

YOUNG SOCIALIST

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THE PERMANENT
REVOLUTION IN
VIETNAM

YOUNG SOCIALIST

YOUNG SOCIALIST NOTES

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COVER: Two young peasant guerrilla fighters in South Vietnam.

OPPOSITION IS MOUNTING TO THE VIETNAM WAR. Below are just some of the indications:

—Support for the April 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON by thousands of students from Massachusetts to California and from Texas to Minnesota.

—The chant "Out of Saigon into Selma" heard at recent marches in support of Selma.

—The "teach-ins" attended by thousands of students at Columbia University and at the University of Michigan where some professors took a strong "get the troops out" stand.

—The statement made by a U. of Michigan freshman explaining his resignation from ROTC: "There is no honor in standing a six year old girl before a firing squad and threatening to shoot her if her mother failed to provide certain information about the VC. Our soldiers are not in the Vietnamese jungles for the United States of America. Originally they were for a petty totalitarian dictator. Now they are there for the militarists who run South Vietnam. This is what duty, honor and country have come to mean. And this is why, under present conditions, I cannot wear the uniform of the Armed Forces of the United States."

—The rallies and demonstrations which came in the wake of the first large scale bombings of North Vietnam in February.

—The sale of 8,000 copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST pamphlet, "The War in Vietnam."

—The self-immolation of Alice Herz, an 82-year-old woman in Detroit who was willing to sacrifice her life to call attention to the war.

—The sympathetic audiences drawn in the course of three Young Socialist Alliance tours on Vietnam. YSAers have been touring on the East and West Coasts and in the Midwest speaking on Vietnam and helping to organize support for the March on Washington. Doug Jenness who toured the East Coast reports that even in the "backwoods of Vermont" students are shaken up by the war in Vietnam and are questioning the policy of

(continued on page 22)



James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, on Selma to Montgomery march

Johnson and Selma

editorial

The March on Montgomery was a significant victory for the Negro movement in Alabama. It was held in spite of the opposition of Sheriff Jim Clark, who said it would "never" happen, in spite of the sadistic Col. Al Lingo and his state troopers, in spite of Governor Wallace, and in spite of the opposition of the federal government which at first brought all sorts of pressure to bear, including a court injunction, to prevent it. The march showed that Negroes can make gains if they organize and fight for their civil and human rights. It also sets a valuable precedent, making future demonstrations easier. The march has helped to build the movement.

There has been a tendency by some liberals, and even Dr. King himself, to attribute this victory to Johnson, and to blur and distort the fact that Johnson was forced by the Negro movement itself to enforce the Constitution for five days along one highway in Alabama. This tendency reached an absurd limit in a leaflet passed out in New York, which said: "Help support Johnson's voter registration drive." *Johnson's* voter registration drive! In a sermon on March 21, Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference berated SNCC for its militancy. In this speech he said that "we should display neither anger nor cynicism but at least some sense

of gratitude" toward Johnson for providing federal protection for the march.

This whole spirit and attitude turn what really happened upside down. Johnson was initially opposed to the march. The federal court which finally approved the march at first enjoined it. What changed Johnson's mind was the militancy of the Alabama Negroes, and the unprecedented wave of demonstrations in support of them that swept the country. These protests were aimed at the federal government—they demanded that Johnson act and send troops to Alabama and defend the rights of Negroes on the march. The demonstrations were provoked by the brutal attack upon the first attempted march by Col. Al Lingo's state storm-troopers. The rage felt by many was expressed by one minister on TV, who pointed his finger at the camera and shouted, "They send troops to Vietnam and not one marshal to Selma!" SNCC put the heat right on Johnson in demonstrations in Washington that included sit-ins at the White House.

Johnson's initial response came out in an angry declaration that he "would not be blackjacked" by the demonstrations. Let's make this clear—Johnson was saying that he would not be "blackjacked" into *upholding the Constitution*. But enough heat was turned on him that he *was* blackjacked by the Negroes and their supporters into protecting the march. Part of the victory of the march was that it has shown Negroes that they can make gains if they put the pressure on the source of power that defends the status quo—above all the federal government. To give Johnson the credit for what the Negroes did blunts this lesson and weakens the victory of the march.

To call on Negroes to feel "gratitude" to Johnson because he was blackjacked into defending their Constitutional rights for five days, is to imply that Negroes are not really entitled to their constitutional rights all the time—and that when the Great White Father decides to permit them a few, they should be grateful. Do whites walk around being "grateful" to Johnson for permitting them to enjoy the rights of citizens? Negroes have every right to be angry with Johnson because he doesn't enforce their rights all the time, in every state. Now is not the time to be singing Lyndon's praises, but to be demanding that he enforce the right to vote everywhere, that he provide adequate protection for Negroes attacked by racists all the time—that democracy be introduced into the South, using an occupation force of U.S. troops as is plainly necessary.

No Negro should ever have to thank anyone for *not* denying him his rights, or for "permitting" him to vote, or for "giving" him his rights.



James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, on Selma to Montgomery march

IN TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X



Malcolm X speaking in Cleveland shortly after his break with the Nation of Islam

BY JACK BARNES

National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

The following article is excerpts from a speech delivered by Jack Barnes at a memorial meeting for Malcolm X held by the New York Militant Labor Forum on March 5, 1965.

* * *

I would like to speak tonight not only for the socialist youth of the Young Socialist Alliance, but also for the young revolutionists in our movement around the world who would want to speak at a memorial for Malcolm X but who cannot be here. This is especially true of those in Africa, the Middle East, France, and England, who recently had a chance to see and hear Malcolm.

Malcolm was the leader of the struggle for black liberation. He was, as stated at his funeral by Ossie Davis, the black shining prince, the manhood of the Harlems of the world. To his people he first and foremost belongs.

But he was also the teacher, inspirer and leader of a much smaller group, the revolutionary socialist youth of America. He was to us the face and the authentic voice of the forces of the American revolution. And above all, he spoke the truth for our generation of revolutionists.

What attracted revolutionary youth to Malcolm X? More important, what often made youth—including white youth—who listened to him, revolutionists? I think there were two main things. First, he spoke the simple truth—unadorned, unvarnished and uncompromising. Second, was the evolution and content of Malcolm's political thought.

Malcolm saw the depth of the hypocrisy and falsehood that covers the real social relations in American society. To him the key was not so much the lies that the ruling class and its spokesmen propagated, but the lies and the falsehoods

about themselves, their past and their potentialities, that the oppressed accepted.

Malcolm's message to the ghetto, his agitation against racism, was a special kind. What he had to say and what he did stemmed from a study of the history of the Afro-Americans. He explained that in order for black Americans to know what to do — to know how to go about winning freedom — they had to first answer three questions: Where did you come from? How did you get here? Who is responsible for your condition?

Malcolm's truth was so explosive because it stemmed from a careful study of how the Afro-American was enslaved and de-humanized. He publicized the facts that have been suppressed from the regular history books—that have been kept out of the schools.

While in the Black Muslims and after he left, Malcolm taught that the process by which the Africans were made into slaves was one of de-humanizing them. Through barbarous cruelty, comparable to the worst Nazi concentration camps, they were taught to fear the white man. They were systemically stripped of their language, culture, history, names, religion, of all connections with their home in Africa—of their identity. They were named "Negro" signifying this lack of identity, this denial of their African origin.

Especially after their "emancipation" they were taught the Christianity of meekness and submission and of their reward in heaven. They were taught that Africa was a jungle where people lived in mud huts and that the white man had done them a great favor in bringing them to America.

He asked the black American: Who taught you to hate yourself? Who taught you to be pacifist? Was *he* a pacifist? Who said black people cannot defend themselves? Does he defend himself? Who taught you not to go too far too fast in your fight for freedom?—Did he stand to lose something by the speed of your victory? Who taught you to vote for the fox to escape the wolf? What does the fox give you in return?

All these questions and so many more needed no answers. All the questions were directed to those who had nothing to lose, no stake in the system as it exists now.

His political thought was the other important thing in the development of those who were taught by him. First, he believed in and explained the need for Afro-American unity. He said, base your alliances on your own unity, and reject unconditionally any degrading or compromising alliances. Because it is only upon the basis of this unity, and the dignity and self-respect that goes along with it, that the battle for freedom can be waged. Those who would by-pass this step would

condemn the black Americans to be a tail to the kite of other more conservative forces.

"We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves." Malcolm knew that Afro-Americans had enough of this kind of unity—with the liberals, the Communist Party, with the Socialist Party.

Secondly, he spoke of self-defense, and the real meaning of violence. He continually pointed out that the source of violence was the oppressor, not the oppressed. He continually pointed to the use of violence by the oppressor. Out of one side of its mouth the government and the press preach pacifism to the American Negro, out of the other side comes the cold announcement that they will destroy as many North Vietnamese as they want to, any time they feel like it. Malcolm never tired of pointing out the hypocrisy of this form of pacifism, its ineffectuality and its degrading and masochistic character.

Malcolm told us, at the first Militant Labor Forum at which he spoke, that "If George Washington didn't get independence in this country non-violently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look on them as patriots and heroes, then it is time for you to realize that I have studied your books well . . . No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped you and me fight for our freedom. When it comes to black freedom, he freedom rides and sits-in. He is non-violent. He sings We shall Overcome and all that sort of stuff. But when the property of the white man is threatened, or his freedom is threatened, he's not non-violent."

Thirdly, unlike any other black leader, and unlike any other mass leader in my life-time, he continually exposed the real role of the Democratic Party, and pointed to the mistake in believing the federal government of this country would free the Afro-American. He said, "The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, and the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use—they blame the Dixiecrats. But a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise . . . Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border."

Malcolm X always sought to expose those who were really responsible for maintaining the racism of this society and not to direct his fire at the puppets. When New York Police Commissioner Murphy attacked him and others as "irresponsible," Malcolm responded that Murphy was only doing

his job; Mayor Wagner, Murphy's boss was the one responsible for the charge, he said.

Malcolm never tired of explaining and demonstrating that it was the federal government headed by President Johnson that was responsible for maintaining racism in the North and South. In doing this he showed the continuity of the treatment of Negroes as less than human, and the responsibility of those who run this society for the condition of black people. As one of his followers, Benjamin, pointed out at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, the North is responsible for the racism in the South, "they won the civil war."

It was in talking about the Democratic Party that another aspect of Malcolm came clearly to the fore. This was his ability to translate the complicated and important ideas which he developed and absorbed into the language of those he knew would change the world and the stress he placed on communicating with his audience. The ability to speak clearly to the oppressed has been the unique genius of all great revolutionary leaders in history.

The Militant reported that Malcolm spoke of President Johnson at his press conference as being hypocritical, and pointed out that LBJ's closest friend in the Senate, Richard Russell, was leading the fight against the civil rights bill. Malcolm was challenged by a reporter who doubted that Johnson's friendship with Russell proved anything. Malcolm looked at him with the usual smile and said, off the cuff, "If you tell me you are against robbing banks, and your best friend is Jesse James, I have grounds to doubt your sincerity."

The final point in his political development

which was so important for the education of those young people who followed him, looked to him, and in many ways were educated by him, was his revolutionary internationalism.

Malcolm gave at least three reasons for his international outlook. First, was the common identity of the power structure which practiced racism in this country and which practiced imperialism abroad. "This system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world," he said.

Second, only through Afro-Americans realizing that they were part of a great majority of non-whites in the world who were fighting for and winning freedom would they have the courage to fight the battle for freedom with whatever means necessary.

Malcolm said that "Among the so-called Negroes in this country, as a rule the civil rights groups, those who believe in civil rights, they spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic, confined to the boundaries of America, and they always look upon themselves on the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So a black man standing upon that stage in America automatically is in a minority. He is the underdog and in his struggle he always has a begging, hat-in-hand approach." But he said, "We don't beg, we don't thank you for giving us what you should have given us a hundred years ago."

Last was the fact that in the final analysis freedom could only be won in one place when it was won everywhere. In Africa, he said, "Our problem is your problem . . . your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected, until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings."

Though Malcolm X came from the American ghetto, spoke for the American ghetto and directed his message to the American ghetto first of all, he is a figure of world importance, and developed in relation to the great events of world history in his time.

If Malcolm X is to be compared with any international figure the most striking parallel is with Fidel Castro. Both of them belong to the generation that was shaped ideologically under the twin circumstances of World War II and the monstrous betrayals and defaults of the Stalinized Communist Parties. These men found their way independently to the revolutionary struggle. Both bypassed Social-Democracy and Stalinism.

Each started from the struggle of his own oppressed people for liberation. Each embraced the nationalism of his people as necessary to mobil-



Jack Barnes speaking at Malcolm X memorial

ize them to struggle for their freedom. Each stressed the importance of the solidarity of the oppressed all over the world in their struggle against a common oppressor.

Fidel did not start out as a thorough-going Marxist, as a revolutionary socialist. But, like Malcolm, he was determined to pursue the national liberation of his people by "whatever means necessary" and without any compromises with those with any stake in the *status quo*.

Fidel Castro's dedication to political independence and to economic development for Cuba led him eventually to opposition to capitalism. So also Malcolm's uncompromising stand against racism brought him to identify with the revolutions of the colonial people who were turning against capitalism, and finally to conclude that the elimination of capitalism in this country was necessary for freedom. Just as Fidel Castro discovered that there can be no political independence and economic development in a colonial country without breaking from capitalism, so Malcolm had come to the conclusion that capitalism and racism were so entangled in the United States that you had to uproot the system in order to eliminate racism.

Malcolm's black nationalism was aimed at preparing black people to struggle for their freedom. "The greatest mistake of the movement," he said in an interview in the February 25 *Village Voice*, "has been trying to organize sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action." "Wake them up to their exploitation?" the interviewer asked. "No, to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage" he answered.

All he said to the black people was designed to raise their confidence, to organize them independently of those who oppressed them, to teach them who their enemies were, who was responsible for their condition; who were their allies. He explained that they were part of the great majority—the non-whites and the oppressed of the world. He taught that freedom could be won only by fighting for it; it has never been given to anyone. He explained that it could only be won by making a real revolution that uproots and changes the entire economic, social and political structure of this society.

Thus it is not surprising that many who considered themselves socialists, radicals and even Marxists could not recognize and identify with Malcolm's revolutionary character. They could not recognize the revolutionary content of this great leader clothed in the new forms, language, and dark colors of the American proletarian ghetto.

Even with all his uniqueness and greatness as an individual, he could not have reached this understanding unless the conditions in this country were such that it was possible. Even though no one can fill his shoes, the fact that he did what he did, developed as the revolutionary leader he was, is the proof of more Malcolms to come.

He was a proof like Fidel was a proof. Fidel stood up 90 miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world and thumbed his nose and showed us, "see, it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever."

Malcolm went even further than Fidel. Because Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was the living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here.

Our job, the job of the YSA, is to teach the revolutionary youth of this country to tell the difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor, to teach them to differentiate the forces of liberation from the forces of the exploiters; to teach them to hear the voices of the revolution regardless of the forms they take; to teach them to differentiate between the self-defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor; to teach them to refuse to give an inch to white liberalism and to reach out to Malcolm's heirs, the vanguard of the ghetto, as brothers and comrades.

Two Speeches By Malcolm X

25 cents

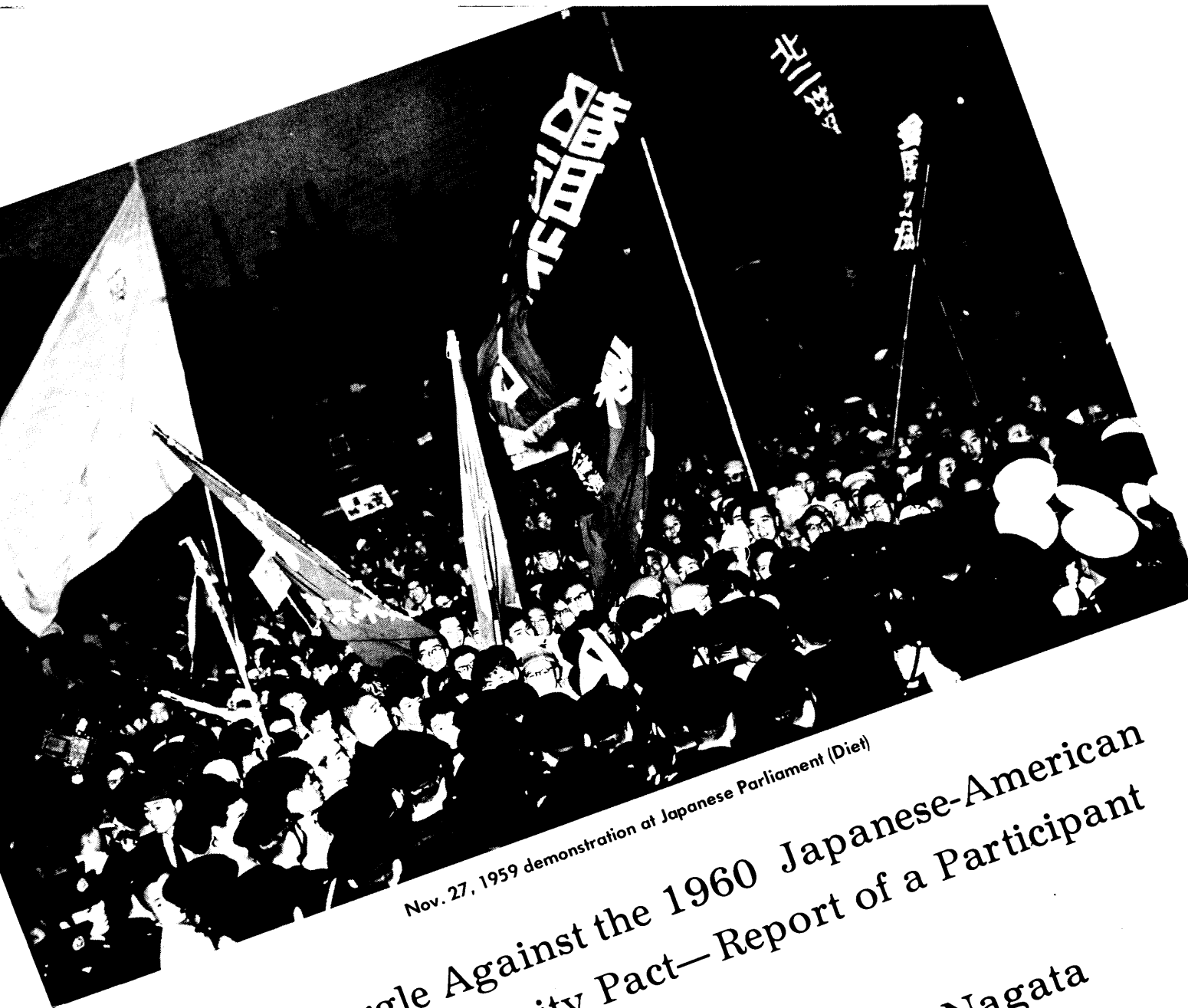
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Nov. 27, 1959 demonstration at Japanese Parliament (Diet)

The Struggle Against the 1960 Japanese-American Security Pact—Report of a Participant

By Ei Nagata

Ei Nagata graduated from Waseda University in Tokyo in 1958. While he was a student, he was a member of Zengakuren (National Federation of Student Self-Government Associations). After the demonstrations against the U.S.-Japanese security treaty in 1960 he was expelled from the Japanese Communist Party for supporting the Zengakuren in the demonstrations, and for his general opposition to the policies of the JCP (of course, he was branded a "Trotskyist" by the JCP leaders, who also by this time similarly branded the Zengakuren itself.).

* * *

November 27, 1959 dawned grey and cloudy in Tokyo. In the Japanese Parliament (the Diet),

representatives were arguing the question of reparations to Vietnam. Debate raged between Premier Kishi's Liberal Democratic Party and the opposition Japanese Socialist Party.

Outside the Diet, too, there was activity. Under the leadership of a committee formed to organize resistance to the signing of a new Japanese-American security treaty, a call had gone out for mass demonstrations to be held that afternoon all over Japan. The organization calling the demonstrations was the Anti-Security Treaty People's Committee (ASTPC). In Tokyo, they planned to demonstrate in front of the Diet building. The representatives in the Diet, placing their confidence in the police, were certain that the demonstration would be peaceful. The leaders of the demonstra-

tion, from the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), Sohyo (the Central Labor Union in Tokyo), and various peace groups, thought the demonstration would be peaceful. There were 5,000 police on hand, who set up barricades at the three entrances to the Diet in readiness for the worst.

By 2 p.m. demonstrators had begun to fill the three broad streets leading to the Diet. Soon the streets were jammed to overflowing. Although the ASTPC leadership had expected just 20,000 people, more than 80,000 were present. The streets were a surging tidal wave of groups chanting protests, waving labor union flags and school banners, and holding anti-Kishi and anti-treaty placards aloft. Some of the banners read: "No Security Treaty!", "Down With Imperialism!" and "Overthrow Kishi Cabinet!"

At 2:30 the mass protest rally began. The police strengthened their barricades with trucks at strategic points. The demonstrators on one of the three streets leading to the Diet began to march toward the police barricades. In the lead of this group were Zengakuren contingents from Tokyo University and Waseda University, and the Metal Workers Union.

When they reached the police a violent clash occurred. Amidst shouts the demonstrators overwhelmed the cops and drove them back. The front line of students swarmed over the trucks with their blue Zengakuren flags. Workers with their arms locked together followed the students. The workers were stimulated by the example of the militant students, and their pent-up anger exploded as they pressed the police back, carrying their union flags.

From one of the other streets, with students and workers from small and medium enterprises in the front, another group of demonstrators came from the other direction and the two groups surrounded the police. This was a new experience for the police, who had always been able to smash any demonstration. They lost their will to fight, and stood aside while the demonstrators entered the Diet's premises. The third group, from the remaining street, rushed into the Diet's grounds through a small gate. Zengakuren students were also in the front of this group.

Never before in Japanese history had a mass demonstration entered the traditionally sacrosanct premises in defiance of the law. The demonstrators linked arms and whirled around the front square of the Diet in a zig-zag line, shouting in unison "No Security Treaty!" The cry thundered round the walls of the Diet.

The representatives within the Diet building were startled by the noise. One representative, his face turning red from the excitement, shouted "Mr.

Chairman! Terrible! Stop the proceedings!" Some legislators left the regular meeting room and looked down at the zig-zag demonstrations in the front square.

Rushing back into the room, they cried "Chairman! Chairman! There is a terrible riot outside!"

"It's a revolution! Chairman! Chairman!" The 70-year-old chairman was astounded. He became frightened and was not able to move for a few minutes, and he slipped when he started to get off his chair. The entire meeting room was thrown into confusion.

Outside, too, there was confusion. The leaders of ASTPC were as frightened by the militant action of the students and workers as the representatives. The secretary of the Sohyo labor federation appealed to the demonstrators from a sound truck: "Our purpose of petition today was accomplished. Let's break up and go home." He was joined by JCP and JSP leaders who pleaded for "law and order." The militants shouted back: "Why do we have to break up? Let's have a protest meeting here! Let's sit-in here! Pull out Kishi!" But the ASTPC leaders succeeded in creating enough confusion so that a majority of the demonstrators left the Diet grounds. The militant workers and the Zengakuren discovered the enemy in their own camp. The leaders of the JCP, JSP and Sohyo revealed themselves as opponents of the militants. Zengakuren continued the protest meeting on the Diet grounds until nightfall.

That day over 350,000 Japanese had marched in demonstrations all over the country, in Osaka and Kyoto, and in the smaller towns of several provinces. Zengakuren itself mobilized 180,000.

The next morning Kishi's party attacked the demonstrators for breaking into the sanctuary of the Diet. Tokyo police raided Zengakuren headquarters and arrested 3 leaders. Newspapers joined in the attack, charging "mass terrorism" and "anarchism." The Japanese Communist Party also chimed in: "The Trotskyists, who are dangerous ultra-leftists, disorganized the united movement with provocative actions . . . Zengakuren is a cat's paw of the imperialists." The JSP and Sohyo requested Zengakuren to leave ASTPC. JSP and Sohyo decided to switch tactics, and not to engage in any more demonstrations at the Diet. The JCP also decided that demonstrations at the diet were taboo, and ASTPC did not call for another one until April, 1960.

The so-called "affair of breaking into the Diet" caused tremendous shock and confusion to the Japanese ruling class, which desired the new security treaty because it gave to them certain powers and a cover behind which to re-arm. They passed a special bill called the "demonstrations control

law" to contain the growing mass resistance.

The shock and confusion in the traditional workers' parties demonstrated their inability to lead in the situation. Their attacks upon the demonstrators, and their switch in tactics, contained the mass unrest and blunted the development of the rising political consciousness of the workers. Just when the workers were combining economic with political demands, and showing a readiness to carry out militant political demonstrations, the "leaders" of the JCP and JSP tried to stop political demonstrations. These policies prepared the defeat of the anti-treaty movement.

Only the Zengakuren prepared for the "re-breaking into the Diet demonstration." But their isolation meant that plans for the demonstration had to be abandoned.

On January 6, 1960, Foreign Minister Fujiyama announced the completion of negotiations with the American ambassador, Douglas MacArthur, Jr. Premier Kishi prepared to leave Japan on January 16 for the signing of the Security Treaty in Washington. ASTPC at first called for a demonstration at the airport, but on January 14 the national leaders of ASTPC voted to oppose a Zengakuren motion, supported by workers' representatives from Osaka and Hiroshima, to carry out the demonstration.

Under attack since the Diet demonstration, Zengakuren had split. The majority tendency decided to carry on the demonstration against Kishi at the Haneda airport alone.

It was raining in Tokyo on January 15. The students arrived at Haneda airport by bus at 11 p.m. They immediately collided with a strong police line and broke through it, rushing into the terminal building. There were 700 students and more police. The students built barricades at the stairway leading to the lobby to block Kishi and his party, but the police pushed them into the airport restaurant. A violent struggle between the students and the cops raged for an hour and a half, until reinforced police broke the windows of the restaurant and pulled the students out. They arrested 76 students.

Kishi finally left at 8 early next morning under a heavy guard.

Kishi's return on January 24 signaled another Zengakuren zig-zag demonstration of 600 students in the streets of Tokyo. They shouted "Don't excuse the signing of the treaty! Destroy the Kishi cabinet!"

A general lull in demonstrations then occurred as students dispersed during the University vacation between terms, in February and March. ASTPC was not active, although severe criticism of the leaders was evident in the ranks for the

failure to participate in the Haneda demonstration.

On the other hand, the government needed "democratic" discussion of the treaty and the approval of the Diet. This presented some difficulty, because it was clear that the opposition parties would put up a battle against the treaty. On February 19, the debate on the treaty was begun and it lasted until May 19, when it was ratified by a government maneuver.

Only one major demonstration occurred during this period, on April 26. The ASTPC marched to the Diet to present over a million signatures to JCP and JCP representatives on petitions opposing the treaty. ASTPC reported that the number of participants was 80,000. The Zengakuren demonstrated at another gate to the Diet grounds, and clashed with police.

On May 14, ASTPC held another march to the Diet in the rain. The 100,000 participants presented many more petitions. The real nature of "public sentiment" on the treaty was expressed in the 13,500,000 signatures that now stood witness.

Nevertheless, on May 19 the treaty was adopted. The opposition parties had blocked the passage of the treaty so far. The government party attempted to extend the special session, scheduled to end on May 19, of debate of the treaty. Learning of the plan, the JSP and JCP representatives tried to forcibly prevent the extension of the session by stopping the chairman from reaching the meeting room. A violent struggle broke out between the opposing representatives that lasted all afternoon and into the evening. At 9:30 the police were called in and the opposition representatives were thrown out. As soon as the police had removed the opposition, the secretaries and the bodyguards for the government side ran into the Chairman's room and carried him into the meeting room where only the government party sat. The old chairman grasped the microphone and declared, "We extend the session for 50 days." "Agree, agree!" roared back the representatives. During the roaring, the chairman said a few words. "Agree, agree!" the representatives again roared—and only then did they realize that they had just passed the security treaty. Even some of the government party representatives left the room in disgust.

TV and radio reported the passage immediately, and within the hour 30,000 demonstrators spontaneously appeared at the Diet. In angry voices they shouted "No Security Treaty!" and "Kill Kishi!"

The next day, anger spread through the country. The government's removal of the opposition by force and the ram-rodging of the treaty roused the people's anger. Over 100,000 people demonstrated that day. At night, Zengakuren demonstrated

at the Prime Minister's residence. They got over the fence and rushed into the garden where they clashed with police. As a result, 200 were injured. Fierce demonstrations at Kishi's house continued for two weeks.

On June 4 Sohyo called for a political general strike against the treaty. There were 3,600,000 participants from the 57 Sohyo unions, including unions of workers in nationalized industries—railroad, postal, telephone, and coal mine workers. Another million who took part were from 19 unions of a second labor federation; half a million more were from Zengakuren and various peace groups; and still another half million were from the ranks of unorganized workers and shopkeepers. All told, more than 5,600,000 left their jobs for the day, bringing the country to a virtual standstill.

On June 10, 15,000 demonstrators met the plane of Eisenhower's press secretary James Hagerty. He was surrounded, but managed to escape to the U.S. consulate by helicopter. The next day 235,000 workers and students marched through the streets of Tokyo.

And on June 15 another general strike took 3,800,000 workers off the job. One hundred thousand marched that day, the size of the hard core of militants. Eight thousand Zengakuren students made a demonstration at the Diet. At 5 p.m. they tried to take the doors from the gates. The police aimed fire hoses at the students, who fought back with paving stones. At 7 p.m. the students were battering down the gate with telephone poles, when police turned on them furiously, beating, kicking,

and swinging their clubs. They trampled over the injured to get at the uninjured. After twenty minutes of combat, the police succeeded in pushing the students back from the gate. All but one.

Dead lay Michiko Kamba, a 22-year-old girl student.

At the news of the murder, the students who were pushed out of the gate reorganized and forced their way back in and held a protest meeting. One of the leaders shouted "Take off your helmets, policemen. Pray in silence!"

At 10 o'clock the policemen attacked them a second time. One force of cops attacked from the front and one from behind, and brutally beat the demonstrators. One thousand students were injured, a few so severely that they lost their eyesight.

Shocked and frightened by the demonstrations, Kishi urged Eisenhower not to make his scheduled visit to Japan. He had been due to arrive on the 19th, the day the treaty took effect, to play golf with Kishi and inspect U.S. military installations. The junket was called off.

On June 18, the last demonstration against the treaty took place, as 330,000 marched to the Diet.

Although many workers, students, intellectuals and citizens fought hard in the explosive struggle against the new security treaty for seven months, the militant Zengakuren was isolated and the struggle was blunted by the traditional workers' parties, and the Kishi government was able to ram through the treaty. (Data from *The Anti-Security Treaty Struggle* compiled by Takesaburo Ide)

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BY DOUG JENNESS

The war the peasant guerrillas are waging in South Vietnam is part of the colonial revolution which has swept the world since World War II. It is a war for national liberation and independence from foreign rule, whether French or American. It is also a war for a land reform for the poor peasants.

The demands of national independence and land reform were raised by the American and French Revolutions of the eighteenth century — revolutions which ended up with the establishment of capitalism. But the revolution going on now in Vietnam is *against* capitalism and against the world's greatest capitalist power, the U.S. Just why this is so can be understood by looking at the facts of the history of Vietnam under French and American domination.

Before France conquered Cochin China (southern section of Indochina) and defeated guerrilla resistance in Annam and Tonkin (central and northern sections) in 1888, most Vietnamese peasants lived in self-sufficient feudal villages. Each village maintained communal lands which were periodically divided among the peasants to supplement their private lots. Communal land was also set aside for the support of the old and the poor, and village granaries were maintained to provide against famines. Each village paid taxes and provided men for labor and military service to the imperial government. The Emperor, with whom religious and civil power rested, and his bureaucracy of mandarins lived plush lives at the expense of the village farmers. Limited trade was carried on between villages, and the villagers suffered the cultural backwardness of feudal isolation.

The French conquest destroyed this ancient economic and social structure, and replaced it with a system that resulted in even worse conditions for the Vietnamese peasants.

French businessmen took sections of land in Cochin China and established large rubber plantations. Ellen Hammer (*The Struggle for Indo-China*, 1954) quotes Roland Dorgeles from his book *Sur la Route Mandarine* (1925) on this "miracle of rubber":

"Less than forty years ago, there was not a rubber tree in the colony . . . Today rubber trees can be counted by the millions on immense plantations . . . [This was accomplished] despite sickness, despite the flight of coolies, despite years of drought, despite plants which died, despite storms which ruined roads, despite fires which devastated the land, despite everything . . . and these miser-

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM



able lands which were not worth a piastre bring fortunes: ships take on rubber at Saigon by the thousands of tons."

It is important to point out that these fortunes were made by French entrepreneurs and did not benefit the Vietnamese. The French recruited peasants from the villages of Tonkin in the north and forced them to leave their homes to work under a semi-military system. "They were bound by three-year contracts which gave their employers the right to regulate their labor by force," writes Dr. Hammer. "They lived and worked under the most miserable conditions."

The pattern of land distribution was upset, and the gap between rich and poor grew wider. Hammer writes:

"Cochin China was the center of French economic activity in Indochina. The abundant benefits of usury, combined with the French practice of granting extensive concessions in undeveloped land to French companies and rich Vietnamese, led to the development of many large estates owned by absentee landlords. These estates were worked by tenant farmers and landless agricultural laborers. The *ta dien* or sharecropper, worked between 60 and 80 per cent of the Cochin Chinese farmland. He generally had to give far more than half of his annual harvest to his landlord, partly as rent, partly as usurious interest."

Many of these large estates, in turn, fell into the hands of the all-powerful French-owned Bank of Indochina. This bank had interests in many other estates through mortgages and loans. Many of the communal lands were sold to speculators. Mandarins and village notables from the old society were also involved in this speculation.

The feudal relations on the land which existed before the French came to Indochina were broken up. In their place was substituted capitalist relations of a certain type: land could be bought and sold; a class of capitalist landlords and speculators developed; and the mass of peasants became either tenant farmers, landless agricultural workers, or owners of very small plots of land.

Peasant and laborer alike suffered from a number of direct and indirect taxes which were similar to taxes imposed on French peasants before the French Revolution. Public works such as roads and railroads were built by Vietnamese labor from the taxes paid by impoverished Vietnamese peasants and workers. Roads and railways were of little benefit to the mass of Vietnamese, who had neither money, vehicles, nor passports to travel. They only benefited the plantation owners and French colonial tourists.

The French colonial administration held a monopoly on salt, opium, and alcohol, and had a

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The French colonial administration held a monopoly on salt, opium, and alcohol, and had a

substantial interest in spreading the use of opium and alcohol. The fact that smoking of opium was a criminal offense in France but was fostered for financial reasons in Indochina points up the moral hypocrisy of French rule.

A significant result of French colonial domination was that the Vietnamese were almost entirely excluded from the control and the profits of the modern economic enterprises brought in by the French. No Vietnamese capitalist class developed during the entire period of French rule. Hammer states that: "Rice cultivation remained the province of the Vietnamese; the rice trade was in the hands of the Chinese. But the great rubber plantations in the south and the mines and factories in the north were French-owned. The Indochinese economy was dominated by French banks, chief among them the powerful Bank of Indochina."

A small and fairly weak class of Vietnamese landowners, officials, and intellectuals developed but was completely subservient to French rule.

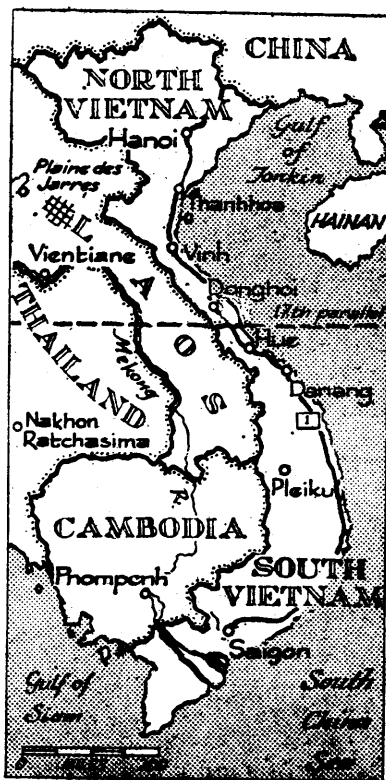
Not only was Indochina a source of cheap raw materials; it was a ready market for products manufactured in France. Held tightly within the French tariff system, the Indochinese were forced to pay higher prices than they would have paid if they had had the right to trade freely.

The French also prevented the development of parliamentary government. Dr. Hammer writes: "There was little freedom of the press or assembly. The Vietnamese were not permitted to form politi-

cal parties or trade unions and could not travel among the three Vietnamese regions without permission; to go to France they needed a police visa." She continues in a later paragraph, "The mass of the population thus had no representatives in the government either of France or Indochina."

The increasing burden of debts heaped on the shoulders of the peasants coupled with arbitrary police rule generated struggles against French rule. Although revolts, including guerrilla resistance, were not uncommon before World War I, it was not until after this war that large scale peasant revolts occurred. In the late 1920's and early 1930's major revolts flared up. Jean Goudal (*Labor Conditions in Indochina*, 1938) wrote: "The troubles which occurred in Indochina between May 1930 and June 1931 . . . would seem to indicate the existence of a real social class all suffering from the same abuses and making a collective demand for improvements. There was a definite peasants' revolt—a real *jacquerie*." These revolts were ruthlessly crushed by the French Foreign Legion, which terrorized the entire countryside killing thousands and arresting tens of thousands more.

It was not until World War II, when Japan dominated Indochina with the assistance of French collaborationists, that the movement for independence found a political leadership in the Viet Minh and grew rapidly. The Viet Minh was a coalition of nationalist organizations led by the Communist Party. When the war was over the Viet Minh under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh came to power on the wave of a popular movement. An independent government was established in August 1945 that immediately initiated reforms beneficial to the peasantry. It eliminated some of the most hated French taxes, took measures to alleviate the conditions of famine, carried out a mass campaign to wipe out illiteracy, and instituted reductions in land rent. This government, however, was thrown out and the entire peninsula reoccupied by the French with British assistance by the end of 1946. The policies of the Communist Party leaders of the Viet Minh facilitated this process. The British landed troops in Saigon in September 1945 under the Potsdam "accords" approved by Stalin. Ho Chi Minh welcomed his British "allies"—who used their troops to turn power back over to the French in the south. Ho Chi Minh, through a series of negotiations, conceded other aspects of national independence. By November 1946 the French had consolidated their position enough to militarily reconquer all of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's government was reduced to a small guerrilla band in the northern mountains,



but there remained among the peasantry millions who had tasted independence and preferred it to French rule.

In the next 8 years the Viet Minh gathered the support of the peasants and built a guerrilla army that finally defeated the French occupation army at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. In the course of this struggle the peasants appropriated land left by fleeing landlords and redistributed it among themselves. Bernard Fall (*The Two Vietnams*, 1963) states that, "the Viet Minh's [land reform] had the unique advantage of being brutal and direct: since most of the landlords had fled to Saigon, their holdings were there for the taking, and the Viet Minh could reap the propaganda proceeds by issuing new ownership certificates to the former sharecroppers or the squatters." He goes on to point out that the Viet Minh demanded no payment from the peasants for the expropriated land.

With the French almost completely defeated and the Viet Minh in control of virtually the entire country, the Geneva Conference arbitrarily divided Vietnam along the 17th parallel. Once again the Viet Minh leaders agreed to concessions which would prolong imperialist rule. The Viet Minh withdrew its military units from the south and set up a government under Ho Chi Minh in the north, while the French puppet Bao Dai headed up a southern regime. Bao Dai was soon replaced by Ngo Diem with what Bernard Fall calls "propitious American help."

The United States, which had been financing the French war since 1949 when the Chinese Revolution tore the largest and most populous land mass out of the world capitalist economy, was interested in maintaining a strategic base against China and the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia.

The French defeat meant that the U. S. government had to take on this dirty task alone. The only Vietnamese allies that the U. S. could trust were a small group of Vietnamese landowners and a handful of corrupt military officials. As a *New York Times* editorial (Feb. 10, 1965) pointed out: "Those who profit by the American presence want the United States to stay. Those who feel frustrated by American power—nationalists, communists, Buddhists, and probably the majority of the peasantry who simply ask to be left alone—want the Americans to go."

The withdrawal of Viet Minh military units from the south meant the agrarian revolution carried out by the southern peasants was exposed to attack by the American-backed landowners. Bernard Fall (*U. S. News and World Report*, Sept. 28, 1964) points out that a counter-revolution actually did occur when, "After the war against the

French was over in 1954, the big Vietnamese landlords came out of 'retirement' on the French Riviera or in Paris or in Saigon and with the help of U.S.-trained and U.S.-equipped soldiers went back into the countryside and said to the peasants: 'All right, let's have our land back, plus eight years of back rent—1946 to 1954.' When Diem initiated "land reform" it was based on this counter-revolution. Ordinance No. 2 (Jan. 7, 1955) which "limited" rental contracts to no more than 25 per cent of the crop value assumed that the landlords had taken the land back from the peasants. As the *New York Times* (April 5, 1955) remarked, "Usually it is the tenants who are most eager for land reform and the landlords who are reluctant. In the southern half of Vietnam, however, the landlords are accepting the government's land reform plan more readily than the tenants." Thus Diem's "land reform" was a counter-revolution which returned the land to the landlords. The American-backed regime simultaneously carried out a political counter-revolution, arresting thousands of peasants who had supported the Viet Minh.

David Hotham (*New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1957) states that: "Diem's army and police have been notorious for their activities in the villages—widespread arrest and imprisonment without evidence and without trial of persons suspected of being Communists or 'enemies of the state.' According to reliable sources, about 14,000 persons were arrested in central Annam alone to the time of the March, 1956 elections. Since then the process has, according to all reports, increased rather than diminished. Far from giving security, there is every reason to suppose that the army, buttressed by the Civil Guard (a sort of rural police of 50,000 men) is regarded by the southern peasant as a symbol of insecurity and repression."

Once again the peasant was subjugated to the landlord and his brutal regime—a regime armed and backed by the United States. And again the peasant began to arm and fight for land and to throw off the repressive tyranny of the landlord. Guerrilla groups were formed, grew and united in the National Liberation Front in 1960. Since then they have grown stronger and stronger, winning ever larger sections of the population, and dealing the imperialists and their puppets severe blows.

The American government has poured billions of dollars (most recent estimate is \$15 billion) of economic and military aid into Vietnam in order to suppress the guerrilla movement. None of this aid is for economic development or for increasing the living standards of the Vietnamese peasant and urban worker.

Most of this aid has been spent in building air

bases, strategic highways, and financing the Vietnamese army. Hotham estimates that 64 per cent of the aid between 1954 and 1957 was used simply to pay the wages of the 150,000-strong army. From 1955 to 1960 only 13 per cent of all American aid was available for economic and technical aid projects. One of the technical assistance projects was finger printing the population. Milton Taylor, fiscal advisor for the Vietnamese government from 1959 to 1960, in an article significantly entitled, "South Vietnam: Lavish Aid, Limited Progress" (*Pacific Affairs*, Fall, 1961) states that "45 per cent of all project aid from 1955 to 1960" went to highway construction whereas only 9 per cent was spent on agriculture. Fall (*The Two Vietnams*) points out that the south is still dependent on the U. S. for food imports despite the fact that it is primarily agricultural. Summarizing the American aid program, Milton Taylor states that, "After six years of large-scale American aid, Vietnam is becoming a permanent mendicant; certainly, if aid were eliminated tomorrow, there would be an unpaid army and unfed civilians. American aid has built a castle on sand."

It is crystal clear that Vietnam has not been permitted to develop an independent national economy either under French colonial rule or American financed dictatorships. Under French rule the resources of Indochina, both natural and human, were nakedly exploited by a small number of French capitalists. Today the South Vietnamese economy is completely dependent on American financing and benefits a small layer of corrupt government officials, military officers, and those land owners who have not yet been forced to flee the growing guerrilla movement.

Foreign domination has not only prevented the development of an independent national economy

and the construction of Vietnamese industrial enterprises but it has also been the major obstacle to land reform. Unlike in France in the eighteenth century, the struggle for land reform in Vietnam is not a struggle against feudal landlords or a feudal political regime. It is a struggle against capitalism and foreign capitalism in particular. Feudal land relations were eliminated when the French took over Indochina in the nineteenth century. The big landlords that became dominant under French rule were urban businessmen who invested capital in land. The American government has likewise supported the capitalist-landlords, first when it financed the French military effort against the Vietnamese and second by its support of the counter-revolution since 1954.

Land reform—that is, the expropriation of large landholdings and the redistribution of them among the poor farmers—could not be carried out under the French and cannot be carried out under American rule.

The struggle for land reform, then, becomes anti-capitalist in character. The only ally available to the peasants is the small urban working class. Underpaid and plagued by unemployment it also has no stake in the status quo. The inability of capitalism to solve the problems of economic development, national independence, and land reform means that the fight to solve these problems in Vietnam and the rest of the colonial world becomes inextricably linked with the fight for socialism. The social problems that the French and American revolutions resolved in the eighteenth century can be resolved in the twentieth century only by an *uninterrupted* or *permanent* revolution where a revolution for land reform, national independence, etc., grows over into a socialist revolution.

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This historical generalization was first formulated by Leon Trotsky in 1905 when he explained that the Russian Revolution against the Czar would become *permanent* and socialist in character. His theory became fact in October, 1917, and has since been confirmed in China and Cuba and is currently being demonstrated in Vietnam. Besides these positive confirmations of Trotsky's formulation, it has also been demonstrated by negative examples. The independence struggle in India successfully removed the British flag but failed to eliminate domination by British and other foreign capital. Consequently the problems of land reform and economic development as well as *complete* independence still exist. When the permanent revolution is delayed and stopped short of the socialist revolution the elementary democratic demands remain unfulfilled, and the struggle will break out again.

It is the tendency of the colonial revolution to move toward socialism that worries the American ruling class and threatens to tear more and more countries out of the world capitalist economy. The American war in Vietnam is only part of a general policy to halt the colonial revolution and, if possible, to roll it back, reopening areas like China to foreign capitalist domination.

It is a necessity for modern capitalism to expand its markets in order to have arenas to invest surplus capital, outlets for surplus commodities, and control of sources of raw materials. The Chinese Revolution was a bitter blow to American capitalists not only because it meant the loss of a large potential area for investments, markets, and resources, but also because of the powerful example it gave to the whole colonial revolution. The United States fought Japan during World War II over the question of which group of capitalists would dominate China and all of Asia.

The tendency for colonial revolutions to become socialist conflicts sharply with the necessary expansion of capitalism. This is the source of the American policy to reopen areas like China and to prevent further extension of the colonial revolution.

South Vietnam, although not an area of heavy American investment, serves as a strategic base against China and the Asian colonial revolution. This explains the construction of fifty-nine new airfields between 1954 and 1963, the building of a complete system of strategic highways, and the announced construction of submarine bases. South Vietnam is only part of a ring of strategic bases that includes South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, and Thailand. Despite these bastions against the colonial revolution, the example of China has served to accelerate revolutionary move-

ments throughout Asia. The northern section of Vietnam has broken with capitalism and the revolution in the south is growing stronger every day. The undeniable fact that the U. S. is losing in South Vietnam explains the tactics of desperation and terror used by the American government. Napalm bombs, phosphorous, torture, "re-grouping" of the population, and most recently the use of gas and "fire-storm" bombing are employed because almost the entire population of Vietnam is hostile to the U. S. government.

The American government's impending defeat also underlies its initiation of bombing raids against Laos and North Vietnam. As the raids become more frequent and closer to northern industrial sites, the danger of escalating the conflict into a war against China becomes greater.

It is capitalism, above all American capitalism, which is the source of the oppression, misery and war in Vietnam. The U. S. war in Vietnam is part of the general struggle of capitalism against the developing colonial and socialist revolution.

The capitalist system is being fought by the Vietnamese peasants, who are fighting for the right to a decent living, for freedom from foreign rule, and for their future. Americans who oppose the U. S. suppression of these just demands, who oppose the dirty U. S. war in Vietnam, must oppose capitalism and its political parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

This horrible war is both Johnson's war and Goldwater's war. It is capitalism's war. To oppose it, a political opposition to capitalism and its parties must be built.

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The Second American Revolution



Part One: Civil War and Reconstruction

BY PETER CAMEJO

National Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance

After 1868 the American Negro enjoyed far-reaching civil rights, including the right to vote, throughout the South. Ninety-seven years later, in 1965, Negroes are being jailed, beaten and even murdered by state officials and extra-legal terrorist groups like the KKK for trying to register to vote in many Southern states. How were civil rights taken away from black Americans in the intervening period? How had the Negro won these rights originally?

The Civil War, like the First American Revolution of 1776, was a turning point in the history of the American people, altering its basic class, social and economic relations. The aftermath of the Civil War was a continuation of the social process opened up by it.

The Civil War

The economy of the slave South was based upon a few crops grown by slave labor. This kind of agriculture rapidly exhausted the land, forcing the ruling slave-owning class into a continuous search for and expansion into new fertile lands to the West.

The South sold its cotton, tobacco, etc. on the world market, and did not want any tariff barriers to free international trade to upset its competitive prices. The slave-owners also did not want to pay higher prices to Northern American indus-

trialists for needed industrial goods than could be found on the world market.

These needs of the slavocracy brought them into increasing conflict with the developing class of industrial capitalists in the Northeast. The budding industries needed a high protective tariff wall to compete with European industry. And industrial capitalism wanted tariffs and other legislation which would enable it to exploit the resources and markets within the United States, including the South and the West. Both the capitalist North and the slave South needed control of the federal government to protect their interests and further their needs.

Neither the South nor the North desired war, and for decades compromises had postponed the inevitable showdown between slavery and capitalism for hegemony in America. The two social systems carried out their gigantic duel through every ally they could find among the mass of the American people. Before 1860, the South had been able to keep the more productive and advanced social system of industrial capitalism at bay through its appeal as an agricultural economy to the huge numbers of small free farmers to the West, against the financial and industrial East. The South was able to dominate, although with an increasingly shaky majority, the government in Washington. But, as the slavocracy continued its

expansion westward, it itself came into conflict with the free farmer who wanted the same land, and the South's alliance with the small farmer was weakened and then destroyed.

The Republican Party became the vehicle of the developing alliance between the small farmer and the Northern capitalist. When it was founded in the early 1850s, the Republican Party pledged to defend free land against the further encroachment of the slave system, while at the same time it pledged to defend the economic interests of the East. The Republican victory in 1860 signified a profound change in the correlation of class forces, and a victory for the Western-Eastern alliance against the South. Lincoln's election meant that the expansion of slavery had come to an end, and slavery was doomed to strangle on its exhausted land, caught in the vise of a tariff barrier to the free international trade it depended upon. The slavocracy could not accept this outcome of the election—its one last hope lay in smashing the North by military means, and it initiated the civil war.

The forces which the South brought into the conflict were led by the slave-owning families, numbering about one-third of all white families. The slave-owners were dominated by about 1,700 families who owned more than 100 slaves apiece. The slave-owners based themselves on the labor of the 4 million blacks who made up 44 per cent of the population. The poor white farmers in the South had conflicting feelings toward the war. As poor farmers in a society dominated by rich slave-owners they had little sympathy for the cotton belt backbone of secessionists. (In Southern state conventions called to decide on secession, the poor farmers tended to vote against it. Where this vote went against them, the slave-owners over-ruled the vote.) As farmers who feared domination by the bankers, and fearful that emancipation would worsen their condition through competition with freed Negroes, they opposed the North. Throughout the war they were unreliable for the slavocracy but never sided with the Union in any significant numbers (although they disappeared in large numbers from the Confederate army and returned to their farms).

The ruling class in the North entered the war fearful of provoking social upheavals that would strengthen the new working class in the North, the small farmers or the black slaves. In the initial phases of the war Lincoln's government made pro-slavery declarations, and issued no call for social reforms which would mobilize the working people, farmers or slaves to the Union. The South, having more social homogeneity (as long as the slaves themselves had not entered the war) was able to

strike rapid blows at the North, gaining an early military superiority.

A common fallacy is that the Union did not declare for emancipation at first out of "military considerations." This argument explains how the North's tactic was to win over the border states by pledging to the slave-owners in those states that the war would not be for abolition. What is wrong with this argument is that the North's initial stand in opposition to abolition alienated the 4 million strategically placed slaves, and alienated anti-slavery feelings internationally, especially in England. The Northern line made it possible for the British ruling class to aid the South by explaining to the anti-slavery British workers that the North was not for abolition.

The "border state" policy was a very bad military policy indeed. What really lay behind Lincoln's hesitation to make the war one for abolition was the fear of the industrial capitalists of any movement for a fundamental change that would arouse the masses—such a movement might go beyond the abolition of slavery, and in any case would organize and strengthen forces which were anti-capitalist. In fact, it was the military necessities of the war itself that forced Lincoln and the North into a revolutionary position. Under pressure from Northern plebian whites who were sustaining heavy casualties, from the growing number of free Negroes who had escaped to the North, from the Abolitionists, and from the blows the South was raining down upon them, the Northern rulers were forced against their class fears to turn the war into a war for abolition. The Emancipation Proclamation, issued over two years after the war had begun, swept into the Union ranks the plebian masses, and above all, the black slaves themselves.

The Negroes had never submitted peacefully to slavery—popular mythology to the contrary. There were literally *hundreds* of revolts by slaves during the period of slavery. As the war became one for abolition, the Union tapped the potential of their fighting power, which sealed the doom of the slavocracy. The slaves revolted and deserted, disrupting the Southern economy. Many found their way into the advancing Northern army, where they became the best soldiers, the shock troops and spearhead, of the war of abolition. Lincoln once said that the North would have lost within a week if the black soldier had not entered the scale of forces. By the end of the war, *one-third* of the Union army was black.

The necessities of the conflict had bared the fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the two social systems of slavery and capitalism. The war necessarily developed into a great social movement, that smashed the slavocracy with the

power of Sherman's march through Georgia, and eradicated chattel slavery forever from the North American continent.

The War Ends

In the immediate aftermath of the war the Northern industrialists tried to halt the deepening social consequences of the civil war.

The freeing of the slaves opened up the whole question of what kind of social and economic relations would exist in the South. The ex-slaves immediately sought rights as citizens and a land reform. They wanted a division of the land to those who work it, and their cry was "forty acres and a mule." Freedmen occupied land, and armed themselves to fight off attempts by former slave-owners to take back the land. In some cases freedmen fought Federal troops over control of the land. Rallies were held and organizations formed aimed at winning civil rights for Negroes.

However, the Negroes were driven off the land as a direct result of the policy pursued by the Northern army which occupied the South. Once again fearful of possible gains being registered by the plebian masses, the North permitted the ex-slave owners and other rich elements to re-organ-

ize the smashed governmental apparatus of the South on the state level, along anti-Negro and pro-plantation policies. The best opportunity for the democratization of the South was therefore lost, and the mass of the freedmen began working for their previous owners or other land owners as a landless, voteless rural proletariat. The new Southern governments passed laws (Black Codes) making the freedmen as unfree as possible within capitalist limits. The freedman was a worker with all the disadvantages of a worker and none of the traditional advantages such as the right to choose one's employer, the right of payment for labor in cash, civil rights, freedom of movement, etc., which were denied by the Black Codes.

W. E. B. DuBois describes the situation in the South at the time of the elections of 1866: "The South, beaten in war, and socially and economically disorganized was knocking at the doors of Congress with increased political power and with a determination to restore land monopoly, and to reorganize its agrarian industry, and to attempt to restore its capital by reducing public taxation to the lowest point. Moreover, it had not given up the idea that the capital it had lost through the legal abolition of slavery, should and might be reimbursed from the Federal Treasury. Especially it was determined to use for its own ends the increased political power based on voteless Negroes."

The North, while it passed in 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment formalizing the established freedom of the slaves, otherwise marked time while it debated its future course. Two developments, however, brought a swing in the North towards the Radical wing of the Republican party in the elections of 1866. The first was the social upheaval that resulted from the war. A qualitative change took place in the consciousness of many whites in the United States when the slaves were armed in the Union army and defeated their ex-oppressors in open battle. This example was not conducive to a submissive mood among working people in general, and created respect and admiration for the Negro people that cut across decades of propaganda. The war hurt the standard of living of Northern workers and resulted in the first major drives towards unions and political activity by the working class. A general radicalization was taking place among the American people.

The second development was that the re-organization of the South on the basis of an agricultural economy of a type which no longer threatened small western farmers laid the basis for an alliance of anti-Eastern forces. This political force was strengthened by the increase in representation from the South on the basis of the freedmen. Under slavery, a slave was counted as three-fifths

During Reconstruction 16 Negroes were elected to the federal congress from the South. They were the following:

Hiram R. Revels	Senator	Mississippi	1870-1871
Blanche K. Bruce	Senator	Mississippi	1875-1881
Jefferson P. Long	Congressman	Georgia	1869-1871
Joseph H. Rainey	Congressman	South Carolina	1871-1879
Robert C. DeLarge	Congressman	South Carolina	1871-1873
Robert Brown Elliot	Congressman	South Carolina	1871-1875
Benjamin S. Turner	Congressman	Alabama	1871-1873
Josiah T. Walls	Congressman	Florida	1873-1877
Alonzo J. Ransier	Congressman	South Carolina	1871-1873
James T. Rapier	Congressman	Alabama	1873-1875
Richard H. Cain	Congressman	South Carolina	1873-1875 1877-1879
John R. Lynch	Congressman	Mississippi	1873-1877 1881-1883
Charles E. Nash	Congressman	Louisiana	1875-1877
John A. Hyman	Congressman	North Carolina	1875-1877
Jere Haralson	Congressman	Alabama	1875-1877
Robert Smalls	Congressman	South Carolina	1875-1879 1881-1887

of a citizen for purposes of determining representation in Congress. When the slaves were freed, they were counted one-for-one as citizens in determining the number of representatives from a given state. But they were still not allowed to vote.

The reaction among the ruling circles in the North was to push for more radical measures in the South that would assure the hegemony the North had won in the war. The Radical Republicans included many genuine revolutionaries, Thaddeus Stevens and others, who pushed forward the policy known as Reconstruction.

The Fourteenth Amendment was passed in 1868 to block extra representation for the South based on voteless freedmen. The Fourteenth Amendment is carefully worded so that it does not count freedmen for representation if they are not allowed to vote, but it counts European immigrants in the North even though they also could not vote. Shortly after, the Fifteenth Amendment was passed which states: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." These amendments were enforced during Reconstruction (in the Twentieth Century they have been ignored and violated, to this day).

In 1867 state constitutional conventions were called throughout the South. Delegates were democratically elected by both black and white voters who met and wrote new state constitutions. A brief democratic period—the most democratic to date—was begun in the South.

The aims of Reconstruction as the Northern industrialists saw them were to establish a governmental apparatus in the South favorable to them. In their struggle against the planter class and other landowning white racists, the Negro people embraced Northern capital in alliance against the common enemy. But the Negro people had different objectives in mind than simply opening the South up for big business. The Negroes registered, and along with poor whites, voted and began campaigning for social reforms. They established the first large public school systems in the South. They passed social legislation of all kinds, concerning housing, welfare for the aged and disabled, care of orphans, etc. They established equal justice before the law. In Louisiana and South Carolina the state constitutions made it illegal to organize segregated schools.

The other half of the alliance, capital, began investing in the South. They bought plantations, invested in small industries, laid plans for the extension of the railroads throughout the South, etc. The capitalists as a class dominated the reconstruction governments through their control of

the Republican Party. Where necessary, they engaged in bribery, ballot stuffing and other illegal means to insure favorable legislation and elect officials they backed. The bourgeois tradition of corruption in government, which has existed in all capitalist countries, and before, during and after Reconstruction, has been played up in our history books as a by-product of the Negro vote. Our historians have credited the achievements of the Negro people during Reconstruction to Northern influence and the corruption brought by Northern capital to the Negro.

As Reconstruction developed, the Negroes deepened their demands and once again raised the question of land reform. The capitalists, having broken the control of the Southern states by the former slave-owners and planters, and having established their own control assuring their national hegemony, did not want their ally, the Negro, to present a new obstacle to their desire for the growth of their investments and profits. In fact the new investors in the plantations were seeking a guarantee of cheap labor to assure substantial profits.

The former slave-owners and racist whites did not dissolve into thin air. To a certain degree the former slave masters integrated themselves with the new Southern capitalists. Others went bankrupt and became poor farmers. Throughout the period of Reconstruction a fierce resistance to Reconstruction and Negro rights was waged by racist whites, especially land-owning whites who wanted to hire cheap Negro labor. These forces maintained a constant campaign of terror against Negroes. The Federal government would not arm the Negroes for self-defense nor did it prosecute the organizational base of the anti-Reconstruction terrorists in a determined manner. They feared that such action would deepen the social movement of the poor whites and Negroes which was developing under Reconstruction.

The developing rift between Northern capital and Negro labor, and the transformation of former slave-owners as a class into capitalists or small farmers, brought about a series of events that ended Reconstruction.

The Civil War and Reconstruction were a social revolution, a revolution which mobilized millions and crushed the slave system. This revolution was to be the last great progressive movement led by the capitalist class in America—and already during it we have seen the seeds of the counter-revolution carried out by this class that ended Reconstruction and established the modern Jim Crow system. The second part of this article, to be printed in the next issue of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, will describe these events.

...NOTES

(continued from page 2)

the government. On his Midwest tour Joel Britton found strong sympathy against the war when he debated a supporter of government policy in front of an audience of a hundred at Loop Jr. College, a predominately Negro college in Chicago. Joel also spoke on campuses in Texas and Florida and reports that mounting sentiment against the war on campuses in these states is similar to that in the North.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT: Only three years ago it was considered "disruptive" to go on a peace demonstration with a sign against the war in Vietnam. On occasion these signs were even forcibly removed from the hands of their carriers by respectable peaceniks. In those days you could be for peace so long as it was for peace "in the abstract." The present protests against the concrete war in Vietnam are a big step forward.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is to be congratulated for standing tough against requests by adult peace groups to help run the March On Washington. Certainly these groups would do little but put a damper on the militant spirit of the march.

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA STUDENTS TOUR IN THE SOUTHERN, NORTHERN, EASTERN AND WESTERN UNITED STATES: Ralph Levitt and Jim Bingham, defendants in the Case of the Bloomington Students, where the three students face possible sentences for their socialist ideas, are on tour to raise money for defense and to get out the facts on the case. The first leg of Ralph's tour took in speaking engagements in Tallahassee, New Orleans, Houston, Austin, Albuquerque (New Mexico) and Tempe (Arizona). Jim's tour started in the Midwest and will end with an intensive tour of the East Coast.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students is organizing the tours and the defense of the three indicted students. For information on why this case is important and on how you can help, write to CABS, P. O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, New York.

TOM MORGAN, also a defendant in the Bloomington Case, addressed the recent Emergency Civil Liberties Committee Conference on "Democ-

racy on the Campus" in Philadelphia. Other speakers included Allen Krebs, professor fired for his political beliefs from a teaching job at Adelphi College, Robert Vogel of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and J. A. Kennedy of the University of New Mexico DuBois Club. Joan Baez spoke to the conference and added her name to the list of over 800 sponsors of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

REUBEN FRANCIS, supporter of Malcolm X, has been framed up on the charge that he shot one of the accused assassins of Malcolm X. He is being charged with doing what the police refused to do—protect Malcolm X. His case is only one of many cases against members of Malcolm's organization who are either in prison or out of prison on exorbitantly high bail. Ever since it was set up, Malcolm's Muslim Mosque has been under harassment by the police. Those interested in helping Reuben Francis to defend himself and those who would like to know more about the case should write to Reuben Francis, c/o the Theresa Hotel, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York.

The amount pledged for the spring (March through May) **YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE FUND DRIVE** has set another all-time YSA record. YSAers around the country have once again shown their seriousness by responding to the need for more funds to support the growing activities of the YSA. Here is the scoreboard as of March 31:

AREA	ACCEPTED QUOTA	AMOUNT PAID
New York-Downtown	\$500.00	\$234.00
Minneapolis-St. Paul	500.00	200.00
Detroit	500.00	155.00
Chicago	750.00	225.00
Boston	850.00	226.00
Madison	50.00	10.00
San Francisco	150.00	20.50
Berkeley	750.00	45.00
Philadelphia	100.00	5.00
Los Angeles	250.00	6.00
Ann Arbor	50.00	—
Antioch	50.00	—
Cleveland	150.00	—
Denver	25.00	—
Kent	100.00	—
New York-Uptown	250.00	—
San Jose	—	—
Seattle	25.00	—
Totals	\$5,050.00	\$1,126.50

THE CAMPAIGN against the Chase Manhattan Bank's financial support to apartheid in South Africa has helped call attention to the hypocrisy of one of our most powerful "free world" institutions. The Chase Manhattan has replied to SDS's demand to cease lending money to South Africa with the arguments that they are a financial institution and are thus politically neutral and besides, all South Africans, black or white, would suffer from a cutting off of loans. Where were these arguments four years ago when U.S. businessmen cooperated with the government in attempting to overthrow the Cuban government by not only cutting of loans and aid, but all trade as well?

In the notorious South African Robben Island prison, DR. NEVILLE ALEXANDER and ten co-defendants are still being held on trumped up charges to overthrow the apartheid government. Money is urgently needed for these defendants and their families who are fighting for their rights in South Africa itself. For more information write: Box 345, Canal St. Station, New York, N. Y.

ANOTHER YOUNG SOCIALIST ISSUE SELLS OUT: The Young Socialist had to make a second run of its March-April issue after running out of the 5,000 copies originally printed.

THE SPIRIT OF BERKELEY SPREADS . . . A number of campus fights between administration and students have broken out recently: At Brooklyn College, N.Y.—on the question of loyalty oaths. At Yale—over the denial of tenure to a popular professor. At St. Johns in N.Y.—over the right to have controversial speakers and clubs on campus.

THE NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL will be held in Algeria this year from July 28 to August 7. Those in charge of the festival expect 15,000 youth from forty countries to participate.



Free Speech demonstration at Brooklyn College

STUDENTS AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE held a mass rally on March 27 to protest the suspension of Dr. Robert M. Sitton, philosophy teacher who recently rescinded his loyalty oath. After active involvement in the civil rights movement in North Carolina last year, he feels strongly that the state loyalty oath required of all teachers in public schools and colleges in New York, "restricts the right of free speech and thought." Hundreds of students have circulated petitions and held daily vigils in his defense. As a result of his courageous stand the American Civil Liberties Union has proposed taking legal action to have the loyalty oath repealed.

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These Students Face Jail

For Their

Political Ideas



Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and Jim Bingham, students at Indiana University in Bloomington face up to three years imprisonment because of their socialist beliefs. They are members of the Young Socialist Alliance. The students are charged under the Indiana Anti-Communism Act with "assembling" to advocate the violent overthrow of the governments of Indiana and the United States. This is the first case in American history where students have been charged with sedition for campus activities. The three defendants assert that they are not guilty under the terms of the Act and furthermore, that the Act itself is unconstitutional. Gathering support from over 800 professors and prominent persons, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has organized a nation-wide defense for the three students. The committee aims to publicize the case and raise money for the legal defense.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

- Send a donation
- Organize a meeting for a defendant at your campus
- Order literature on the case to inform others

National Committee to Aid the
Bloomington Students
P. O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003
Phone YU 9-7680

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

The Issues In This Case:

- The Right to Organize Political Groups on Campus
- U. S. Constitution vs. State Prosecution
- Rights of Students to Consider All Ideas
- Freedom of Speech and Assembly

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