

Monroe Racists Try New Weapon: Starvation

by Leroy MacRae

(The author is Secretary of the Youth Committee To Aid the Monroe Defendants and has just returned from a week's visit in Monroe.)

The community of Monroe, N.C. is located only some 26 miles south of the city of Charlotte. But unlike the usual picture given about the "progressiveness" of Charlotte, Monroe is plagued by problems of racial hatred, unemployment, and political stagnation. Nonetheless, the nation, and indeed, the world, have been attentive during

the last six years to the militant struggle of Monroe's Negro population.

What has made the struggle within this town of 12,000 inhabitants more newsworthy than that of other communities? The majority of Monroe's 5,000 Negroes have asserted the right of armed self defense, unlike any other community in the South, as the most effective means of combating racial injustice.

WILLIAMS STEPS UP

As the working class Negroes struggled to earn a living in spite of very low wages and high unem-

ployment, a militant Negro, Robert F. Williams, became their spokesman. Though his efforts Monroe Negroes began to realize that it was senseless to fight among themselves when the white supremacists, or "crackers" as they are called, are the real enemy. Furthermore, the Negroes were tired of being oppressed and Williams had but to formulate the concept of armed self defense for the Negro militants to turn their thoughts and feeling into action.

Successful use of armed defense guards in minor squirmishes with the Ku Klux Klan finally

convinced the Negro community-at-large of the effectiveness of self defense.

Robert Williams as head of the Union County (of which Monroe is the capital) NAACP encouraged the formation of defense guards and educated the population in their use through his weekly newsletter, *The Crusader*. Time and again the Negroes prepared for armed defense during periods of racial tension. The effect that Williams had through his leadership was demonstrated in recent racial conflicts in mid-August when a group of Freedom

Riders visited Monroe at Williams' invitation.

When the Freedom Riders picketed in Monroe against various forms of racial injustice, a white mob began to disrupt the peaceful picketing procedures. It is well known now, as it was on Sunday, August 27th, that the riot which ensued was instigated by the Chief of Police and his officers in collaboration with the Klan.

NO COMPENSATION

The Monroe police found it necessary to confiscate some ten
(Continued on Page 2)

'BEATEN, BUT UNBOWED':

Integration Rider Sees N.C. Injustice

by Ruth Aaron

Richard Griswold was one of the 17 freedom riders who went to Monroe, N. C. He had come fresh from a 42-day stretch in Mississippi jails for his activities in Jackson. He is a mild-mannered man of about 35 from Brooklyn, N. Y.

"We thought we knew Williams' position on violence and self-defense before we got to Monroe," he said. "Anyway, we knew there was a bad situation. We wanted to focus a blazing spotlight on Monroe. We felt that if freedom riders got hurt there the press couldn't ignore it."

"When we arrived we set up the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee in cooperation with many of the town's young Negro militants. We found that Williams has a similar concept of non-violent action, and he worked very closely with us."

The Non-Violent Committee called a mass rally and organized workshop preparations for the demonstration which began August 21 in front of the Union

County courthouse. "Picketing is legal and we followed all the rules," Griswold explained.

'MARKED MAN'

The only picketer carrying a camera, Griswold was singled out by the police as a "ringleader." "I was harassed every day and arrested the second day when I tried to take a picture of a policeman measuring off the legal 15 feet between signs." He was let out on bail and returned to the picket line.

The demonstration went on for eight days. In this time several white churches were integrated and mixed groups were locked out of only one. Also one drug store desegregated, at least temporarily. Every day of the picketing the white mobs grew larger and more vociferous. "The street in front of the courthouse was lined with cars full of young hoodlums jeering and threatening us with violence.

"Saturday night the police held up the taxis which were to take us back to the Negro section, New
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SWP Urges Jobs for All In Two City Campaigns

by Fred Mazelis

Workers and unemployed youth will have a unique opportunity in New York City and in Detroit to vote for candidates who are running in their interests solely and who are not merely trying to get in on the usual big city graft. These are the candidates endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party in both cities.

The New York City mayoralty campaign leading to the elections this November has thus far demonstrated to a far greater extent than in recent years the mechanism whereby the capitalist parties maintain their monopoly in NYC politics.

WAGNER SWITCHES HATS

The Democratic administration of Robert F. Wagner has ruled New York City for the past eight years. The working people of New York know that this administration has done nothing to better their lives. There is, or at least was several months ago, virtual unanimity that the "ins"—the Wagner administration and its Tammany backers—did not deserve support. Yet Wagner was able to win in the Democratic Party primaries and will appear

on the ballot with the support of at least three parties.

Wagner did it by transforming himself from one of the "ins" to one of the "outs;" by belatedly taking up the "the fight" against the "bosses" and becoming the spokesman for the insurgent liberals fighting for a stronghold in the city's politics.

Riding the wave of a general anti-bossism campaign, Wagner now owes his allegiance to a new crop of "liberals"—middle class professionals of the Kennedy ilk. Their political outlook is strictly that of the cold war, the Cuban invasion and anti-labor laws. With his clever sleight-of-the-hand, Wagner has managed to clip his previously necessary ties with the union officialdom.

LABOR PARTY

New York City's labor bureaucracy has been forced, both by Wagner's new moves to gain independence from the labor movement and by the pressure of the rank-and-file workers themselves, to organize a new party, the Brotherhood Party.

A new labor party would have the potential of becoming a strong force in city politics. The union bureaucracy, however, has ruled

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NSA Demands HUAC Abolition; Protests Ban on Travel to Cuba

by Jack Barnes

The fourteenth National Student Congress of the United States National Student Association held in late August at the University of Wisconsin demonstrated that the slogan "Expanding World of the American Student" was a fitting and well deserved one. This meeting of student government representatives from 388 colleges and universities, after drafting a pretentious number of resolutions and statements, yielded many encouraging, if often contradictory, results.

The defeat of the much heralded conservative "movement" and its "reform NSA" entourage was largely self-administered. The Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI) and their front group, the Committee for a Responsible National Student Organization (CRNSO) were there with press releases, walk-talkys, and free literature, but little else. Unlike the liberals whose main activity through the "Liberal Study Group" was open discussion caucuses in which delegates and observers of all political persuasion were free to participate, the right wing depended on name non-student speakers of the American far right such as William Buckley Jr., Fulton Lewis III and Rep. John Hiestand (R-Cal.) a member of the John Birch society.

RIGHT'S INFLUENCE

What was missed by many observers and what is more important than the right's self administered defeat was the fact that with little force in numbers and with a program which is diametrically opposed to the ideals of most of the students there the rightists' ideas had as much influence as they did. In addition to their attacks on the international Negro peoples' struggle for equality and liberation the rightists based their button-holing work and propaganda efforts on attacks on Cuba and the achievements of the government of Fidel Castro and on the NSA's attempts finally to call explicitly for the abolition of the witch-hunting HUAC Committee.

Alberto Muller, a former Cuban student who was a member of a right wing terrorist group had been put on trial in Cuba for



ABOLISH HUAC: Students demonstrate in Washington, D.C. for the abolition of Walter's inquisitorial committee. Students throughout the Nation join with the NSA demand for immediate abolition.

his activities during the period of the invasion. The right-wingers broke the story the first day of the convention and in a perfect example of State Department bipartisanship in foreign policy the YAF, ISI, Young Republican constellation and the Young ADAers, the Students for a Democratic Society, the YPSL, and the Young Democrats rammed through a telegram to Latin American student associations calling for their "immediate action" to save Muller's life from the "execution" they feared was imminent.

THE REAL MULLER

If at first glance this flurry of action seemed "reasonable" considering the "facts," once the facts started coming out, the acts became ridiculous. Alberto Muller left Cuba approximately a year ago, had been one of Radio Swan's notorious broadcasters who told the Cuban people about the impending CIA sponsored invasion, had landed with a terrorist group in Oriente province during the invasion, and had been captured by militia units with his fellow saboteurs and with most

of their "made in U.S.A." equipment. This should be a lesson to those liberals whose prejudices and faulty information about Cuba made them willing victims of this rightist originated stampede.

The action by the congress in opposing the travel ban and in condemning the Kennedy-Stevenson-New Frontier sponsored invasion of Cuba was a tremendous step forward from the spirit of the 1957 Congress at which students who broke the travel ban to China were slapped on the wrist for "breaking existing regulations." The final resolution passed on Cuba, however, was an example of the contradictions and prejudices which come from the "If the State Department is against it must be bad" variety of thought. For example, the resolution equated the arms obtained from the Soviet Union for defense as an evil on a par with the American sponsored invasion, and early drafts of the resolution even had such blatant misstatements of fact as the notion that the President of the Cuban Confederation of students had
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'I Won't Shoot Angolans for Salazar'

An interview

Lisbon:

My passport is stamped PIDE (International Police for the Defense of the State). The Customs Inspector reads the titles of the books I'm carrying. Luckily, I have nothing subversive. Next to the inspector is a plain clothes detective, who looks like a stand-in for Al Capone.

The train continues. Next to me is a fellow about twenty-five. He knows some English. He had been visiting his girl friend in Spain; now he is returning to Lisbon. I make a comment about the censorship. He begins to tell me about PIDE.

"A girl I knew was made to stare at a blank wall hour after hour. When she tried to close her eyes, they'd slap her. Then they tried to drive her crazy by putting her head under a dripping faucet. "Are you a socialist?" he asks

me. (I'd been dropping hints.) I tell him I am and show him the Declaration of Principles on my YSA membership card.

"I am a socialist, too," he explains. "If the PIDE knew I so much as sympathized I'd get six months in prison. They send people to Salt Island and these people never come back. Their families are told there was an accident and get a package of clothes in the mail.

"I hate Mr. S." (To say Salazar might attract attention.) "He's been in power for 35 years, and I make 1,200 cruzeiros (\$42) a month while a decent apartment once I am married will cost at least 900 cruzeiros (\$30 approx.) My boss, though, has two cars.

"Mr. S. says he wants to civilize Angola. But I know parts of Northern Portugal that today have no electricity, no roads, that

don't even know what civilization is. Portugal has been in Angola for five hundred years, and my friends who have been there tell me that except for the city of Luanda, Angola is probably no different from what it was five hundred years ago. Mr. S. has given the Negroes 'equality,' but they're still put in cattle boats and treated worse than cattle.

"I think thousands of Portuguese youth believe as I do. But they have no choice when they're called into the Army. They do not believe in the war. The Government doesn't say how many Portuguese soldiers desert and join the Angolans, but that is what I will do if they send me to Angola."

Then I arrived in Lisbon with its six-story slums with "picturesque" tile fronts and patriotic posters with rips down the middle. **E. Owens**

SLATE CONFERENCE:

'Students Can Unite on Issues'

by Marvin Garson

BERKELEY, Calif.—The fledgling student movement gained a measure of confidence in its future at a summer conference attended by representatives of political organizations of 40 American campuses. The conference was sponsored by SLATE, the stu-

dent political party at the Berkeley campus of the University of California which has been under increasing pressure from the administration and state legislature because of its role in last year's San Francisco demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Delegates represented independent campus publications, political education committees, socialist groups, and such "issue-oriented" organizations as CORE, Student Peace Union, and Student Civil Liberties Union.

The delegates vigorously supported the Freedom Rides and condemned the HUAC. They opposed compulsory ROTC, some feeling that voluntary ROTC was acceptable and others that any sort of military training is incompatible with the goals of a university. The recent withdrawal of on-campus recognition for SLATE lent urgency to the discussions on academic freedom and student political action.

NO 'FREE ELECTIONS'

SLATE can post announcements and have speakers on campus, but it cannot conduct its day-to-day business on campus or use the university's name. More important, it can no longer run candidates in student elections. The delegates agreed that political discussion is part of the educational process and should be unhindered and even encouraged by the administration.

There was universal agreement on the immediate necessity for organizing the much exploited farm laborers of Southern California, but important differences on how it should be done. Some felt that action should consist of pressure on the Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO leadership; others, citing the "strike-breaking role" of George Meany and Arthur J. Goldberg in California's Imperial Valley, suggested that an independent labor party was necessary.

A forum on peace was led by a panel of adult leaders in liberal and pacifist organizations. The discussion centered around methods of organizations, however, and no specific programs were offered.

CUBA TOO HOT

It is significant that the SLATE leadership kept from the agenda such touchy questions as Cuba. They feared that this might precipitate a premature discussion of the general nature of the capitalist system.

At this point the student move-

ment is a loose federation of issue-oriented groups, with no overall picture of the kind of society students would like to see. Nevertheless, the conference gave the definite impression that students will find many particular issues on which they can work together effectively.

Fair Play Tours Student Editor

A two-month national campus tour by Bert Wainer, Editor of the newsletter *Student Council* has been announced by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee Student Council.

The tour was launched Friday, Sept. 22 at a New York meeting where Wainer spoke on "Latin America Looks at Cuba," immediately upon his return from a trip to Venezuela. He had previously been to Cuba.

In addition to presenting students information suppressed by the mass media, he will urge students to combat the ban on travel to Cuba so that they can go and see for themselves.

WAINER'S MODEL

The impact of the Cuban Revolution on Latin America is a main theme of Wainer's presentation which he demonstrates through a comparison with Venezuela — touted by the U.S. State Department as being a "Model Democracy." Grinding poverty and untold wealth side by side is an old story in Latin America; but the new chapter being written today is one based on the lesson of Cuba: that it is possible to change the conditions of life, to transfer the wealth and political power now in the hands of huge American corporations and their paid servants to the hands of the people.

The tour will cover campuses from coast to coast, taking in some of the smaller colleges rarely included in the itineraries of pro-Cuba speakers. Since the inception of his tour, Wainer has spoken before a large audience at the University of Washington (Seattle), a new Democratic (i.e. Labor) party youth group in Vancouver, Canada, and Reed College in Oregon.

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"A World to Win!"

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Monroe Battles Hunger . . .

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tubfuls of weapons and ammunition from Negroes in the town, "before all could go well." The Negroes are now demanding that the weapons, of which possession is perfectly legal in North Carolina, be returned to them. They explain that arms are vital to the struggle in Monroe.

Threats of economic reprisal have prevented the majority of Negroes from openly supporting the "Crusader Movement" (so-called because of Williams' newsletter, *The Crusader*). Also framed-up charges against the leadership, followed by suspended sentences and paroles, have stunted the activity of the most militant sections. Some supporters have been fired from jobs because of their association with or admiration for the Crusader Movement.

CITY GETS FUNDS

Monroe citizens have cited the recent increase in electric and water bills as the racists' method of financing the oppressive operations against the Negroes. Intimidation by city authorities includes tapping phones, following leaders everywhere they go, and inciting riots.

The role of Federal agents is well known due to the recent development of "paid informers," threats, and the infamous lynching of Robert Williams.

KOPS KLAN KRACKERS

The enemies of Black liberation are denoted by the initials K K K: Kops, Klan, Krackers. The Klan is noted for its terrorist activities, and is despised by many whites and by all Negroes. The Krackers designate the white supremacists who constantly proclaim

themselves as the "Master Race." As one Negro mother whose son had been beaten while under arrest said, "Cops is cops—black or white." Another foe, which became more noticeable after the recent frame-up of Crusader supporters, is the "paid informers" who report to the city authorities the activities of the Crusader Movement. Nonetheless, neither Kops nor Klan nor Krackers has been able to crush the Movement.

The political system, like the rest of the South as well as the North, offers no alternative to the issue of civil rights. And of course the economic system, organized to maintain the oppression through exploiting the race issue, has encouraged the establishment of run-away shops, prohibited unions, kept wages down, and pitted black labor against white whenever it seems feasible. Finally, the NAACP has abandoned the Negroes of Monroe.

HELP MUST COME

To give assistance that the Monroe community so desperately needs and to assure that freedom is secured for the people jailed on the framed-up kidnap charges, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants was formed. Because it is felt that the American youth have played and, in this case must play, an essential role in the civil rights arena, the Youth CAMD has been formed. And we, the youth interested in this struggle in Monroe, can help by raising the funds necessary for bail and legal expenses and by securing and sending food and clothing for relief.

BOUND VOLUMES

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DETROIT REPORT:

Youth Push Fight for Integration

by Melissa Singler

"End police brutality, we shall not be moved." So sang the militant students in the Civil Rights contingent of this year's annual Detroit Labor Day parade. The mayor was embarrassed, the police looked angry—the students were joyful for they had shown the public that Detroit has a militant Civil Rights group which is not afraid to say what it thinks.

That was Labor Day; as of now, the mayor is still quiet, some labor leaders are apologetic—but the youth have not changed. They are still willing to say what they feel must be said. Practically all of the marchers were young people of high school and college age. They came from two groups: The Detroit Brotherhood Youth Council (D.B.Y.C.) and the Detroit Youth Chapter of C.O.R.E.

FROM SIT-INS TO . . .

In March of 1960, when the sit-in movement was the gaining momentum in the South, the students of Detroit formed an ad-hoc committee to picket the Woolworth chain in this city. Every Saturday, from March to September, the students picketed Woolworths. Later named the Detroit Brotherhood Youth Council, this group has been a leader in Civil Rights activities in the Detroit area.

The next activity the group engaged in was a skate-in at Arcadia Skating Rink. The D.B.Y.C. and C.O.R.E. worked together in this action. The rink used the ruse of "Club Membership" to keep Negroes out. An integrated group of about fifty attempted to enter the rink on a regular (white) "Club Night." The manager, after asking, "How many in your little Communist group?" admitted us into the rink.

A second test skate-in was held about two weeks later. Again we were admitted into the rink, although not too happily. The final outcome of this action was that the rink is now integrated. However, in spite of D.B.Y.C. and C.O.R.E. attempts to inform the Negro patrons of the rink, the attendance patterns have been hard to break down.



WE SHALL OVERCOME: Negro students stop to pray during a city-wide integration demonstration in Madison, Wisconsin.

This summer the D.B.Y.C. and Youth C.O.R.E. undertook a prolonged action at Crystal Pool, a privately owned neighborhood facility. The conflict was one that is familiar to integration groups across the country—again the owner claimed that his pool was run as a "private club."

At first the demonstrations took the form of stand-ins. On the first day the two groups were able to mobilize over fifty prospective "swimmers." The stand-in was so effective that it cut the pool's business to a fraction. Mr. Henning Rylander, the proprietor, succeeded in getting a temporary injunction ordering the in-

tegrationists to "cease and desist all active interference" with the pool's business.

After this, D.B.Y.C. and C.O.R.E. members were confined to picket lines held outside of the pool's property lines. A good deal of publicity resulted in the local press and on television. Much interest was generated in the surrounding community, especially after the groups distributed 5,000 leaflets door to door in a one mile area near the pool.

DON'T JEER—STEER

Spirit at the stand-ins and picket lines was usually high although the Detroit summer heat seemed to be co-operating with the pool's owner. As the pool was located on a busy intersection, many people were informed of the action as they drove by and observed the picket signs. Several drivers were so interested in shouting insults that they crashed into cars ahead of them—providing considerable amusement for the picketeers.

At this point, the battle was carried into the courts. A hearing was held in the Oakland County Circuit Court as to why the pool's injunction should not be made permanent. At this hearing it was decided that the issue would finally be resolved at a court trial late in August.

This did not have a chance to occur however, because the pool closed early for the season and Mr. Rylander no longer needed his injunction. It was evident that the pool had closed because of the action taken against it by the students.

'WE SHALL WIN'

In the next few months the group will be working on still more civil rights problems in this city. Already eleven test-cases have been held at restaurants, bowling alleys, and skating rinks. The next field the groups hope to work on is Fair Employment Practices. Also, some equal housing test cases may be sent out to the university districts where there are many segregated apartment buildings.

NSA Defeats Buckleyites . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

been foisted upon the Cuban students by the government rather than elected.

MILITANTS' EFFECT

The effect of the student activists, those who defied the witch-hunters in San Francisco, the racists in the freedom rides and the sit-ins, the State Department in demonstrations against the attacks on Cuba and the warmakers with walks for peace and demonstrations against civil defense, was the most powerful impetus to the awakening of NSA. These effects were very noticeable even in the resolutions which have in the past been ambivalent and passive on some of the most burning issues facing American students. Thus a NSA which in 1960 felt "restrained from committing its membership to the practice of mass civil disobedience . . ." in 1961 urged support to the sit-in movement. A NSA which in 1960 could only " . . . reaffirm(s) its opposition by guilt by association" in 1961 explicitly " . . . urges that all member campuses support the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities . . ."

The Congress also condemned the principle in *loco parentis* which is almost universally accepted by American universities and which establishes the university as paternal guardian over the moral intellectual and social life of the student.

NEW MOVEMENT

One year ago in an editorial entitled "A Student Movement" the YOUNG SOCIALIST wrote "what is netted is a new militant stu-

dent organization that can bring together students who have been active over the past period into a common fighting organization. The building of such an organization requires the unified efforts of all students, regardless of political views, who are willing to fight militantly for the interests of students and humanity."

The fight has begun and the NSA can well be the organization if the goals and actions implicit in many of the convention decisions and recent student actions are carried out and if the American student learns from NSA's past mistakes and inadequacies. To be a leader of American students means to be ahead of their most advanced elements; one cannot be just catching up to the sit-ins as Robert Williams and the students of Monroe are carrying the battle for Negro rights even further forward.

The Cuban students, the Japanese students, the Hungarian students, the Algerian students and many others have pointed the way, the way of revolutionary courage and action. An NSA which lives on compromise cannot be a leader of the student movement which is being born. The basis of the repugnant features of our society are not neatly separated and isolated from each other, but are interdependent in a most binding national and international manner. The radical and fearless criticism of our society, and its morally and politically corrupt "bipartisan leadership," implicit in the acts of protest of the American student must be verbalized and encouraged in just as fearless a manner.

SWP Urges More Jobs . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

out this threat to the capitalist politicians by tying the Brotherhood Party down with support to Wagner.

As the Socialist Workers Party candidates point out, the labor movement will gain nothing by support to capitalist class politicians. A real labor party, with responsibility to no one but those who work for a living is the only way to ensure that the city's benefits go to those who need them.

Such a labor government, for example, could build public housing keeping in mind the needs of the thousands of families who are crowded into tiny slum apartments—instead of looking out for the profits of the contractors and private companies who tear down slum dwellings only to put up high rent buildings in their stead.

A city government in the hands of working people could guarantee decent schools and free university education for all the city's youth, making special provisions for those young people whose families need an extra income in order for them to go on with a program of higher education.

A workers government could institute a 30 hour week with 40 hours' pay, making possible more jobs for more people with no reduction in income. At the same time, the power of the city government would be put behind the workers' struggles for higher pay and better conditions. For the first time, the city could be run in the interests of the majority of the people who live in it and not for the benefit of a handful of profit-protecting politicians,

whether they call themselves "Tammany" or "Liberal Reformers."

CANDIDATES

In New York, Richard Garza heads the SWP's slate as candidate for Mayor. Running with him on a program of jobs for all through the institution of a 30 hour week with 40 hours pay, for full economic protection for all unemployed, are Fred Halstead, candidate for NYC Controller; Sylvia Weinstein, for President of the City Council and Clarence Franklin, running for Borough President of Manhattan.

In Detroit the SWP slate is headed by Robert Himmel, socialist candidate for Mayor and Sarah Lovell. In addition, the SWP endorses James A. Sexton, a candidate of the United Unemployed Organization for a seat on the Common Council.

Student Wade-Ins Integrate Chicago's 'All White' Sands

by Betsy Stone

CHICAGO—Up until this year attempts by Negroes to use South Chicago's public but "white" Rainbow beach have been met with violence and harassment. In response to some of the shameful incidents there, the South Chicago NAACP Youth Council initiated three wade-in in 1960.

In their first attempts they were confronted with what turned into a mob of hissing, clapping people, including youths who had gathered at the beach from nearby areas. The police, who had been notified that the interracial group was going to the beach, were dilatory in preventing what grew quickly into a dangerous situation. Rocks flew as the group left the beach and Velma Hill, Chairman of the NAACP Youth Group and another demonstrator, Howard Irving, were seriously wounded. No one was arrested in connection with these brutalities.

In the spring of 1961 the South Side Youth Council of the NAACP became inactive after its chairman, Velma Hill, was asked to resign by the adult NAACP in a clash between the two groups.

So, the youth, still determined to act, formed a new organization, the Positive Action Committee for Equality (PACE).

In light of past experience, PACE organized a campaign to put renewed pressure on the police and enough backing was obtained to protect their series of demonstrations. On the first wade-in demonstrators went in a car caravan with police escort to Rainbow where the police came right down on the beach and encircled them to protect them. Arrests of troublemakers were made and the hoodlum element was demoralized.

A more natural air was achieved on the beach as the summer went on with the use of plainclothesmen instead of all uniformed cops; but the presence of policemen and paddy-wagons, even though their numbers declined, was in itself a barrier to the natural acceptance of Negroes on the beach. The PACE and CORE groups faced another problem: that of getting the Negro community as a whole behind the wade-ins so that Negroes would use the beach as a matter of course.

VISIT TO A 'MODEL DEMOCRACY':

Why Venezuelans Look to Cuba

by Nora Roberts

The first anniversary of the fall of Venezuela's dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez found another dictator in exile, the Cuban Fulgencio Batista. Within another year, Venezuela's "revolutionists" were hailed by the U.S. press and government Latin American experts as "great democrats," as opposed to Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolutionary leadership against whom the U.S. organized its invasion of April.

The United States Government and the Kennedy Administration, forced by the pressure of the Latin American peoples, have proclaimed themselves revolutionists. But, they say, they are only for "democratic" revolution, of the Venezuelan type, and "democratic revolutionaries" such as Romulo Betancourt.

DEFINITIONS

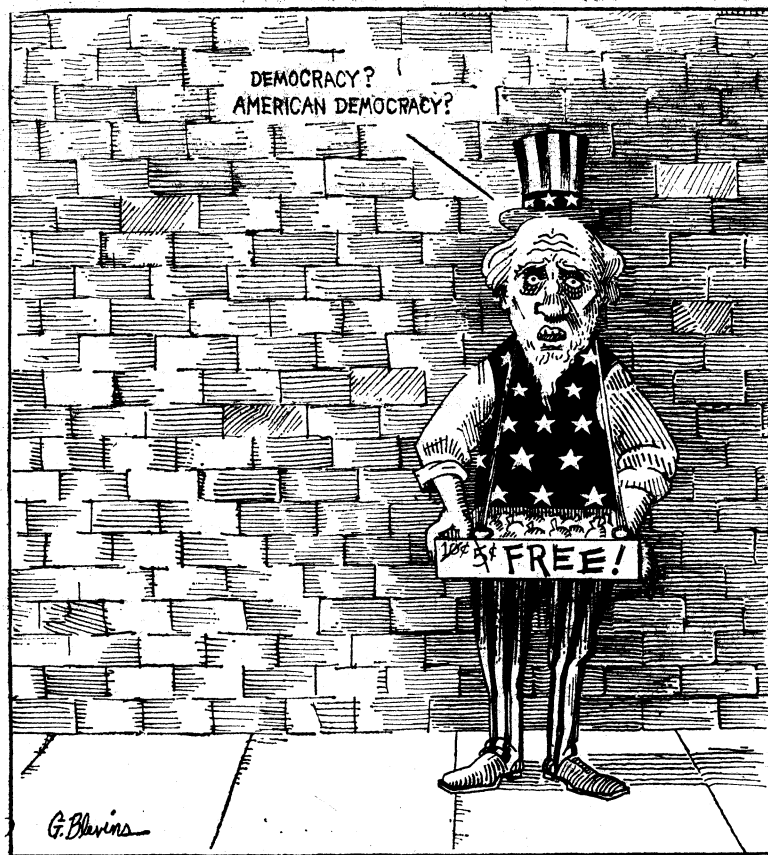
Having been in both Venezuela and in Cuba (before the travel ban), this reporter was able to see just what "democracy" and "democratic revolutions" in Latin America mean to U.S. imperialism.

Caracas is a beautiful city—certainly more beautiful than any U.S. city. With its modern architecture, tall colorful buildings and bright highways, it sparkles in the sun like a gem embedded in the lap of precipitous, ever-verdant mountain ranges, dotted with palm trees and row upon row of humble cardboard shacks.

The people who live in these home-made shanty towns are the families of the 300,000 people unemployed out of a potential work force in the country of a million and a half. The unemployment and income apportionment figures have not changed much in the three years since the revolution. Fifty per cent of the population still ekes out its living on \$200 and less a month with a sky-rocketing inflation, already much higher than in the United States. Five per cent of the population still inhabits the Caracas Country Club, with an annual income of well over \$10,000.

CONSTITUTION GOES

Constitutional guarantees, a major point in the State Department's anti-Castro program, have been removed in Venezuela by Betancourt following a demonstration last October of thousands of university students against the Government. One Congressman has already been arrested, the Communist Party's publication



THE PEANUT VENDOR

has been forced underground, and many leftists have been held by the police incommunicado.

OIL FILTRATION

Oil still dominates the Venezuelan economy, even more than sugar dominated Cuba's, and the oil, as was Cuba's sugar, is owned by foreign companies, mostly American. The government's fifty per cent share of the oil profits is spent on a huge government bureaucracy, eight separate police forces, and given over to contracting concerns who build beautiful highways into the interior, and rebuild them every two or three years whether they need it or not. New York's Governor, Nelson Rockefeller owns a good percentage of the arable land that is put to use.

The major difference in the lives of the Venezuelans is that Romulo Betancourt and not Perez Jimenez is in power, and now more people dare to write on the walls. Throughout the working class districts can be seen sprawling, often misspelled slogans: "Hunger No! Cuba Si!" and "Guarantees Si! Hunger No!"

This is Kennedy's ideal "de-

mocracy" for which millions of dollars were spent in a war-drive against the Cuban people who have taken back their economy, nationalized foreign industries, in order to provide housing, employment, school, medicine and a decent life for themselves and their children.

Kennedy's concept of an "ideal Latin American Democracy" is not shared by the Venezuelan people. Thousands of students and workers marched in the streets at the time of Kennedy's Cuban invasion in protest. Forty were shot.

The Cuban issue has already split Betancourt's government party, Accion Democratica. The youth movement, led by Domingo Alberto Rangel, left the AD to form a new party, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). The MIR has now joined in a coalition with the Communist Party (PCV), which has a majority of the working class votes in Caracas. With the Democratic Republican Union (URD), a leftist social-democratic party, the left-wing now controls a majority of the electoral votes in the country.

In the meantime, Betancourt's party is faced with a new left wing, opposing his policies in relation to Cuba. Betancourt relies on an ever-narrowing base in the population as a whole, and is now resting more and more upon the small right-wing social Christian party (COPEI).

NEW REVOLUTION

Leftist leaders in Venezuela analyze the situation as extremely precipitous. The army, they say, is preparing to head off the certain victory of the left in the presidential elections coming up in 1963. A new right-wing party was formed only a few weeks ago, providing a civil front for the army's coup preparations. Every left-wing party feels certain there will be another revolution within two years.

If this revolution brings a victory of the left it could well mean that the Venezuelan people will have an opportunity to follow the example of their Cuban neighbors and join with them in forging a socialist sector of Latin America. They will have to be prepared to meet Kennedy's forces, however, who are certain to come, bringing back "democracy" on the end of a bayonet.

YPSL-We Support Cuba

Dear Editor,

The offhand manner in which you commit slander is more reminiscent of Stalin than of the intelligent polemic and careful analysis of Trotsky, whose name you honor often, it seems, in the breach.

I refer to the following paragraph which appeared in the last issue of YS: "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 for Cuba Committee or to debate with the YPSL OR ANYONE ELSE WHO DOES NOT SUPPORT THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. (My emphasis—T.B.)"

The position of YPSL, as you no doubt are perfectly well aware, is full support and defense of the Cuban REVOLUTION. As for the present Cuban state apparatus, I would refer you to another paragraph which you wrote in defense of your attitude on the peace and civil rights movement in the U.S. which you might do well to remember concerning Cuba:

"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 action. On the contrary, it is uncritical acceptance of conservative leadership that may destroy the effectiveness of action."

As the Cuban Trotskyists (Workers Revolutionary Party) have learned through experience and have told those who have ears to hear, the Cuban state apparatus has become increasingly and at a growing rate of increase more conservative and has turned sharply to the right in the absolutely crucial and central question of worker's control of Cuba. The question of democracy may be trivial to some; it is not trivial to me and was not trivial to Trotsky, who, let us recall, was not killed merely by an assassin, but the very process which grows from day to day in Cuba 1961.

As Engels pointed out many times, the difference between a Socialist and a metaphysician is that a Socialist sees things IN THE PROCESS OF BEING AND BECOMING.

Thomas Barton
YPSL, Philadelphia

YS-We Wish It Were So

First of all, it seems we have a difference involving definition of terms, namely the terms "Cuban Revolution" and "support." This can be quite an important difference.

For President Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, Miro Cardona, etc., the Cuban Revolution was a political revolution to oust the dictator Batista and to establish a new group of "liberal" constitutionalists to protect the interests of the American sugar companies. The measures taken beyond this stage, especially the act of turning over American and Cuban enterprises for the benefit of the majority of the Cuban people, these were not included in "their" Cuban Revolution.

LAUNCH INVASION

Support of the Cuban Revolution for them, then, meant launching an invasion of Cuba to struggle against the Cuban people in order to return Cuba's wealth to the "rightful owners," American imperialism. This is one definition of "support to the Cuban Revolution," a definition which we can only throw out as sheer demagoguery.

The Cuban Revolution, in our view, was essentially a social revolution, overturning the property relations, so that the benefits of Cuba's economy will go to the Cuban people. It meant victory against the efforts of U.S. imperialism to reclaim Cuba, including victory against the bourgeois and middle class elements within Cuba who wished to organize against the socialist revolution.

Support to that revolution is expressed by us in our support of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, active participation in demonstration against the U.S. imperialists and their war drives against the Cuban people, and consistent exposition of the truth about Cuba.

The YPSL, on the other hand, stated its position in a leaflet containing the following statement from a resolution passed by the National Action committee of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation:

"We do not condemn those democratic Cubans who have taken the road of open opposition . . . We sympathize with all Cubans who seek a return to the

original aspirations of the Revolution, with those who have gone into armed rebellion, as well as with those who continue to work for change by other means."

YPSL's support of the Cuban Revolution amounted to distributing this leaflet at the height of the invasion events! — nothing more.

CUBAN TROTSKYISTS

With regard to the Cuban Trotskyists—they have called for the formation of workers councils in Cuba, as an expression of democratic workers control, have hailed the steps taken by Cuban leaders in this direction. But their position is not and has not been that the Cuban leadership is moving to the right or is becoming more conservative on this matter. This is a vicious calumny perpetrated by many elements of the Stalinist world and has no basis in reality.

We ourselves would like to see the further development of a form of workers councils. At the same time we recognize that at every stage of the process, the revolution and its leadership have become more and more anti-imperialist. This process is by the nature of its anti-imperialism the exact opposite of Stalinism.

A Socialist's first duty is to understand the facts of a situation and the social relations involved in order to understand things in the process of being and becoming. The offer to debate still stands.

N. R.

Freedom Rider Tells His Story . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Town. We had to walk the two miles. On the way we were assaulted by a cavalcade of KKK'ers. A white woman chased us with a butcher knife while a man on her front porch threw coke bottles."

"Sunday we picketed from 1 p.m. to 4:45. I went back early because the cops were looking for my camera. Word reached us that there was trouble at the courthouse and I rushed back. The white mob finally broke out and was attacking the freedom riders and members of the Negro community. The police took us inside 'for our own protection' then let us out the back way in two's and three's. We were taken to the jail for booking and led to our cells."

'I WAS SCARED'

"When the warden led me past the rows of white prisoners down a flight of stairs to what is called the 'dungeon' I was scared—I knew something was wrong. There was a brutish looking Southerner in my cell. He asked me where I was from. When I told him Brooklyn, he grimaced and began beating me. After he had been punch-

ing me and kicking me for about five minutes he stopped long enough to tell me 'This is prearranged. I'm going to beat you to death and you might as well stop yelling because no one is going to hear you.' I was praying I'd be unconscious. I can't take a beating.

"He continued beating me for about 15 or 20 minutes until the warden finally came and transferred me to a cell with another freedom rider. We were let out on Wednesday afternoon."

Griswold summed up his view with the following: "I am a firm militant non-violentist, but I don't favor gradualism or tokenism. I have more in common with all who are on the side of freedom. Like all other freedom riders I became a great admirer of Robert Williams. Williams has a truer knowledge of what non-violent resistance means than many of the people who talk about it. I hope from Cuba he will keep up his fight for freedom."

"There is no justice for Negroes or their supporters in North Carolina."

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