



Kennedy's Cuban Crisis And the Fight for Peace

Lessons of the Week of Fear

by Barry Sheppard

Today's high school senior was born the year the second world war ended, the year Harry Truman atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Today's youth have grown up with the atom bomb and the cold war. Our lives have been marked by permanent danger of nuclear annihilation; we have never known peace. The danger of war, the permanent conflict that threatens to break out into atomic horror—this is the background of our lives, and the background against which the cold war waxes and wanes from summit conference to crisis. It is within the context of the cold war that the Cuban crisis must be viewed.

The Cuban crisis has much to teach about the cold war, because it laid bare the real attitudes and desires of the major antagonists. Now that the immediate danger of war has passed, we can use our temporary respite to study the crisis, to be better prepared to struggle against the war-makers the next time they carry us to the brink, and better prepared to fight against war in general. The first question to ask about the crisis is: Who was the aggressor? Was it the U.S.? U.S.S.R.? Cuba?

Kennedy claimed that the U.S.S.R. and Cuba caused the crisis because Cuba was armed with Soviet missiles and planes. At the same time the United States has scores of bases ringing the Soviet Union and China, armed with missiles and atom bombs, harboring hundreds of thousands of troops. Polaris submarines, armed with nuclear weapons, roam the seven seas. There is even a U.S. base on Cuban soil, against the will of the Cuban people. The U.S. has enough weapons to destroy every nation on earth simultaneously and many times over. Yet Kennedy claims the right to such armament solely for himself. U.S. bases in Cuba, Turkey, Korea, France, Formosa, Okinawa, etc., etc. are o.k., but Soviet missiles in Cuba are an act of war. It is clear that Kennedy's charge was simply a cover-up for his aggressive policy against Cuba.

Before we accuse Cuba of aggressive intentions against the U.S., we should recall the history

of U.S.-Cuban relations since the revolution. When Cuba carried out the land reform, and thereby infringed on the property of the United Fruit Company, the U.S. cut the sugar quota. As the revolution deepened, the U.S. became increasingly hostile, imposed a trade embargo, organized counter-revolutionaries into sabotage squads, broke diplomatic relations, restricted the rights of U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba, organized a campaign of vilification against Cuba, pressured Latin American governments to isolate Cuba in the O.A.S., organized the Playa Giron invasion with U.S.-trained and armed counter-revolutionaries, openly proclaimed its intention of overthrowing the Cuban Revolution with arms, and placed the blockade around Cuba. Against such consistent and open aggression is it any wonder that the Cuban people have armed themselves in defense? Is there any serious question as to who is the aggressor?

Behind the Blockade

The real reason for the blockade and for the whole history of U.S. aggression against Cuba has nothing to do with "democracy" or military danger to the U.S. The policy of the U.S. government has been dictated by the financial and industrial interests who own and control this country. The tiny ruling minority that owns most of the factories, mines, banks, railways, etc. has searched the globe for new and profitable places to invest their gigantic profits, for new markets for their glut of goods, for control over the sources of the world's raw materials. As they have become richer they have had to look harder to find these markets, and have sought to establish monopoly over the sources of raw material. Consequently they have established economic control and ownership wherever they have been able, and have maintained a network of economic connections and control over the underdeveloped nations. Political and military domination, either overt or covert, insures their investments and their markets.

The Cuban Revolution, by violating the "rights" of the giant U.S. corporations to dominate and exploit Cuba, in favor of the rights of the Cuban people to build themselves a better life through socialist construction, has come up square against the expansive nature and needs of U.S. imperialism. It is not so much the \$1,000,000,000 they lost

(Continued on Page 2)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 6, No. 2 (50)

January, 1963

NASHVILLE CONFERENCE

SNCC Plans for Action

By Chuck Anderson

On the evening of Nov. 24, 225 demonstrators gathered in downtown Nashville, Tenn. They stood outside the Nashville jail where one of their number was being held for the "crime" of being beaten by a white racist. Bobby Talbert, the prisoner, a Fisk student from Mississippi, could hear those outside singing freedom songs—songs of the struggle for equality, justice, and dignity. While white prisoners made obscene gestures the strains of "We Shall Overcome" echoed on the prison walls.

The demonstrators, civil rights fighters from all over the South, as well as a few from Northern states, were attending the two-day Leadership Training Institute and Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, held on the campus of Fisk University. Earlier in the day, putting their discussions into action, the conference participants had joined the Nashville Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in two hours of demonstrations at downtown Nashville eating places. As usual, the demonstrators, seeking integration of lunch counter facilities, were met with violence by white racists. The worst incident came at the Wilson-Quick pharmacy where Bobby Talbert was severely beaten by a white racist, Jerry Wayne Fitzgerald.

At no time did the police intervene to protect Talbert—in- stead they arrested him along with his assailant, who continued to beat him in the police car. After he was released on a \$25 bond collected from the demonstrators, it was learned that he had also been beaten by the uniformed thugs in the jail. Demonstrators took him to a hospital after he was released.

A glimpse of the spirit of these militant youth came when somebody asked him, "What did you do when that guy kept hitting you?"

He answered, "I just maintained my cool."

The conference itself convened Nov. 23 with a half hour of songs of the Southern Freedom movement. Following this, Robert Moses, director of the Mississippi Voting Project and Marion Barry, former chairman of SNCC, led the first discussion on "Why Voter Registration" and "Why Direct Action?"

A high point of the evening session was a brief address by Charles McDew, Chairman of SNCC. He mentioned a recent visit to the United Nations, during which he attempted to speak to Ralph Bunche about SNCC. Bunche, however, appeared to have practically no knowledge or understanding of the Southern struggles or of the role SNCC was playing. In contrast, the Soviet diplomat with whom McDew spoke displayed a surprising amount of familiarity with SNCC's work, mentioning the recent church burnings and other attacks on voter registration workers in Georgia and Mississippi.

During his address, McDew quoted a section of Cuban President Dortico's speech at the U.N. which depicted the 150 years of imperialist oppression in Cuba; the American Negro also, he said, has had centuries of oppression.

The keynote address was delivered by Slater King, the Executive Vice-President of Georgia's Albany Movement, who was received with a standing ovation. Charles Sherrod, who introduced King, referred to an incident in which King's wife had been pushed around and kicked by officials while she was visiting some prisoners in jail. She was pregnant at the time, and the brutal treatment she received caused the loss of her child. King said that, had he been present, he would have had to die protecting his wife.

King spoke on the importance of SNCC's consciousness of its

function upon entering communities where it worked. He also said that he thought the movement should include all dedicated elements, whatever their philosophy or politics. He ended by pointing out that the masses may be more ready for radical reforms than the leadership realizes.

On Saturday morning, several workshops were held where various problems confronting the movement were discussed. The economics workshop, for instance, discussed such things as selective buying, working through existing unions, organizing unions for Negro workers, and the possible organization of cooperatives in the South.

The workshop on political action was the largest of the five. The main point of discussion was the question of building a third party, or a genuine second party in the South. A third workshop, on communications, dealt with problems of publicity and the circulation of news of SNCC activities, including its own publication, *Student Voice*.

In the evening, a discussion of the workshops was held. Bob Zellner reported on the civil liberties workshop which he led. A strong stand was taken against red-baiting and speakers pointed to the experience of SANE as an example of how an organization can be destroyed by such practices. Devotion to the civil rights movement, and not the political affiliation of an individual are the basis on which he is to be a part of

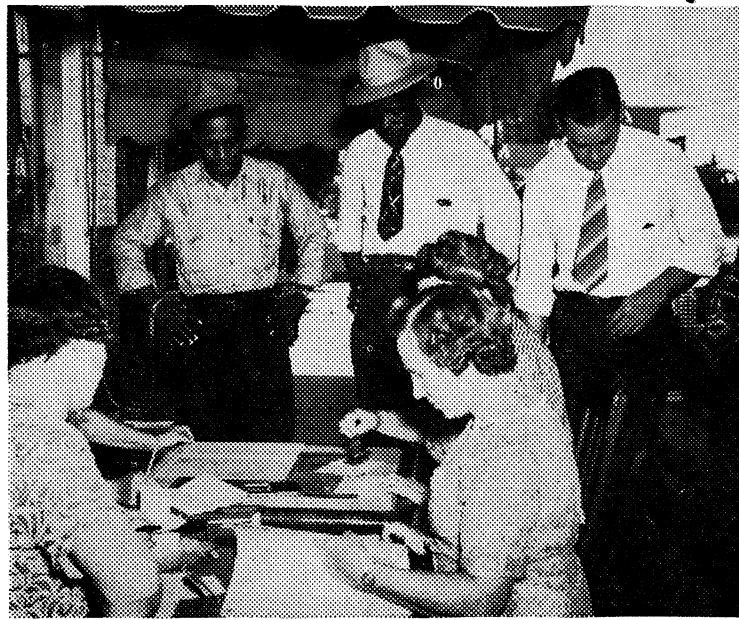
(Continued on Page 4)

Office Equipment Sought by SNCC

An appeal for aid to help maintain the field and office operations of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was issued on Nov. 8 by SNCC Chairman Charles McDew. SNCC, with headquarters at 6 Raymond Street N.W. Atlanta 14, Ga., is conducting a voter registration drive in Mississippi and Alabama. SNCC workers have also played a key role in Albany, Ga., and other civil rights struggles throughout the South.

McDew said, "We have urgent need for the following items: automobiles to help our field secretaries get around in the rural counties of Mississippi and Alabama as they encourage rural Negro citizens to register and vote. In our Atlanta office, we need mimeographing paper so that we can increase our press service, and so that we can better communication between protest groups. We need typewriters, pens, pencils and other office supplies.

"We appeal to concerned Americans to help us in our struggle."



Negroes in Mississippi face an all-white voter registration panel. While Negroes make up 42.3 per cent of the population of this state, only 6 per cent of the registered voters are Negroes.

To Our Subscribers

Due to circumstances beyond our control, the Dec., 1962 issue has been dropped, and this issue is dated Jan., 1963. Subscribers will be credited with an additional issue.

... Lessons of the Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

through the nationalizations in Cuba that worries them—it is the thought that Latin America itself may try to overcome poverty, ignorance, disease, and backwardness by following the example of Cuba. The imperialist owners of U.S. industry are appalled at the thought of Latin America no longer being their own little profitable back yard. And these are the terms they think in—their profits, not the needs of the starving masses of the Americas. The policy of the U.S. government is the policy of the owners of America: smash the Cuban Revolution.

On the other hand, the economic structure of the Soviet Union is based upon nationalized property and planning. Production for profit has been replaced by production to fulfill the needs of the people. There is no economic drive in the U.S.S.R., as there is in the U.S., to expand investments into other countries or to seek new markets. Planned economy does not rest upon investing or selling for profit. Goods are produced for use and not for sale. Whatever can be said about the evils of the Soviet political structure, and a good deal could be said about the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, the fact nevertheless remains that the economic system of the Soviet Union does not drive it to dominate and expand. In fact, peace is a prerequisite for the full development of a planned economy, and the Soviet Union needs peace in order to build up its economy.

Backs Away from War

The basically peaceful nature of the Soviet Union was reflected in the crisis. While the U.S. was threatening the Soviet Union and the world with nuclear weapons, the U.S.S.R. did not reply in kind, but backed away from war, conceding military and diplomatic positions to the imperialist madmen.

Kennedy's naked and arrogant aggression, his reckless toying with the future of the world, have exposed the rapacious character of the bi-partisan U.S. ruling class. All socialists understand this and are in the front lines in the fight against the war-makers. Or at least one would think that all socialists would so behave. It is a sad thing to have to report that a section of the socialist movement folded up in the crisis and went over into Kennedy's camp. The Young People's Socialist League, along with its parent organization, the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation, put "equal blame" for the crisis on "both sides." To listen to the YPSLs, one would have thought that the Soviet Union had proclaimed a blockade of U.S. ships, that the U.S. had avoided provocations, that Castro had proclaimed the overthrow of the U.S. government by the force of Cuban arms! You would have thought, to listen to the YPSLs, that the most important thing to do during the crisis was to demonstrate against the Soviet Union, and that it was the duty of socialists to whitewash Kennedy. Their topsy-turvy unreal world merely reflects their bias toward the capitalist class, which in the showdown became a stampede to



Part of the crowd of some 10,000 who marched to the U.N. on Sunday, Oct. 28, to demand an end to the danger of war.

the right. The Young People's Socialist League earned the justified contempt of all real socialists in this crisis.

Kennedy's actions blew the theory of the "third camp" or "equal blame" right to hell. The content, the real meaning of this theory, was manifested in the actions of the YPSLs, who took the occasion of the crisis to blame the Soviet Union for the cold war, and to call for the overthrow of the Cuban government to restore capitalist "democracy" in Cuba. The Nov. 10 issue of *New America*, the organ of the SP-SDF, even carried an article by a Cuban counter-revolutionary which dates Castro's "betrayal" of the revolution to the fall of 1959—when the capitalist politicians were ousted from the revolutionary government. Another article in the same issue presents a "minority view"—that Kennedy acted correctly to maintain the "balance of power" with his blockade. It used to be said of Norman Thomas that there is no fool like an old fool—but it is even more pathetic to see young people acting like old fools and following the lead of old fools.

Peaceful Coexistence

Another policy which was exposed by the crisis is the Kremlin's theory of "socialism in one country" known nowadays as the "policy of peaceful coexistence." In its up-to-date version, this theory holds that the armed might of the Soviet Union is sufficient to guarantee the peace, that war has become unthinkable and is consequently ruled out as an alternative for the capitalist world. Kennedy's ultimatum demonstrated the exact opposite. The U.S. was exposed as willing to risk nuclear war in order to defend the profit system. The armed might of the Soviet Union proved to be insufficient to contain the imperialists. Although it is imperative that the Soviet Union and the other workers' states maintain their defensive arms, reliance solely upon military might is not sufficient to guarantee peace, and even is secondary to the political struggle for peace. In this particular instance, it was not Soviet military capacity, but the withdrawing of weapons by the Soviet Union which kept us out of war.

The other side of "peaceful coexistence" is the theory that in order to get the capitalists to agree to disarmament and peace (to which they will never agree), the workers in the capitalist section of the world should not fight their capitalists, but should support them, as a trade for peace with the Soviet Union. Now the capitalists never hold to their side of the bargain—witness the crisis—and

the Communist Parties always hold to theirs. This means that the Communist Parties do not wage a campaign to explain the nature of imperialism to the workers of the world. They do not mount a class struggle against the imperialists, and indeed they support them.

The fruit of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" can best be seen in this country, where one week after the crisis the *Worker* came out in support of the imperialist invaders of Cuba, the McCarran Act, union-busting, war-making Democratic Party! The *Worker* also carefully explained that it was not Kennedy's fault, not the fault of imperialism and capitalism that we were brought to the brink in the fury of the capitalist attack against Cuba, but the fault of some bad guys in the Pentagon, to whom, unfortunately, Kennedy listened. The Pentagon is certainly made up of the worst types, but to whitewash Kennedy and the system he represents, which uses the Pentagon as its tool, is to misidentify the enemy and to refuse to mount a struggle against him. Indeed, the *Worker* even went so far as to support the enemy.

Contrasted to the "class peace" election policy of the Communist Party was the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP based its campaign around working class opposition to the two imperialist parties, and was able to defend publicly the Cuban Revolution and to expose the imperialists during the crisis. The class struggle approach of the Ceylonese Trotskyists was a key factor in the organization of mass demonstrations and a boycott of U.S. ships by the Ceylonese dockworkers. This struggle in Ceylon shows one action that could have been taken by the CPs of France Italy and other countries.

The Road to Peace

A real peace policy must begin with an understanding of the nature of imperialism. Capitalism must be exposed for the war-breeding system that it is, and a determined struggle against capitalism must be waged. A class struggle policy against the capitalist war-makers must be projected, and a socialist, anti-imperialist, anti-war movement must be built. The only road to peace is to take the war-making power out of the hands of the war-makers. We have to take the bombs away from those who need and profit from war. For as long as we live in a world where a group of men, armed with atomic weapons, is pressed by its material interests to expand its dominion, we are going to live under the constant danger of nuclear destruction.

Young Socialist

Ted Mellor, Editor
Thadd Beebe, Circulation Manager
Editorial Board: Chan Godfrey,
Ted Mellor, George Saunders



"A World to Win!"

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year. Bundle rate: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly. P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta, New York 3, New York. Phone GR 7-3640. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

Official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance

Vol. 6, No. 2 (50)

401

January, 1963

Cuba Must Have More Than Kennedy's Pledge

The immediate danger of Kennedy's unleashing a nuclear holocaust appears to have passed with the easing of the crisis generated by his war-like acts against Cuba and the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, in the face of nuclear threats, acceded to Kennedy's truculent demands and agreed to remove from Cuba weapons which Kennedy considered offensive. This action was taken in return for a promise by Kennedy that he would not invade Cuba.

While the Soviet Union has faithfully lived up to its side of the agreement, Kennedy still hedges on making a formal pledge not to invade. In his Nov. 19 press conference, Kennedy stated only that there would be "peace in the Caribbean" if all offensive weapons are removed from Cuba and kept out of the hemisphere "under adequate verification and safeguards," and if Cuba "is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes." These conditions are broad enough to include any demands which the U.S. might want to make in violation of Cuba's sovereign right to prepare its defenses, and to allow Kennedy to respond to any significant revolutionary development in Latin America with an all-out war on Cuba.

Even if Kennedy were to give a formal pledge not to invade, the question would still remain as to the reliability of his word, which has been badly compromised in the past. In his Oct. 13 Indianapolis speech, for instance, Kennedy attacked Senator Caphart for demanding invasion of Cuba. Yet a little over a week later, he himself mobilized his giant war machine, and threatened not only to invade Cuba but to plunge the U.S. into nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Despite his fine-sounding words, he showed himself as ready as any "self-appointed general" to turn "other people's sons" into radioactive dust.

The fact that the Cuban Revolution, despite the lifting of the blockade, remains in grave danger from the imperialist regime 90 miles from its shores was indicated in the same Nov. 19 press conference. "We will not," Kennedy said, "abandon the political, economic and other efforts of this hemisphere" against Cuba and reiterated the standing bi-partisan goal that the Cuban people be "freed" from their revolutionary leadership.

The single concrete action which the administration has taken to support its "peaceful" rhetoric has been lifting the blockade. The ending of this act of war still leaves in effect all the aggressive activities being conducted by the U.S. before the crisis—"the political, economic and other efforts" referred to by Kennedy in his press conference.

The Kennedy administration continues its embargo on shipping to Cuba and its pressure on allies to join its efforts to strangle the revolution. The U.S. continues its provocative flights of spy-planes over Cuba's territory, continues to maintain its ring of training centers for counter-revolutionaries, and maintains its unwelcome armed camp at Guantanamo. The maintenance of this base exposes the hypocrisy of Kennedy's war-cries about "foreign bases" in Cuba. For if, as Fidel Castro has said, "the United States has placed the world on the brink of war to demand the withdrawal of [Soviet weapons placed in Cuba], what moral right do they have to refuse to abandon the territory which they occupy in our country?"

In view of the history of U.S. aggression against Cuba and the present bellicose attitude of the Kennedy administration, the Cuban people have a right to demand more from Kennedy than a promise not to invade, even if a clear pledge were forthcoming. They have justly demanded that Kennedy match his words with his deeds and take certain minimum steps to guarantee Cuba's sovereign rights and end U.S. acts of aggression against Cuba:

(1) that the U.S. government stop providing bases for pirate attacks on Cuba by counter revolutionaries, (2) stop training spies, saboteurs and mercenaries for subversion against Cuba, (3) stop violating Cuban territorial waters and air space, (4) stop imposing aggressive economic pressures on Cuba, and (5) withdraw from the naval base at Guantanamo, maintained in the heart of Cuban territory and against the will of the Cuban people.

Anyone interested in the struggle against war should give full support to these points, which together constitute only the demand that the U.S. respect the most elementary rights of a sovereign nation.

Finally, the real interests of the American people, as opposed to the minority of big-business interests who would profit from Cuba's downfall, demand that the U.S. restore normal diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. The U.S. should turn from its present policy of aggression against Cuba, agreeing to negotiate all differences with the Cuban government, and transferring the funds used in the military build-up against Cuba into a program of economic aid to assist Cuba's development.

It is only on the basis of such measures that the long-term crisis, the drive toward war against Cuba, can be ended.

read **The Militant**
SOCIALIST WEEKLY

Special 4-month introductory subscription, \$1.

Name

Address

The Militant
116 University Place, N.Y., N.Y.

War Drive Hit by Coast-to-Coast Protests

The following are summaries of a few of the reports which the YS received on demonstrations all over the country following Kennedy's speech of Oct. 22. Although lack of space does not permit us to report every picket line or to give complete coverage, we are happy to record here the militancy of American students in voicing their protest against war.

New York

NEW YORK—Demonstrations of significant proportions marked the weekend following the beginning of the Cuban crisis. On Sat., Oct. 27, in response to a call from several organizations, including the ad hoc Committee to Halt World War III and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, over 2,000 picketed near the United Nations. The following day about 10,000 marched to the same place to demonstrate against the drive towards war.

Originally, it had been announced that the Saturday protest was to be at Times Square, rather than at the U.N., where passers-by are relatively few and where picket lines are common. In addition to the usual leaflets, the call for the Times Square rally was telecast to all of New York by Carl Feingold, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator. On the following day, however, N.Y. Police Commissioner Murphy announced an illegal ban on all rallies in Times Square for the duration of the crisis. Although some groups wished to defend their right to demonstrate in Times Square, others decided not to risk probable attack by the police and decided to hold the rally at the U.N. In the interest of a united demonstration, all groups involved supported the U.N. protest.

Just before the main Saturday demonstration, a rally, sponsored by the Student Peace Union, took place under the central slogan "U.S.-U.S.S.R.—No War Over Cuba!" No slogans or leaflets were permitted except those carrying the "third camp" position of the local SPU leadership.

When this rally ended, and the Fair Play-sponsored picket line was beginning in the same place, participants in the latter began shouting, "One Line Against the War," calling for a united non-exclusive protest. While SPU officially withdrew to hold a small vigil in one corner of the plaza, many SPU members joined in the united demonstration. More people joined the line when a contingent from a meeting in Harlem, organized by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee, marched down to join the line.

After the U.N. demonstration broke up, a number of the more militant demonstrators attempted, on their own, to march to Times Square, but were halted by squads



UNITED NATIONS: A number of different groups supported the Fair Play for Cuba Committee demonstrations of Oct. 27.

of police who denied them the right to picket.

The Sunday demonstration, one of the largest in recent years, was called by a number of pacifist and peace groups. Although the speakers sought to present an "equal blame" theory, the majority of the participants indicated by their actions and comments that they clearly held Kennedy responsible and were protesting his actions.

Washington

After the Johns Hopkins University peace group, Concern, an SPU affiliate, announced plans to picket the White House, the national SPU made a call for support to the action. In response, over 2,000 students from Eastern and Midwestern campuses converged in Washington for the demonstration on Sat., Oct. 27. They were joined by SANE and Women Strike for Peace.

Although the policy of the demonstration was officially "third camp," the participants in the protest seemed much more concerned with U.S. aggression. Several persons attempted to carry signs condemning the role of the U.S. as the cause of the crisis but were prevented from doing so. Although the protest was not as effective as it might have been if it had been open to all anti-war slogans, it was welcome as a demonstration very near and probably very annoying to Kennedy.

A counter-demonstration, organized by the Young Americans for Freedom, drawing such elements as Cuban counter-revolutionaries and members of the American Nazi party, mustered about 150 people in their display of solidarity with Kennedy.

After the demonstration, the anti-war picketers went to a rally addressed by Washington journalist I.F. Stone, who condemned the support expressed by Republicans and Democrats alike for Kennedy's policy. Edward Shiller, chairman of Concern, also spoke at the meeting. He called for the building of a militant new student leadership. In addition he criticized the silence of so-called peace candidates in failing to denounce Kennedy's provocations against Cuba as aggressive.

Boston

BOSTON—Over 300 people here responded to Kennedy's threats of aggression by picketing on Sat., Oct. 27, in Boston Common. Students and adults carried placards reading, "No Blockade, Don't Invade," "No War Over Cuba" and "Self-Determination of Nations."

Although most of the participants wanted the anti-war line to continue, it was halted after about an hour and a half to dis-

tribute a leaflet condemning the U.S. action. Although the leaflet held the Soviet Union somehow partly to blame for the crisis, it did point out clearly the three years of aggressions by the U.S.

Chicago

On the Saturday following Kennedy's announcement of the blockade of Cuba, 700 people demonstrated in Chicago against the drive toward World War III.

The demonstration, which wound through the downtown area, was called by the Women for Peace and the Student Peace Union. Some of the signs read, "No Foreign Bases—East or West" and "ALL Hands Off Cuba." There was an obvious lack of any signs demanding an end to U.S. action and preparation for aggression against Cuba, although a few signs called for an end to the blockade.

The demonstration ended with a fifteen-minute vigil after which David Kelley of the SPU and a representative of the small counter-demonstration were interviewed by CBS-TV. Kelley devoted most of his interview to calling for a political revolution to overthrow the Cuban revolutionary leadership. He also agreed with Kennedy that the "aggressive missiles in Cuba should be removed."

To differentiate itself from the official "third camp" orientation of the demonstration, the Young Socialist Alliance distributed a leaflet to the marchers calling for "Hands Off Cuba!" and stressing that "Kennedy's action is not the result of a sudden fear of missiles in Cuba. The U.S. government has been hostile to Cuba from the beginning."

The Y.S.A. leaflet continues: "The shouting about missile bases is the pretext, not the cause of the impending invasion of Cuba. Behind the cry of missile bases, Kennedy will mobilize public opinion which would otherwise oppose such a dangerous and immoral adventure—one which could easily lead to World War III."

Indiana

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—A group of 17 students at the University of Indiana who voiced their opposition to the U.S. war drive Oct. 24, were shoved around by a large hostile crowd. The mob, apparently whipped up by fraternities and rightist groups, knocked several students to the ground and finally succeeded in ending the demonstration when all the picket signs had been destroyed. Even though the demonstrators marched from the campus into downtown Bloomington, the police at no time intervened to pro-

tect the demonstrators or their right to picket. This demonstration received coverage all over the country in headlines which gloated over the suppression of free speech in Indiana.

Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS—The University of Minnesota Student Peace Union held a rally Oct. 24 protesting Kennedy's warlike blockade of Cuba. The speakers, including Prof. Cyrus Barnum, Prof. Charles McLaughlin, SPU Vice-President Mike Klein, and SPU member George Tselos, were faced with a hostile crowd, some of whom threw eggs at the platform. Right-wingers, led by the Univ. of Minn. Republican Association and the Young Americans for Freedom, carried signs like "Theta Chi Backs Jack."

A picket line against Kennedy's blockade followed in the downtown area. About 50 participated, carrying signs reading, "End the Blockade" and "Negotiate With Cuba." On Oct. 27 a picket line, again sponsored by SPU, was held in St. Paul. A leaflet issued read, in part, "We are totally opposed to any 'quarantine,' blockade, or invasion of Cuba. In addition to leading us to the edge of nuclear destruction, this blockade is an aggressive act against Cuba."

California

A united demonstration of some 3,500 protested Kennedy's blockade of Cuba Sat., Oct. 27 in San Francisco. The demonstration, called by the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Blockade of Cuba, took as its theme, "No Blockade, No Invasion, No War."

The highlight of the rally was the appearance of actor Sterling Hayden who declared, "The one thing that can conceivably change the course is real mass protest from the American people—no other people—the American people." Other speakers included poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Mike Walker, President of S.F. SPU, Dick Roman, former Nat'l Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, and Robert Scheer, co-author of a forthcoming book on Cuba.

The preceding Tuesday a rally held on the Univ. of California campus at Berkeley heard Asher

Harer of the Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Saul Landau of Studies on the Left, and a number of additional speakers. The Young Socialist Alliance sponsored a rally on the campus of Oakland City College Wed., Oct. 24. The police broke up the rally on the grounds that it was "noisy," "closed one lane of traffic" and "blocked the entrance to a business establishment."

In Los Angeles 75 pickets demonstrated at the Sports Arena where Kennedy had scheduled a campaign appearance, although due to his crisis activities the resident remained in Washington. Pickets carried signs such as: "No War Over Cuba," "Stop the Embargo," and "Gallup Says 63% Against Invasion."

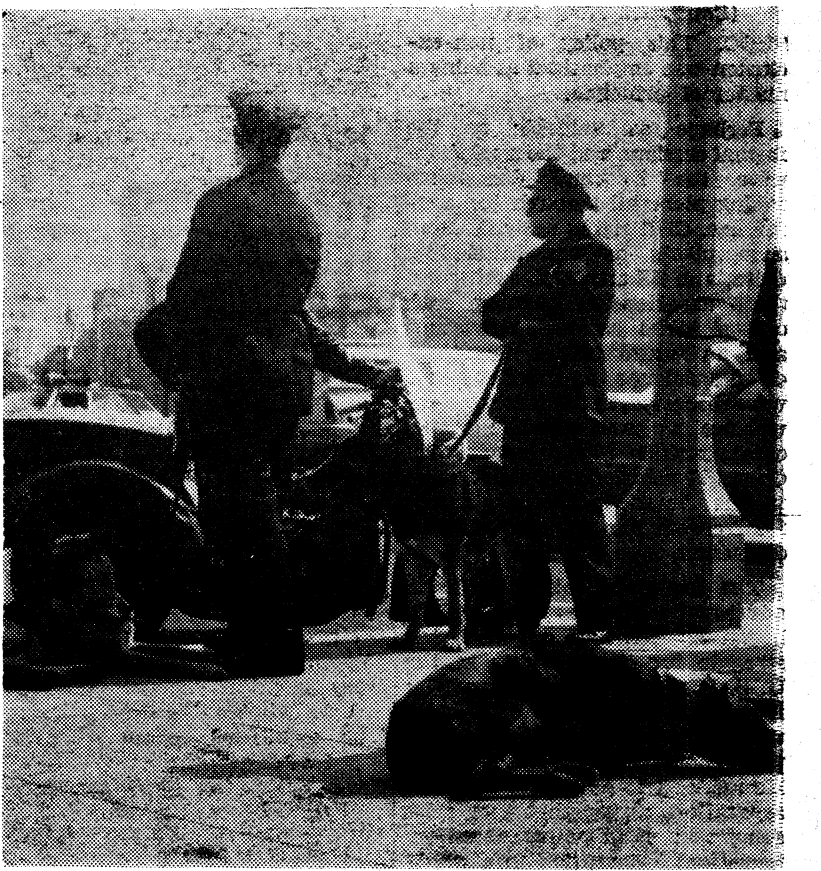
A heated debate took place at the Univ. of California at Los Angeles two days after Kennedy's announcement. Speaking in defense of Cuba were Mike Goldman and Leslie Evans of the YSA. Marvin Treiger of Youth for Peace and Socialism, and Ana Ofman of YPSL also spoke against the blockade.

Seattle

SEATTLE—Although there was general apathy in the established adult peace organizations here, students groups responded quickly in protesting Kennedy's threats of war. The Univ. of Washington SPU demonstrated in front of the Federal Office Building the day after Kennedy's speech. They were forced to disband, however, in the face of threats of violence when police protection was removed.

Feeling that this protest had ended in defeat, SPU called a better organized and more effective demonstration for Oct. 27, at the Federal Courthouse. A joint coordinating committee was formed with the campus Fair Play for Cuba committee and efforts were made to involve other peace organizations.

Possibly accounting for the fact that there were no incidents of violence at this protest was the stationing of several adults among the crowd as observers. Their task was to deter anyone about to engage in violence by engaging them in conversation to convince them of the students' right to picket.



POLICE DOGS IN SAN FRANCISCO—Throughout the country demonstrators faced similar intimidation by police as they exercised their right to picket. Where large numbers of right-wingers were mobilized to smash the lines, however, the police were not in sight.

Atlanta

ATLANTA—Negro and white students from four Georgia colleges demonstrated in this Southern city in protest of the blockade of Cuba. The actions, which took place on the Tuesday and Wednesday following Kennedy's provocative speech, consisted of 25 and 20 people respectively. They came from two Negro colleges, Morehouse and Spelman, and Emory University and Georgia State College. The marchers were harassed by police, who took their names.

They were counter-picketed by the National States Rights Party, a rabidly white-supremacist organization. They carried signs reading "War with Cuba, not Mississippi."

Why Defend the Cuban Revolution

by Ted Mellor

Before the Cuban people rose in arms in Jan., 1959, ridding themselves of one of the most hated dictators in Cuba's history, relations between the U.S. government and that of Cuba were cordial. There was no talk of embargoes, blockades, or invasions. Investments totalling \$850,000,000 in 1957 were bringing in huge profits to U.S. corporations, and the Batista government was living up to its pledge to protect U.S. interests in Cuba. In return, Batista received sizable economic and military aid from the U.S.

In the countryside, however, 450,000 Cuban farm workers were living on an annual income of about \$120. Their basic diet consisted of rice, beans and vegetables. According to a 1957 Cuban Catholic Association survey, 96 per cent could afford no meat; only 11 per cent had milk and 2 per cent had eggs. Over 60 per cent were living in thatched huts without running water or sanitation facilities.

A large part of the U.S. aid which Batista received went to maintain a massive police force throughout the island which was used to crush any opposition to Batista's rule. Beatings, torture, mutilation, and mass killings were an everyday part of the Cuban peoples' lives. Dickey Chapelle writes, "One rebel told me he had searched for the remains of his father among the 92 bodies piled at a Havana intersection one morning. 'He was one of the last I looked at,' he finished." An estimated 20,000 Cubans fell victim to Batista's terror during his years of rule.

The guardians of democracy in Washington paid little notice. Their attitude was (and is) that expressed by Rep. John McMillan, Democrat, of S.C. on Sept. 25: "We, of course, would like to see every country have a democratic form of government; however, Batista, even though he was a dictator, cooperated and worked with our country at all times . . ."

Despite the Batista terror, there were men who sided with the Cuban people, with the farm workers and peasants trying to eke out



a living on United Fruit plantations. Among these were Fidel Castro and the men of the 26 of July Movement which he led. They put forward a program of democratic reforms and promised an agrarian reform to meet the needs of Cuban peasants and farm workers. Unlike most other groups, they refused to shy away from serious struggle and committed themselves to armed revolt against the Batista tyranny.

Time and again in the history of Latin America, similar groups have come to power on the basis of such a program, only to yield to heavy pressure from native and foreign land-owners, scrapping the promises they made. There were such men in the coalition government set up when Batista was overthrown, but Fidel Castro and the men of the 26 of July were not among them. They made it clear that they had no intention of betraying the workers and peasants who brought them to power, whatever the consequences, and pushed ahead with the agrarian reform. As a result, in October 1959, the untrustworthy elements were pushed out of the government and the revolutionists assumed responsibility for

guiding Cuba's future course.

One would have thought that the immediate gains the land reforms were bringing to the Cuban people would have been greeted everywhere. But while the lot of the Cuban people was being bettered, others were losing their privileges—the U.S. owners and investors who drew large profits from Cuba's misery. Acting according to the latter's interests, Washington began exerting heavy pressure on Cuba, cutting the sugar quota, imposing other sanctions, and threatening to act directly to overthrow the Cuban leadership, as they had overthrown Arbenz in Guatemala.

The revolutionary leaders in Cuba refused to sacrifice the needs of the Cuban people to such pressure, and with every attack by imperialism took further steps to safeguard and extend the revolutionary gains of the Cuban people. By the fall of 1960, major industries had been nationalized and economic planning begun to insure that the needs of the Cuban people would be met. The government assumed a monopoly of foreign trade, thus protecting Cuba from unscrupulous deals with foreign corporations.

In thus abolishing capitalism and embarking upon socialist construction through the establishment of a workers state, Cuba was exercising its right as a sovereign nation to determine for itself what kind of economic system best suited the needs of Cuba's workers and peasants. Washington, however, refused to recognize this right and in April 1961 financed and supported an invasion of Cuba in an abortive attempt to restore capitalism to the island. Kennedy apparently counted on aid from within Cuba for his aggressive actions, but the Cuban people, armed and organized in their militia and rebel army,

rallied in their overwhelming majority to defend their revolution.

Again the Castro leadership refused to be intimidated by U.S. attacks, and did not hesitate to draw the lessons of the invasion. On May 1, 1961, Fidel Castro outlined the class nature of the struggle between Cuba and the U.S. and openly proclaimed the socialist character of the revolution, raising the consciousness of the Cuban people as to the implications of their struggle and the dangers they still faced from imperialism.

While heavy pressure and acts of sabotage continued from the U.S., a new danger to the interests of the Cuban people began to develop—this time from within the revolutionary movement itself. An increasing number of complaints were coming in from Cuban workers and peasants of bureaucratic abuses being committed by numerous officials around the country. The growth of a privileged bureaucratic caste in the Russian workers state under Stalin has placed serious obstacles in the path of the Russian workers and acted to paralyze revolutionary struggles throughout the world. In Cuba, however, Fidel Castro again took the side of the workers and peasants. In his forthright speech of March 26, 1962, Cuba's Premier denounced the bureaucratic and sectarian abuses committed by Anibal Escalante, an official of the Cuban Communist Party (PSP), and other old-line Communists. In exposing and correcting these bureaucratic tendencies, Cuba's revolutionary government acted to strengthen further the development of working-class democracy in Cuba, further safeguarding the rights and interests of the Cuban people.

At the height of the recent crisis, while the U.S. was threatening the world with atomic destruction in order to impose its will upon Cuba, the Cuban lead-

ership again refused to surrender to the U.S. the right of the Cuban people to decide their own fate.

While acceding to the removal by the Soviet Union of defensive strategic weapons from Cuba, thereby depriving the U.S. of its immediate excuse for an invasion, the Cuban government refused to buckle under to U.S. demands for inspection of Cuban territory. Castro pointed out that such inspection through the U.N. would constitute a violation of Cuba's sovereign rights and would open the way to the imposition upon the Cuban people of a fate like that imposed on the Congo.

The primary threat of the Cuban Revolution to U.S. imperialism is the example which the first socialist revolution in our hemisphere gives to the rest of Latin America and to the entire colonial world. The success of the Cuban Revolution in raising its peoples' living standards, in eliminating racial discrimination, in virtually abolishing illiteracy, and in continuing to survive only 90 miles from the world's greatest imperialist power has been a source of inspiration and guidance to all forces struggling against imperialist oppression.

Here in our own country, the fight for peace, for civil rights, and for civil liberties is inseparable from the fight to defend the Cuban Revolution. The oppression of the colonial peoples abroad and the oppression of the Negro people at home are interlocking aspects of the same system of imperialist oppression. Those of us who are active in the quest for peace and civil liberties are also facing the same enemy as the Cuban people, and Cuba's struggle is, in a very direct way, inextricably linked with ours. The interests of the great majority of the American people lie not in crushing the Cuban Revolution, but in supporting that revolution and in working for the time when even our own country will follow Cuba's example.

... SNCC Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

SNCC. This policy of non-exclusion was emphasized as being a matter of principle.

Perhaps as valuable as the formal sessions and the workshops were the informal discussions taking place all through the conference. Civil rights activists from such places as the Mississippi delta, and Albany, Ga., exchanged their experiences, learning each others' views on the movement and its future course. Questions of nonviolence and self-defense were discussed, many holding non-violence as an effective tactic, others making it a principle. The Cuban Revolution and its relation to the American Negro struggle for freedom was a major point of discussion.

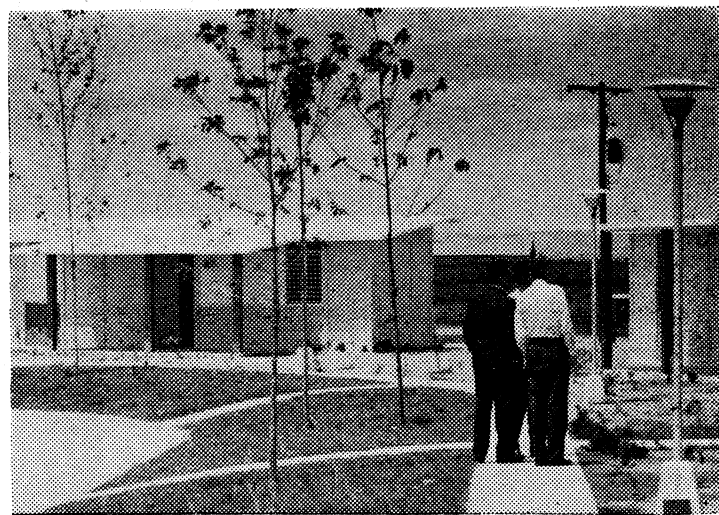
The conference closed with an address by Charles McDew. He began by pointing out that the struggle for Negro rights in the U. S. is not an isolated struggle; it takes place in the context of the advancing colonial revolution throughout the rest of the world. He referred to advocates of Negro separation, saying that they raise some very valid points about integration: Integration into what? Into white middle class society? He pointed out that the objectives of the freedom fighters are far greater than to be riding around

in Cadillacs. The question, he went on, is not integration or separation, but of achieving freedom, equality, and social justice. If the black man wants to integrate into white society, he should have that right; if he wants separation, he should have the right to it, he said.

McDew cited the numerous atrocities committed almost daily against Negroes in the South, atrocities which aren't listed as "lynchings" in the official statistics. Referring to Ralph Ginzberg's book, *100 Years of Lynchings*, in which hundreds are documented and noted case after case, McDew said, "How many more lynchings could we list?" "That's why I felt like telling Mr. Bunche: 'We charge genocide!'"

He again mentioned his trip to New York and referred to a visit to the Statue of Liberty. He quoted the inscription on the base: *Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me: I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*

He described how, after reading this, he had looked up at the statue and exclaimed, "Well, baby, here we are!"



An example of low cost housing built in Cuba since the Revolution. The above photo was taken at the Hermanos Sainz cooperative in Pinar del Rio province one year after Batista's fall.

Don't Miss an Issue of the YOUNG SOCIALIST

Future issues will feature:

- More talks with Yevtushenko and translations of his poetry.
- A report by a Puerto Rican student active in the struggle for independence of that U.S. colony.

One year, one dollar. New Renewal

Name

Address

YS, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

YSA LOCALS

BALTIMORE: c/o Roger Sheppard, 1503 Park Ave.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND: 1937 1/2 Russell St., Berkeley.

BLOOMINGTON, IND.: P.O. Box 915.

BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.

CHICAGO: c/o Horowitz, 909 E. 55 St., MU 4-6182.

CLEVELAND: E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. 23.

DENVER: Box 724, Tabor 5-2779.

DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES: 1702 E. 4th St., L.A. AN 9-4953.

MILWAUKEE: c/o Ed Heisler, 2773 S. Superior Ave.

NEW YORK CITY: 125 4th Ave.

PHILADELPHIA: c/o Chertov, 2708 W. Sterner St.

SAN FRANCISCO: 1438 Fulton St.

SEATTLE: c/o D. Freeman, 4527 12th Ave. N.E., ME 3-1207.

TWIN CITIES: c/o Chelstrom, 327 14th Ave. S.E., Apt. 15, Minneapolis 14, Minn. FE 2-7781.