

No 'Cool Off' for Freedom Riders: Defy Kennedy, Jail

by Ruth Aaron

This generation of Negro students in the South has spent its afternoons in the corner drug stores, waiting for a cup of coffee, and a more likely jail sentence. Now the same young people are packing up their things to fight for the right to ride buses as human beings. Once again their struggle for human rights has caused them to face lynch mobs, hoodlums, and jail sentences.

Over 100 Freedom Riders have been arrested in Jackson, Mississippi and Montgomery, Alabama and some 80 are still in jail. The answer of the Democratic Administration speaking through Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, to the desire of the Negro people to be treated as humans is bluntly, "cool off." "Wait another 40 years," says the younger Kennedy,

"maybe your brother will become President too."

LONG CHILL

The Freedom Riders have not buckled under the pressure from Washington. Uriah J. Fields, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, wired Robert Kennedy: "Isn't ninety-nine years long enough to cool off, Mr. Attorney General?"

Meanwhile, hundreds of young people continue to fill buses and jails, and to ask themselves, "isn't it time the Federal Government began to warm up to its duty to protect the rights of every American citizen?"

It is more than just the young Negro militants in the South who are taking no heed of the Attorney General, however. From the very beginning of this struggle, the Freedom Riders have been joined by hundreds of young people, Negro and white from all over the country.

FOLLOWERS' LEAD

For decades the struggle for integration has been confined to money-raising institutions in the Negro community and few major gains were made. The official leaders of the Negro community, the lawyers, ministers and businessmen made no attempt to unite the struggle in the South with that in the North nor did they encourage any militant actions anywhere.

Now, however, the Southern Negro youth have gone out on their own initiative and are quickly drawing their Northern counterparts in with them. They have created a situation in which the official "leaders" have got to run fast to keep up with the "followers."

SIT-INS WERE SPARK

The struggle for integration has brought to the fore a whole new generation of young people who are becoming more and more militant. This was first indicated in the sit-in demonstrations of the spring of 1960, which were

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FPCC Conference Vows Continued Fight for Cuba

NEW YORK—Delegates representing some 7,000 members in 27 chapters and over 40 student councils of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee met in New York July 1 and 2 at the organization's first annual conference.

The delegates met with the background of the Kennedy Administration's aborted attempt to invade Cuba, and in the face of increased witchhunting attacks on the committee spearheaded by Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.

Despite these attacks on Cuba and the Fair Play Committee, the conference pledged itself to continue to tell the truth about Cuba and to stand up to the pressures of the imperialists and witch-hunters.

"The threat to Cuba remains very real," said Acting Executive Secretary Richard Gibson in his keynote address, "the CIA and the Pentagon are still plotting armed attacks against Cuba and counter-revolutionaries and U.S. and foreign mercenaries are again training in Florida for such an attack, despite the disastrous defeat of the last one."

"This committee must not be content," Gibson continued, "until it has taught the true significance of the Cuban Revolution to every citizen of the United States, and, through these masses to prevent a catastrophe in the Caribbean—a catastrophe that would also be a disaster for all that is progressive in the United States."

One of the highlights of the conference was the student panel workshop, attended by students from some 22 schools throughout the country. The group discussed some of the problems faced in organizing and chartering a Fair Play Student Council on campus. It also made plans to better coordinate the activities of the student group nationally to make a more effective national body. In line with this, a campus tour was projected for the opening of the fall semester and a national conference of the Student Council slated for the Christmas vacation period.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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FREE RIDE: Freedom Riders in Jackson, Miss., find they are allowed integrated rides only in police vans.

UNEMPLOYMENT—HELP NEEDED:

Youth Face Long 'Vacation'

by Laurence Stevens

For the person fortunate enough to be able to continue in school in the first place, the summer "vacation" this year presents, as in the past, a time in which a majority of students are obliged to seek remunerative employment. What sort of opportunities await those who manage to get by such replies as "too young" and "no

experience" in a search for funds to make continued schooling possible or less insecure?

The bitter truth that confronts them is that the employment rate for white male students is between two and three times lower than the national average. For women the rate is somewhat higher, slightly over twice as much. But it should be remembered that

these records as unemployed only those seeking work. As women are generally aware, at least subjectively, of their minority position, they traditionally are less inclined to attempt the near impossible task of progressing beyond the baby-sitting level. This is true to a lesser extent in urban areas, but try your luck in Lawrence, Kansas.

And for the young, non-white student, the job situation is, as one pair of authorities have expressed it, "little short of desperate." It has been estimated that nearly one-third of all non-white jobseekers under 20 are idle. How many rebuffs does it take to finally stop seeking work and thereby drop the unemployment level by one?

'LONG VACATION'

The New York Times, in a May article, succinctly predicted the situation in the following terms. "Several hundred thousand students seeking summer jobs are likely to find they will have to take a vacation after all . . . Even the traditional openings for camp counselors, resort hotel employees and ice cream salesmen are down from past years. To the extent that more stable jobs are available, employers are indicating a preference for hiring more experienced workers from the ranks of the 5,000,000 already unemployed."

Of course there are many groups of exceptions. For those students able to find work, employers us-

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FOUR YEARS OF THE YS:

YSA Joins, Leads Youth's Struggles

by Martha Curti

This issue brings four years of publication of the YOUNG SOCIALIST to a close. Through the efforts of the paper's supporters, an organization, the Young Socialist Alliance, has been built. In the year following its founding in April, 1960, the YSA has had a net increase in membership of 50 per cent, and all signs indicate that this rate of growth will continue.

This was not easy to accomplish. The ideas on which the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the YSA were established—the ideas of revolutionary socialism—are not the most popular ones in this country. In fact, until the formation of the YSA no nationwide revolutionary socialist organization had existed in this country since the 1930's. We started out in 1957 with a small group of people, our paper, and our ideas. With these we built a strong and growing organization.

WE LIKE ACTION

The YSA is an organization of action. Its members hold street

meetings, picket lines, lectures, classes, and social activities. To the extent of its ability, the YSA participates in every progressive struggle of students—in defense of the Cuban Revolution, for integration, for civil liberties, against nuclear tests and war preparations, against Administration domination of student life.

Because the YSA places no trust in government officials, in the Democratic or Republican parties, in college administrations, to bring about progressive social change—because we fear nothing from these people—we are often able to initiate important actions that are more militant and more effective than the established leadership of mass organizations are capable of.

For instance, the Southern sit-in struggles in spring, 1960, demanded Northern student support. The YSA played a leading role in building youth committees for integration which mobilized hundreds of young people to picket Woolworth's. Independent in-

tegration committees were organized to conduct mass picket lines of three and four hundred kids, spirited picket lines with singing and chanting, instead of the small silent picket lines of CORE and the NAACP, who feared that mass militant picket lines might "get out of hand" and "offend the people we are trying to influence."

ARE WE DISRUPTIVE?

The YSA has, at times, been severely attacked for its criticisms, often sharp, of the leaderships of various movements and organizations. People have even sought to exclude us from participation in picket lines and other united actions on the grounds that we are "disruptive" and "destroy the effectiveness of the action."

One might ask what is wrong with being disruptive? Any sensible person will see that a lot of disrupting needs to be done in this world. The question is not,

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Youth Speaks Out

CANADIAN IN TENN.

Dear Editor:

The "sit-ins" here have pretty well been replaced by "stand-ins" at local segregated theaters with "jim-crow" sections. Even these have stopped as negotiations are underway to integrate the theaters. Six lunch counters were integrated last year. I went downtown to the "stand-ins" at four theaters on Church Street. There were, by 9 p.m., hundreds of hoodlums roaming about in crowds almost as large as entire city blocks, intimidating demonstrators and supporters. There would have been serious trouble except for many patrolmen and motorcycle cops (from the city and Tennessee State highway patrol). Even then, students and police cars were stoned and students assaulted.

I admire this aspect about the school, but the word "socialist" or "Castroite" is taboo here with ostracism and much suspicion cast on free thinkers or people who dare to challenge capitalism.

I left the Economics Department as such statements by professors as "It would be just as hard for Russia to disarm as it would be for the U.S." or "Capital and labor are brothers" was just too much for me to stomach. The average student, not armed with Marxian tools of analysis, can't see through such perverted "teaching." This is also true in Humanities, History, etc. But in Philosophy, capitalism is less revered and the truth is more open.

The Memphis immigration office is very hostile and tried to deport me back to Canada when I first enrolled in Fisk, as I am white and this a Negro school. They continually harassed me and threatened me with a trial, subpoenaed hospital records, made me take an oath, etc.

I like your paper a lot but would like to see more economics in it on unemployment, automation, etc.

Your story on the trouble the Fair Play for Cuba Student Council is facing at the U. of Indiana reminds me of the trouble I am faced with here in establishing a Fair Play Club. If the American students gave FPCC more thought, and less to fraternities and the Youth Peace Corps, this would be, and will be, a lot better country.

D. P. C.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

WHAT'S UP BOBBY'S SLEEVE

Dear Editor:

Until such time exists that equal rights are exercised in every state, and until such time that every citizen in the United States has the right to live in an atmosphere free from the fear of reprisal for demanding education, transportation, and food, we shall not rest.

Except for the fact that YPSL is sure to throw epileptic fits of joy over Attorney General Kennedy's (who else) marshal dispatch, I doubt that anyone is

fooled over the real purpose of the actions taken by the Federal Government in the South.

Since the beginning of the intense battle over industrial might with Europe, shortly after the Civil War, the Government's main object was to preserve and protect the ruling interests, and in turn the method of production of the ruling class.

The Negro will never be granted equal rights unless to do so would further the gains and purposes of the "new elite." Virginia's recent sanctioning of the American Nazi Party has illustrated this point.

I am not writing this for the sake of telling any Negroes that they should abandon their activities and rights they have gained so far. This is merely to state what has been stated before: do not be deceived, and keep fighting.

Warren Tartaglia
Mount Vernon, N.Y.

Free Santen, Raptis

To: M. Roger Foirier
89 rue Rouget de l'Isle
Suresnes, France.

The Young Socialist Alliance (U.S.A.) protests the imprisonment of Michel Raptis (Pablo) and Sal Santen—for more than a year—without trial, and demands their immediate release. They have been held and will be tried on charges concocted by the French secret police. This grave injustice is being perpetrated solely because of their support to the Algerian struggle for independence. We add our voice to the many others throughout the world who demand an open and public trial for Santen and Raptis, and their acquittal. Any other outcome would be a dangerous blow to all progressive struggles.

Tim Wohlforth
National Chairman, Young
Socialist Alliance for the
National Executive
Committee.

POVERTY AND CASTROISM IN MEXICO

Dear Editor:

That there is considerable poverty here in Mexico no one denies. It can be seen by looking at clothes, shoes, houses and statistics.

But perhaps the worst feature of the prevailing poverty is the fact that the position of the poor is getting worse, both in terms of pesos and percentage of the total national income. According to a recent study for the years 1950-1957, the bottom 20 per cent of the population by family lost ground in terms of both pesos and in percentage of total national income.

About one-third of the Mexican economy is owned by the government. This does not make Mexico "socialist." As Daniel James, *Wall Street Journal* correspondent in Mexico, has recently written, "... this is the difference between Mexico and countries which embrace the statist philosophy [a reference to the Soviet bloc—A.M.] the Mexican Government intervenes in the economy for the express purpose of creating conditions under which private capital can function without undue risk, and of encouraging private capital to develop industrial and agricultural enterprises of its own. It has, in other words, opened up areas of

the economy to private capital from which the latter had been excluded because they were undeveloped or underdeveloped. And in so stimulating private capital, the Government has been the main factor in creating a growing class of entrepreneurs in Mexico."

Since Lazaro Cardenas was president of the Republic (1934-40) the governments of Mexico have moved steadily to the right, with Cardenas the main tasks of the 1910 Revolution against feudal land forms and U.S. domination of the Mexican economy were completed.

Mexico is now a capitalist country run by one party—the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Elections are quite thoroughly in the hands of the party machine.

The reaction to the invasion of Cuba in this country has been sharp. There is considerable support for the Castro government from sources which are respectable here. The much-respected ex-President Cardenas has lent his support to Castro against the counterrevolutionaries.

Thus far pro-Castro demonstrations have occurred in Mexico City, Guadalajara and Morelia. These demonstrations have involved thousands of people—mostly students.

The official position of the Mexican government is complete neutrality in the Cuban conflict. No help to either side; no intervention.

Arthur Maglin
Guanajuato, Mexico

A YPSL QUERIES

Dear Editor:

If you are so mad at the Young People's Socialist League why did you publish a picture of their anti-HUAC picket line in Greenwich Village in the April issue of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*? Why did the YPSL have a picket line in support of non-intervention in Cuba? Why are YPSL members in the Non-Violent Committee for Cuban Independence? If YPSL is as right wing as you say it is, wouldn't YPSL members be working for the CIA instead of picketing it in Washington? Why is the YSA afraid to debate YPSL on Cuba? If YPSL is so bad, why did most YPSL members vote for Dobbs?

Answer and print this if you dare.

Maurice Goldman,
A YPSL Voter for Dobbs,
New York

(We would be pleased to join with any and all YPSL members in demonstrations opposing the U.S. government's policy in Cuba; to work with them in support of the Fair Play Committee or to debate with the YPSL or anyone else who does not support the Cuban Revolution.—Ed.)

'WONDERFUL' PAPER

Dear Editor:

A few weeks ago I wrote a letter to the *National Guardian* asking to meet students in the New York area who were sincerely interested in progressive ideas and actions. I received several very encouraging replies but then I moved quite suddenly to San Francisco and unfortunately had no opportunity to get in touch with these people. But one of the letters I received had enclosed in an envelope several copies of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*. I read the issues and have decided to subscribe. Enclosed you will find my dollar. I hope I may be of some assistance to you as I think your paper is quite wonderful.

Jofannie Solomon
San Francisco, Calif.

Young Socialist

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"A World to Win!"



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'A Fateful Moment'

The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country. That moment seems to have arrived for this country."

—Justice Hugo Black in his dissenting opinion to the 5-4 majority upholding the major provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act.

The Supreme Court's June 5 decisions upholding by 5 to 4 votes the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 and the 'membership clause' of the Smith Act combine into a double-edged sword that cuts deeply into personal liberty and freedom of association for all Americans. The decisions are a deadly blow in the 20-year campaign to destroy the Bill of Rights.

The McCarran Act requires the Communist Party to register with the Justice Department as a 'Communist action' group 'substantially dominated' by a 'foreign power.' The law also requires registration of 'Communist front' groups—as determined by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be substantially dominated by a 'Communist action' group.

'Registration' means a full disclosure of membership, finances (including sources) as well as other provisions that add up to outlawing the Communist Party. Utterly fantastic penalties descend upon it, its officers and members if they fail to register. Once they do register, the Smith Act takes over from there—they are criminally prosecuted for membership! Thus, registration by members and officers constitutes self-incrimination; which means that should these decisions stand, the Fifth Amendment is dead!

The procedures, penalties and limitations imposed upon the Communist Party and opening the way for persecution and outlawing of other groups have no parallel in any other such open violation of the Bill of Rights.

The Communist Party published a statement in many publications (including the *N.Y. Times*) announcing: "There will be no betrayal of the confidence of a single member or supporter of the party or any organization or trade union."

Attorney General Robert Kennedy has begun to unravel the full list of penalties upon conviction for non-compliance with the ruling on the McCarran Act, including: Fines of \$10,000 for each day of non-compliance by the party. Party officers face \$10,000 fines and five years of prison for each day of non-compliance. Members refusing to register individually would receive the same persecution.

These rulings are not only the tools for the first outlawing of a political party. They also lay the legal basis for attacks on all radical political and social forces when and as the architects of the new U.S. Police State find it possible and convenient. The rulings are aimed at all who would stand in the way of their war-like foreign policy.

The new decisions constitute a direct threat to the struggle of the working class to defend its living standard, working conditions and its organizations; it is a threat to the Negroes' fight for equality, despite the Kennedys' wish for a 'cooling-off' period to save the U.S. foreign policy from embarrassment; it is a threat to students who want academic freedom and are willing to fight the Un-American Committee in order to get it; it is a threat to organizations such as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee who feel it is their right to oppose U.S. Foreign Policy aimed at crushing revolutions and starting new wars.

Notable have been the recent assaults upon the FPCC: The Eastland Committee's attacks were followed up by organized violence on picket lines (in Philadelphia and Seattle), against individual members (in Rockford, Ill. and Tampa, Fla.) and witchhunt smears in the press. The high court's rulings now provide a precedent and legal basis for a case against the FPCC on trumped-up evidence (such as Eastland fabricated) of being 'substantially dominated' by a 'foreign power' or even by the Communist Party of this country (and what respectable organization hasn't been charged with that!). An attack such as this against Fair Play would enable the Kennedy Administration to stifle all of its critics in the event of a future invasion of Cuba.

But the mightiest potential force for progress is the American labor movement. And labor is the real main target of the Supreme Court decisions. The power of the Labor Movement is the only force in this country which can assure the reversal of the decisions. Both the Smith Act and McCarran Act, have been leveled at militants in the labor movement, beginning with the Smith 'Gag' Act jailings in the 1940's of the leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters some of whom were also leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Tailor-made methods for crippling the unions have also been created: The Taft-Hartley Act (responsible for the recent frame-up convictions of the Haugs, Eric Reinthaler and other Cleveland trade-union militants), the McClellan-Kennedy Labor Probes, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, numerous shackling NLRB rulings—and the creation of new weapons against Labor are on Kennedy's agenda. The recent Supreme Court decision may well be wielded against any and all union militants who come to the fore in the future. Several unions have already raised their voices (the UE, the ILWU and others.)

The Supreme Court has granted the C.P. the right to appeal for a new hearing. The American Civil Liberties Union has announced it will file a friend of the court brief in the C.P.'s appeal for a rehearing. More time has been won... it should be well used.

The Young Socialist Alliance will co-operate with any persons or groups to carry battle against this latest repressive attack on the Bill of Rights.

Who Will Change The World

—The New Left and C. Wright Mills

by WILLIAM F. WARDE
In the *Summer International Socialist Review*
America's leading Marxist quarterly

WHO BETRAYED THE CUBAN REVOLUTION?

Draper Praises Lord, Passes Ammunition

by Nora Roberts

The cry that the Cuban Revolution was "betrayed" by Fidel Castro provided the cover under which lay hidden training camps for Cuban counterrevolutionaries, bought and paid for by the CIA in Florida, New Orleans, Guatemala, Nicaragua; uniforms, U.S. training officers, guns, munitions, tanks, jet bombers and all the materiel necessary for the arming and training of a band of mercenaries. With the cry "betrayal" bombs were dropped on Havana department stores—bombs that were bought and paid for by State Department finances, dropped by agents likewise bought and paid for. Under that cover some 1,500 mercenaries landed on Cuban shores with the purpose of reclaiming Cuba for U.S. investment.

The cry of "betrayal" was raised by Batista's ambassador to Canada three months after the victory of the 26th of July Movement in January 1959. It was echoed by the droves of Cuban businessmen and landlords who stood by helpless as their property was nationalized and given over to the workers and peasants as well as by the doctors who faced socialized medicine. It was chanted by the professors who had gotten their positions by graft and were expelled by the revolutionary student federation which took over the university; by lawyers and and court officials who saw the old juridical system, which protected Batista, U. S. investments and the Cuban upper and middle classes destroyed and replaced by revolutionary justice, protecting the interests of the Cuban workers and poor peasants. These elements which had not fared too badly under Batista's Cuba came rushing to the open arms of the CIA and the U.S. State Department which fed them, armed them and prepared them for an invasion.

The cry of "betrayal" was the central theme of President Ken-

edy and his brain trustee, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in their "white paper" published when the State Department found it necessary to explain why millions of American dollars are being used to finance the counterrevolutionary invasion forces. This cover was given a veneer for consumption among left-wing circles by Theodore Draper in his article in the *New Leader* of March 27 entitled "Castro's Cuba—A Revolution Betrayed?"

The Kennedy-Schlesinger-Draper thesis, as Max Lerner hailed it in the *New York Post*, holds that "the Cuban revolution was essentially a middle-class revolution which has been used to destroy the middle class." According to them, "Castro promised one kind of revolution and made another. The revolution Castro promised was unquestionably betrayed."

DRAMATIS PERSONNAE

That the aims of the revolution were not clearly spelled out before it proved victorious over Batista's henchmen cannot be disputed.

Each class of Cuban society was dissatisfied with the Batista regime for its own reasons and had its own alternatives to it. Castro and his closest followers were driven to the revolutionary cause because, as Draper says, "The crying poverty, illiteracy, disease and primitivism of the outcast peasants appalled the young city-bred ex-students. Out of this experience, partly practical, and partly emotional, came a determination to revolutionize Cuban society by raising the lowest and most neglected sector to a civilized level of well-being and human dignity."

WORKERS AND PEASANTS

It was this misery and squalor in both the rural and urban areas and the hope which Fidel Castro inspired for its eradication which drove thousands of peasants and impoverished agricultural workers to support the revolutionary cause both directly and indirectly.

In the cities likewise, thousands of workers, held in tight bonds by the Batista-controlled unions, unable to win any of their demands and unable even to put them forward, supported the revolution.

The members of the Cuban middle class and upper class had their own reasons for wanting the end of Batista. The fantastic sums of money involved in graft and corruption shocked even the representatives of the parasitic capitalist class, especially those who could find no means of cutting themselves in on the pie. These elements, however, put forward no answer to the problems of the poor and hungry people of Cuba, nor did they show much real concern for them.

VICTORY WAS A BEGINNING

Thus, the toppling of Batista in January 1959 did not answer all the pressing social needs of the majority of the Cuban people. The victory against the tyranny marked the beginning of the revolutionary process and not the end. For the Cuban workers and peasants, the revolution opened a big door. In the rural areas, peasants and agricultural workers began seizing land. In factories throughout the island workers went on strike, presenting their employers with demands which had been piling up for years. Faced with demands for from 40 to 100% increases in wages, shorter hours and the reinstatement of all fired workers, many companies closed down all operations. Some employers fled the country, many were forcibly ejected by the revolutionary work-



NOT BETRAYED: These tobacco farmers in Cuba's fertile Pinar del Rio province discuss life on the new cooperatives. The opportunities now at hand to support themselves and their families and to educate their children demonstrate to them that they were not "betrayed." That's what they were fighting for.

ers who had been repressed for so long.

Faced with this revolutionary wave throughout the island, the new government, composed of businessmen and professionals, but with Fidel Castro and his revolutionary armed forces having the final decision, had to make a choice.

FORK IN THE ROAD

On the one hand the government could side with the workers and peasants. This would mean recognizing and furthering the process of redistribution of the land among the poverty stricken rural elements and nationalizing the shut-down industries, granting the workers' demands, and operating them through a form of workers' control, with the profits being used for the benefit of all of society. This was clearly the only way to solve the problems of the impoverished workers and peasants.

To preserve capitalism would have meant that Castro would have had to use the rebel army to protect the profits of the latifundists on the land and of the industrialists in the cities. The workers would have to be forced to end their strikes and go back to work with few if any of their demands granted so that U.S. and Cuban businessmen could run the island on a profitmaking basis.

AN OLD STORY

Every modern revolution must proceed along one of those two paths. Cuba itself had come to this same crossroads once before in its history. The *coup d'etat* which resulted in the ousting of the Machado dictatorship in 1933 unleashed the previously pent up social forces embodied in the workers and peasants, threatening the very existence of capitalism in Cuba. At that point, Batista, then an army sergeant with a following of armed students came onto the scene and took the power, breaking up massive workers' demonstrations as he went, with the assistance of the State Department backed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The businessmen wing of the 1959 coalition, for its part, was quite willing to follow the sugges-

tions of the *Wall Street Journal* in the footsteps of its predecessor, Fulgencio Batista. If that step had been taken by Fidel Castro and his movement, you can be sure there would not be one Cuban businessman who would cry "betrayal" nor would the Kennedy Administration have found it necessary to issue a white paper on the subject. There would be no CIA-financed invasion crew and no bombs dropped on Havana department stores by "the cream of Cuba's society." Theodore Draper could rest quiet in the knowledge that Fidel Castro "had put forward no original economic or political ideas and had stayed well within the limits of traditional democratic reform and idiom in Cuba." Castro then would only have betrayed the majority of the people in Cuba, all those who, with him, had "a determination to revolutionize Cuban society by raising the lowest and most neglected sector to a civilized level of well-being and human dignity."

SURPRISE ENDING

But, as Castro explained to an Italian interviewer: "Not only did we destroy a tyrannical system we also destroyed the philoimperialistic bourgeois state apparatus, the bureaucracy, the police and a mercenary army. We abolished privileges, annihilated the great landowners, threw out foreign monopolies for good, nationalized almost every industry, and collectivized the land. We are fighting now to liquidate once and for all the exploitation of man over man, and to build a completely new society, with a new class content."

"All Cubans, all without exception, were invited to help forge this revolutionary process," said Castro at a banquet for *Revolucion*. Those who failed to do so did not fail because the opportunity was lacking; they did so because they did not want to help.

"This rule held also for the Cuban Communist party. It had as much right to defend the revolutionary process as did the middle class elements. The Communists, however, chose to participate in the revolution. The middle class elements showed

themselves to be more interested in fighting Communists than in fighting poverty and illiteracy, and coupled their anti-communist cries with their flight from the Revolution, for which they are lauded by Draper.

REVOLUTION CONTINUES

Does this constitute "betrayal" of the revolution by Castro? No, he himself explains: "A revolutionary process cannot stop at some point *a priori*. . . . To hold back a revolutionary process is to betray the revolution; to set limits to the forward leap of a people in history is to betray that people, it is like putting brakes on a people that is marching rapidly toward the future."

While defending the real betrayers of the revolution, the middle class elements who ran away, rather than give up their privileges, Draper uses much of his thesis to knock down the argument of C. Wright Mills, Huberman and Sweezy, Jean-Paul Sartre and others of the left who have put forward their defense of the Cuban Revolution. This, however cannot be viewed as a friendly debate among the various circles of the left of all persuasions, as Draper would present it.

'WE ARE IN A WAR'

To recall the speech of Che Guevara of March 28: "We have to remind ourselves . . . that we are in a war, a cold war as they call it; a war where there is no front line, where there are no continuous bombardments, but where the two adversaries, this tiny champion of the Caribbean, and the immense imperialist hyena are face to face, are aware that one of the two is going to end up dead in the fight."

Mills, Sartre, Huberman and Sweezy have taken a courageous stand in defense of a courageous people, fighting to preserve their independence and their better life from a voracious American imperialism. Draper, by completely ignoring the war drive of U.S. big business against Cuba and by giving a full rationale for the arguments which cover that war drive, holds up a mask in front of one of the dirtiest, ugliest aggressive acts in this hemisphere.

How Cuban Children Must Pay for Their Education

Following is an excerpt from Fidel Castro's speech to the Cuban children on the occasion of the conversion of Batista's "pentagon" into a school. The entire speech is available through the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

"I mentioned how the people of Cuba used to come by and see a fortress here where now they will see a scholastic center. Cuba is the only country in the world that has been able to do this—to conquer a military fortress and convert it into a school. What do we need fortresses for? What we need are institutions of learning.

This is no longer the headquarters of a gang of bullies. It is the fortress of the Cuban people. In order to change this place back into what it used to be would be necessary to defeat six million Cubans at war.

"In exchange for all that we have done for you, in exchange for this fortress that we are turning over to you today and for all the others that we are going to turn over to you, in exchange for the beaches that we are going to give you and for everything else we are going to do for you children, there is only one thing that we want from you and that is that you should study.

"Remember: any child who does not study is not a good revolutionary."

CUBA INVASION UNMASKS 'PEACE' GROUPS:

Who Will Fight for Peace When the CIA Goes to War?

by Peter Allan

The nation-wide protest actions against the CIA invasion of Cuba led by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee marked a new departure in the antiwar movement in this country. Thousands of Americans, including a large contingent of student youth, rallied to the defense of the Cuban Revolution and marched in opposition to the war of the United States government against Cuba. Although these actions were not part of the organized "peace movement," the whole past year has seen no more direct, militant, or effective challenge by Americans to the drive toward war.

To be sure, the war was not officially declared and mercenaries instead of Marines made up the U.S. fighting forces. But everyone understood that the Pentagon, the CIA, Congress, the government, both major parties, and all the other leading political forces in America were committed to waging this war—in the interests of "national security," of course.

A CONCRETE ISSUE

Unlike broad "peace" slogans calling attention to the general desirability of peace, which are usually addressed to our government leaders as if they were somehow hopelessly caught in the maelstrom of war and needed only strong helping hands from the people to pull them to safety, the concrete demand of "Hands Off Cuba!" immediately exposed the real source of the war, the United States government and the monopolies it represents.

It immediately posed the in-

War in the First Grade

The following poem is reprinted from "Wild," an independent student journal published by Long Beach State College students in California. The author is Barbara Miller, writing for her younger friends.

This is a bomb
Bombs go boom
See the bomb boom

This is peace
Peace is quiet and safe
No bombs boom

This is war
War is boomey
Boom, boom, boom

We build bombs
We want peace
See us build bombs
for peace.

alienable right of sovereign peoples to determine their own social system. It immediately rejected the kind of "national security" that required imperialist domination of other, weaker countries. It immediately called into question the "peaceful" nature of the Democratic Kennedy Administration. It challenged its trustworthiness before the American people and uncovered the real degree of its alleged concern for labor's welfare when it so unashamedly placed itself on the side of the monopolists seeking to reconquer Cuba and her working people.

CUBA PEACE CORPS

When the Fair Play Student Council newsletter suggested to the President that he send some Peace Corps detachments to Cuba to repair the damage inflicted by his hirelings, the lack of White House response served to define the actual usefulness of this much-heralded Kennedy "peace



proposal" in preventing war where it finally occurs.

If an indispensable component in the struggle for peace is a correct understanding of where the true cause of war lies—and this can surely not be denied—then the antiwar campaign protesting the Cuban invasion must serve as an example of how to fight against war by identifying its causes and abettors. It is an example to be emulated henceforth by all participants in the American peace movement.

WHERE WAS 'SANE'?

The Cuban invasion demonstrated the impotence of the antiwar movement as it exists today. It was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which turned up as the major force against a real hot war, while the "official" peace movements silently slipped into the background. In the aftermath of that invasion, with all the major newspapers carrying on a campaign of introspection to find out what went wrong, the members and leaders of the peace organizations would do well to look into their own policies to find out how Fair Play was able to step in where they feared to tread.

The entire past year has witnessed on the campuses a new rise in mass protest against manifestations of the Cold War. Thousands of students in this country have identified with the worldwide demonstrations against the arms race, such as the Aldermaston marches and Trafalgar Square rallies in England. Typified by such national organizations as SANE, various pacifist groups like the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), local ad-hoc student committees, and organizations of "progressive" (Advance) and "socialist" (YPSL) youth, the peace movement is not homogeneous in its composition nor has it yet fashioned a unified, consistent program. However, chief among the demands voiced at various times and places have been calls for the cessation of H-bomb tests, resumption of summit negotiations, ending compulsory ROTC, and abandoning civil defense drills.

Nevertheless, the leading "peace" organizations maintain a steadfast refusal, on principle, to adopt political action and concrete political demands in their activities. They fear that an insistence on such tangible antiwar measures as withdrawing U.S. bases and troops

from foreign soil, recognition of and trade with China and Cuba, ditching foreign despots, and unilateral scrapping of nuclear weapons will drive away many layers of the American population and prevent the growth of the "forces for peace." Therefore, they reason, we must build a "broad," non-political antiwar movement and gather all segments of the people together in a massive call for peace. Then the government of our country will be forced to listen and obey just by the sheer weight of our "broad" numbers.

This concern for respectability made the "broad" peace movement vulnerable to the corroding action of red-baiting. The leaders of SANE are effectively dissipating the strength of their organization as an agency to combat the advent of nuclear war by capitulating to red-baiting politicians committed to the squarely opposite aim of increased nuclear stockpiling.

SILENT IN WAR

In this manner, the leading "peace" organizations align themselves with sections of the Democratic Party, a party of big business, ready and willing to carry out the aims of the Cold Warriors. So, when it came to a real war—as in the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba—these "peace"

leaders remained silent. Thus it was demonstrated that the self-imposed alliance of the antiwar movement with the Democratic Party and the Kennedy Administration brought the government no closer to a peaceful foreign policy, but rather served to silence the "peace-lovers" as soon as the fire was turned on under the cold war.

Clearly, if we are to come any closer to a goal of world peace, the antiwar movement will have to make a break from the war makers—the capitalist class and its representatives—and that means all sections of both the Republican and Democratic parties. If it is at all serious about the struggle against war, SANE, for example, should be the loudest and most active in the call for a labor party, as it is this class which has no interest in imperialist war, and its victory will pave the way for an end to all wars.

A CLEAR PROGRAM

One of the first steps in the direction of a break with capitalist politics is to make the demands of the peace movement more concrete, to point to the actual steps that our government must take away from war. In the struggle for peace, the primary duty of every people is to prevent its own government from

making war. We must call for American bases to be closed down, our troops called home, our nuclear weapons scrapped, our military budget converted to a peacetime budget for consumer goods, our alliances with foreign tyrants cut, our tin soldier ROTC program scuttled, and the nonsense of civil defense against H-bombs abandoned.

Also, the antiwar movement now has an unpaid bill before it in the form of its failure to act in the midst of the Cuban invasion. It should begin payment as of now by joining with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to demand "Hands Off Cuba," the return of Guantanamo base to the Cuban people, the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Cuban government, and the end of the ban on travel, so that U.S. citizens can see for themselves what it is the Cuban people are laying down their lives to defend.

There has been some discussion among the various peace organizations of a proposal that they all try to get together to form one big movement. I, for one, would be happy if they could agree, together or unilaterally, to come out in a real way against war, the war makers, or even if they could only agree to come out against a particular war or invasion when the question is made concrete by the government as it was in Cuba.

Reader Bares 'Red Herring' Fraud

a letter

by Bob Kaufman

Civil Defense and the entire Cold War remind me very much of Hans Christian Andersen's famous fairy tale, "The Emperor's New Clothes." In the tale, all the people were taught to believe that the Emperor was wearing a beautiful new suit of clothing, but that his clothes were invisible to the eyes of "stupid" people. Only one little child was unafraid to cry out that the Emperor was actually naked.

For a decade and a half, Americans have lived through that "part of the time" during which Lincoln said you can fool all the people.

We have loyally permitted a fourth or fifth of our yearly income to be squandered on arms, established hundreds of armed bases on the peripheries of Russia and China, poisoned the atmosphere with radioactivity, stockpiled enough nuclear bombs to overkill the earth's entire human population fifty times, helped suppress every colonial people's efforts at self-determination, and established a witchhunt atmosphere to silence any real political dissent at home.

All this was and is still being done to "protect" us from the Red Bogeyman. This bogeyman, so we are taught to believe, plans to conquer the world with Soviet troops, or, failing this, to destroy all the world he cannot enslave. The only thing which prevents this accomplishment is "our" military program.

This, in essence, is what we are expected to believe—and any who waver in their unquestioning belief are immediately suspected and threatened with excommunication—social and economic. Not wishing to endure such persecution, most

Americans have found a "practical compromise" with their consciences—making this one proud "land of the free and home of the brave" a concentration camp of grey flannel sniveling cowards.

On just what grounds should we believe that the moment we lower our threatening dukes Russia will start a war? On historical grounds? We could cite the intervention of American troops and the troops of thirteen other allied nations in Russia from 1918 to 1920, where "they shot Soviet Russians at sight. They stood as invaders on Russian soil. They armed the enemies of the Soviet Government. They blockaded her ports and sunk her battleships. They earnestly devised and schemed its downfall." And don't take my word for it—these are Winston Churchill's words.

We can cite the fact that Britain and France, Germany's traditional enemies, permitted Hitler to break the Versailles Peace Treaty and build the world's largest war machine because it was going to be a "bulwark against Bolshevism."

And today we can cite the fact that it is U.S. bases that are stringing Russia—not the other way around.

At the economic root of the question, it is clear that the Soviet economy has no problem (nor will it ever) of disposing of surplus goods. Everything can be plowed back into the economy for a higher standard of living. It operates at 100 per cent capacity. The Soviet Union has no profit motive compulsively driving it in search of cheaper sources of labor and raw materials. It has absolutely no capital investments in foreign countries. In short, the Soviet Union has no economic

need to capture colonies or to maintain war production.

The United States, on the other hand, has, according to a series of articles in *The Nation*, 20 per cent to 25 per cent of its economy devoted to war materials industry. The U.S. economy operates during boom times at 80 per cent capacity—and at 100 per cent capacity only during a war. There are approximately 3 million men in the armed forces, 9 million in direct war industries, on top of nearly 5 million presently unemployed and no end to the unemployment lines in sight.

Disarmament would therefore mean 16 to 17 million unemployed before the spiraling effect of unemployment even begins. Peace means crisis in our economy, and capitalism could never survive such a crisis in this day and age—not with peaceful competition with a growing economy.

For the Soviet Union, on the other hand, peace means an opportunity to produce the many consumer goods it so dearly needs.

This is why the Cold War continues.

"We need it—not 'they.' Russia will not attack if we disarm!"

There is no Red Bogeyman!

And all the red-baiting, arrests, rulings, jailings and inquisitorial committees, et al., will not alter the fact one bit. The only thing which prevents our disarmament is the primitive irrationality of our economic system and the greed of those who profit from it. If we do not end it soon, it will surely end us. A century ago, Marx advised that we unite to fight the system, that we had "nothing to lose but (our) chains." Now capitalism has put our very lives and the existence of all mankind at stake.

Southern White Tells Why He Fights

an interview

by Fred Fry

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Preliminary observations, based on an appraisal of the situation that exists and of talks to some two dozen white Southerners, indicate an extremely tense surface, with ominous rumblings beneath. Gov. Patterson and his ruling clique remain adamant in their defiance of all integration attempts. Extremists urge more direct measures, i.e., violence and terror, to smash the freedom struggle once and for all. Moderates do not exist, or are a very rare animal. The great mass of people deplore the lawlessness that has erupted, but primarily place the blame on the Freedom Riders, who are viewed as outside agitators sent in to stir up trouble.

Nevertheless, a growing number of the whites believe that integration is inevitable, and that all attempts to block it will fail in the end. However, people in this category will fight, if necessary, to prevent integration now. While foreseeing the ultimate demise of segregation, they argue that progress must come slowly, so as not to disrupt 'time-honored Southern traditions'. As one farmer told me, "Hell, man this thing won't come overnight. We've got to educate our people. If those Yankee radicals would leave us alone, we'd work the thing out ourselves in good measure."

RIGHTIST SPEAKS

What must concern one the most, though, are the activities of

the extreme Right-wing organizations that have arisen in a last ditch battle to preserve the Jim Crow system. In an endeavor to learn more about the relative strength of these groups and what they are doing, I interviewed a figure prominent in Rightist circles, a person whose name I am not at liberty to disclose. Suffice to say, my informant, who has been active politically for many years and has many inside connections, is eminently reliable. The following information is new, startling, and grave.

The interview was held in the living room of a modest home in the suburbs of Birmingham. My informant, whom I shall signify as Mr. Carter for purposes of convenience, was no ordinary man. A tall, strikingly attractive person of 49, he was a university graduate, an ex-Army officer, and a world traveller. Behind the rugged face lay a brain of unusual intelligence. He sat nervously smoking a cigarette as we began our talk.

'DEFENSE GROUP'

Carter commenced by saying that approximately 18 months ago a secret underground organization of Southerners pledged to defend "the white way of life" was formed. He refused to name the organization or give membership figures but asserted it is growing steadily in influence in every state throughout Dixie.

Organization is along military lines, with companies, battalions, regiments, etc. "Every member of

a unit is part of a higher unit, with each individual member under the command of his superior officer. The various divisions are commanded in most instances by present or former officers of the Armed Forces of the United States. There is a regular chain of command, going up to the top, where all matters of policy are decided."

The state governments of the South, and the armed forces thereof, are heavily infiltrated by this secret organization. For example, "In the event of an emergency, the Alabama National Guard would fight on our side." When I asked if this applied to the possibility of armed conflict with the U.S. Government, Carter said, "Yes, we can take care of them too. We'll fight a civil war if necessary to save the people from Black domination." He added, boasting, "In a real showdown, we can mobilize 1,000,000 men inside of 48 hours."

Politically, the organization is a United Front. "Anyone can join who is in favor of a Christian White America, who is willing to follow orders and live under discipline, and fight and die, should he be called upon, to ensure the success of our movement." Militarily, "We are arming. We have large stores of ammunition and of the latest weapons, and are training our people in the tactics of warfare. We will be ready for anything that happens."

AGREEMENT

It is peculiar, perhaps, but Carter and I agreed on one major point here. Both of us felt that the Jim Crow system is the major bastion of American capitalism; if it falls, the Democratic Party will be destroyed in the South, a power vacuum will be created, and the rise of a revolutionary socialist movement will be at hand. Thus to Carter's thinking, the physical annihilation of all who knowingly favor integration in the South and are active therein, will decapitate and destroy the potential leadership of a revolutionary movement.

Furthermore, we agreed on the absolute inevitability of a violent showdown. Carter said, "The issue will not be decided in the courts or through the tug of might between the Southern state regimes and the Federal Government, but in the streets. Victory will go to him who is steeled and dedicated, to him who has the power to impose his will."

'WE WILL WIN'

When I asked him how he expected to win, when the worldwide trend is toward complete equality and the eradication of discrimination, I was struck by the fanaticism—and possible logic—of his reply. Turning red in the face, he shouted, "We will win because we are the overwhelming majority in the South, and because, in the last analysis, the Government will be forced to side with us rather than risk Communist revolution." The implication was clear that so-called white liberals will prefer racist dictatorship to the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. On this factor, plus regional preponderance, lie the hopes of the Jim Crow oppressors.

Another sore point with Mr. Carter was the existence of white supporters of integration. He characterized them as "white renegades, traitors to the white race,

semi-circle looking for his club when he encountered Meisenbach who then clouted him on the head and wrestled him to the floor.

Berman, using a scale-model of City Hall as well as newsphotos, asserted, "At the moment Meisenbach allegedly knocked Schaumleffel down, he was standing forty feet away against a pillar smoking his pipe, as this picture shows." Berman further elaborated that Meisenbach had stepped behind the pillar to wipe off his glasses which had gotten wet during the hosing when he observed another student being beaten. Being frightened, Meisenbach was starting to leave City Hall when he noticed a police club skittering around on the wet floor. He picked it up and tossed it away. Then Schaumleffel tackled him and beat him, Berman concluded.

Witness Douglas Kinney asserted that he saw Meisenbach beaten by three or four officers. After witnessing the scene, he had scribbled their badge numbers on his shirt front. The badge number of the officer doing the beating was Officer Schaumleffel's. He added, "As I was leaving, I saw the individual I had seen beaten slouched in an alcove. He was handcuffed and blood was running out of his mouth."

At the conclusion of the trial, the jurors decided in favor of Meisenbach on the basis that there was "too much conflict" in the evidence presented by the prosecution. Berman summed up the victory by stating: "This knocks (the film) 'Operation Abolition' into the creek and it nails the lies in the original Police Department reports. Both are filled with falsehoods. It is a direct blow to the House Un-American Activities Committee given by twelve impartial citizens who finally heard all the facts."

MEISENBACH DECISION:

Court Upholds HUAC Fight

by Constance Vera

The recent victory of Robert Meisenbach, University of California student accused of assaulting a policeman during the San Francisco demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings a year ago, has given the lie to the "Un-Americans," including those who engineered the film "Operation Abolition" and those who drew up official reports of the demonstration, both in San Francisco and in Washington, D.C.

Although there were "no political dissertations nor demonstrations" as was ordered by presiding Judge Harry Neubarth, it took neither of these to confirm the validity of Meisenbach's case—just a straightforward presentation of the facts by the defense which contrasted with a maze of contradictions on the part of the prosecution.

After being delayed six times, the trial began April 19. The jury consisted of ten women and two men. Two versions of the incident were presented, one describing Meisenbach as a "violently charging police antagonist," the other describing him as an "innocent bystander." Cross-examination of Officer Schaumleffel, the policeman allegedly beaten, by Defense Attorney Jack Berman revealed that contrary to official reports, including one by J. Edgar Hoover ("Communist Target—Youth"), Meisenbach did not trigger the "rioting and subsequent hosing" by leaping a barricade and attacking Schaumleffel. The incident occurred after the hoses had been turned on and off by the police.

Schaumleffel had testified that he had been pushed or tripped after having come to three or four feet beyond the police barricade and had lost his nightstick as he fell. In a crouched position, he asserted, he was moving in a



HERB LOCK

'WE'LL DEFEND OURSELVES'

Mary H. Weik, author of a monthly newsletter on community and world affairs had the following exchange with a Negro student, while riding a bus through the deep South:

"When the students started the sit-ins in North Carolina, in February 1960, they had nobody with them either," the boy explained. "They were just a bunch a fellows like me, determined to make the laws and courts and politicians mean what they say. The organizations and the 'coordinating committees' came in late—when it began to work! Sometimes I think we could do with a little less 'coordination!' Supervision is what it mostly turns out to be."

"Don't let it worry you," said Miss Weik, "That always happens, when an action shows promise."

"We're not worried," he assured her, "We're going straight ahead. We know what we want and we're not going to stop till we get it."

"How do you plan to get it?" asked Miss Weik.

"Peacefully, if we can. We're not looking for trouble, or to hurt anybody. But if someone attacks us—we'll defend ourselves."

trash who simply want to consort with the Blacks for sexual reasons and because they have lost all sense of self-respect and of the dignity of race. We will deal most harshly with these scum. They are worse than their Black 'brothers'."

FREEDOM RAIDERS

What of the vicious assaults that have taken place against Freedom Riders in Alabama? Carter claimed his organization played a significant role in the events, bemoaned only that "we didn't finish them off," and said that if the last violent attacks had been immediately followed by another busload of integrationists, "we would have killed them all." He added, "There were rumors the President was going to come down and ride a bus. We would have got him as well." He conceded that the psychological moment is now past, and it will take time to rally the whites for new acts of violence.

Carter expressed scorn for Martin Luther King and all other Negroes who espouse pacifism. "The nigger pacifists are fools and simpletons. As long as we have to deal with them, we'll have cheap victories. You know, it makes a man feel a little bit bad

when he has to put a bullet through the head of someone standing there with a Bible in his hand preaching love."

But what of the Negro militants who disavow pacifism and advocate mass action? "These are our real opponents, and the only ones we respect. They have guts and are willing to fight, and it will take a genuine battle to whip them." Carter added that, based on his information, some 8,000 Negroes in Birmingham alone are preparing for "war" and have stockpiled arms. "We'll get them, though. We know exactly where those arms are, and who's to use them."

Closing the interview, which had grown quite strained by this time, Carter said, "Just remember one thing. When you and your buddies face us across the barricades, you'd better shoot to kill. We're not playing. This is a struggle to the death."

The showdown in Alabama and throughout the South approaches faster with each passing day. The fate of America and of the toiling masses everywhere in the world hangs in the balance.



It May Not Be B.O.

WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?—By Fred Halstead, Pioneer Publishers, 10 cents.

Hundreds of thousands of students, more this year than in decades are out pounding the pavements, asking themselves the simple question, "Why can't I get a job—Why can't everybody have a job?" Fred Halstead, in one of Pioneer Publisher's latest pamphlets, "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" artfully discusses this problem.

With over 5 million unemployed, the answer to the nation's jobless cannot be that they are using the wrong deodorant or that they just aren't very bright. The problem is a bigger one, Halstead points out, it is rooted in the entire crazy system of production which dominates our entire life.

Actually, it would take only a few minor shifts in our economy

to solve the unemployment crisis—such as instituting a 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay and then cutting out the profit-makers altogether, with the profits that used to go into one individual's pocket going to make a better life for everyone. The problem is, however, that those with the guaranteed full-time, high-salaried jobs in Washington do not seem to be able to accept this solution.

"The unemployed want to go back to work," says Halstead. "The tools, the machinery, the raw materials are waiting. If the nation's capacity were fully used, if everybody had a job, we could produce an additional \$50 billion worth of whatever we needed this year alone. That would be enough to replace every slum dwelling in this country with a brand new home. The only thing preventing it is the greed of those who already have too much. So why can't everybody have a job? We can if we all fight together for it."

NEW PARTY ORGANIZES:

Canadian Youth Join with Labor

by Joe Rosenblatt

TORONTO—The Canadian labor movement's organization of its own political party, called the New Party, has given a shot in the arm not only to the workers' struggles but to the growing movement of student and working youth. At the founding convention of the New Party, made up of the amalgamation of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, provisions will be made to set up a national youth organization.

Enthusiasm among the thousands of young people who have been active in the antiwar movement and in university struggles for the New Party struggles is considerable. These students, many from the Toronto high schools, see the New Party as an advance over the watered-down doctrines of the social-democratic C.C.F.

ACT POLITICALLY

They have been active in organizing actions, through the Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament, to ban the bomb in Canada, to call for the withdrawal of all military bases and for the country's withdrawal from NATO. They see the New Party as a means to raise their struggle to the level of political action.

The organization of a party of labor poses the question of war or peace in a meaningful way and provides powerful weapons in the hands of those who are struggling against the war drive. The high school students who have gone out on peace marches and ban the bomb demonstrations now have a political weapon in their hands. They will be able, through the New Party youth movement, to call on their older brothers in the labor movement to join in their struggles, to adopt the position which the British workers put forward at their Scarborough conference:

UNEMPLOYED ALLY

Another important ally the New Party will find is the thousands of university and high school students who will find the avenues closed to them when it comes to summer employment and full-time jobs after they have finished school.

B. G. Wells, placement officer at the University of Western Ontario, held up a grim prospect for these youth when he said that those who are fortunate in find-

ing work may not earn enough money to get through another year.

Equally dismaying are the opportunities for 2,000 students at the University of Alberta, where there will be jobs for only 500. These students, once organized in the New Party, will be able to struggle for more jobs, higher pay, and for free university education.

IN THE HOPPER

Although recognition of the New Party youth section depends on the approval by both the national leadership and the national council, serious preparations are being made for building such an organization. Five youth representatives are allowed on the national council of the New Party, and at the New Party founding convention this summer, there will be representation of one delegate from each recognized New Party youth club.

In the Toronto area, New Party youth work is under way. Two clubs have been organized in the city. In June a New Party youth conference is being held in Saskatchewan.

It is to be hoped that the adult leadership will not display the same fear of an active youth movement shown by the official leaders of the British Labor Party. Any screening process or attempts to dampen the militancy of the high school and college youth would weaken labor's ability to win the youth to its political party and hamper the New Party from the start.

The New Party could well be the force that will link the thousands of working class and student youth across the country into a great union, directed towards a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

Freedom Riders Continue Fight . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

sparked in Greensboro, N.C. by four Negro students.

The sit-ins spread not only throughout the South, but a supporting movement mushroomed in nearly every major city in the North. Students formed weekly picket lines in front of Woolworth and other chain stores to help in the struggle to end discrimination.

The struggle of the Freedom Riders has seen a continuation of this support from Northern students. Several groups of students from Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. have joined bus and train loads of riders in the South. Four Cornell students were arrested in Jackson, Miss. An integrated group of students from La Verne, California was among the first to be arrested for testing segregation in interstate travel. Several groups from the Univ. of Chicago and others have joined in. Recently, two University of Wisconsin at Madison students were arrested and put in jail in Mississippi.

LINK ARMS

Through these students a link has been forged connecting the struggle for human rights in the South with the young militants of the North. This link shatters the isolation which the struggle for integration has confronted for many decades. This link is the sign-

post of a new generation of young radicals now blossoming in this country.

This generation, unlike the "beat generation" and the angry, but frustrated young men and women of the fifties, has come together through struggle—struggle of their own as with the sit-ins Freedom Rides and anti-HUAC battles; and identification with the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and especially with the Cuban Revolution.

One of the Freedom Riders from Madison, for example, had participated in the Christmas tour of Cuba organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. She was arrested and thrown in jail, accused of having learned to instigate such struggles from Cuban Communists in Havana.

LABOR ORGANIZERS

Not since the period of the great labor upsurge of the thirties has such a generation of young militants come to the fore. The great general strikes and union organizing drives which swept the country following the great depression called forth young people from all walks of life to lead and organize massive battles of the working class.

The struggles of the workers in the thirties resulted in the organization of strong weapons in the hands of the workers—the industrial unions. With this weapon, the workers have been able to fight back against the economic aggressions launched by big business. The workers will push ahead in their next period of upsurge to organize their own political party, to break with the Democrats and Republicans, in order to gain control over society as a whole.

FIRST SIGN

This generation of young radicals, still in the process of getting together and organizing nationally, marks the first signs of these forthcoming struggles.

In order to win its demands, for an end to all forms of racial discrimination, for an end to the witchhunt and the House Un-American Activities Committee, for an end to nuclear stockpiling and threats of war, and for friendly relations with the Cuban people and their revolutionary government, these young people are going to have to take their fight seriously. They will have to break with the politics of the Democrats and Republicans and take the lead in the struggle for a labor party, just as they are now taking the lead in the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties.

Youth Face Long 'Vacation' . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

usually offer lower wages. A dandy source of intelligent, cheap labor. In such seasonal industries as ice cream manufacture, production managers are delighted to see students work and make many concessions to them. Why? For the simple reason that the students' lack of a long term relationship with the company usually precludes their taking an active part in union struggles.

The harsh truth is that capitalism has little use for those under twenty-five, except of course, in war. The "young" are simply another minority group alongside the non-white, the woman, the foreign-born, etc. The business system makes small pretense in less industrialized lands of caring for the health or schooling of young people. On its home grounds, imperialism mumbles about "delinquency" and grudgingly buys a few ping-pong tables for South Side Boys Club. The pedants and journalists spin their tales of the "younger generation," and capital-

ism plunders on.

KIDS RUN CUBA

In contrast to the sorry spectacle of crime and boredom into which the unwanted are forced by capitalism, Cuba presents a refreshing picture of an alternative system. In a revealing chapter in his book on Cuba, Sartre declared that "the greatest scandal of the Cuban revolution isn't that it expropriated the plantations, but that it brought children to power." And later he observed that "the young people had nothing to lose." Of course what Sartre should have pointed out is that expropriating the plantations implied the only course of action that would ever bring the "children" to power. It is a telling commentary that the recent invasion of Cuba was in large part defeated by these very "children."

And it is by no means accidental that the sit-in movement was initiated by the youth. In fact, throughout the world, students, many of whose prospects are crippled

by unemployment or abused by under-employment, are increasingly aiding pre-revolutionary movements and are among the first to assist in a transfer of power to the working class and peasantry.

As unemployed workers, students and young people in general tend to get left out altogether. The unions are not set up to cope with the problems of the unemployed in general and, in addition, make it very difficult for youth to join. These young people, however, must learn that they cannot hope to fight what is a general problem by themselves. The powers that keep them out pounding the pavements can only be made to give in if confronted with an organized force.

TAKE NOTICE!

If they ever hope to be able to start their adult lives with enough money to set up a home and to do what they want to do, the young unemployed should begin by getting together, forming special committees to pressure the union bureaucrats, forcing them to stand

up and take notice, to include them in the contract negotiations, and in the unions in general.

Young unemployed should be the most active in the fight for a 30 hour week with 40 hours' pay. This would make room in the economy for jobs for everyone, without allowing anyone to go hungry because of pay cuts. It would enable young workers and students to find jobs with at least half-way decent wages.

Participation in the struggles of the workers in general would make it possible for students, as young workers, to make the necessary link with the strongest potential force in America—the organized working class. Through this link, the students and young workers would have a means, not only of fighting for more and better jobs, and higher wages, but they would have a strong ally to which they could present their general demands for an end to war, for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and for full civil rights for all minorities.



SEATTLE PICKETS: The Fair Play Committee was able to hold its picket line despite Birchites. (See story below).

Fair Play Faces Eastland's Witchhunt; Demands Indictment of Allen Dulles & CIA

by Fred Mazelis

The witchhunt against the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has reached a fever pitch. In the past year the City College of New York chapter of the Fair Play Student Council and many other campus chapters were not recognized by their campus administrations for months after their formation. At Los Angeles City College the Student Council has so far been unable to secure a campus charter.

The Seattle Student Council's

Seattle FPCC Defeats Birchites

SEATTLE—At exactly 1 p.m., Saturday, May 27, a caravan of cars pulled up outside of the Seattle Federal Building. Each person as he got out of a car was handed a sign, and in less than one minute an orderly picket line was underway. The picket line proceeded until 2:00 p.m. when again a group of cars drove up and picketers and signs were removed from the area. The Student Council, Fair Play for Cuba Committee had successfully completed a picket demonstration against American aggression in Cuba.

The success of the demonstration, and the precision with which it was carried out were no accident. Two weeks previously a similar demonstration had been violently broken up by hoodlums inspired, if not directly organized, by the fascist John Birch Society. At that time picketers courageously attempted to fight off their attackers and keep the line going while nearly a dozen police turned their backs on the violence and failed to protect the constitutional rights of the picketers.

With the knowledge that all future public activities of the Student Council were in danger of hoodlum violence, the Student Council determined to carry through another successful picket demonstration. Since police protection could not be counted upon, a defense committee of 30 was organized to protect the right to picket. Many of the participants in the defense committee were trade union members with much experience on union picket lines. The plan proved successful.

May 13 picket line was broken up by a group of reactionary hoodlums. (See story this page. In addition, the Philadelphia FPCC chapter's April 19 demonstration protesting the CIA-organized invasion was attacked, and the police, after encouraging the attackers, arrested four of the Fair Play members who had been assaulted.

GOV'T. STEPS IN

Besides the campus difficulties and the harassment of picket lines, the national Fair Play Committee has been under sustained attack by the Federal Government. Richard Gibson, acting Executive Secretary of the FPCC, was called before Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for questioning.

Leading members of the Cleveland FP chapter and Midwest Representative, Ed Shaw, were subpoenaed to appear before the Eastland Committee in early June.

The FPCC has refused to submit a list of its members to the government and it has counter-attacked by demanding the indictment of Allen Dulles, CIA head, for his role in the Cuban invasion.

FP FIGHTS BACK

Have the attacks on civil liberties gone unnoticed? Certainly not! The Seattle Fair Play Student Council fought for its democratic rights and held a successful picket line on May 27 two weeks after its members had been brutally handled. The Philadelphia FPCC is waging a struggle for the defense of the four FP members when the chapter's picket line was attacked. The U. of Indiana Student Council has fought witchhunting and red-baiting and finally won a campus charter.

FPCC is holding a national conference in New York July 1 and 2, and a major point on the agenda will deal with plans to defeat the vigilante-type terrorism used against Fair Play picket lines and meetings. The FPCC has successfully fought off the witchhunt so far, and has continued to grow and conduct a high level of activities.

WHY THEY QUAKE

Why has the Fair Play Committee been singled out for special attack? The attacks on civil liberties

are the reaction of the American government to the revolutionary upsurge against imperialism centered in the colonial and underdeveloped areas of the world. The government responds with smears and a witchhunt to the defenders of a profound social revolution which threatens the stability of big business investments.

United action on all fronts where civil liberties is threatened, by all those who are willing to combat the threat is required. This means continued united efforts for the abolition of the HUAC, for the reversal of recent Supreme Court decisions stifling free thought, and against the witchhunt and attacks upon the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

'NOT ALL THE PRISONS'

Molina to Get 20 Years

by Sherry Finer

"It isn't important if I have to spend my whole life here, if that's the way it is decided. What is important, as Fidel says, is that the Revolution keep marching ahead. . . . Neither this prison nor all the prisons in the U.S. can diminish my ideals. I will defend the fatherland and the Revolution until death." So spoke Francisco Molina to his fellow revolutionaries in Cuba. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison on a framed-up murder charge involving the death of a young Venezuelan girl last Fall during a fight between pro and anti-Castro Cubans in N.Y.C.

Molina was sentenced without a retrial despite the fact that defense counsel Neuberger had just returned from Cuba where he obtained an affidavit from one of the chief prosecution witnesses, Humberto Triano. Triano was captured during the April 17th CIA-engineered invasion of Cuba. He admitted he lied when he testified that he saw Molina fire the fatal shot.

During the trial the defense attorney was prevented from cross-examining the prosecution witnesses about their activities in Miami (from whence they had come to N.Y.) "in the interests of national security." The fact that Triano was caught in the inva-

Independent Journals Give Students Independent Voice

The developing new student movement has found a voice in the many independent student publications which have popped up on major and minor campuses throughout the country. Printed, offset, mimeoed, and duplicated in other ways, these small campus journals represent a new mood across the country.

Most of these publications are opposed to the House Un-American Activities Committee, the witchhunt in general, opposed to nuclear testing and preparation for war, are partisans of the struggle of students in the South for full equality and are sympathetic to the Cuban Revolution or are at least opposed to the U.S. Government's policies in Cuba.

The latest issue of the "Albavross" from Swarthmore College, for example, is entirely devoted to a discussion of the Cuban Revolution, carrying letters and articles from students from many campuses.

Eric Gruver concludes his editorial in "The Black Flag," a small independent journal from Fullerton Junior College in Fullerton, California with the statement: "I cannot help but to feel ashamed that we blue-blooded Americans are unable to see the essence of the Cuban aspirations since the star-spangled flying banner is in front of our eyes, and blurring our vision; and that we are incapable of hearing the roar of the voice of history coming across from Cuba due to our national anthem which is playing too loudly in our ears."

Students from Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. launched a highly successful independent campus journal, "Controversy." Two of its staff members, Thomas Benson and Lewis Perry, will edit a nationwide campus publication, "The New Freedom." It will be a bi-weekly magazine, seeking to become a forum for the new student movement across the country.

The editors take note of the fact that: "In the past year American students have petitioned and picketed for changes in American policy in Cuba, the Congo and Geneva. . . . As American students begin to accept the European tradition of vocal and powerful political action, the American Press has begun to acknowledge the birth of a new student movement."

"The New Freedom is a part of this movement. It is not the voice of any one organization or group—it is the forum of the entire movement."

For more information write to: The New Freedom, Box 664, Ithaca, New York.

LA Paper's Adviser Fired for Exposing Sorority's 'Game'

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Lloyd Wilkie was faculty advisor of the Pierce College **Roundup**, until his journalistic integrity got the better of him and he dared to print a story that displeased the administration.

The story concerned the case of a member of a sorority at Pierce who was thrown from a fast moving car as part of a hazing "game" her sorority plays with its pledges. She was hospitalized with a severe concussion and a skull fracture.

Wilkie felt that a story should appear in the **Roundup** on the incident, and assigned a member of the student staff to write it. The article pointed out that fraternities and sororities are illegal on junior college campuses according to the State Code for Public Education.

The Pierce administration did not take kindly to such constructive criticism. The President, John Shepard, immediately suspended publication of the **Roundup** and transferred Wilkie to the English department, where he was assigned to alphabetizing cards.

When Wilkie tried to collect back issues of the **Roundup** for his Board of Education hearing, President Shepard ordered him out of the publications office and had him exiled to downtown headquarters.

Finally, after numerous unexplained postponements of his hearing, Wilkie was fired.

"I have been requested not to discuss the matter," was his only comment.

The story was printed in the "Reply," an independent student publication of Los Angeles City College.

The abundance of independent student journals on a campus-to-campus basis, and the development of a nationwide publication from Ithaca does not necessarily represent a violent abhorrence of those in charge of the administration-approved papers. Rather they indicate that more young people today have something to say—and they want to say it. And, at the same time, they do not feel so stifled by the witchhunt atmosphere of the last decades that they feel they have to think three or four times before they speak or act. These young people are not even afraid to put out smudged, cheaply duplicated, barely legible "publications." But then why should they be—they sell.

YS PAMPHLET REVIEW:

Castro Lets Out Secret of Full Employment

by Barbara Doritty

CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT. Translated by Bob Verney. 24 pp. New York: Young Socialist Forum. June 1961. 25 cents.

Castro's speech on unemployment was delivered to the first national conference of the delegates of Councils of Technical Advisers.

While the United States was suffering the worst unemployment since 1939, Cuba was witnessing a new phenomenon. Today in that country there is generally more work available than there are people to handle the work. Castro had this to say about it: "And what a rattle they'll (U. S. Imperialism) have in their heads, and how great will be their disappointment when they realize that this means simply one thing, that despite all the aggressions, despite all the tricks, despite all the cleverness and sly juggling that imperialism has resorted to against our small country, we Cubans here have been able to achieve the miracle of having more work available at this time than there are people to handle the work. . . ."

Castro is able to speak with authority on the subject of unemployment. Unemployment is no longer the critical problem in Cuba. Before the revolution Cuba was subordinated to a one-crop economy, which meant that relatively full employment existed each year only during the four months of the harvest. The rest of the year was known as the "dead time." Thus the Cubans

lived most of each year in a major depression.

The speech is a direct challenge to the Kennedy Administration on how to solve the problem of unemployment. Imperialism or progress?—"If your system is better than ours, why are you heading toward a crisis while we are heading toward progress? . . . Does Mister Kennedy want to end unemployment in the United States? Why, then let him nationalize the big monopolies; let him nationalize the big utilities companies; let him nationalize the banks, so that the banks can stop being private companies serving a few millionaires; let him put an end to military bases abroad; let him stop the armaments race, stop making rockets and battleships, pursue a policy of peace, and you will see how the problems and the crises in the United States will be over."

Castro directed the speech to the workers as participants in management of various industries, describing the achievements of the revolution in the past two years, the activity of the revolution today and the revolutionary plans for the future.

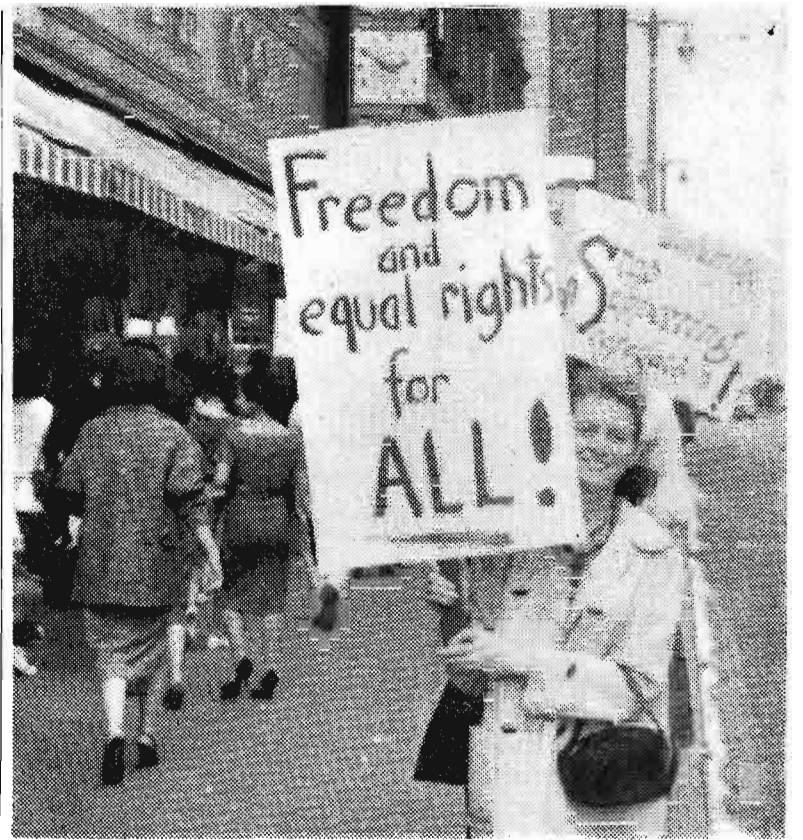
The councils are elected by the workers in their shops to form the backbone of the national planning of the Cuban revolutionary economy. They are distinct

from the trade unions which directly represent the workers' interests for better wages, conditions, etc.

They are a step toward workers control of the national economy, as demonstrated by the very fact of the gathering and the concept raised by Castro. "Today it is you who are moving production forward, you who today have replaced the selfish interests of a few with the absolute majority of the nation."

The pamphlet puts the lie to the claims of the U.S. press and officials that the Cuban economy is in the throes of an unending crisis. From that standpoint it is a useful weapon for all those who want first-hand information to demonstrate how the Cuban economy is functioning and to demonstrate what new forms of democratic control are being instituted.

In addition, the pamphlet offers a useful program for young workers who are faced with unemployment immediately on leaving school, as well as those 5,000,000 workers who are declared permanently out of work. The pamphlet illustrates how one government solved the problem—perhaps it could be put to use by a few more governments which face similar problems.



YOUNG MILITANTS: YSA'ers have participated in the major actions of their generation. In Los Angeles, they helped to organize demonstrations in support of Southern sit-ins for full integration.

Four Years of the YS . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Are We Disruptive. but: What are we Disrupting?

The fact that we support a certain action, such as a peace march, does not necessitate uncritical, apologetic support for its leadership. Criticism of a leadership when one has disagreements does not destroy the effectiveness of the action. On the contrary, it is **uncritical acceptance of conservative leadership that may destroy the effectiveness of the action.**

In the pages of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** many articles have analyzed in detail how the leadership of certain organizations seek to reduce the effectiveness of their actions. A good example is the Youth Marches to Washington, organized by A. Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. An editorial on the Youth March in April, 1959, analyzed the reasons why the march of 26,000 young people got so little attention from the government and the press:

"The force of our numbers was vitiated by the way in which the March was organized. We marched not through the center of Washington where the citizens could see our banners and our strength but rather through the center of the Mall where almost nobody noticed that we were there. We marched not to the White House or the Capitol building where the forces we wished to influence were located but rather to a monument dedicated to our first President who wasn't in much of a position to do anything about our present plight and who was a slaveholder anyway."

A NEW LEADERSHIP

A fresh new leadership is re-

quired to ensure that the struggles for civil rights, civil liberties, and peace be won. A leadership is needed which depends not on an apparatus, on maneuvers and deals, on politely convincing those who hold the power in this society to give up that power—what a Utopian dream!—but depends only on the energy and initiative of those who are making the fight. This kind of leadership can have absolutely no vested interest in preserving the status quo. The free and untrammelled exchange of ideas and programs among students themselves, including differing attitudes towards the existing leadership, is all a part of this process of creating a new leadership.

WHY THE YSA?

There are thousands of individuals in this country who have marched for peace, demonstrated against the HUAC, protested against the invasion of Cuba, and in other ways protested against the existing order. Many of them consciously seek a radical alternative to the existing system. Their work is important and valuable. But there is no substitute for a nationwide socialist youth organization to link these people together and work with other students who are not socialists for the creation of a militant leadership in the student movement and to bring about close ties between students and the labor movement. This organization, the YSA, which puts out the **YOUNG SOCIALIST**, publishes educational pamphlets, organizes national tours and helps to form campus socialist clubs, is but the first beginning step toward the formation of a revolutionary socialist youth leadership in this country. We feel it is a good beginning.

Socialist Parley Hails Cuba

Delegates to the Socialist Workers Party's semi-annual convention met last June 22-25 to establish a firm line of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. The SWP determined to defend the Cuban Revolution as a workers state, the first in the Western Hemisphere.

The delegates felt that the Cu-

ban people have taken a great step forward, under the revolutionary leadership of Fidel Castro and his followers, that they are now traveling on the road to the full end of the exploitation of man by man. The convention noted at the same time that the revolutionary process is not as yet completed—that the democratic forms of workers control are yet to be established.

The SWP welcomes the development of a new revolutionary party being created in Cuba, inspired and led by Fidel Castro.

The convention decision establishes the Socialist Workers Party as the only party to be on the ballot in the coming elections in New York and in Michigan to campaign in defense and in support of the Cuban Revolution.

A new pamphlet
In Defense of the Cuban Revolution
An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper
By JOSEPH HANSEN
Editor, *The Militant*
32 pages 25c
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

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You can't afford to miss any of these important pamphlets. Send your order with the necessary money to: *Young Socialist Educational Forum, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, New York.*

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- BERKELEY-OAKLAND: c/o Petras, 2158 Blake St. TH 5-1550.
- BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.
- CHICAGO: c/o Dengler, 746 Beiden. RE 9-1903.
- DENVER: Box 724, TAbor 5-2778.
- DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.
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Where We Stand

The Young Socialist Alliance is founded in response to the need for a nation-wide youth organization capable of bringing revolutionary socialist ideas to a new generation. This is necessary for building a revolutionary movement which can lead the working class to socialism. The YSA bases itself on the traditions of Marxian socialism as developed by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxembourg and Liebknecht. We believe that socialism can be initiated only as the result of struggle, international in scope, of the working class against the capitalist class and its allies—the struggle culminating in the creation of a new type of state, a workers state. Socialism means that for the first time in history man will control his own creation—society—rather than be controlled by it. The dynamic of socialism is of a continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life.

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- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

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