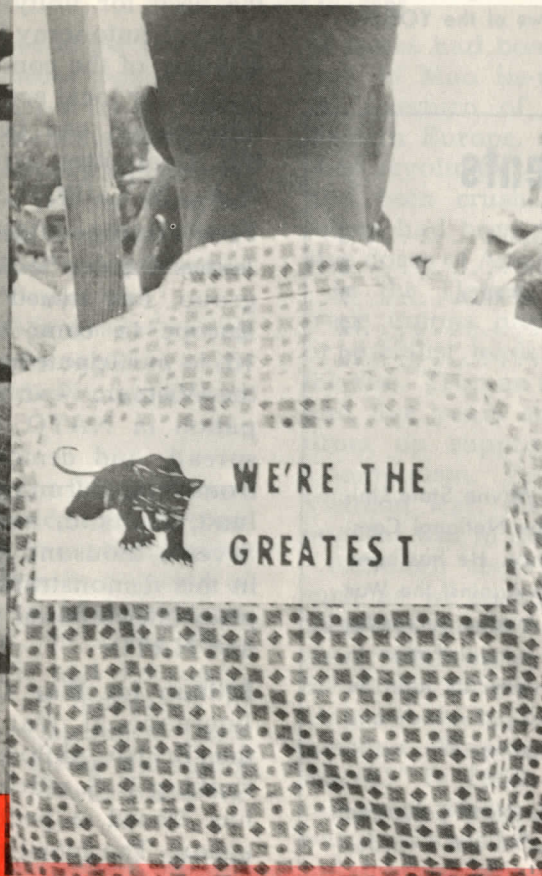


YOUNG SOCIALIST

October-November 1966

25c

**THE RISE OF
BLACK POWER**



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STRUGGLE
IN
SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

**GI'S AND THE
ANTIWAR
MOVEMENT**

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Table of Contents

GI's AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT3
INDEPENDENT POLITICS6
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA9
THE RISE OF BLACK POWER12
POLITICS AND MORALITY20

In This Issue

DERRICK MORRISON, a student at Wayne State University in Detroit, is a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. He has been active in the Detroit Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, and last year helped lead a successful fight at Wayne State to force the administration to offer courses on Afro-American history. In June he participated in the Meredith Mississippi march and spent a week in Lowndes County, Alabama.

SYD STAPLETON attended the University of California at Berkeley for several years where he was a leader of the Free Speech Movement and the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. He is a member of the National Committee of the YSA.

ARTHUR MAGLIN graduated from Antioch College in June, 1965. He is presently a student at the New School in New York and a contributor to the socialist newspaper, **The Militant**.

Young Socialist Notes

Build the November 5-8 Days of Protest! The newly formed November 8th Committee has issued a call for the next national mobilization against the war. The Committee, which arose out of a conference held in Cleveland over the September 10-11 weekend, is the broadest group ever to call a national action against the Vietnam war. The group includes representatives from the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, as well as many religious, pacifist, civil rights, and anti-war organizations.

Several important issues were raised during the conference such as defense of the Fort Hood Three, the need for unity in action and the desirability of local autonomy in planning area-wide activities. Minutes of the conference as well as a list of proposals for local activities are available, and further information can be obtained from the November 8th Committee, c/o A.J. Muste, 5 Beekman St., N. Y., N. Y. 10038.

First Europe-Wide Antiwar Action Called: The Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, a Belgian socialist youth group, has issued a call for youth from all over Europe to come to Liege, Belgium, on October 15, to participate in a united demonstration against the Vietnam war and against European participation in NATO. Support for the action is widespread, and demonstrators are expected to travel from West Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, England, Holland, and the Scandanavian countries. Several thousand youth are expected to take part in this demonstration which will be the first European international protest against the Vietnam war and NATO.

Petition for War Crimes Tribunal Available: The International War Crimes Tribunal, initiated by the British philosopher Bertrand Russell to try ranking U. S. officials for crimes against humanity, has issued a petition calling for support of the action. The intent of the petition will be to give the Tribunal a mandate of popular support, and it is hoped that hundreds of thousands of signatures will be obtained, both individually and at rallies and demonstrations.

Although the DeGaulle government has banned the Tribunal from meeting in France, other locations are being considered, and Johnson has been subpoenaed to appear in his own defense.

(continued on p. 22)

Soldier reads leaflet at Fort Dix.



GI'S AND THE ANTI WAR



New York Women's March, May 1966.

MOVEMENT

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The November-December, 1965, issue of the *Young Socialist* carried an article entitled "A Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War," which told the story of the post World War II Bring The Troops Home Movement and analyzed both the causes and the results of that historically important social upheaval. In the course of the last year the *Young Socialist* has received numerous requests for copies of that article, and letters asking about protests among American troops during the Korean War and the Vietnam War.

The recent incidences of growing antiwar sentiment among American GI's drafted to fight in Vietnam provide a timely opportunity to take up the questions asked by our readers.

* * *

The post World War II Bring the Troops Home Movement, which forced the American government to reduce its standing army from more than twelve million to one and a half million in a period of approximately ten months was a frightening experience for the military brass. In a few short weeks, between Christmas, 1945, and February, 1946, demonstrations by tens of thousands of soldiers around the world, from Calcutta to Paris and from Maryland to Manila, forced the ruling class to re-write its entire book of war plans for the coming "American Century."

Although no troop demonstrations of similar size or proportions have occurred since the end of World War II, their memory hangs over the head of the American military and weighs heavily upon them. They know it happened once and fear it could happen again.

The Korean War

By the time the Korean War began in June, 1950, the cold war was in full swing. The world balance

of forces had been significantly altered by the victory of Mao tse-tung's Red Army in China and the overturn of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe. At the same time, however, threatened revolutions from Greece to India to Indonesia had been crushed, and Western European capitalism had been given a new lease on life by massive doses of American capital.

In the United States, with few exceptions, the trade unions had been purged of any communist or socialist leadership, and McCarthyism was on the rise. Truman's Democratic administration had had five years since the end of World War II to drum up support for the holy crusade against Communism. Yet, despite all this, prior to the Vietnam war, the Korean War was the most unpopular war in American history.

Although there were no large demonstrations such as we see today in opposition to the war in Vietnam, public opinion polls indicated a steadily rising disillusionment over the Korean War during the early 1950's. In one poll, taken at the beginning of 1953, 53.8 percent answered yes to the question "Was it a mistake to get involved in Korea?" In 1952, Eisenhower made a last-minute campaign pledge to personally go to Korea which was interpreted by many voters as a promise to end the war. This was probably the most important factor in his election victory over Stevenson.

As the war neared an end, Eisenhower and many other military commanders found it necessary to caution the American public about expecting a speedy return of troops once the cease-fire was signed. They and the press made frequent references to the damage done the American military by the "Bring Us Home Movement" following World War II.

Their fear of another such movement was well founded, as the morale of the troops fighting in Korea was very low. As early as November 12, 1951, *New York Times* correspondent George Barret reported that "recent developments . . . have convinced some troops on the fighting front that their own commanders . . . are throwing up blocks against an agreement."

"Collaboration With the Enemy"

The most striking illustration of the low morale of the soldiers was their conduct in the prisoner of war camps. After the troops were repatriated, it was estimated that a full one-third of them had "collaborated" with the North Koreans and Chinese. For example, of the first 30 prisoners returned, nine were refused permission to talk with anyone outside the military until they had undergone extensive interrogation, and this procedure continued throughout the repatriation process. This high rate of what the U. S. termed "collaboration with the enemy" was attributed to communist brainwashing, which meant that prisoners of war were treated like human beings and the facts of the war explained to them. This "brainwashing" proved so powerful, and the American soldiers proved so negligent in their "patriotic duties" that the armed forces found it necessary to issue a special code of conduct for prisoners of war after the Korean experience had been fully analyzed.

By comparison to the breadth and depth of antiwar activities in the U. S. today, these indications of the unpopularity of the Korean war and the low morale of the troops may seem of little importance. But their significance lies in the fact that even under the *best* conditions for U. S. imperialism, there was resistance to playing the role of a world cop prepared to crush any revolution. Even at the height of the cold-war hysteria, the process of militarizing the young American workers called to fight in Korea proved difficult.

From Korea to Vietnam

Today, the antiwar movement is able to mobilize tens of thousands of Americans to protest the war in Vietnam and demand that troops be brought home immediately. Every public opinion poll taken indicates a higher and higher percentage of people who feel the war should be ended. Last summer, for example, in Michigan's 7th Congressional District, a poll taken on July 26 showed 41 percent in favor of immediate withdrawal.

The organized expression of this widespread antiwar sentiment is found in the hundreds of antiwar committees growing and carrying out activities on campuses and in communities around the country. But the hundreds of thousands of men who are being drafted to fight in Vietnam are not isolated from the growing mood of opposition to the war.

In fact, they are a distorted cross-section of the American population, heavily weighted in favor of those who have the *least* interest in fighting the Vietnamese people—young workers, white and black.

When Johnson took office in January, 1965, there were approximately 25,000 American troops in Vietnam, mostly professionals and volunteers. Today there are more than 300,000 and present military plans call for raising that number to 600,000 in 1967. Most of these men are draftees, and an exceptionally high percentage are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. How reliable an army is this for fighting a brutal war of oppression against a colored people in Asia, thousands of miles from home?

There have already been many indications. Almost as soon as the Vietnam build-up began, isolated reports of GI's refusing to fight or denouncing the war started to creep through press censorship. In September, 1965, an AP dispatch from Vietnam reported that Johnnie L. Jackson and three other Negro soldiers of the First Cavalry Division refused to take inoculations and go through other procedures that normally precede movement overseas. They also attempted a hunger strike aboard the troop ship carrying them to Vietnam. Jackson was court-martialed and sentenced to six months in jail and forfeiture of two-thirds of his pay. This was only one of many such incidents and a harbinger of things to come. At the same time that men within the armed forces were beginning to protest, others like Special Forces Sgt. Donald Duncan were quitting and returning to the U. S. as outspoken critics of the Vietnam war.

Freedom Now For Lt. Howe

In November of 1965 an incident occurred which pointed the way towards more recent developments in the antiwar movement and among the troops. On November 6, Lieutenant Henry H. Howe, Jr., of Boulder, Colorado, participated in an antiwar demonstration in El Paso, Texas. Although he was off-duty and wearing civilian clothes, he was arrested and turned over to the military police. On December 22 he was court-martialed on charges of using contemptuous words against the President and conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. He was sentenced to dismissal, two years at hard labor and forfeiture of pay and allowances (equivalent to a fine of nearly \$10,000).

In Denver, antiwar activists, friends and relatives formed the Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee and immediately began publicizing the case. Around the country, antiwar committees began handing out leaflets explaining what had happened to Lt. Howe and carrying "Freedom Now for Lt. Howe" signs on demonstrations. Under pressure from the entire antiwar movement and fearing the reper-

cussions of nationwide publicity on the case, the military released Howe pending appeal in the military courts. Since then, Howe has spoken publicly at many antiwar meetings and the army has threatened him with up to 10 years at hard labor if he continues to exercise his right to freedom of speech.

The Fort Hood Three

Not long after Lt. Howe's victory, another defense case developed which made it clear that the military's harsh reaction to Lt. Howe was not without reason, for they had much to fear from the growing antiwar sentiment among the troops. On June 30, 1966, three GI's who had formerly been stationed at Fort Hood, Texas—Private Dennis Mora, Private First Class James Johnson, and Private David Samas—announced at a press conference in New York that they would refuse orders to go to Vietnam because they considered the war "immoral, illegal and unjust." The government responded with thinly-veiled threats of death sentences (*New York Times*, July 3, 1966), with attempts to bribe the soldiers and their families and then with illegal arrests of the three GI's as they were on their way to address a public meeting in New York. After being held in detention for several weeks, the army ordered them to board a plane for Vietnam; they refused, and all three were court-martialed for refusal to obey orders. Mora received three years at hard labor, Johnson and Samas five years.

The refusal of these three GI's to go to Vietnam is not merely a symbolic act or an individual moral protest. As Johnson, Samas, and Mora stated in a joint press release, "We represent in our backgrounds a cross-section of the Army and of America. James Johnson is a Negro, David Samas is of Lithuanian and Italian parents, Dennis Mora is a Puerto Rican. We speak as American soldiers.

"We have been in the army long enough to know that we are not the only GI's who feel as we do. Large numbers of men in the service either do not understand this war or are against it."

The truth of this statement has been borne out frequently, even in the press, as papers across the country have printed numerous stories about GI's opposed to the Vietnam war. The August 7 *Arizona Republic* carried an article about SP4 Paul E. Fritz, a two-time volunteer for duty in Vietnam who has returned to Vietnam vowing to express his opposition to the war openly. The Pentagon has officially admitted reports of race riots at Danang and other bases. And an AP dispatch on August 12, 1966, quoted a letter sent to Senator Wayne Morse which said, "Everybody thinks the morale of the men is very high, but this is not true. . . . On the outside . . . our morale does look high, but if you could sit around at night and listen, you would know it is an entirely

different story. . . . Most of the guys want to lay down their guns and go home just like the people in Saigon want us to."

American antiwar activists who have responded to the call of the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee to let GI's know the facts about the way their fellow soldiers are being treated have found an extremely favorable response. Antiwar committees around the country have been distributing fact sheets on the Fort Hood Three at army bases, at bus terminals and anywhere else they can reach men in uniform. At Fort Dix, New Jersey, the military authorities became so worried they declared the neighboring towns off-limits to GI's, to prevent them from getting copies of the leaflets. Regular weekly leaflet distributions at the major bus terminal in New York City even prompted one GI to tell distributors that he had been coming into New York every weekend just to pick up a batch of leaflets for his buddies.

These are only a few of the indications of the way that the antiwar sentiment of the American population is finding expression among the troops. It is finding an organized expression through the courageous efforts of men like Lt. Howe and the Fort Hood Three, and an unorganized expression in the letters home and the midnight bull sessions in the barracks from Fort Dix to Danang.

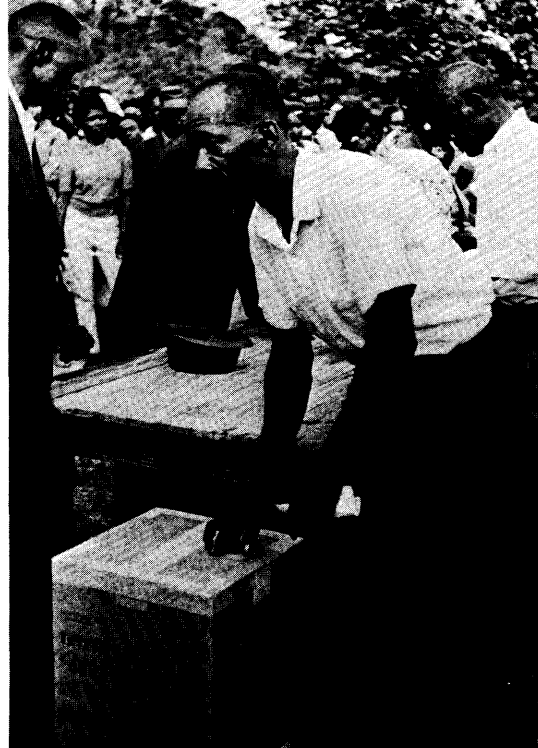
The antiwar movement has responded by making the defense of the Fort Hood Three and other GI's who are legally challenging the right of the American government to send them to fight in Vietnam, a central focus for its activity. As A.J. Muste said in a telegram sent to Secretary of Defense McNamara and Attorney General Katzenbach, "The peace movement will continue to aid in every possible lawful way, anyone—civilian, soldier, sailor or Marine—who opposes this illegal and immoral war. The young men in the armed services are entitled to know the truth about the war and to engage in discussions about it. Citizens are likewise entitled to communicate the truth about the war to servicemen, and the peace movement is determined to exercise that right."

In short, the antiwar movement is responding by showing the GI's that we are for them—not against them—and this is of greatest importance if our efforts to end the war in Vietnam are to be successful. David Samas made this clear in the speech he was to have delivered on July 7th, the night he was arrested.

"The GI should be reached somehow. He doesn't want to fight. He has no reasons to risk his life. Yet he doesn't realize that the peace movement is dedicated to his safety. Give the GI something to believe in and he will fight for that belief. Let them know in Vietnam that you want them home; let them know that you are concerned about their lives also. Tell them you want them to live, not die. Bring home our men in Vietnam!"

INDEPENDENT POLITICS:

The Significance of the Black Panther Party



Voting for the Lowndes County Freedom
Organization, May 3, 1966.

BY ELIZABETH BARNES

The following article is based on excerpts from a speech given by Elizabeth Barnes on September 2 to the West Coast Vacation School in California. An analysis of black power written by her was published in the August-September 1966 *Young Socialist*.

* * *

This summer, two other YSAers and I went to Mississippi to take part in three days of the Memphis-to-Jackson march begun by James Meredith, and then to Alabama to learn first-hand about the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

Although we learned a great deal participating in the march, it was the experiences we had in Lowndes County that I want to talk about today, for they made the deepest impact on me. I had never before seen a mass movement of workers, if only on a county scale, who were organizing their own political party to change their conditions of life. Like others of our generation, I have read about strikes, I have taken part in civil rights protests, and I have read the history of revolutionary movements in other countries, but I had never seen American workers organizing their own political party. In Lowndes County, however, the Black Panther party is a living example of working people who are uniting to form their own party to challenge the present rulers of the county.

Most of you have read articles on Lowndes and know something about it, so I will only mention some of the things I felt were particularly significant. Then I want to discuss how the developments in Lowndes County relate to the need for independent political action on a national level. . . .

The movement in Lowndes County started in January, 1965, with voter registration. The Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights was the first organization to be formed, and its function was to help register voters and to organize protests against the abysmal conditions of the Negro schools.

Once the voter registration got under way, the question arose, "Who do we vote for?" Discussions were held and it was decided that the black people of Lowndes should set up their own party rather than vote for the Democrats who they recognized were their direct oppressors. The experience of the school protest had shown them that protests against these oppressors were not enough, that further measures were necessary. As a result, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, also known as the Black Panther Party because of its symbol, was formed and is running candidates in this fall's election. . . .

The conditions in Lowndes were especially suited for the formation of a party such as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Eighty percent of the people in the county are black. They suffer extreme exploitation and oppression. There is only a very small Negro middle class which is urging support for Democrats, and Negroes are registering to vote for the first time in the history of the county. But even with all these conditions laying the groundwork for the formation of an independent party, it would have been impossible without the strong local leadership that has come from the men and women of Lowndes County themselves. . . .

John Hulett, chairman of the Freedom Organization, told us that the main thing the Freedom Organization tries to do is to teach the people to rely on themselves and their own organizations. He told us that the feeling of inferiority was their greatest enemy, and that often the people actually feel the whites are good for taking care of them—a feeling which the whites, of course, cultivate and use. Sometimes when black people ask for loans, the white man will say, "Why don't you go to the civil rights leaders for a loan if they are as great as you say."

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is trying to involve as many people in the functioning of the organization as possible, and they have met with quite a bit of success. Those who support the Freedom Organization and the Christian Movement take part in the decision making and they understand *how* and *why* decisions are made. . . .

The leaders of the Freedom Organization take what they are doing seriously, and because they are serious, they are not sectarian. If the people in the community do not understand or agree with them, they keep reasoning and talking with them, trying to convince them. They take into consideration the needs of the people they are working with. For example, Hulett felt strongly that meetings should be kept as short as possible, as working people do not have a lot of time to sit around and talk. At a meeting we attended, he suggested that they cut down a little on the prayers so that the meeting would not get too long.

Even these few things I have mentioned about the internal workings of the Black Panther Party should indicate how different it is, at least in one respect, from the Republican and Democratic parties and from the various peace campaigns in other parts of the country. It is a real movement, not simply an election machine, or a protest campaign built around the personality of an individual.

As I said at the beginning, however, the most important thing about the Lowndes County Freedom Organization is that it is a party independent of the Republicans and Democrats. This gives it great importance for national politics, for the Negro struggle on a national scale and for the present discussion on black power.

Lowndes County and Black Power

Before the black power slogan received national publicity during the Mississippi march, discussions on the concept had already taken place in Lowndes County. The people of Lowndes think of the Freedom Organization as a concrete application of the concept of black power, and on the Mississippi march, the Black Panther Party was pointed to a number of times by supporters of the black power slogan as an example of what could be done.

The concept did not originate in Lowndes County,

of course. The use of black political and economic power, instead of mere protest and moral persuasion, was one of the main themes of Malcolm X's teachings, and there is no question that Malcolm X had an influence on the SNCC workers who were active in Lowndes, and through them, on the people in Lowndes.

In the past few months, many different interpretations of the black power concept have been put forth by various figures active in the Negro struggle. Many of these interpretations have even been in opposition to the ideas of the Black Panther Party on the key question of support to the Democratic Party. For example, black power has been defined as organizing Negroes to vote as a bloc within the Democratic Party, and Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic Congressman from Harlem, has called a conference to discuss implementation of the black power slogan. Some people speak of organizing the Negro people either inside or outside of the Democratic Party; they will support the Black Panther Party in the South at the same time they support Democratic Party candidates in the North. Stokely Carmichael, who has made very strong statements against the Democratic Party, has at the same time, joined the National Conference for New Politics which supports candidates in the Democratic Party.

But, thus far, the stand of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization on the question of independence from the Democratic Party is clear; the Black Panther Party is totally independent of the Democratic Party on a local *and* national level. Furthermore, the leaders of the Black Panther Party do not consider it a pressure group which has been set up to force the Democratic Party into making the changes that are needed. The people in Lowndes believe the Democratic Party is so controlled by ruling-class interests that it cannot be pressured into changing the conditions of the Negro people.

Hulett believes that Johnson is just as responsible for the problems in Lowndes County as Governor Wallace and the local sheriff. When we were down there, he pointed out at a meeting that Johnson and Wallace were the same because Johnson did nothing about the gassing of marchers in Canton, Mississippi.

As he goes house-to-house canvassing, Hulett explains to people the importance of Lowndes as an example for other Negro communities around the country. Hulett wants to see the idea of the Black Panther Party applied in other black-belt counties and in Northern ghettos.

Because there is no alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on a national level, the Black Panther Party has endorsed no other candidates than those in Lowndes. In the Alabama primaries last spring, they campaigned against Richmond Flowers, the liberal Democrat who opposed Wallace and was supported by Martin Luther King.

They continually pointed out to people that Flowers was a Democrat and supported the Democratic Party and therefore did not offer a real solution to the oppression which they suffer.

As you might well imagine, however, there is still discussion, disagreement and confusion within the Freedom Organization about a long-run perspective, and those who understand that the organization must be independent are doing what they can to explain to others why this is necessary. But the pressures to break with their independent stance are very great. Bribes, threats of violence, evictions, loss of jobs, slander, withholding of support by liberals and many other methods are being used to make them back down.

In order to understand why it is so difficult and yet so important for a party like the Lowndes County Freedom Organization to take a stand independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, it is necessary to look at the political situation in this country on a national level.

American Workers and the Democratic Party

The American workers have never formed their own political organizations. Neither the white nor black workers have formed the equivalent of the Black Panther Party on a national level. This is a unique phenomenon for an advanced capitalist country, for in all other major capitalist countries, the workers have either organized labor parties or have joined mass socialist or communist parties. This is true in England, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Australia and even in Canada, where the New Democratic Party (NDP) was just formed several years ago.

Having no party of their own, the political understanding and consciousness of the American workers is perhaps the lowest of any working class in the world. Although their vote is crucial to the Democratic Party, they play no role in determining its basic policies.

Think for a moment just how uninvolved they are in the political process: every election, the

American workers vote for one of two very similar parties—both of which are controlled lock, stock and barrel by the ruling class. The conventions of these parties are farces. The basic decisions are made secretly by small cliques. The ruling class keeps a firm grip on the apparatus of these parties through the power of its money and influence, and by bribing so-called "leaders" of labor and the Negro masses.

Within the Democratic Party, the capitalists have welded together a coalition of labor leaders, conservative civil rights leaders and ward heelers who mobilize support for the party when it needs it—at election time. These coalition leaders try to create the image that the Democratic Party is a multi-class party which can and does serve the interests of all classes in society. Because of this, the consciousness of the workers is distorted, and they do not approach politics with an understanding of the need to unite within a party as a class to fight for common objectives. They have not yet reached the level of the English workers who consider the Labor Party "their" party, and believe is as it should be.

This is not to say that the American workers have no class consciousness. The very existence of mass labor unions is proof of that, and the Democratic Party politicians have to make demagogic appeals to the workers, assuring them that they are interested in their problems. We saw a good example of the potential political power of the workers last summer when the politicians in Washington responded to strong pressure and postponed passage of anti-strike legislation during the airline strike.

But the fact remains that the class consciousness of American workers has never been raised to the level of understanding the necessity for independent political organizations. While the CIO was formed in the thirties and forties to fight the bosses for economic demands, the workers never formed a political organization to go to Washington and fight for their interests there. Instead, a coalition

(continued on p. 18)

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The scene of the Sharpeville Massacre, March, 1960.

Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa

An Interview with Franz J.T Lee

The following interview was given to the **Young Socialist** by Mr. Franz J.T. Lee, the European Representative of the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa, who is currently touring the United States and Canada under the auspices of the Alexander Defense Committee. While here, Mr. Lee will also address the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid.

The interview was given on September 5, the day before the assassination of Prime Minister Verwoerd of South Africa.

* * *

Mr. Lee, how did you become involved in the liberation movement of South Africa?

As a rule, any African in the Republic of South Africa who is of poor parentage, aspires to live a decent life, to have human worth and dignity and is concerned about the welfare of his or her black fellow human beings, must sooner or later come into conflict with the South African racially discriminatory society.

From my birth, because I have a white father and a black mother, I was flung into the midst of this racial and economic conflict. My whole youth was simply a struggle for survival, a struggle for education, a struggle for hope and freedom. With time, I came to realize that as social beings my black brothers and sisters and I could only free ourselves through social relations and united action. I became involved in the liberation movement in

1960 and joined the Unity Movement of South Africa.

What is the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa, generally known as APDUSA?

Under the banner of the Unity Movement of South Africa, APDUSA was formed in 1961, after the Sharpeville Massacre of black African workers who demonstrated peacefully against the hated passbook laws and for higher wages, and after the Pondoland Massacre of black peasants in the reserves who were struggling to achieve land and liberty. APDUSA came into existence as a direct result of these massacres, and at a time when a workers' and peasants' organization was an immediate necessity.

What is APDUSA's program?

The name of the organization itself contains its central theme: democracy. The constitution of APDUSA states its chief aim: "To struggle for the liquidation of national oppression of the oppressed people in Southern Africa, that is, the removal of all disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and color and the acquisition by the whole nation of those democratic rights, at present enjoyed by only a small section of the population, namely, the white people."

APDUSA inherits from the Unity Movement of South Africa the policy of non-collaboration with

the oppressors and the political boycott as a weapon of struggle.

Many American students have heard of the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act and the attempts of the Verwoerd government to re-institute a system of tribal law. Could you tell us a little about these conditions in South Africa at the present time and how they affect the work of APDUSA?

First, the Group Areas Act. It was passed in 1950 and reserves certain areas of South Africa for each of the racial groups. Great re-settlements of the population were organized, mainly at the cost of the blacks, and by 1961, 7,500 whites, 95,000 Africans and 5,000 Asians had been re-settled.

The Africans have no residence permit in white South Africa, which comprises 86.3 percent of the total land area. Furthermore, over the last decade, black masses have been streaming into the industrial centers in search of work, and we now have an urban working class of five million. The government plans to return these masses to the reserves, which total 264 at present, and which are in fact the labor concentration camps of South Africa.

Even in these reserves, however, the Africans are not allowed to possess, buy or sell land. In short, the whole black population of South Africa has been robbed of all land and all political rights.

Thus it is clear why APDUSA has adopted the slogan: Land and Liberty. This revolutionary spark has set the "Bantustan-prairies" on fire over the last half-decade and made the rulers of South Africa tremble.

And the Bantu Education Act?

The Bantu Education Act, initiated by Dr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister of South Africa, was passed in 1953. Its distilled essence can be found in an utterance by Hitler in 1933: "If you want to control a people, you must get hold of their education." The enslavement of the human mind in order to oppress a certain section of the population has been a weapon used by ruling classes throughout history.

Bantu education intends to re-enslave and re-tribalize the Africans, cut them off from modern education and detain them in an intellectual and spiritual ghetto. Only 0.0008 percent of the black population attends a university, or rather one of the five special tribal colleges. Among other subjects, they have to study Bantu law, Bantu education, Bantu history and Bantu medical science.

Bantu law is, of course, the laws passed by the black chiefs who are in fact the Tshombes and Uncle Toms of the "Herrenvolk" (master race) of South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd explains Bantu educa-

tion as follows: ". . . Until now, he (the native) has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. . . . If the native in South Africa today . . . is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake."

Bantu history, quite obviously, is the history of the past three centuries from the vantage point of the ruling class. The students have to study about the so-called "Kaffir Wars," ("Kaffir," meaning "Heathen," has its origin in the Arabic language), and about the "ferocious, savage" chiefs, Dingaan and Chaka or Cetewayo, who were, in fact, military geniuses and great statesmen who fought the white invaders.

Bantu medical science is the study of the herbs and tribal rites of the witch-doctor.

Now, quite obviously, Bantu education has nothing to do with modern education, nor even with education per se. It is an outrage to human intelligence, human dignity and worth in the twentieth century.

Would you give us a picture of the present economic situation of South Africa?

Well, South Africa is the most highly industrialized country in Africa, in fact, in the Southern Hemisphere. At present, it is experiencing an economic boom. The main sectors of the economy are mining, secondary industry and agriculture. The first two are mainly under the control of British and American international financiers who have invested over 95 percent of the capital. The Boer government controls only the agricultural sector. The first two sectors are by far the most important.

All three industries depend on cheap black labor. Thus the blacks carry the whole economy of South Africa on their shoulders, and they are its Achilles' heel. It is they who will change the present oppressive socio-economic system and radically transform the whole society in the future.

Of the more than \$4,222 million of foreign capital invested in this unhappy country, some \$2,500 million is British, \$800 million is West European and \$464 million is American. In 1964, U.S. monopoly capitalists earned, in South Africa, a 27 percent ratio of net profit to net worth—the highest in the world. The return on "raw" investments was 13 percent, while the world average was 7.7 percent. Overseas investors have a stake in virtually every strategic sector of the economy, and Britain, the U.S., France, West Germany, Canada, Italy and Japan control nearly 75 percent of the export and import trade of South Africa. So it is

quite obvious that the above countries have a contradiction between their stated political policies toward South Africa, which condemn apartheid, and their economic policies, which strengthen the economic backbone of apartheid.

What is the importance for the liberation movement in South Africa of the struggle in Angola, the establishment of Smith's government in Rhodesia and the recent International Court of Justice decision on South West Africa?

The Portuguese "overseas provinces" in Africa, the ex-British protectorates and Rhodesia all form a front line of defense for South Africa, acting as buffer states, to protect the vested foreign interests of the "free world," as I have just outlined them. Thus, the liberation struggles in these areas are one and the same as the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. They are just different fronts, reaching as far north as the Congo. In fact, it is the same struggle throughout the colonial world.

Further, as I wrote in my pamphlet, *Anatomy of Apartheid in Southern Africa*, "the declaration of unilateral independence of Smith's Rhodesian Front signals the impingement of apartheid upon Rhodesia." An unholy alliance is being formed between Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, and even Portugal; and a United Liberation Front against the forces of fascism and ultra-colonialism in Southern Africa as a whole becomes an immediate necessity for the oppressed peoples of this area.

The decision of the World Court fits in this same picture. Due to the laws which govern the capitalist world, this court, which is its court, had to decide in its favor, against the oppressed masses. Again, as I wrote in the same pamphlet, "The South African revolution will be the work of the million-membered toiling masses of South Africa and South West Africa, struggling for equality, justice, human dignity, freedom and peace, in solidarity with the same struggle on a global scale."

As the founder of the Alexander Defense Committee in West Germany, could you tell us briefly what the ADC is, and how we can help?

It was formed to help eleven opponents of apartheid in South Africa, headed by Dr. Neville Alexander, a leader of the Unity Movement of South Africa and its affiliated organization, APDUSA.

In July, 1963, he and his ten friends were arrested, and later tried and found guilty in April, 1964, of "sabotage." The prosecution could not prove one act of sabotage committed by them, only that they had read books that are banned in South Africa and wanted to overthrow the police state of Verwoerd. (I might just add that the books banned

in South Africa include such works as *Black Beauty*, Thomas Hardy's *The Return of the Native*, and Stendhal's *The Red and the Black*.) Of course, Dr. Alexander and his friends read books which any leader of the struggle at this time is reading, including books on guerrilla warfare and others.

The "Alexander Eleven" were given prison sentences in Robben Island concentration camp, ranging from five to ten years, and under South African law these could be extended to life sentences. Robben Island is the South African equivalent of Belsen, Dachau or Auschwitz. At present, it is minus the gas chambers, but the gasses, soman, tabun sarin, are already being produced on a large-scale in factories on the Witwatersrand.

The ADC paid the expenses for the trial and the two appeal cases, and continues to help the families of the Eleven who are starving and in dire need, and pays for the studies of the Eleven (as a special concession has been made for them to study, due to the international interest in this case). The ADC also helps other victims of oppression, and focuses world public attention on the oppressive situation in South Africa.

Committees have been set up in England, Erie, Japan, Scandinavia, the U. S., Canada and other countries to continue this urgent work. At present, there are thirteen chapters of the ADC throughout the United States, with a head office in New York. Last year, the ADC organized a national lecture tour for Mr. I. B. Tabata, the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, and this year they have organized a tour for me to lecture in Canada and the United States.

I have found a great interest in and support for the liberation cause in my homeland, in Canada, as well as in the United States. I was surprised at the hunger for knowledge about South Africa, and international events generally, especially among student circles.

Our determination to fight for freedom and democracy for all South Africans is unconquerable, but we urgently need your moral as well as material support. All contributions can be sent to the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 Broadway, 2nd Floor South, New York, New York 10003.

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BY DERRICK MORRISON

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The Negro freedom struggle is taking on new and more militant dimensions with the upsurge around the demand for black power. The event that provided the launching pad for the black power idea was the Meredith Mississippi march. Lasting for two and a half weeks in June, the march enabled the demand for black power to start a nation-wide controversy outside and inside the civil rights organizations.

The black power demand has split the already divided civil rights organizations into left, center and right wings. SNCC and CORE, the chief advocates of the idea, occupy the left. SCLC, while trying to adopt some of the rhetoric of black power, condemns the use of the term and tries to keep lines of communication open with both the right and the left. The NAACP and the Urban League, especially the former, viciously attack the demand for black power to the point of cutting off any collaboration with the militants, and thus, they occupy the right wing.

The national conventions of CORE and the NAACP, which took place right after the march, stimulated and deepened the debate. Everybody from newspapermen on up to the president of the country became interested in the Negro struggle and began to express opinions on the strategy and tactics arrived at by the movement. White and Negro liberals began to openly disavow the new turn, condemning it as black nationalism, racism-in-reverse, and anti-white. . . .

The critics of the black power concept point out that it can be interpreted in many ways, that despite the definition Negro leaders may give the idea, the ghetto rebel on the street will interpret it the way he wants in order for it to fit his rebellious mood. This, in essence, reveals why the term black power is anathematized so much by the ruling class. It is the beginning of the articulation of the needs and the aspirations of the ghetto masses North, South, East and West. The battle cry on the lips of the participants in every ghetto explosion this summer has been black power.

It is true that the slogan of black power does not elaborate a concrete program, but as expressed by the new militants it does have certain definite characteristics. It cuts across the differences between the northern and southern struggles and unites them as one. It draws the line much more sharply and distinctly between the demands and

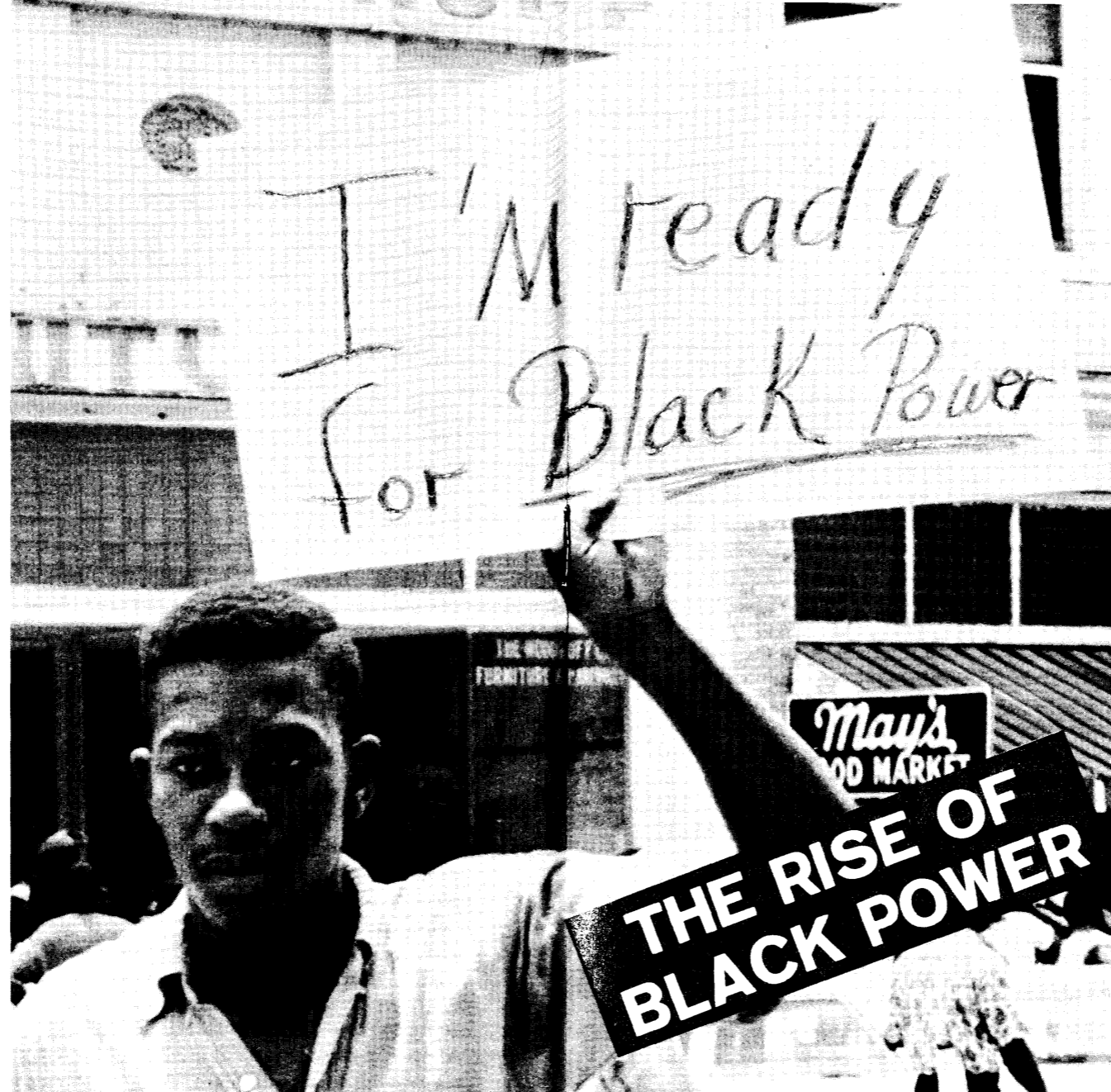
interests of the working class and the demands and interests of the Negro middle class.

Black power is an expression of the independence of the new movement, independence in thought and action from the government, white liberals and white liberal money. The more independent the movement is, the more militant and uncompromising it becomes, expressing the interests of the black ghetto masses in the cities and in the poverty stricken rural areas of the South. As a result of this independent thrust, the adherents of black power say that black people should control their own political, economic and social organizations.

The movement for black power also sees the connection between the liberation struggles of black people here in the United States and the liberation struggles conducted by the colonial masses

in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The new militants see the problems of black people as a result of exploitation by white society. From this arise the conditions of segregation; discrimination and the other ills that go along with being a second-class citizen. Demanding self-determination for black people as well as self-determination for the Vietnamese, SNCC and CORE call for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

One idea expressed by the new militants that received considerable attention in the white press, especially during the CORE convention, was the idea of self-defense. As in the past, anybody espousing the simple concept that black people have a right to defend themselves against racist violence has received a barrage of hysterical outbursts from the press. However, because large layers of the movement have accepted this idea, the capi-



Canton, Mississippi, during the Meredith Mississippi march in June, 1966.

talist press has been able to do little with its verbal assaults. Just recently, on a Meet the Press program in which Carmichael, McKissick, Wilkins, King and Young participated, James Meredith insisted that instead of relying on the courts of the federal government, black vigilante groups should be formed in the South to deal with racist killers.

On the question of alliances, the new militants say that it is useless to call for unity among blacks and whites when there is no motion whatsoever among the masses of whites. Besides, before there can be any real collaboration between blacks and whites, black people have to get themselves together into a national organization that acts and speaks in their interest. This national formation has yet to come into existence.

Black Power and Black Nationalism

The characteristics attributed to the black power movement are the same ones that the Young Socialist Alliance has used to characterize the phenomenon known as black nationalism. Although black nationalism means many different things to different people, it can be given a central definition from which these different viewpoints flow. Disregarding the hysterical definitions of black nationalism handed down by the newspapers and mass communication media, black nationalism can be defined objectively as the striving of black people to take over the direction and control of their own struggle for equality. The ideas of self-defense, race pride, black organization, black leadership and identification with the colonial revolution, were ideas held only by black nationalists two and three years ago. The black power movement itself is the result of the absorption of these nationalist ideas by the civil rights movement.

George Breitman, the editor of *Malcolm X Speaks*, in a talk given at a Malcolm X memorial meeting of February 11 of this year, summed up the paradox of black nationalism this way: "While organizationally the black nationalist tendency has suffered serious setbacks in the last year or two, ideologically its influence has spread far, wide and deep." Thus, it is not surprising that the black power slogan, initially raised in the South, received such an enthusiastic reception in the black ghettos of the North.

Although SNCC and CORE refuse to designate themselves as black nationalist because of the bad connotation given to this term by the white press, they do not refuse, but welcome collaboration with nationalists.

The black power movement has also forced white radicals to shed outmoded views and conceptions about the Negro struggle and to arrive at new conclusions about their strategy and tactics in regard to the black community.

Many white radicals now understand that race

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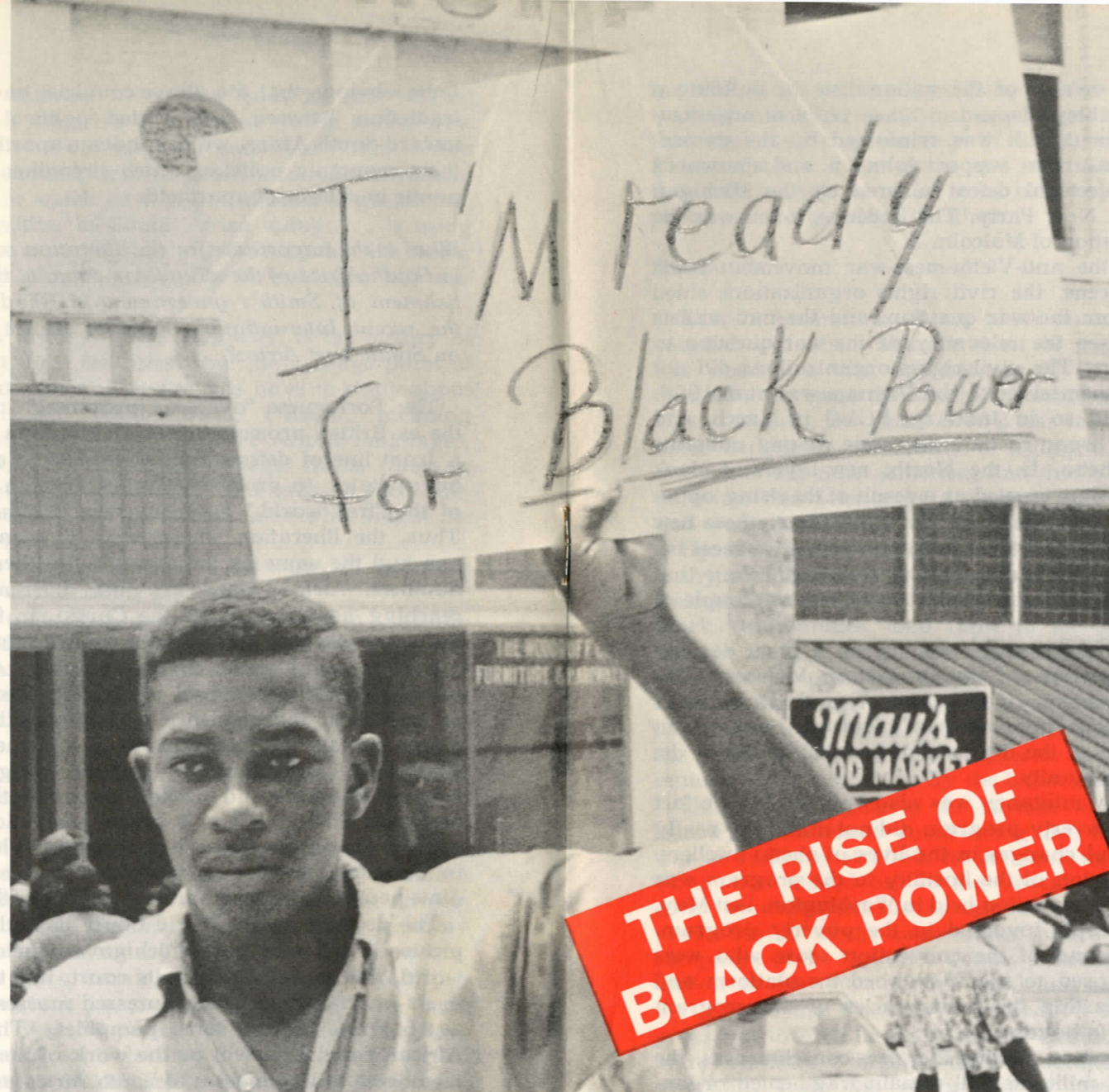
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consciousness and pride, rejection of white society and Western culture, and the ideas of black leadership, all-black organization and black control of the ghetto, are essential to the efforts of black people in mounting an effective struggle against this racist society. Acceptance of these ideas has radicalized their thinking about the Negro struggle, increasing their interest in such formations as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, and other organizations that are arising out of the new nationalist mood.

The Struggle in the North

Over the past two years, the northern ghettos have become increasingly explosive. Black people who live in the ghetto have become fed up with the inhuman conditions that prevail. Eruptions have occurred not only in the big ghettos but in small ones as well. Little known towns where everybody thought all was well have been put to the torch. No city or town with a sizable Negro population can escape the specter of a black rebellion. The local law enforcement agencies have replied brutally and harshly to any manifestation of discontent.

Owing to the explosive and rebellious atmosphere, the city and state governments, and especially the federal government, are trying to put a lid on imminent explosions by providing safety valves of various sorts. One of the most important of these is the war on poverty program. This program was designed to capture ghetto militants and potential militants by giving some a chance to go to college, by sending some to workcamps to learn a so-called trade, and by involving a great many in community work.

The community work consists of providing recreational centers for teenagers, showing Negro youth various areas of job opportunity, bringing this or that aspect of ghetto life to the attention of the local administration, helping Negro dropouts to complete their high school education, tutoring students that go to ghetto schools and a host of other projects that get some people into motion, and raise the hopes and expectations of many others. None of them, however, really get to the root of the problem or change conditions in a fundamental way.

In 1965, the year it was initiated, the poverty program reached its height of attraction. That was also the year that saw few really militant activities or mass demonstrations. The only exceptions were the Selma to Montgomery march in February which forced the voting rights legislation, and the explosion in Watts.

One of the main reasons for this turn from militant activity toward reformism in 1965 was the big support drummed up for LBJ by the civil rights organizations (in order to defeat Goldwater),

and the default of the nationalists in building a really viable independent black political organization. This default was reinforced by the tremendous pressure to support Johnson, and afterwards by the electoral defeat suffered by the Michigan Freedom Now Party. The finishing touch was the assassination of Malcolm X.

When the anti-Vietnamese-war movement burst on the scene, the civil rights organizations shied away from the war question, and the nationalists did not see the relevancy of the war question to the ghetto. The civil rights organizations did not address themselves to the Vietnam war until 1966. SNCC did so in January, SCLC in March, and the war began to be a big issue among militants in the ghetto. In the North, new layers of black militants were created as a result of the rising opposition to the war. At the same time, these new militants possessed a nationalist consciousness because of the widespread nationalist feeling that has permeated the ghetto over the past couple of years.

This consciousness was helped a great deal by the publication of two books on Malcolm—*The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and *Malcolm X Speaks*. The popularity of these two books is an indication of the depth of nationalist trends in the black community.

The new militancy was also spurred by the fact that the poverty program did not make any really meaningful changes in the lives of ghetto dwellers. An indication of the hostility to the program was seen at a convention held in Washington, last May, of the people involved in the poverty program. Near the end of the convention those who were not supposed to speak grabbed the platform and began blasting the inadequacies of the program from top to bottom.

Nevertheless, despite this new consciousness, the northern militants still remain fragmented organizationally, lacking any real authoritative leadership and having no guidelines or orientation as to what to do. There are small isolated organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Watts and other cities. There are also many independent militants or nationalists who are looking for something to do and who are not satisfied with the organizations that exist.

The organizational weakness of the northern movement has been alleviated somewhat with the left turn in CORE and this may open up possibilities for the future. However, even though CORE has taken on a new militancy in the ideological field, it has tremendous problems. The new turn has taken many members by surprise. A lot of them still carry around the ideas prevalent before the big change and do not understand what is going on; some have dropped out; and those who were purged from the organization in the past

for their militancy are now being welcomed back.

CORE has entered upon a new stage, but it will take time and a great deal of discussion before it can project a program and an organization that will be able to make some headway into the problems of organizing the ghetto.

The South

SNCC's promotion of the black power slogan, coupled with their abandonment of nonviolence, has opened a cleavage between SNCC and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC. Over the past few years SNCC has learned from bitter experience the futility of trying to integrate into white capitalist America, and the irrationality of using nonviolence in a country that was built and perpetuates itself on the element of violence.

The changes in SNCC started last winter when many members felt the necessity, as a result of concrete experiences, of using black organizers in black communities, and came to the conclusion that the idea of integration was utopian and irrelevant to the problems of the black people. They came to see more clearly the similarities between the situation of black people in this country and the people of the colonial world who have suffered centuries of exploitation by the imperialist powers.

This motion came to the surface when SNCC issued its statement condemning the Vietnamese war in January of 1966. At the same time, Julian Bond was kicked out of the Georgia legislature when he expressed his agreement with the statement. SNCC again came under attack over the campaign of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the latter part of April and early May. SNCC and the Freedom Organization urged Negroes not to vote in the Alabama Democratic primary on May 3 because the Democratic Party is controlled from top to bottom by racists. This precipitated a head-on collision with Martin Luther King and SCLC, who were urging Negroes to participate in the primaries and to vote for Attorney General Richmond Flowers rather than the more obnoxious Lurleen Wallace.

After the primary, in which Wallace won by a great majority, King made the statement that he might encourage Negroes to support Lurleen in November if she made some moves in the direction of the civil rights movement. That is the logic of lesser-evilism in politics.

At a SNCC conference held in Nashville in the middle of May, Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of SNCC over John Lewis. This signified the predominance of those pressing for a militant nationalist course. Then, at the beginning of June SNCC assumed an even more independent direction with the denunciation of the White House Conference on civil rights as a fraud and a sham.

And finally, the motion in SNCC received national prominence when the demand for black power was popularized in the Meredith Mississippi march.

Now, as a result of the course pursued by SNCC, it can relate more and more to the real interests of the black southern masses, and could address itself to, and get a following in, the northern ghettos.

SNCC and National Politics

At a meeting in Detroit, Stokely Carmichael came out and attacked the Democratic Party on a national and local scale, and declared it to be the most treacherous enemy of the Negro. Yet, in the same speech, he used Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, a prominent New York Democrat, as an example of real black power because Powell can supposedly say anything he wants. Carmichael also came out at the end of the speech and endorsed the Rev. Albert B. Cleage who was running for a Congressional nomination in the Democratic Party.

When Carmichael spoke at an informal meeting to a cross-section of the black nationalists in Detroit, he seemed to indicate that SNCC's main concern is with the South, and that the task of building a cohesive movement in the North will be up to the northern militants. He also said that what northern militants should be doing is organizing the Negro community around any and every issue that gets people in motion.

Carmichael's remarks at these two meetings make it clear that SNCC's attitude on independent political action is at best a tactical one, and that for the moment, the southern organization does not intend to organize militants in the North. SNCC is still in the process of shifting and sifting its political ideas. Like CORE, it has come a long way, but still has a long way to go, and the organization is under tremendous pressures from within and from without. The resignations of John Lewis, former chairman of SNCC, and Julian Bond, former SNCC publicity director, are symptomatic of unsettled differences within the organization over the black power course.

Lewis stated that SNCC was guilty of "fumbling the ball" after the Meredith march, and that he adhered to nonviolence. Bond explained after he resigned that he was worried over SNCC's financial position, and that SNCC could say the same thing it is saying now but in a different way and thereby keep its financial support. With Bond out, more liberal funds will be cut off, putting more strain on the organization.

The recent arrests of Carmichael and other SNCC militants for supposedly causing the eruption in Atlanta have added more hostile pressures, and these arrests coincide with similar attacks on militants in Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago. This attack on SNCC is occurring after a witchhunt

atmosphere has been created by the press and the federal government over the militant turn in SNCC and CORE. The ruling class has sought to create the impression that ghetto rebellions are ignited by black militants rather than the socio-economic conditions that exist in the ghetto. In the face of these attacks, a campaign should be mounted by black militants and sympathetic whites to raise funds for the defense of SNCC and other militants victimized by the ruling class.

The Black Panther Party

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, popularly known as the Black Panther Party, is the most significant black political development since the Michigan Freedom Now Party. It is a genuine working class political organization, and since its inception in the latter part of 1965, the black people in Lowndes have built the organization and provided the leadership.

It was through Lowndes County that the Selma to Montgomery march took place in February of 1965. Lowndes was also the place where Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a Detroit housewife, and Jonathan Daniels, a white SNCC worker, were brutally murdered by white racists. These killings probably played a big part in convincing the people of Lowndes of the need for self-defense.

On the initiative of the people of Lowndes, the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights was formed in March, 1965, to help register voters. SNCC came onto the scene in Lowndes at the time of the first meeting of the Christian Movement, and decided after that to stay and help organize the county.

A significant section of the black population participated in protest actions of various types for the next several months, and because of this, political lessons were learned collectively and in a militant

manner. The fact that their protests did not wring any concessions from the racist administration forced the people to see the need to run and control their own community, and this realization was prompted by their numerical strength and voting capacity.

It is not a coincidence that this militancy and the formation of an independent black party corresponded with the radical changes that took place in SNCC in the fall and winter of 1965. In some cases, the formation of the new party inspired SNCC in taking its new black power course. Lowndes is the only real example of black power, where black people have declared their independence and are seeking to control the area in which they live. SNCC's accumulated experiences in the South, and its new course helped in generating and in articulating the positions that the people in Lowndes were taking.

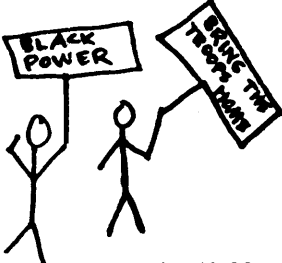
One of the main reasons for the survival of the Black Panther Party is its leadership. This made the difference between success in Lowndes, and failure to build Panther parties in Dallas, Wilcox, and Green counties, three neighboring counties in which SNCC has worked. Most of the leadership in Lowndes has had previous experience in the civil rights struggle from the time of the Montgomery bus boycott to the present. As the only concrete manifestation of black power, the example of Lowndes should provide a source of inspiration for militants in other parts of the South and in the North. The best aid that black militants elsewhere can give to Lowndes is to begin to construct a national Black Panther Party.

King and SCLC

SCLC, King's organization, has not changed its general outlook or its direction, but feels the pressure of the new militancy. It still holds to the idea of nonviolence, becoming increasingly isolated as the movement makes the shift to self-defense. King has taken on the role of troubleshooter for the Johnson administration, trying to channel the potential for rebellion in the ghetto into nonviolent channels. His main efforts so far have been in Chicago where he has led open housing marches into the white suburbs.

When the explosions occurred in Chicago and Atlanta, each time King tried to counsel nonviolence and each time he was not listened to, although he was partially successful after repeated attempts in Chicago. In the upsurge around black power, King has tried to adopt some of the language and a few of the ideas but has condemned the use of the term black power. In actuality, he still believes that Negroes must rely on liberals and the federal government in order to get equality. Although he enjoys wide popularity North and South, King is

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coming under more open attacks and criticism by the militants. Fannie Lou Hamer touched a nerve cord when she stated at the CORE convention that King was running too many errands for Johnson.

The Vietnam War

In the area of independent non-electoral political activity, the war in Vietnam can be expected to become a major focus as more and more black youth are dragooned into the armed forces and obliged to play a role in Vietnam that is all out of proportion to their numbers in the States. There have been estimates that put the percentage of black troops on the front line in Vietnam as high as 75 percent. When the United States government invaded Santo Domingo, 40 percent of the 20,000 troops were black. This points to the Pentagon's effort to make sure that black people identify with, and are well integrated into, the counter-revolutionary force that Washington is molding to stop the advance of the colonial revolution. But, while the role of the Negro in the armed forces is being intensified, the protests against Jim Crow conditions at home are becoming more militant, and a contradiction is being created that will eventually explode in Washington's face.

The mounting sentiment against the war among black people can be measured by the fact that the civil rights organizations, along with many nationalists, are addressing themselves to the war question. A year and a half ago, the civil rights organizations would not touch the war issue, fearful that some of their funds might be withheld or that their lines to the White House might be cut off. Many nationalists avoided the question because they felt that it was not relevant to the black man's problem and that the war was purely the white man's concern. The ghettos' opposition to the war will continue to deepen, but only when the organizational weakness in the North is overcome will there be a *real* vehicle through which black people can express themselves on the war.

Independent Political Action

The key to the next step in the Negro struggle is the recognition by black people of the need to break from the Democratic Party and to set up their own independent political organization. It was the failure to fully understand this idea that broke the back of the nationalist movement in 1964, and precipitated the relative quiescence among civil rights organizations in 1965. Conversely, it was the partial understanding of independent political action that led to an upturn in the nationalist movement in the latter part of 1963 and the early part of 1964; and right now, it is the existence of an independent black political party that spearheads the motion of SNCC and CORE towards black power.

However, the concept of independent politics is still unclear and confused in the minds of many militants. Most of them can see why a black political formation was necessary in Lowndes, but cannot see why such a formation is necessary for the northern ghettos stretching from Harlem to Watts. In fact, some will say that independent political action is not only running candidates outside the Democratic Party, but running militant candidates inside the Democratic Party. This confusion on the question of independent politics can partly be attributed to SNCC's equivocation on the question, brandishing the example of Lowndes while at the same time supporting such figures as Powell and Cleage. More basically though, the reluctance to undertake the task of constructing a black political organization is rooted in the material circumstances of the ghetto. To build such an organization one would have to confront the powerful Democratic Party machine, the influence of which is widespread and deep as a result of its ability to capture and manipulate people with the almighty dollar. In addition, there is the Negro middle-class, which has a direct stake in maintaining the coalition within the Democratic Party, and which will blunt any effort to build a real alternative to the status quo.

The federal government's poverty programs also help to undercut the attractiveness of independent action. In addition, the ingrained idea that Negroes as a minority can never do anything by themselves and must depend on the willingness and readiness of the white majority to help is also a restraining element.

Coupled with these factors are the attempts by the ruling class to victimize militants it cannot buy out. Malcolm's assassination, the frame-up of militants in Detroit for inciting a riot the city said never happened and the arrest of Carmichael in Atlanta for supposedly starting the eruption in that ghetto, are just a few examples.

Before mass independent political action will occur in the northern and southern ghettos, there will have to be widespread protests in which the people will begin to understand that they must take over the direction and control of the ghetto. Along with these events, there will have to emerge a revolutionary leadership, conscious enough to stand up to the pressures and able to organize these mass struggles and provide a program that corresponds to the needs of the masses. The maturation of this leadership will be most important not only to the efforts of the black people, but also to the struggles unleashed by the whole working class. The combination of this subjective factor with the objective conditions can produce an organization that will directly challenge the hegemony of the white ruling class over the ghetto.

...Independent Politics

(continued from p. 8)

of Negroes, labor, Dixiecrats and capitalists was created in the Democratic Party to support Roosevelt in 1936.

By shifting the image of the Democratic Party a little to the left and by making direct appeals to the workers, Roosevelt, with the backing of the labor bureaucrats and the Socialist and Communist parties, was able to ward off the formation of a labor party.

Independent Black Political Action

Since the thirties and forties, the strongest motion toward independent struggle has come from black people. It is no accident that the first working-class party to appear with roots in the community is the all-black party in Lowndes. The high level of consciousness of the black people in this country is reflected in the slogan of black power. Black people know they have a common identity and suffer a common exploitation, and they know they have reason to organize themselves independently to fight for their freedom. Many have learned that moral appeals to the Democratic Party administration and liberal politicians do not bring progress. This continually impels them toward political action independent of the two major parties. Thus we see the development of nationalism, Malcolm X, and now a more militant CORE and SNCC. Malcolm X, whose ideas are now even more respected and followed than during his lifetime, never wavered in his understanding that the Democratic Party is the enemy of the Negro people, and he continually pointed this out.

At the same time, it should always be remembered that while black people feel the need for independence, there is constant pressure on them not to separate from the Democratic Party because they are a minority. The rulers of this country are never negligent in stressing this point and using whatever means they can to keep black people from breaking—bribery, force, smears in the press, etc.—just as they have done in Lowndes County. However, just as Negroes are a majority in Lowndes County, they are becoming majorities or near majorities in many large cities, and this represents a great potential political power.

Just as important in terms of political power is the fact that the Democratic Party is dependent on the Negro people to win elections. If the Negroes break, on a national scale, from the Democratic Party, it cannot win. Thus, even though they are a minority, black people have the power to destroy the Democratic Party and the two-party system which is so useful to the ruling class.

The impact of such a development could be tremendous because the white workers would no

longer be able to look to the Democratic Party as a winning party. In such a situation (and in general), would the white American workers be capable of forming either a labor or socialist party and becoming allies of the Negroes?

The Canadian NDP

A partial answer to this question can be found by looking at what has happened in Canada, a country where the objective situation is very much like our own. In Canada, when sections of the working class began to realize that the Liberal and Conservative parties were taking measures that severely threatened the unions, they formed a labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP). This party, like the Labor Party in Britain, is based on the trade unions which have huge blocs of votes and carry considerable weight in making party policy.

Although the NDP is relatively conservative and bureaucratic, it makes a big difference in the political climate. Just the existence of the party raises the class consciousness of the workers to a political level and puts before them the possibility of fighting for their rights through their own party. They can be active in the party, working in their own trade unions to effect party policy.

More important, the New Democratic Party, as a political organization of workers, takes Canada's working class just one step closer to a mass revolutionary socialist party. Socialists in Canada can say to the workers in the NDP, "We've got a workers' party. Now let's adopt a program for the party which is really in the interests of the workers. Let's get more participation from the rank and file and build a real movement, not just an election machine. Let's build a left wing in the party which can fight to give the party a socialist perspective."

The ultimate goal of socialists is to build revolutionary socialist mass organizations which can change this society. Labor parties such as the Canadian NDP are important steps in this direction—but without the intervention of revolutionary socialists fighting within them for socialist policies they are unable to solve any basic problems. The crisis of the Labor Party in England is an example of this. The British economic crisis is being handled by the Labor Party leadership with pro-capitalist policies—wage freezes, etc.—and the workers are losing their confidence in this leadership.

In the United States, the union movement does not look like it is ready to take the step which the Canadian unions have taken. But such things are hard to predict. There are indications which point to the possibility of such a development. Not only are the black people of this country finding that the Democratic Party is not serving their interests, but the battles developing on the union level are

exposing once again the anti-labor practices of the Democratic administration. Workers are coming up against government intervention in strike after strike.

The threat of legislation to halt the airline strike was a perfect example. The airline industry agreed to bargain with all the machinists of the various airline companies at once, because they expected the government to intervene and force the machinists back to work. But the workers refused to buckle under tremendous government pressure and fought their way through to a substantial victory. As a result of the strike, there were even demands from some of the machinist locals of the west coast for a labor party.

The rising death toll of American GI's in Vietnam and the increase in the draft, along with the rapid rise in prices, cannot help but have an impact on American workers. These effects of the war could help to spark resistance by labor, a resistance which would aid any motion toward independent political action.

"Using" the Democratic Party

There is a tendency on the part of many people to say that while they understand the need to build an independent workers' party, it does not look like such a party is coming into being right now, and that we should go where the masses are—in the Democratic Party—and use the Democratic Party to help us put across our program.

What they do not realize is that if your main programmatic point is the need to organize the masses of workers into a party independent of

the ruling class, then by joining the Democratic Party, you contradict your basic program and create illusions about who controls the Democratic Party. Stokely Carmichael has said that asking the Negroes to join the Democratic Party is like asking the Jews to join the Nazi Party. In the long run, it is not much different to ask workers, who represent the majority of the electorate, to block with a tiny group of capitalists and politicians on the terms of the latter.

It is impossible to predict when a development toward a mass working-class party might take place. But socialists should start educating now on the need for one, so that when the time does come, they will be in the best position to help build such a party.

In the meantime, socialists need to remain independent in action and thinking from the Democratic Party, and do whatever they can to support developments such as the Black Panther Party which point the way toward mass working-class organizations. We should tell the story of the Black Panther Party, try to educate people to its meaning, and send any material aid we can.

It is important not to romanticize the Black Panther Party or to gloss over its problems. We must be aware of the fact that it is isolated in the sense that there are no other parties similar to it in the country, and that there are great pressures on it. A recognition of this helps us to see more clearly the tremendous contribution that the people of Lowndes are making to the long-run struggle for working-class political organizations independent of the ruling class.

MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

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

ANTIOCH: YSA, c/o Rick Wadsworth, Antioch Student Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio

BERKELEY-OAKLAND: YSA, c/o Derrel Myers, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, tel. 843-6082

U. of Cal.: Pete Camejo, 2418-1/2 Roosevelt Ave., Berkeley, tel. 843-6165

BOSTON: YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, tel. 491-8893

M.I.T.: Nat London, tel. 354-1999

Harvard-Radcliffe: tel. 868-3021

CHICAGO: YSA, 302 S. Canal St., Rm 204, tel. 939-5044

Roosevelt U.: c/o Activities Office, 403 S. Michigan Ave.

University of Illinois Chicago Campus: Richard Hill, 3039 W. Walton, tel. 533-6811

CLEVELAND: YSA, E. V. Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., tel. 791-1669

DENVER: YSA, Box 2649, Denver, Colo.

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward Ave., tel. TE1-6135

Wayne State U.: YSA, Box 49, Mackenzie Hall, WSU

KENT (Ohio): YSA, c/o Barbara Brock, Student Activities Center, Kent State U.

LOS ANGELES: YSA, c/o Mike Goldman, 1702 E. 4th St., tel. AN 9-4953

Cal State College at L. A.: Vic Dinnerstein, tel. WE 1-4779

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

MILWAUKEE: YSA, 150 E. Juneau, Rm 310, tel. 645-5069

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL: YSA, c/o Charlie Bolduc, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm 240, tel. FE 2-7781

U. of Minn.: Lara Eckert, 2124 11th Ave. S., #3, tel. 338-4186

NEW YORK: YSA, 873 Broadway, tel. 982-6051

Queens College: Dave Frankel, 139-45 85th Drive, tel. OL 7-9182

Columbia: Caroline Jenness, 314 E. 11th St., tel. GR 3-1387

City College: Wendy Reissner, 430 W. 46th St., tel. CI 6-2348

PHILADELPHIA: YSA, c/o John Benson, 440 N. 38th St., tel. EV 6-7699

PORTLAND: YSA, c/o Bill Blau, P.O. Box 17154, Kenton Station, Portland, Oregon, tel. 289-4223

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

SAN FRANCISCO: YSA, 1733 Waller St., tel. 752-1790

S. F. State College: Paul McKnight, 625 Ashbury, #12, tel. KL 2-2838

SAN JOSE: YSA, c/o Beverly Bernardo, 239 S. 4th St., tel. 294-2640

SEATTLE: YSA, c/o Syd Stapleton, 4134-A Brooklyn Ave. N.E., tel. LA 2-4325

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Leon Fredrich, 1116 25th St. N.W., #3, tel. 965-8986

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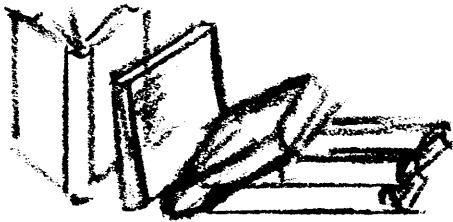
TORONTO: Young Socialist Forum, 32 Cecil St., tel. 924-0028

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

EDMONTON: Young Socialist Forum, Box 476, Edmonton, Alberta

MONTREAL: La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, 66 ouest rue Guilbault,

tel. 884-7742



Politics and Morality

(*Their Morals and Ours: Marxist versus Liberal Views on Morality: Four Essays* by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey and George Novack, Merit Publishers, 5 E. 3rd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 78 pages, 75 cents.)

A deep-going concern about questions of morality in relation to politics is a characteristic feature of the new radicals. This concern grows out of the advanced state of decay of the society in which we have all grown up.

A poll taken by Opinion Research Corporation late last year illustrates how obvious the corruption of American capitalist society is to almost everyone. One of the survey questions concerned the truthfulness of official U. S. information about Vietnam. Only 15% believed that the government was "always" truthful, 13% thought the government was "almost never" truthful and 67% believed that it was only "sometimes" truthful.

Other examples are easy to find. For instance, the label "Madison Avenue" has come to be a shorthand social critique of the morally rotten society in which we live.

Thus, it is not surprising that America's new generation of radicals should be so concerned with avoiding contamination by the vulgar values of the foe.

If we add to this the besmirchment of Marxism that has been Stalinism's contribution to world history, then it is not surprising to find that many of the new radicals do not turn to Marxist materialism in their search for an answer to their ethical dilemma.

In his introduction to the four essays on morality and politics contained in this new little book, George Novack writes:

"Few questions trouble the New Radicals of the 1960's as much as

the relations between morality and politics. Can these two aspects of human activity be reconciled and harmonized—or must they remain insuperably opposed to each other?

"The perfidious record of Stalinism and the subservience of the reformist socialists to the cold war policies of Washington have led many young militants to believe that Marxist theory fails to solve this dilemma. So they look elsewhere, hoping to find an answer to this vexing problem in pacifism, existentialism, pure moralism, activism without an ideology or program, and even in a reversion to religious faith."

The issues of politics and morality are faced squarely in these four essays. Together they form an exciting debate on liberal, Stalinist and Marxist morality.

"Bolshevik Amoralism"

Leon Trotsky dealt with the question of morality in the late 1930's, an era when many liberals and radicals were being compelled to examine the ethical basis of their radicalism. Stalin's Moscow purge trials, in which the Soviet bureaucratic clique attempted to rid itself of all possible opposition by murdering the leading members of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, caused many liberal moralists to take up their pens to condemn what they labeled "Bolshevik amorality."

In "Their Morals and Ours," Trotsky first disposes of the simple-minded attempts of liberals and others to blame Stalinism, the negation of Marxism, on Lenin and Trotsky's revolutionary Bolshevik Party.

"Stalinist frame-ups are not a fruit of Bolshevik 'amoralism'; no, like all important events in history, they are a product of the concrete social struggle, and the most perfidious and

severest of all, at that; the struggle of a new aristocracy against the masses that raised it to power."

"Russia took the greatest leap in history, a leap in which the most progressive forces of the country found their expression. Now in the current reaction, the sweep of which is proportionate to the sweep of the revolution, backwardness is taking its revenge. Stalinism embodies this reaction. The barbarism of old Russian history upon new social bases seems yet more disgusting since it is constrained to conceal itself in hypocrisy unprecedented in history."

Ends and Means

Trotsky surveys the world political scene, and with devastating irony, exposes the moral precepts of those who find Bolshevik morality—whether they understand it or not—so repugnant. He then goes on to deal with the difficult ethical problem of means and ends:

"A means can be justified only by its end. But the end in its turn needs to be justified. From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of man over nature and to the abolition of the power of man over man. . . .

"That is permissible . . . which *really* leads to the liberation of mankind. Since this end can be achieved only through revolution, the liberating morality of necessity is endowed with a revolutionary character. . . . It deduces a rule for conduct from the laws of the development of society, thus primarily from the class struggle, this law of all laws. . . .

"Permissible and obligatory are those and only those means . . . which unite the revolutionary proletariat, fill their hearts with irreconcilable hostility to oppression, teach them contempt for official morality and its democratic echoers, imbue them with consciousness of their own historic mission, raise their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice in the struggle. Precisely from this, it flows that not all means are permissible. When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us, the conclusion

follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organization, replacing it by worship for the 'leaders'. . . ."

Following "Their Morals and Ours" is a second essay by Trotsky which continues his defense of a dialectical materialist approach to moral problems, polemicizing against several ex-revolutionaries who had moved towards the capitalist camp and embraced bourgeois morality.

Next comes a friendly critique of Trotsky's outlook on ethics by the instrumentalist philosopher, John Dewey.

Trotsky had meant to reply to the questions posed by Dewey's essay, but he was unable to in the short time before he fell victim to the pickaxe of Stalin's agent, Jacques Mor-nard.

Because of the incompleteness of this debate and the timely pertinence of the problems raised in the Trotsky-Dewey exchange, George Novack, who is one of America's most outstanding Marxist intellectuals, undertook a reply to Dewey for the Fall, 1965, *International Socialist Review*. This essay, "Liberal Morality," completes the debate.

Dewey Replies

In "Means and Ends," Dewey disputes Trotsky's views on morality, discussing the relationship between ends and means. Dewey agrees that the end is the only possible justification for the means. He also agrees that means and ends constantly change places, with ends becoming the means to further ends.

However, Dewey questions whether class struggle can be validly shown to be the means to the agreed upon end. He states his case this way:

"This increase of the power of man over nature, accompanying the abolition of the power of man over man, seems accordingly to be *the end*—that is, an end which does not need itself to be justified, but which is the justification of the ends that are, in

turn, means to it. It may also be added that others than Marxians might accept this formulation of *the end* and hold it expresses the moral interest of society—if not the historic interest—and not merely and exclusively that of the proletariat. . . .

"One would expect, then, that with the idea of the liberation of mankind as the end-in-view, there would be an examination of *all* means that are likely to attain this end without any fixed preconception as to what they *must* be, and that every suggested means would be weighed and judged on the express ground of the consequences it is likely to produce."

"From the Marxist point of view, which expresses the historical interests of the proletariat, the end is justified if it leads to increasing the power of man over nature and to the abolition of the power of man over man."

Novack argues against Dewey's pragmatic approach:

"The instrumentalists talk as though it were possible, and necessary, for people to start afresh on every occasion, confronting the world around them empty-handed and empty-headed. This is essentially a denial of the value of all acquired knowledge, all scientific methods, and even of the results of induction." Novack describes how Marxists have determined through their accumulated experience that the working class must ultimately be looked to as the agency of social change.

In stating that "others that Marxians" can affirm the increase of man's power over nature and the termination of the power of man over man as the goal of moral activity, Dewey is correct. However, he implies that, whether Marxist or non-Marxist, this

would be an arbitrary and a-historic choice.

Nevertheless, it would be difficult to imagine, say, Plato or Aristotle—living in a time of slaves, masters and primitive technology—envisioning the possibility of man's conquest of nature and the abolition of social oppression. It would be folly to think that they might have affirmed this as the goal of all moral activity.

Only since the advent of the working class and the breakthrough to modern science in the last 150 years has this goal presented itself to mankind. As Marx put it, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve, since the problems themselves arise only when the material conditions necessary for their solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. Thus, it is not true, as Dewey claims, that Trotsky is formulating a final end for moral activity. Once attained, the end will become the means to a further end which cannot be known to us because the material conditions by which it could be known are neither present nor in the formative process. Only speculation is possible in this area, only guesswork.

Novack takes up the point of how moralities are developed and justified in his essay:

"Engels concluded that all moralities and their theoretical justifications have been products of the economic stage society reached at that particular epoch. Since civilized society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms and continues to do so, all morality has been and must necessarily be class morality. 'It has either justified the domination and interests of the ruling class, or, as soon as the oppressed class becomes powerful enough, it has represented the revolt against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed.' Thus his materialist explanation for the changes and diversity in moral judgments also provides the justification for new and higher ones."

Taken together, these four essays should provide the reader with a stimulating introduction to the difference between bourgeois and revolutionary morality.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

...Notes

(continued from p. 2)

Poverty Strikes in the State Department: Dean Rusk has taken a courageous stand in the face of adversity. Despite the fact that he has exhausted his savings, and is now forced to live on his salary, he told a press conference in Washington that he will stick it out as long as possible. Rusk indicated a reluctance to deprive the American people of his talents, but also remarked, "Like many other fathers, I'll have two youngsters in college this fall." Mr. Rusk is trying to survive on a little over \$700 a week.

Massive Protests by Argentine Students: A running battle, already of a month's duration, has developed between Argentina's 150,000 students and the military dictatorship of Lieut. Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía. Onganía's government closed the universities on August 1, and later reopened part of them only on the condition that the students and faculty sign oaths of loyalty to the military regime. Massive resignations and demonstrations have been met with police assaults, tear gas and arrests. In spite of the attacks, which have already resulted in the death of one student, the protests have shown no sign of waning. The demands of the students have been, "Down with the Dictatorship," and "Books and Autonomy, Si. Boots, No!"

New Motion Filed in Sobell Case: In affidavits attached to a motion to reopen the Sobell case, two leading atomic scientists have stated that there is not now nor was there ever a "secret of the atomic bomb." Dr. Phillip Morrison, a probable co-holder of the patent on the Nagasaki bomb, and Dr. Henry Linschitz, who helped construct the bomb at Los Alamos, called the sketch which the Rosenbergs were accused of passing to the Soviet Union a "caricature of no value."

Thirteen years after the execution of the Rosenbergs, and in Morton Sobell's seventeenth year of imprisonment, it is finally becoming clear to a growing number of people that the defendants were innocent as they always claimed. The anti-communist hysteria of the McCarthy era produced one of the most vicious frame-ups in history and the Committee to Free Morton Sobell is still working to undo the results.

SDS National Convention Meets: The National Convention of Students for a Democratic Society, which met in Iowa the last week in August, spent many long hours discussing the draft, electoral action, internal organization, and the Radical Ed-

ucation Project. Although many problems that were bothering delegates were left unresolved, SDS went on record as opposed to the draft for the Vietnam war, and placed high priority on internal education for the coming year.

In addition to the election of national officers, the last session passed motions of support for the Fort Hood Three, and for Joe Johnson's fight against deportation.

Former YSA Leader Runs for Governor of New York: The New York Young Socialist Alliance has endorsed the Socialist Workers Party's gubernatorial slate running in this fall's election. Two former YSA National Committee members are on the ticket. Judy White, 28, is running for governor and Ralph Levitt, 27, one of the defendants in the famous University of Indiana "sedition" case is the party's choice for controller.

The only tendency in the antiwar movement to run a statewide alternative to the three major pro-war capitalist parties, the SWP has already received the endorsement of such socialist scholars as Maxwell Geismar, Paul Sweezy, John Gerassi and Jose Iglesias.

Judy White, the former co-chairman of the Greater Boston Area Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, is the youngest candidate ever to contest the governorship. She has demanded from the State Board of Election the mailing addresses of all the New York GI's registered as absentee voters. She has pointed out that they more than any other New York voters have the right to receive her campaign literature telling the truth about the racist imperialist war in Vietnam and demanding that GI's be brought home.

Campaign literature, brochures, buttons and stickers are available from Rita Shaw, Campaign Manager, SWP Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, New York.

Judy White for Governor of New York.



World-Wide Protests Over Conviction of Hugo Blanco: The trial and conviction of Hugo Blanco, the revolutionary socialist leader of Peru's peasant struggles in 1961 and 1962, has evoked protests in countries around the world. While the kangaroo court-martial of Blanco and 27 co-defendants was still under way in the isolated Peruvian town of Tacna, an amnesty petition circulated at the Socialist Scholars Conference in New York was signed by 400 participants, and a distinguished group of French intellectuals, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone Signoret, Andre Breton, and Francois Maspero, sent a telegram of protest to President Belaunde Terry of Peru.

On Sept. 8, Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in El Fronton, the notorious prison in Lima's harbor, and the reaction among Peru's students and unionists was swift. Advertisements were placed in Lima papers demanding immediate amnesty for Blanco and the other prisoners.

Solitary Confinement for Long Island Criminals: Five students in Oyster Bay, New York, have found that crime does not pay. The five youths have been isolated from their classmates, refused access to water fountains and restricted to one trip to the bathroom a day. Listing long hair as the offense, the principal of the high school charged that the "disruptive" young men were "upsetting the morale of the students, distracting the teachers, and adversely affecting the quality of the teachers' work." A petition is being circulated to free the victims.

YSA National Committee Meets in New York: Young Socialist Alliance National Committee members, representing some 20 local organizations, met in a between conventions plenum on September 17 and 18 to hear and discuss full reports on the recent progress of the antiwar movement, the Negro struggle, the Bloomington case, and other aspects of the political situation in the U.S. today. During the two day meeting, the YSA National Committee sent messages of support to both the Fort Hood Three and SNCC.

Sunshine and Politics: Over 200 people traveled from points as far away as Vancouver and San Diego to attend this year's West Coast Vacation School, a 10 day encampment in the Santa Cruz Mountains. The encampment was highlighted by lectures that tended to break up the dreary routine of swimming, hiking, volleyball, baseball, delicious meals and political discussion. In addition to a panel of antiwar activists, James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman and National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party respectively, were among the featured speakers.

Attack Opened on Atlanta SNCC: The shooting of Harold Prather by Atlanta's racist cops and the subsequent arrest of SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael and 14 others on charges of inciting to riot, are part of a mounting nation-wide attack on SNCC.

In the Atlanta ghetto, demonstrations took place after Prather, a 25 year old Negro, was shot four times by the local cops. The protest was broken up by 400 to 500 police with tear gas, clubs and machine guns, after the 1500 angry demonstrators refused to disperse. The facts surrounding the case make it clear that the arrests of Carmichael and the others were motivated by the intention to crush SNCC because of its uncompromising stand for black power and against the Vietnam war. They coincide with police frame-ups of other SNCC members in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Watts.

Contributions and telegrams of support can be sent to Atlanta SNCC, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313.

Summer Demonstrations Open New Areas: The August 6-9 Days of Protest saw a tremendous jump in antiwar activity, especially when compared to the summer of 1965. The three days of demonstrations involved 25,000 in New York, 7,000 in San Francisco, and many thousands more in cities and towns all over the country. In some areas, such as Cleveland, the protests broke all previous records for attendance, and many cities held their first demonstrations during those days.

Immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and political freedom for GI's were the central demands of almost every demonstration, and relatives of the Fort Hood Three spoke in seven different cities. The ever broadening base of the U.S. antiwar movement was indicated by the large numbers of demonstrators involved for the first time and by the participation of many speakers representing the civil rights movement.

Defend the Fort Hood Three!: As the *Young Socialist* went to press it was learned that the three courageous GI's who have been court-martialed for refusal to go to Vietnam, the Fort Hood Three, are being subjected to barbarous treatment in the stockade at Fort Meade. Among other things, they are forced to stand all day in their cells, and forbidden to even lean against the walls. To eat, they have to place their plates on the floor or the toilet bowl.

Protests should be sent to Col. Cunningham, Fort George Meade, Maryland, and contributions for the further legal defense of the three GI's should be sent to the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

—SYD STAPLETON



NEW STAGE IN THE BLOOMINGTON CASE

Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan in
Bloomington court room, March 1964.

On November 4, 1966, the U.S. Federal District Court in Indianapolis, Indiana, will be asked to declare the 1951 Indiana Anti-Communism Act unconstitutional.

It is under this law that Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham and Tom Morgan, three University of Indiana students, and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, were indicted in the spring of 1963, for "attending a meeting where violent overthrow of the government was advocated." The meeting referred to was a public speech, attended by more than 100 people, at which a national officer of the YSA said that black people must use their constitutional right of self-defense to protect themselves against racist violence.

In the summer of 1963 this first indictment was thrown out of court, and the local prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley, secured a second indictment under the same law.

In March, 1964, a local judge declared the section of the law under which the students were indicted unconstitutional, but a split decision by the Indiana State Supreme Court in January, 1965, reversed this decision.

In response to this continuing attack on their basic constitutional rights, the three students filed an appeal for an injunction from the federal court on the grounds that the law is unconstitutional. Now, after a three and a half year fight, the federal court will hear arguments on the law's constitutionality on November 4.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students was formed to help publicize the case and raise money for the students' defense. Over 1300 professors, civil libertarians, and other prominent persons throughout this country and abroad have become sponsors of the Committee. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has provided the services of the eminent constitutional attorney, Leonard Boudin. Hundreds of young people have circulated petitions, raised money, and arranged speaking engagements for the three defendants.

Do young people have a right to be socialists? Can students be criminally prosecuted for their political ideas? Does opposition to U.S. foreign policy mean a jail sentence? These are the issues at stake in the Bloomington case. A court victory on November 4 will be a victory for the basic civil liberties of all Americans and one more blow against McCarthyite witchhunting laws. You can help.

Support the Bloomington Students

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID THE BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS

Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ to help in this fight.

Please send me additional information on the case.

Name

Address

City State Zipcode



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