, the loud and frequent claims by the government to have established "Indonesian socialism" are not convincing under closer scrutiny.

The general capitalist character of the economy remains clear from the use of the state apparatus and the nationalized enterprises to provide generous loans, subsidies and outright gifts to the private sector of the economy. Furthermore the national economy is geared to production for the capitalist world market and is therefore subject to every twist and turn of the international price structure.

The middle class in Indonesia has been totally incapable of solving even the most fundamental economic problems. Runaway inflation has slashed at the standard of living of the Indonesian working masses from the first days of the Republic, to the present, on a scale that these few current figures may indicate: "Inflation is out of control, with the rupiah worth only 100th of its 1962 value. In six months of this year [1965] the exchange rate rose from 5,000 rupiahs to the dollar to 17,000. The price of rice, a staple of the Indonesian diet, has more than quadrupled in the past year." (*U.S. News & World Report*, Dec. 6, 1965)

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Sukarno Trapped

Thus the Sukarno regime is trapped as in a steel vise between western imperialism (through the mechanism of the world market on which Indonesia cannot successfully compete with the technologically advanced west), and its increasingly impoverished and desperate working masses. On one hand the market demands cheap raw materials and manufactured goods; and on the other hand the workers demand a living wage.

Sukarno's response has been to attempt to stamp out even the possibility of a challenge to his power by the creation of a police state.

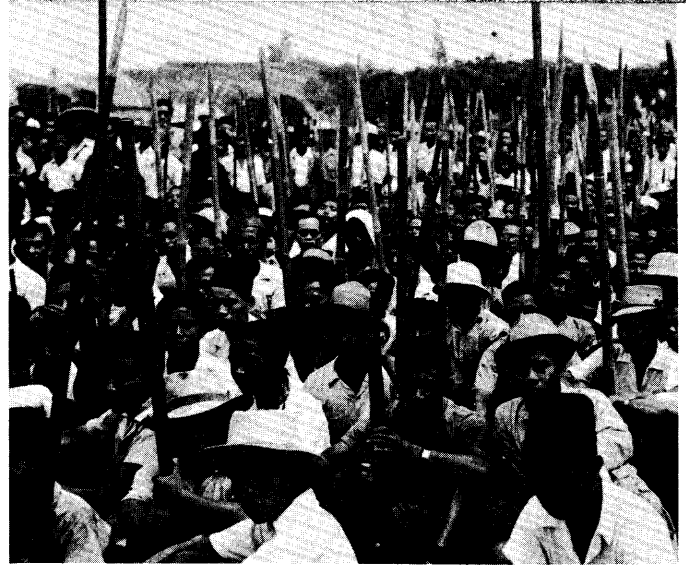
Over the last decade he has carried out a political drive to destroy the parliamentary system, crush the political parties, and introduce what he calls "Guided Democracy" — in essence the systematic restriction of political liberty in general, and suppression of working class organizations in particular. Until now, the Communist Party has been excepted from these restrictions, as it was too large to crush and, also, because it supported Sukarno in return for his "protection" against the army.

The PKI, rather than following the road of revolutionary class struggle by maintaining its organization and political independence from any capitalist government, joined Sukarno's cabinet, supported his regime, and gave it a stability it could not otherwise have maintained. Instead of preparing its millions of followers for the inevitable showdown between the army and the PKI, the Party ignored the class interests Sukarno represented and extolled his virtues.

In 1957, to divert attention from the abysmal poverty and stagnation of the economy, Sukarno whipped up a campaign (supported by all political parties) to incorporate Dutch occupied West New Guinea into Indonesia. In the course of the campaign, however, the masses went far beyond the limits laid out for them by Sukarno, and spontaneously occupied and took control of all Dutch enterprises in Indonesia. The leadership of the PKI, which has immense prestige and authority among Indonesian workers, immediately intervened to hand the factories and plantations over to the army as nationalized State property.

In February of 1958 sections of the army close to the Masjumi party (a Moslem feudal party), fearful of the leftward movement in the country, tried to dump Sukarno and institute a military regime. The Communist Party joined the government and the central army leadership in suppressing the coup.

The coup gave Sukarno the opportunity to proclaim a state of "war and siege" under which he severely restricted the rights of all political



Indonesian anti-Dutch fighters at youth meeting in Java, 1946

parties, and finally, on July 5, 1959, proclaimed a return to the 1945 constitution which permits the president to rule by decree. At the same time he dissolved the democratically elected Constituent Assembly and announced the formation of an appointed Consultative Congress. Since then, all political parties except the PKI have been reduced to insignificance, while the elevation of Sukarno to the post of despot has carried the army leadership with him to positions of immense power.

The course followed by Sukarno, marked by brutality and opportunism as it is, still provides no great surprise considering the interests he is committed to defending and the methods implicit in the preservation of those interests. What is harder to explain or to forgive is the enthusiastic support his every move has elicited from the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The Role of the PKI

Since 1951 when D. N. Aidit assumed the Chairmanship of the PKI, the Party has industriously sought to practice "Peaceful Co-existence" within Indonesian society and to apply the Maoist theory of the "Bloc of Four Classes" by allying itself with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, i. e., Sukarno and his Party Nasional Indonesia. In doing this, the PKI (which generally sides with the Chinese in the Moscow-Peking dispute) has sharply reflected the weakness of Maoism, giving ample proof that the leaders of China are also guilty of subordinating the interests of the workers and peasants to those of the middle class.

To cement its alliance, the PKI has gone to great lengths to project an image of respectability. Donald Hindly, in his book *The Communist Party of Indonesia, 1951-1963* (University of California Press, 1964), a work that treats the PKI quite sympathetically, describes this image as "one of PKI as fervently patriotic, sympathetic to religion, peaceful in pursuit of its goals, . . . moderate in demands, and self-effacing in the friendliness shown

toward most other Indonesian forces." (pg. 283)

In 1952 the PKI agreed to give official support to any government that excluded the Masjumi party. Their practice in the early fifties was to choose the "lesser-evil" among the governing parties, and to support it against the more reactionary groups. This meant that any criticism of a "friendly" government had to be of such a nature that no one's feelings would be hurt enough to endanger the "unity." In their support of Sukarno, the PKI cannot be excused even on the grounds that they chose him as a lesser-evil — for years they have extolled him as a positive good.

"In official PKI theory, as outlined by party chairman, D. N. Aidit, 'Indonesian Socialism', the official objective of national development, has been harmoniously blended with the party's own concept of phased revolutionary development, and Aidit has often been at pains to stress the identity of Sukarno's aims with Marxist theory." ("Indonesian Communism and the Changing Balance of Power," Justus M. van der Kroef, *Pacific Affairs*, Winter 1964-5)

The length to which the PKI has been willing to go to preserve the "good will" of the ruling capitalist class is illustrated by a few examples: "At the beginning of May 1955, PKI and SOBSI [large Communist-led trade union federation] proved of service to the government by breaking a strike of the PSI-led KBSI trade-union federation. [PSI is the Indonesian Socialist Party.] The strike began in Djakarta on May 7, as a protest against deteriorating economic conditions. . . . SOBSI used its members as strikebreakers, and the strike collapsed." (Hindly, pg. 249-250)

The motion to dissolve the elected Constituent Assembly in 1959 was made by D. N. Aidit himself (Hindly, pg. 274) and the PKI supported the return to the 1945 Constitution, apparently in the hope that they would be included in the cabinet appointed by Sukarno, but the PKI was excluded

and most of the prominent cabinet posts went to the military.

In January of 1960 Sukarno issued a law entitled "Conditions and Simplifications of the Party System" which imposed humiliating conditions that should have been unacceptable to any political party worthy of the name, but the PKI adapted its constitution to fit the servilities required of them. The law demanded that the party affirm its belief in "the One and Only God Almighty," that it defend the 1945 constitution, that it recognize the right of the president to "dissolve any party whose program is aimed at undermining the principles and objectives of state policy . . ." (Hindly, pg. 277-78). Later that year the PKI complied with a government demand to turn over a complete list of the names and addresses of its members! After this the government and the army imposed censorship on all newspapers, banning a number of PKI publications. All strikes were declared illegal and many trade union leaders were jailed.

After all this, Aidit was able to tell the Central Committee of the PKI in December 1961: "Above all else, national unity!"

"In carrying out our national struggle," he said, "we must hold firmly to the basic principle: place the interests of class and of the Party below the national interest, that is, place the national interest above the interests of class and of the Party." (Hindly, pg. 286)

An integral part of that "national interest" Aidit wishes to place above the interests of the working class is the suppression and political dismemberment of the working class: What is really "placed above" the working class is the jackboot of military dictatorship.

The leadership of the PKI entrusted the defense of the Indonesian working class to its "progressive protector" Sukarno. There are unconfirmed press reports that D. N. Aidit has been shot to death "trying to escape" from one of Sukarno's jails.

The bourgeoisie, which naturally exercises hegemony (leadership) in the beginning of every national movement, considers it practical to support all national aspirations. But the policy of the proletariat in the national question (as in other questions) supports the bourgeoisie only in a definite direction; it never coincides with the policy of the bourgeoisie. The working class supports the bourgeoisie only in order to secure national peace (which the bourgeoisie cannot bring about completely, which can be achieved only with complete democracy) in order to secure equal rights and to create better conditions for the class struggle. Therefore, against the practicalness of the bourgeoisie the proletarians advance their principles in the national question: they always give the bourgeoisie only conditional support. . . . If the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation fights against the oppressing one, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, in favor; for we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression. But if the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism we are opposed. We fight against the privileges and violence of the oppressing nation, but we do not condone the strivings for privileges on the part of the oppressed nation.

Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 646

DEFEND YOUR CIVIL LIBERTIES

BY MARY—ALICE STYRON

Those who have seen or experienced the crimes and injustices of American society are often hesitant to speak out against them for fear of being labeled and victimized. All too frequently, an individual finds himself confronted by the legal machinery of a local, state, or federal government, determined to make an "example" of him. All too often, an organization is "legally" attacked in order to intimidate sympathizers, harass the membership, and burden the group with the tremendous costs of court proceedings.

Each time this occurs the basic rights of all are threatened, and those attacked are on the front line of battle for political freedom. A united defense, gaining wide publicity and enlisting the support of everyone concerned with civil liberties can often make the difference between victory and defeat, between jail and freedom to dissent.

DEFEND ANTI-VIETNAM WAR FIGHTERS

On September 16, 1965, in a Federal District court, David Mitchell was sentenced to a prison term and a fine of \$5,000 for refusal to report for draft induction. The prison term will run for five years unless the defendant agrees to enter the army after 18 months in federal prison.

Mitchell's defense contends that the draft call is invalid because it is being used to implement unconstitutional actions such as the invasion of Santo Domingo and the war in Vietnam. He also bases his refusal to accept the draft on the precedent of the Nuremberg trials. For more information and contributions, write: End the Draft Committee, c/o Mitchell, 151 Crown Street, Brooklyn, New York, 11225.

CITIZENSHIP — THE MOST BASIC RIGHT

Joseph Johnson, the Twin Cities' organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, faces the possibility of being deported from the U.S. as a "stateless" person.

After living six years in Canada, Johnson voluntarily returned to the U.S. in 1959 to face charges of draft evasion. He was arrested and served a two year federal prison term. Now, after being tried and sentenced as a citizen of this country, the Immigration Service has ordered him to show cause why he should not be deported, claiming

that he lost his citizenship by taking part in Canadian elections. Citizenship cannot be involuntarily lost, nor can the right of residence be denied a native born American. Write: Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P. O. Box 8731, Northstar Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55402.

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

While attempting to deport some citizens, the government is also trying to abridge the right of others to travel where they wish.

Stephen Martinot, Levi Laub, and Anatole Schlosser are awaiting the decision of Judge Zavatt in the Brooklyn Federal Court on charges of "conspiring" to organize a trip to Cuba in 1963. In addition, Laub and Martinot are charged with traveling to Cuba. Although Congress has never enacted a law making travel to Cuba illegal, the Supreme Court has upheld the validity of the State Department ban on travel to that island.

If convicted, the defendants face five years in jail and a \$5,000 fine. Write: The May Second Movement, 640 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

On May 1, 1963, three students at Indiana University, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, were indicted under Indiana's 1951 Anti-Communism Act. Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan were charged with attending a meeting in March, 1963, where "violent overthrow of the government was advocated."

When this indictment was thrown out on a technicality, the prosecutor returned a second indictment based on a private meeting of the students and their friends, held May 2, 1963, to plan for legal defense.

In January, 1965, the Supreme Court of Indiana reversed an earlier decision and declared the law constitutional. Write: Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y., 10003.

THE RIGHT OF SELF DEFENSE

In response to the terror tactics of the Klan in Jonesboro, Louisiana, the Deacons for Defense and Justice were formed on July 10, 1964, to defend the Negro community against racist violence.

The constitutionality of their right of self-defense has not yet been challenged. Instead, they have been continually harassed, Southern style, by the local cops and Klansmen, arrested, framed-up, and threatened with heavy prison sentences. One of the Deacons, Henry Austin, has been charged with aggravated battery for shooting an attacker in self-defense during a civil rights march in Bogalusa last July. He now faces 10 years in prison. Write: Charles Sims, 1210 Ann Street, Bogalusa, Louisiana.

FREE SPEECH — FREE ASSEMBLY

On December 20, 1965, William Epton, Chairman of the Harlem Progressive Labor Party, was convicted in a New York court on two counts of criminal anarchy — advocating the violent overthrow of the state government, and conspiring to advocate violent overthrow — and one count of conspiring to instigate and inflame the Harlem explosion of July, 1964. He faces a penalty of 12 years in prison and \$6,000 in fines.

His conviction was based on the evidence of paid informers who claim Epton advocated the assassination of government officials as a means of gaining full equality. Write: CERGE, 1 West Union Square, New York, N. Y., 10003.

THE McCARRAN ACT

The infamous McCarran Internal Security Act received another blow on November 15, 1965, when the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the section of the law which held that individuals could be penalized for refusing to register the Communist Party as an agency of a foreign power. In a Washington court, however, the Communist Party itself was convicted of failure to register, and fined \$230,000.

As a high official of the Justice Department explained, the government continues to prosecute under the unconstitutional law because the Communist Party's "funds and energies have been depleted by the constant litigation. As an instrument of harassment, the law has been a success." (*New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1965) Write: Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, 22 E. 17th Street, New York, N. Y., 10003.

RIGHT TO A FAIR TRIAL

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, sentenced to death for conspiracy to commit espionage, were executed on June 19, 1953. (See book review, *Invitation to an Inquest*)

Morton Sobell, who was tried with the Rosenbergs and convicted on the basis of testimony by one paid informer, received 30 years in jail. He has never been granted a retrial or a hearing of any sort. On January 6, 1966, the most recent motion on Sobell's behalf was submitted to the U. S. District Court. This motion to vacate sentence claims he was illegally convicted because the prosecution: (1) knowingly used perjured testimony and forged documents, and (2) suppressed evidence that would have proved his innocence. Write: Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 10011.

INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE

In the past men and women around the world protested the Rosenberg-Sobell frame-up, the Sacco and Vanzetti murder, and many other cases. Today, as part of the world-wide effort to aid victims of the South African apartheid regime, the Alexander Defense Committee was founded.

Although Dr. Alexander and his ten co-defendants are now serving terms in South Africa's infamous jails for the crime of having formed a study group to investigate possible methods of conducting the struggle against apartheid, the Alexander Defense Committee continues to publicize the case, raise funds to support their families, and undertake the defense of other victims of South African racism. Write: Alexander Defense Committee, P. O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Students Returning from Cuba in 1964





CASTRO SPEAKS ON

SELF-DETERMINATION

There are, perhaps, few revolutionaries more qualified to speak on the right of nations to self-determination than Fidel Castro. For seven years Cuba has been invaded, blockaded, threatened, and blackmailed by the United States precisely because the U.S. government opposes the transformation of Cuba into a socialist country. As the leader of a nation whose rights have been continually violated, Castro speaks with great clarity on this question.

In 1962, when the Soviet Union provided Cuba with missiles to protect itself against invasion by the United States, the U.S. blockaded Cuba, then went to the United Nations and asked that organization to legitimize the act of war and violate Cuba's sovereignty by sending an inspection team to Cuba to assure that weapons unacceptable to the U.S. would be removed.

Many of the same principles that were at stake in the Cuban missile crisis are also at stake today in the Vietnamese war. The United States has committed publicly acknowledged acts of war against the Hanoi regime for well over a year. Now the U.S. government claims that it will stop doing something it never had a right to do anyway, if North Vietnam will renounce its right to aid the government which controls most of South Vietnam, and renounce the right of Vietnam to determine its own future. Again, as in Cuba, the U.S. is demanding the intervention of the U.N., or some other international body, to supervise elections in Vietnam. Although the Vietnamese may decide to agree with this procedure, to demand it is a violation of their right to hold their own elections, or not hold elections, as they see fit.

The following excerpts are from a radio and television speech by Castro on November 1, 1962, the day following a visit to Cuba by U Thant. Castro began by reading the transcript of his conversations with the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, who asked if Cuba would

accept a U.N. inspection team and aerial reconnaissance flights.

* * *

Dr. Castro: I do not understand why these things are asked of us. Could it be explained a little further?

U Thant: The explanation that the United States gives of why they ask this is that they want to make sure that the launching pads are really being dismantled and that the missiles are being returned to the Soviet Union.

Dr. Castro: What right does the United States have to ask this? I mean, is it based on a genuine legal right, or is it based on force? Is it a demand based on a position of strength?

U Thant: This is my point of view, that it is not a legal right, that dismantling could only be carried out with the approval and acceptance of the Cuban Government.

Dr. Castro: Precisely. We do not understand why we are asked a thing like that. Because we have not violated any legal rights. We have absolutely not carried out an aggression against anybody. All our actions have been based on international law. We have done absolutely nothing outside the norms of international law. On the contrary we have been the victims in the first place of a blockade which is an illegal act, and in the second place through the presumption by a foreign country

that it has a right to determine what we have a right to do within our frontiers.

We hold Cuba to be a sovereign state, no more and no less sovereign than any other member nation of the United Nations, with all the attributes inherent to any of those states. Besides, the United States has been repeatedly violating our air space without any legal right to do it, committing intolerable acts of aggression against our country. They have intended to justify it with OAS agreement. But the agreement is not valid for us. We were even expelled from the Organization of American States.

We can accept anything which falls within the law, which does not impinge upon our position as a sovereign state. The United States has not stopped violating our rights and we do not accept any kind of imposition through the use of force. We hold this matter of inspection to be one more attempt to humiliate our country and for that reason we do not accept it. Such a demand of inspection is meant to confirm their intention of violating our right to act with absolute freedom within our frontiers and decide what we can and cannot do within our frontiers.

And this policy of ours is not a policy devised for this occasion. It forms part of views we have always and steadfastly maintained. In the answer given by the Revolutionary Government to the Joint Resolution of the United States Congress we stated:

"The threat to launch a direct armed attack unless Cuba limited her armaments to that point which the United States took the liberty to determine, is an absurdity. We do not have the slightest intention of rendering accounts to the members of the United States Senate or House concerning the weapons we see fit to acquire and the measures to be taken for the complete defense of our country. These are rights which international laws and principles recognize for all sovereign states. We have not ceded nor do we plan to cede any sovereign rights to the Congress of the United States."

All those steps were taken in defense of the country's security, in defense against a policy of systematic hostility and aggression. They have all been taken in accordance with the law, and we do not renounce our decision to defend those rights.

We can negotiate in complete sincerity and honor. It would not be honorable for us to negotiate a sovereign right of our country. For these rights we are ready to pay whatever price may be necessary. This is no mere empty phrase but a very deeply felt attitude of our people.

The United States has violated the right of self-determination many times, in many places, but one of the most blatant attacks occurred in April, 1965, when U.S. forces invaded the Dominican Republic. Several days later Cuba celebrated May Day, and a major portion of Castro's speech on that occasion was devoted to clarifying the rights of national sovereignty and self-determination.

While they [the United States] were proclaiming there in South East Asia that they were carrying out their misdeeds in order to defend the sovereignty of South Vietnam, that artificial and fictitious republic created by them, they were disembarking their marines on the territory of a free and sovereign state. They tore the sovereignty of that state and the rights of its people to shreds. And this time, what was the pretext? Well, the pretext was nothing less than the defense of the lives and property of U. S. citizens.

Some Latin American governments of course have made very timid and far too weak protests, and in reply the United States has spoken of humanitarian motives. Humanitarian motives, my foot. With these supposedly humanitarian motives only a few months ago, in complicity with their Belgian allies, they dropped parachute troops on the Congo. And now they disembark marines on Dominican territory.

But let's analyze the pretext. In the first place, not one U.S. citizen has lost his life in the civil strife in Santo Domingo where, however, hundreds of Dominicans had lost their lives. But, in addition, what right has any country other than the right given by its guns, warships, planes, and troops, to land on the territory of another nation on the pretext of defending the life and property of its citizens.

According to this criterion there is no such thing as sovereignty or independence for any weak country. The right of sovereignty does not exist anywhere in the world for a small nation. According to the same criterion by which the U.S. imperialists landed there, other nations could do the same thing. The British could land to defend the lives and property of their subjects. So could the French, so could the Spaniards, so could the Italians, so could the Japanese, all to protect the lives and property of their citizens.

Any powerful country, any great power could claim the right to land on the territory of any small country, where its citizens lived or where they possessed property. With this philosophy, with this concept of law, this criterion, what security, what guarantee would exist for any small country, what legality, what order, and what peace could exist

(continued on pg. 18)

Since the movement against the war in Vietnam was born last spring, there has been considerable discussion and debate on what perspectives it should have. The earliest dispute occurred between the Students for a Democratic Society and leading members of the Old Peace Establishment around the organization of the April 17th March on Washington. "Respectable" peace leaders, like Bayard Rustin and Norman Thomas, attacked SDS for issuing a call that placed blame squarely on the U. S., and for following a non-exclusion policy.

After the April March on Washington, Staughton Lynd in his polemic against Bayard Rustin ("Coalition Politics or Non-Violent Revolution," *Liberation*, June-July, 1965) opened a debate between the radical pacifists like himself and Dave Dellinger on one hand, and coalitionists like Bayard Rustin, Dave McReynolds and Norman Thomas on the other. The central issue of this dispute was whether pacifists and socialists should unconditionally oppose the Vietnam war by placing sole blame for it on the U. S. government or whether they should equivocate on their opposition to the war by condemning the violence of both the United States and the National Liberation Front.

Implicit in these debates and discussions is another important issue that recently became the central controversy in movement against the Vietnam war. Should the major thrust of the anti-war movement be for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam or should the movement organize around the demand for some form of a negotiated agreement?

This question is vitally important to the anti-war movement and demands as much clarity as possible because the future of the movement and perhaps the future of the war will be determined by which course is chosen. Most of the sentiment against the war is still unorganized and one of the primary responsibilities of the anti-war movement is to organize this discontent into a powerful and effective protest against the warmakers in Washington. Which of these two approaches: immediate withdrawal or negotiations offers the best road toward this end?

First let's look at the various formulations and motivations used by proponents of the demand for negotiations. One of the loudest voices for negotiations comes from President Johnson himself.

When anti-war demonstrators went to Johnson's Texas ranch on Christmas Day demanding that he negotiate peace in Vietnam, he sent them a message stating that he was happy to see so many people supporting peace and that he was doing everything he could to initiate negotiations.

Johnson's verbal support for negotiations is a good cover while he continues to escalate the war. The fact that he is able to support "unconditional negotiations" while simultaneously stepping up the war, demonstrates one of the limitations of this demand for the anti-war movement. This was the primary reason why the November 27 March on Washington, called by SANE, was criticized by many in the anti-war movement. Following the march, Staughton Lynd wrote, "The point is simply that SANE is calling for negotiations as opposed to withdrawal, allows President Johnson to answer that the U.S. is ready, as he has stated, to negotiate unconditionally but that the North Vietnamese and the NLF leaders show no willingness to do so. Both Secretary Rusk and the British Foreign Minister



VIETNAM: WITHDRAW OR NEGOTIATE



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have in recent statements put the same onus on the Soviets for refusing to call for negotiations. The Administration by demanding proposals it knows cannot be accepted, preserves its image and its war." (*Peace and Freedom News*, #12)

Johnson's two faces have one feature in common — both his war of aggression and his overtures for a negotiated agreement are based on the premise that the Vietnamese people do not have an unconditional right to self-determination. On the contrary, both approaches assert that the United States has a right to participate in deciding Vietnamese affairs. For Johnson to ask for negotiations, regardless of the terms, while American troops and bases are present in Vietnam automatically puts conditions on Vietnamese self-determination.

"Real Negotiations"

Most spokesmen for negotiations within the anti-war movement, however, do not consider Johnson to be serious about negotiations. Some of them argue that what is needed are "real negotiations." For example, Mike Davidow (*The Worker*, Dec. 21, 1965) supporting Robert Schwartz's bid for the Democratic nomination in Manhattan's 17th District, writes that, "Schwartz . . . is emerging as the 'peace candidate' as a result of his clear-cut opposition to President Johnson's Vietnam policy and his demand for real negotiations to terminate the war in Vietnam . . ." (emphasis added)

In its document submitted to the anti-war convention called by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam last Thanksgiving, the Communist Party spells out more clearly what is meant by "real negotiations": "It is not, therefore, a question of opposition to negotiations as a matter of principle. It is opposition to the duplicity with which the Administration has used this slogan, and opposition to its refusal to recognize the National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the people of South Vietnam." (*The Worker*, Nov. 28, 1965) Therefore, "real negotiations" means that the U.S. may sit down at a conference table to discuss the future of Vietnam as long as a representative from the NLF is allowed to participate. However, the adding of an NLF representative to the proceedings for a negotiated agreement does not suddenly give the Vietnamese people control over their own future especially when American military might is pointed at their back.

A different slant to the negotiations position is the demand that there be "supervised" elections under the auspices of the United Nations or some other international body. In a recent article "The

Vietnam Protest" (*New York Review of Books*, Nov. 25, 1965), Irving Howe, Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin, Lewis Coser, and Penn Kimble include this demand along with several others.

Again, the basic premise is that other countries have the right to decide how Vietnam should make its internal decisions. No where do Howe, Harrington, and Co. set as a *condition* for free elections the complete and immediate withdrawal of American troops. It is assumed that American troops would be present while the "free" elections take place.

Of course, the State Department contends that one reason why U.S. troops are in Vietnam is to create the pre-conditions necessary for such elections. However, the right of nations to self-determination does not extend solely to countries LBJ believes to be democratic. Nations have a right to determine their own forms of government without interference from other nations, whether this results in dictatorship or socialism. This fundamental democratic principle which was basic to the American Revolution has been ignored by most contemporary liberals and even by some who consider themselves socialists like Harrington and Howe. Even if American troops were withdrawn, Howe, Harrington and Co. would be incorrect in asking for "internationally supervised" elections. Those familiar with the role of the United Nations and its "peace-keeping operations" in the Congo and Korea have no illusions about its "fairness" in conducting "free" elections. However, more important than the inability of the U.N. to supervise "free" elections, is that for Americans to ask the Vietnamese to submit to "internationally supervised" elections is to make a decision for the Vietnamese which rightfully belongs to them and not to Americans.

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There is an implication in the demand for "internationally supervised" elections that Vietnam has violated international law, conducted aggression against another country, or committed some other horrible crime for which it must submit to international supervision. However, this is not the case at all and it takes a great deal of national arrogance for a citizen of the country most guilty of aggression, the U.S., to ask the Vietnamese to submit to "internationally supervised" elections. If Harrington and his cohorts were consistent in their position they would also ask for "internationally supervised" elections in the United States.

The Geneva Accords

Probably the greatest evidence of confusion is revealed in the demand for the U.S. to abide by the Geneva accords. This demand is usually made by people who for one reason or another do not want to *unconditionally* support the immediate withdrawal of American troops; but it is also made mistakenly by some anti-war activists who want to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam as soon as possible.

There is no question that the United States has flagrantly violated the Geneva accords and it is the responsibility of all members of the anti-war movement to expose U.S. hypocrisy in failing to live up to this agreement. Exposing the hypocrisy of the American government, however, is a question separate and apart from the validity of the Geneva agreement.

The 1954 Geneva Conference, where this agreement was formulated, was not an occasion that recognized the right of self-determination for Vietnam. Rather it was a gathering where the big powers (U.S., China, France, Great Britain, and Soviet Union), despite the presence of representatives from Laos, Cambodia, Bao Dai's puppet government and the Viet Minh asserted their right to barter over the future of the Vietnamese people. Demands were put forth, haggled over, and compromises made by nations that have absolutely no rights in Vietnam. This was the spirit of the Geneva Conference.

It is not surprising then to discover that the agreement coming out of the conference reflected this spirit. The provision for "supervised" elections (Point 7 of the Final Declaration), for example, illustrates how the Geneva accords infringe on the right of the Vietnamese to decide for themselves whether they want elections and who, if anybody, they want to supervise them. Furthermore, the country was sliced arbitrarily along the 17th parallel and the supporters of the Viet Minh told to go north and the supporters of the French

puppet, Bao Dai, to go south. It makes no difference whether this division was to last forever or for only two days; the big powers had no right to make such an agreement. It takes supreme arrogance to even suggest that another Geneva-type conference be held or that a demand be made for a return to the Geneva accords.

However, in a statement from their National Executive Committee (Jan. 4, 1966) the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs make the amazing pronouncement ". . . that the Vietnamese people are guaranteed the right of self-determination under the Geneva accords." According to the facts cited above about the character of the 1954 conference and the agreements made at this conference, the DuBois Club statement is 180 degrees away from the truth.

The statement continues by calling on Johnson to clarify his position on the Geneva accords: "If the Administration is serious about the 1954 Accords then there may be a strong possibility of future peace talks and actions to de-escalate the war."

In a letter to U Thant, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Arthur Goldberg, indicates that the United States can support the demand for a return to the Geneva agreements without immediately removing its troops. He writes, "that the United States is prepared for discussions or negotiations without any prior conditions whatsoever or on the basis of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962. . . ."

The problem, however, is not whether the Administration seriously considers negotiating on the basis of the Geneva accords, but the fact that even if it does, it will not be taking the necessary steps toward allowing Vietnam to settle its own affairs.

Apology for the Administration

It is often raised in discussions among anti-war activists that the National Liberation Front may be willing to negotiate with the United States or support a return to the Geneva accords, and that this justifies our support of these demands. Sidney Lens in a *Liberation* editorial (Nov. 1965) made an excellent reply to this position when he wrote: ". . . perhaps the National Liberation Front will agree to something less than full self-determination and immediate withdrawal of American troops. If that is the case, we hold no quarrel with people who have fought and bled for a quarter of a century, against French, Japanese, and now American intervention. In their circumstance an honorable compromise may be warranted. *But for decent Americans to call for such a compromise in advance, is an immoral apologia for the criminal deeds of our Administration.*" (emphasis added)

There are some participants in the anti-war movement who attempt to evade the issue of whether "negotiate" or "withdraw" is the clearest and most effective demand by advocating both. The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs do this for example in a leaflet published by their National Office in San Francisco. They put forward the multiple slogans: "Stop the Bombing"; "Negotiate with the National Liberation Front"; "Restore the Geneva Agreements"; and "Withdraw U. S. Troops."

There is a fundamental conflict, however, between asking the U.S. to negotiate with the National Liberation Front and demanding the withdrawal of American troops. One demand is based on the unconditional right of the Vietnamese to self-determination and the other implicitly assumes infringements on that right. The mixing of contradictory demands offers only confusion to the anti-war movement.

If the DuBois Clubs mean that negotiations are to discuss the "mechanics" of immediate withdrawal then why not simply call for withdrawal rather than confuse people with a demand that the Administration also advocates.

"Practical Politics"

Probably the reason that most spokesmen for the various formulations of a negotiated agreement cite most often in defense of their position is "practicalness." They contend that calling for negotiations is more practical because it can receive wider support from the population and has greater chance of being realized than a demand for immediate withdrawal.

It is true that the Administration will go to the conference table before it will send an order to bring the troops home immediately. They have

demonstrated this on different occasions in the past. However, if the anti-war movement organizes around the demand for negotiations and the Administration initiates negotiations in a month or so, then what demand will the anti-war movement raise? While the negotiations were going on American troops and bases would still be in Vietnam, the U.S. would be bargaining Vietnam's future, and the unconditional right of self-determination would be a hollow shell. The anti-war movement would then have to raise new demands such as the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops.

If this is the logic of organizing a movement around the demand for negotiations, we would be much wiser to demand the immediate withdrawal of troops right now.

It would be tragic if the present movement against the Vietnam war were to experience the fatal decline the Student Peace Union suffered when the limited test ban treaty was signed between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such a decline resulted when the demand for a cessation of testing, which SPU had chosen for its goal, was met. The great threat of nuclear war, however, remained as serious as ever.

Another dangerous feature of the demand for a negotiated settlement or a return to the Geneva accords is that it mis-educates the participants in the struggle and those influenced by the anti-war movement. Such a slogan does nothing to teach that the *sole* blame for the war rests with the U. S. or that the Vietnamese should determine their own affairs. Instead the thrust of a struggle organized around this demand would be to educate people to look for deals between major powers rather than *just* settlements.

Self-Determination

Which approach — withdrawal or negotiations — can rally the most people against the war? In considering this key question it is important to remember that self-determination is one of the principles which is pounded into every elementary school child in this country. Our democratic traditions are deeply imbedded in the minds of the American population, and the government uses these principles of democracy and self-determination to distinguish Americans from the "Communists." If the anti-war movement approaches people on this basis *convincing* them that the U.S. has no business in Vietnam, that we are not protecting the Vietnamese from Chinese aggression, and that there are not even any Chinese there, their response will most likely be that we should get out and stop wasting money.

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Another consideration is whether a slogan for negotiations can be "practical" in linking up the anti-war movement with the desires of the troops to come home and the desires of their families to have them back. There are many indications that there is an undercurrent of disgruntlement among soldiers and a questioning of the war. This was pointed up recently in the Sunday, Dec. 12, 1965, *New York Times* which carried an article stating that, "for most of the 170,000 United States troops now serving in Vietnam, the overwhelming desire is to go home as soon as possible. Any soldier can tell you to the day — in some cases even to the hour — when he is due to leave. Some have worked out elaborate charts to tick off the days."

It would be a serious error not to try mobilizing the unorganized anti-war sentiment of this sector of the population which is so directly affected by the war. The demand for negotiations, however, has little to do with their situation. Negotiations which began after the 1953 truce in the Korean War are still going on, and many U.S. troops are still in that country defending the military dictatorship.

Withdraw the Troops

Proponents of the negotiations approach usually argue that they have the only program that large numbers of people can accept because most people are too politically backward to accept immediate withdrawal and are alienated by this demand.

Such an assertion is historically false. The demand of the large troop demonstrations following World War II which led to the demobilization of the U.S. armed forces was that the troops be brought home now. (See Nov.—Dec., *Young Socialist*)

Also during the early fifties, there existed widespread sentiment to bring the troops back from Korea. In fact, it was Eisenhower's promise to do just that which resulted in his victory over Stevenson in 1952.

When large numbers are convinced of the necessity to end the conflict in Vietnam their response will simply be to get the troops out. The notion that people just beginning to oppose the war will naturally choose "negotiations" over "withdrawal" is absurd. The only people who have a stake in the negotiations slogan are the middle class liberals and coalitionists who do not want a *direct* and *irreconcilable* confrontation with the Administration in Washington.

Confusion within the peace movement on the question of self-determination and acceptance of the right to "negotiate" the future of the Vietnamese only lays the groundwork for justifying more interventions around the world. The anti-war movement must fight any concessions to the "White Man's Burden" policies which are the basis of Geneva-type negotiations and support nothing less than the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

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(continued from pg. 11)

in the world? And with this argument, in full twentieth century, in the second half of the twentieth century, on this pretext, so weak, so indefensible, so unjustifiable, from the moral, legal and human points of view, they landed military forces in an independent nation of the American continent . . .

To silently and calmly accept U.S. intervention in Santo Domingo, is to renounce the right of independence of the nations of Latin America. It is to recognize the right of the United States to send U.S. marines into any Latin American country whenever they feel like it. This is the dilemma that all Latin American governments face today in regard to their own people: whether they accept or do not accept the U.S. right of intervention, whether or not they accept the renunciation of their sovereignty. . . .

To accept the right of the United States to intervene in Santo Domingo to protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens is to accept the right of the United States to intervene in any Latin American country, because there are U.S. citizens and property in every one of them. This is the great dilemma. To give their blessing to that crime, to internationalize the intervention, is even worse.

Several governments, in a very diplomatic way, have protested against the intervention, but we have to admit that only one government has demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Santo Domingo. This is not a socialist government, it is not a government which has been a friend or an enemy of ours. It is far from Marxism-Leninism. However, it is fair to recognize that it is the government of Chile which has most clearly spoken its mind.

The government of Chile has called for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from the Dominican Republic. That is the only correct position. No other position is possible, no other formula is possible. The people will not pardon any government that consecrates, legalizes or sanctifies this crime.

U. S. imperialism must be forced to withdraw its marines from the Dominican Republic. U. S. imperialism must be forced to end its armed intervention, its participation in the civil war, its war against the Dominican people and patriots. And it is not just the people of Latin America who must demand this, it is the whole world.

In Santo Domingo, the governments of Latin America and a Latin American people are reaping the bitter fruits of the stupid, criminal, irresponsible policy carried out against our country. They are reaping the fruits of their complicity with imperialism against Cuba. They are reaping the fruits of the agreements of Costa Rica, of Punta del Este,

and of Washington. They are reaping the fruits of their support for U.S. measures against Cuba, of their tolerance for U.S. pirate attacks on Cuba, of their guilty tolerance of attacks on our country, like Playa Giron, like the economic blockade, like the pirate attacks, like the breaking of relations with our country.

Today, the American continent can appreciate that Cuba has defended the right of non-intervention as no other country has done, that Cuba has defended the right of the Latin American peoples to independence as no other country has done, that Cuba has stopped the U.S. imperialists and has defended the sovereignty of the people of America as no other country has done, and not by virtue of any concession of the imperialists but by virtue of the integrity, the dignity and the revolutionary spirit of our people. . . .

Solitary Cuba has resisted, has kept her independent and sovereign flag flying high. Cuba, by defending her rights has defended the rights of the other nations. Today, America will know who is really intervening in the internal affairs of other nations, who harms the sovereignty of other nations. The cynical words of imperialism will fool no one. Their own press and their own congressmen have admitted that their main aim was to prevent a revolution like that in Cuba from taking place in the Dominican Republic.

In the first place, this is a lie. In the first place it was not a revolution like that in Cuba. In the



first place it was not a communist revolution. But even if it were a revolution like that in Cuba, a communist revolution, what right do the imperialists have to deny the people the right to make the revolutions they like?

This is a sovereign right of any nation. Any nation has a historic right to have within its frontiers the type of society that suits it, that the people want, that the people wish to establish through their own methods, legal methods if they like, or revolutionary methods like those we adopted.

No country and no group of countries have the right to prevent any nation from making the type of revolution that suits it. If they want to make bourgeois-democratic revolutions, let them make them; if they want socialist revolutions let them make them. If they want to carry out Christian-democratic reforms, let them do so. Let each nation do within its frontiers what it thinks best for its happiness and its future.

* * *

In his May 1, 1965 speech Castro did not limit himself to clarifying the sovereign right of any nation to determine its own form of government and society, he also explained what should be done to oppose the violation of this right. He explained what individuals should do, what other nations should do, and what revolutionary socialist countries and parties should do.

* * *

World opinion must be mobilized. The government of Cuba has denounced the criminal U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo in the United Nations and the Soviet Union has requested a meeting of the Security Council to discuss the U.S. intervention in Santo Domingo. The Security Council will meet on Monday to discuss the problem. We are sure that the cause of the Dominican people will not only have the support of the socialist camp, but also have the support of all the non-aligned countries, and it will have the support of the majority of the nations of the world. No nation can remain indifferent in the face of such a flagrant, shameless and criminal action.

World opinion must be mobilized. It is necessary to demand the withdrawal of imperialist troops from the sovereign and independent state of the Dominican Republic. . . .

It is logical that this aggressive attitude of the imperialists should worry the nations, should worry all nations. Within a few months there has occurred the intervention in the Congo, the aggressions against Vietnam, the invasion of Santo Domingo, all this in less than a year; an irresponsible, adventurous, dangerous attitude, moved by fear of revolution, frightened by the inevitable

changes which take place in the world. They insist on stopping the march of history in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America.

This imperialist aggressiveness must be arrested. The problems of peace concern all of us. Anyone who did not understand the importance of peace would be irresponsible and stupid. We all understand it. But the defense of peace cannot be a passive defense, but preaching peace does not mean peace at any price. No, since the October crisis we have put forward the slogan of "Peace with Dignity. . . ."

We have to struggle against a difficult enemy. Ah, but we must know that difficult enemy and know how to deal with him, and the hands of this difficult enemy must be tied somewhere, and he has to be shown that he is really playing with fire.

We are only a part and a really small part of this world. Our resources are limited. We limit ourselves to expressing our thoughts, our way of thinking. But we think that the imperialists, with their actions, will go on demonstrating the truth of what we are saying.

In the face of their aggressive and interventionist policy, the strategy to follow is to advance the revolution everywhere and on all fronts. Against an aggressive and interventionist strategy we put forward the revolutionary strategy of the people, of the revolutionary movements and of the communist parties of the whole world.

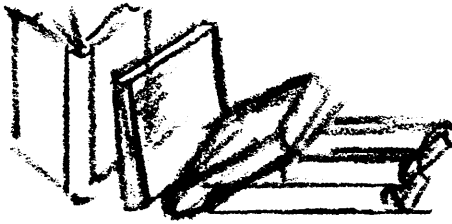
Against U.S. interventionist strategy, and U.S. aggressiveness, we put forward a revolutionary offensive on all fronts, the advance of the revolution on all fronts.

In reality we love peace but we are not going to pray for peace or make empty declarations in favor of peace. Can they accuse us of wanting war? No. No one can accuse us of that, because to want war is one thing and to refuse to submit to imperialist blackmail is something else. It is one thing to want war and another thing to set a scale of values for the human conscience. If peace is very important in this scale of values, there are other values that rank ahead of it. We want peace to be enjoyed by everybody.

We do not understand this strange concept of peace for some and war for others. Peace for us here while they are bombing the Vietnamese with live phosphorous and napalm? No. That concept of peace we do not understand.

We want peace for everybody, for all people to enjoy with right and freedom. We must fight against that dangerous enemy, we must face that enemy and we must face him with intelligence and decision, because that enemy is as a tiger. Yes, you turn your back and he attacks you, but if you face him he doesn't.

BOOK REVIEW



Invitation to an Inquest

(*Invitation to an Inquest*, Walter & Miriam Schneir, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1965. 467 pp. \$5.95.)

"The decade of the Fifties began in America with a season of fear. Nineteen fifty was the year Americans learned of the decision to build a bomb a thousand times more powerful than the one that destroyed Hiroshima; the year a bloody "police action" in Korea threatened to escalate into World War III; the year McCarthyism became a force in the land; the year the press referred openly and often approvingly to the possibility of mass roundups of subversives for incarceration in already prepared detention camps; the year school officials soberly drew up plans for protecting pupils from Soviet A-bombs by teaching them to crouch beneath their wooden desks — each child wearing around his neck a metal name tag as a kind of atomic age amulet. Paradoxically, 1950 was also a year of full employment and economic boom." (*Invitation to an Inquest*, pg. 76)

It was against this background that the Rosenbergs were arrested, tried, sentenced and on June 19, 1953, executed.

The Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell were charged with conspiring to commit espionage. Specifically they were accused of stealing vital atomic secrets that enabled the Soviet Union to develop a nuclear bomb. The charge against them was believed by millions despite frequent statements by atomic scientists that no one nation had a monopoly on atomic energy; that any nation with the resources and the necessary level of technology could develop atomic weapons. It was only a matter of time.

These statements were lost on an American public which was being told that the Soviet Union was no longer an ally, as in World War II, but the enemy in the Cold War, and an enemy which now had nuclear power. Statements by gov-

ernment officials and headlines in the press pictured the Rosenbergs as the extension of the "communist conspiracy" in this country, as the reason for the Korean War, and as traitors. Public opinion was molded by official government press releases and newspaper stories which had convicted the Rosenbergs as atomic spies even before the trial.

The Witnesses

The Rosenbergs were convicted on the basis of the testimony given by three self confessed "spies" who were hoping to lighten their own sentences by fabricating a story which implicated the Rosenbergs. Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, was a known pathological liar, who, for sixteen years had talked to his fellow employees about a wife he did not have, children he did not have, and domestic problems which did not exist. At the time of the Rosenberg trial he had already been sentenced to a thirty year prison term as the self-admitted accomplice of Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist who was said to have funneled atomic information to the Soviet Union. Four years after the Rosenberg trial, Gold admitted in cross examination during the Smilg trial, that he had lied under oath about detailed information he had supplied to a federal grand jury in 1947. This was the man whose testimony, according to the prosecuting attorney, "forged the necessary link in the chain that points indisputably to the guilt of the Rosenbergs."

David and Ruth Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg's brother and sister-in-law were the other main prosecution witnesses. There is evidence that they had been involved in stealing government property and selling it on the black market at the Los Alamos atomic energy project where David worked as a machinist, and out of fear for their own future were willing to cooperate with the FBI. Ruth Greenglass, in a confidential

memo to her lawyer, admitted that her husband had a "tendency to hysteria" and that he "would say things were so even when they were not." Benjamin Pollac, a State Department attorney who had prepared a report on the case for Attorney General Brownell, told the Schneirs that "If I were a judge, I would not take his [Greenglass's] testimony too seriously."

Oral testimony given in the hope of leniency is very tenuous evidence on which to base the execution of two people, and the Schneirs raise serious doubt as to the validity of the testimony. They had access to recorded interviews between Gold and his attorney which took place prior to the trial and written statements which Gold gave to his attorney before he took the witness stand. When the court record and the pre-trial statements are compared, they reveal glaring discrepancies as Gold's earlier statements contradict or omit key points to which he later testified — after 400 hours of questioning by the FBI. Missing from Gold's earlier statements are any mention of the name Julius Rosenberg, the name David Greenglass, or an espionage trip to Albuquerque, all of which were key points of the prosecution and the only points which linked Rosenberg to any kind of espionage activity. Tracing the development of Gold's story, it becomes apparent that although it did not at first fit the specifications needed by the FBI, after days of questioning he "recalled" names which his questioners gave him, and "remembered" incidents when they were outlined to him. It was these names and incidents which provided the sole links between the Rosenbergs and Greenglass, the links the FBI needed.

The Evidence

Only meager tangible evidence was introduced to substantiate the stories these three people told, and the Schneirs point out great inconsistencies between what the evidence is supposed to prove and what it actually does prove. An outstanding example of the extent of FBI fabrication is provided by an analysis of one of the major pieces of evidence — a photostatic copy of a hotel registration card dated June 3, 1945. The card was supposed to establish that Gold, at the instigation of Rosenberg, had been in

Albuquerque on a certain date to pick up atomic information from Greenglass. This was the only actual transmission of "atomic secrets" that the prosecution could find and the photostat of the hotel card was the only tangible evidence that Gold was even in Albuquerque at that time. Not only do the Schneirs prove that the photostatic copy introduced at the trial was a fraud, they show that it could only have been manufactured by the FBI in an attempt to establish a piece of documented evidence against the Rosenbergs. The defense attorney waived the right to examine the original card at the trial, (only the photostat was introduced) and thus far it has never been produced. It was reported in the *Nation*, November 15, 1965, that J. Edgar Hoover had written one of Sobell's attorneys, William Kunstler, on September 10, 1965, regarding the original card, and stated that "due to the passage of time, these cards are no longer available." Thus an examination of the original card is impossible (according to J. Edgar Hoover), and the fabrication indicated by Schneir's thoroughly documented investigation has not been refuted by either the FBI or the Justice Department.

The harassment of innocent people and the theory of guilt by association which reached its apex during this period were fully utilized by the FBI in its attempt to weave the story which convicted the Rosenbergs. People who had been classmates of Julius Rosenberg or had worked with him at one time or another were dismissed from jobs, harassed, and kept under surveillance in an attempt to force them to

substantiate the fabrications of the FBI. Of all those who were hounded, Max Elicher, threatened by a perjury charge because he had once lied about his Communist Party membership on a federal loyalty oath, was the only one whose fear compelled him to cooperate. It was Elicher's testimony alone which implicated Morton Sobell and led to the thirty year prison sentence he is still serving.

The Schneirs reach the conclusion that, "Not only were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — and Morton Sobell — unjustly convicted, they were punished for a crime that never occurred." The Supreme Court twice refused to review the case. Appeals for a new trial when new evidence and new points of law were discovered were denied. Two Presidents, Truman and Eisenhower, refused to grant executive clemency, despite world wide requests.

But why? Why did the FBI go to such lengths to frame a New York engineer and his wife?

The Schneirs begin to answer the question when they point out that ". . . there are indications that the government had no inalterable plan to prosecute the unknown East Side engineer as the chief of a Soviet atom spy ring, much preferring instead, to gain his cooperation in naming alleged higher-ups — possibly even someone from the Communist Party leadership against whom a spectacular show trial might be mounted."

However Rosenberg refused to name names or to implicate innocent people in a crime which had not been committed. It was this intractability that made it necessary for the

FBI to develop a case against Rosenberg, a case which would lead to his conviction. Thus, names were provided to willing witnesses (witnesses who were in trouble and had much to gain by "remembering" these names) and evidence was manufactured.

The Cold War Ideology

The ground work for the Rosenberg case was laid in the early post World War II years when the widely publicized investigations by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and the confessions of "communist informers" such as Elizabeth Bentley were blown up into headlines portraying "espionage" and a "communist conspiracy" within the U.S. government itself. This was at a time when the theory of the "communist conspiracy" was being developed as the basis for the cold war ideology, was being used to explain the success of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and was being used to justify American intervention in the colonial revolutions abroad. (Directly as in Korea and indirectly as in Indochina.)

The witch hunt of the 1950's was utilized to stamp out any political dissent, by labeling it part of this "communist conspiracy," and the Rosenbergs were victims of the hysteria generated by this. Playing on the fears of the American people who were uneasy about the Korean War and the development of atomic weapons by the Soviet Union, the government presented the Rosenbergs as the "reason" for these events, a concrete manifestation of the "cold war enemy."

The fact that they were guilty of no crime made very little difference to an American government intent on mobilizing public opinion for the cold war ideology. Thus a crime was manufactured, and the Rosenbergs became the victims of a frame-up which led to their execution. Only now, after 15 years, is the extent of the injustice done the Rosenbergs and Sobell becoming evident. *Invitation to an Inquest* will give pause to many Americans who accepted without question the verdict handed down in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, and cause many to question the "justice" that sanctioned such a crime.

—JOYCE DANIELS

New York demonstration the night the Rosenbergs were killed



...Notes

(continued from pg. 2)

A new anti-war Newsletter, the BRING THE TROOPS HOME NEWSLETTER, was born at the National Anti-War Convention over Thanksgiving. Already it is four issues old. The first issue of the NEWSLETTER gave the following description of itself:

"The NEWSLETTER is the voice within the anti-war movement of those who demand that the troops be brought home now, and the Vietnamese people be allowed to decide their own future without intervention from the U. S.

"The NEWSLETTER will carry reports of anti-war activities, articles on the war itself, help build national actions and demonstrations, help build new Committees to End the War in Vietnam and a broad movement to BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW."

For information on the NEWSLETTER, write to the NEWSLETTER, Box 317, Mt. Auburn Post Office, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

NATIONAL YSA TOUR: Lew Jones, National Committee member of the YSA is touring the country speaking on, "Immediate Withdrawal Vs. Negotiations: A Socialist View of the Debate in the Anti-war Movement."

Lew Jones at Washington Anti-War Convention



RECORD YSA FUND DRIVE: The Young Socialist Alliance has just completed the largest fund drive in its history with a grand total of \$6,489.49 collected! The YSA is unique among radical youth organizations in that it is financed by the contributions of its young membership, many of whom are in school. As the scoreboard shows, the drive was made a success by the combined effort of almost all the chapters around the country.

	ACCEPTED QUOTA	AMOUNT PAID
Madison	\$ 65.00	\$ 110.00
San Francisco	150.00	220.00
Los Angeles	300.00	400.27
Ann Arbor	150.00	166.00
Berkeley	650.00	725.00
New York-Uptown	600.00	623.10
Philadelphia	200.00	201.25
Boston	850.00	850.00
Chicago	1,000.00	1,000.00
Cleveland	300.00	300.00
Detroit	500.00	500.00
New York-Downtown	600.00	600.00
Seattle	25.00	25.00
Twin Cities	500.00	500.00
Washington, D.C.	150.00	150.00
Bloomington		25.00
Kansas		50.00
At Large		44.00
Denver	25.00	
San Jose	150.00	
TOTALS	\$6,215.00	\$6,489.00

NEW MALCOLM X PAMPHLET: The recent *Young Socialist* pamphlet, "Malcolm X Speaks to Young People," is a collection of four items: Malcolm X's interview with the *Young Socialist* just before his death, a report by John Lewis and Donald Harris to SNCC on Malcolm's impact on Africa, a speech by Malcolm X to a group of teenagers active in the Southern civil rights struggle, and a speech by YSA Chairman Jack Barnes, to the Memorial Meeting for Malcolm X a week after his death.

The *Young Socialist* interview is of special significance. In it Malcolm gives his views as they were at the end of his life on such important topics as the colonial revolution, socialism, and the Democratic Party.

Already the pamphlet has sold hundreds of copies, mainly on the campus and in ghetto bookstores. It sells for 35 cents.

Lew Jones at Washington Anti-War Convention





George Novack, socialist scholar and author of "Origins of Materialism," speaks at Chicago Educational Weekend

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND A SUCCESS: 125 young people participated in a Midwest Educational Weekend over New Years, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. The weekend included a full program of talks and a New Years Eve Party.

Socialist anthropologist Evelyn Reed spoke on "What Makes Human Nature? — A Study in Contrast Between Primitive and Civilized Men and Women," George Novack, Marxist scholar and author, gave two lectures on "Socialist: Its Problems and Perspectives," and the National Chairman of the YSA, Jack Barnes, spoke on the "History of the YSA."

Two excellent tapes, "The Radicalism of Malcolm X" and "The Wit and Wisdom of Malcolm X" were played. The tapes included recordings of Malcolm X speaking, with a commentary by George Breitman.

Some of the areas represented at the conference were Ann Arbor, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Dekalb, Illinois, Carbondale, Illinois, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Northfield, Minnesota, Madison, and Lawrence, Kansas. A similar conference is planned for the East Coast the weekend of February 5th and 6th in New York.

DOLLARISM: The government has had some success in buying off leaders active in the anti-war and civil rights movements by giving them jobs administering government social work projects in the war on poverty and the peace corps. It brings to mind something Malcolm X said to the January 7, 1965, Militant Labor Forum.

"It's easy to become a satellite today without even being aware of it. This country can seduce God. Yes, it has that seductive power — the power of dollarism. You can cuss out colonialism, imperialism, and all the other kinds of isms, but its

hard to cuss out dollarism. When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes."

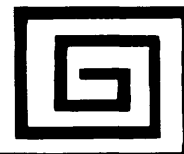
JOINT SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE: During the past months the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant*, a weekly socialist newspaper, have been holding a joint subscription drive for new readers. For one dollar new readers can subscribe to the *Militant* for four months and to the *Young Socialist* for six months. The drive ends January 15.

The scoreboard gives the number of subscriptions sent in as of December 29. Although it looks like we will not make the projected goal of 1,825, the response to the drive has been good, and we will come close.

AREA	ACCEPTED QUOTA	SUBS RECEIVED
Ann Arbor	75	58
Berkeley	175	86
Boston	250	184
Chicago	225	128
Cleveland	75	63
Denver	25	4
Detroit	125	87
Los Angeles	100	107
Philadelphia	75	76
Madison	25	44
New York—Downtown	200	140
New York—Uptown	125	82
San Francisco	75	79
San Jose	25	25
Seattle	25	10
Twin Cities	200	78
Washington, D.C.	25	16
At Large		78
TOTALS	1,825	1,345

—ELIZABETH BARNES

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