

'NO MORE BOMB TESTS!'

Youth Brave Attack To Protest Bomb

by Nora Roberts

On Feb. 16, President Kennedy looked out on a demonstration of some 8,000 students for a "Turn Toward Peace" and commented that he was "thankful there was someone on the other side, not for the Cold War." Less than three weeks later he announced his decision to launch a new series of atomic explosions in the atmosphere.

FRIENDLY CHATS

The students, who had come from 40 states to participate in the largest peace action in thirty years, came to talk to Congressmen and other Government officials, and to use the strength of their forces to persuade the Kennedy Administration to show some initiative in the direction to peace—not to resume atomic testing. Some students were elated by the responses of the officials they talked to, others felt rebuffed and frustrated. But the final answer from the White House came a few weeks later—Kennedy's announcement on testing was a stinging blow to all the students and mothers who had been appealing for a peace program.

The students were angry. Within 24 hours after Kennedy's announcement, some 5,000 turned out in a mass demonstration in



its decision to resume testing. By this act the "liberal" democrats showed their callous disregard of the virtual upsurge of students and women throughout the country demanding an end to all preparations for war. Not since the pre-war period of radicalization has there been such a movement as "Women Strike for Peace," a grouping whose demonstrations of mothers and children have been mushrooming throughout the country, or the great number of campus chapters of SANE and the Student Peace Union on colleges and universities from Brown University in Providence, R.I., to Reed College in Portland, Ore. Well over 20,000 individuals are actively seeking an alternative to the arms race.

They are looking for a program, an effective program, one they can act on. For them, the frightened "liberalism" of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which must preface every request for peace in general with a long statement clearing itself of any "pinkish" leanings, can't provide the answer. They are looking for something more than admonitions to keep their voices down on an occasional picket line and write letters to "friends" in Congress.

SPU's FUTURE

Many students have looked to the Student Peace Union as a more militant leadership. Indeed, SPU's program is outspoken enough to call for withdrawal of U.S. troops from the borders of the Soviet Union, and for unilateral initiative on the part of the U.S. for disarmament. However, its program of political action has been limited to an attempt to convince the leaders of the Democratic Party that a peace initiative would be more effective. Though more politically advanced than SANE's program, this is as far as most of the student activists have been willing to go on a political level.

The frustration of asking for support from "liberal" Congressmen was already evident in the massive Washington demonstration of Feb. 16-17. David Finke, national co-chairman of SPU, stated he found the State Department's interviews "singularly disappointing." The students were shocked when an official told them: "You people are overly

(Continued on Page 3)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 5, No. 6 (45)

April, 1962

2,000 Picket YAF — YOC Backs Unity

by Ted Mellor

NEW YORK—The Young Americans for Freedom, a right-wing student organization, held a mass rally at Madison Square Garden on March 7, featuring such figures as Barry Goldwater, South Carolina's racist Senator Thurmond, and Senator Tower of Texas. It was countered by a picket line four blocks long protesting the mobilization of the ultra-right. While Brent Bozell of the *National Review* was calling for "an immediate landing in Havana," the "tearing down" of the Berlin wall, and other similar "answers" to the present world situation, close to 2,000 anti-YAF picketers were demanding "Freedom to Hear All Ideas," "Free Elections in the South," "End the Cold War," and "No More Tests." The YAF rounded up 18,000 to their rally, indicating the growth of the right and the political polarization taking place on the campus.

UNITED PROTEST

An ad hoc committee, the Youth Organizing Committee Against the Ultra-Right Rally, issued a call for the anti-YAF demonstration as early as Feb. 8, when it called upon all organizations and individuals to participate in a non-exclusive manner on a united picket line. The line would be run in a democratic manner, with all organizations free to use their own name and slogans if they so desired. Near the end of February, a second call came out in the name of Americans for Democratic Action and Students for a Democratic Society, which demanded that all who wished to picket do so under the name of



Anti-YAF picketers chant, "Unite Against the Right!"

ADA-SDS and submit their signs to those organizations for approval. Otherwise, they were asked not to participate. The YOC responded by welcoming the added support for the anti-YAF picketing but regretted the sectarian manner in which the ADA-SDS wished to conduct the protest.

BIRCH, NO!

The *New York Times* reported the turn out as follows: "First to show up were more than 500 from the Youth Organizing Committee Against the Ultra-Right, chanting 'John Brown, Yes, John Birch, No! . . ." When ADA-SDS picket captains arrived to find 500 people picketing in a united non-exclusive line, they protested to the police, demanding exclusive use of the block on which the picketing was taking place. The police at first attempted to remove the picketers at the ADA's request, but finally set up barriers at the end of the line so that the ADA-SDS could have its own exclusive line. As more demonstrators arrived, the police sent

them to the ADA-SDS line, preventing them from joining the YOC line.

NO WITCH HUNT

Many well-intentioned liberals felt that if any organization was permitted to use its own name, it would alienate many people and if everyone went under the respectable name of the ADA, a much larger picket line could be built. The YOC held that democracy on one's own line is essential, that the witch-hunt atmosphere should not be extended into the protests against the witch-hunters. It felt that a line in which all opponents of the ultraright could join in a united action, with all free to express their own ideas, would build the most effective demonstration.

Prior to the picket line, a word (Continued on Page 4)

YS Campus Tour Pushes Socialism

Student audiences throughout the Mid-West have heard Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, give a Marxist analysis of the current war-drive. Among the campuses already visited in his nation-wide tour are the University of Minnesota, Wayne University, Indiana University, Antioch College, and the University of Wisconsin. At Carleton College, as happened in many other areas, students remained for hours after the meeting to discuss the ideas of Socialism. After stopping in Oklahoma, Tennessee and Denver, Sheppard will begin the West Coast phase of his tour at San Diego State College. Meetings are also planned in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Berkeley, and Seattle.

FUND DRIVE

In addition to the tour, the YSA is also conducting a fund drive to help finance our increased activities. Not even Socialists can do without money; the printer must be paid, and the landlord demands his rent. To date, the response to our request for help in bringing the message of socialism to today's youth has been gratifying; we are sure that more of our readers will want to aid in this task.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Page 2

New York's Times Square to oppose testing. Thousands marched up Broadway and picket captains had a hard time restraining mothers, children and students from singing out "We Shall Overcome" or stirring up a chant of "No More Tests!"

'BRUTES IN BLUE'

This was a demonstration they felt strongly about, and when the demonstration was drawing to a close in a "quiet" gathering in Duffy Square, one group of marchers was reluctant to leave and sat down in the street. Suddenly some 100 policemen on a special mission, the "Tactical Patrol Force," rushed in, billy-clicks poised, and proceeded to beat up demonstrator after demonstrator, including those not participating in the sit-down, in one of the bloodiest shows of brutality against a demonstration in the history of the city. Many picketers had their heads injured, actor-director Julian Beck suffered from a punctured lung. Forty-two demonstrators were arrested. All participants were horrified at the hysterical reaction of the city's boys in blue. The official leaders of the ad hoc committee which had called the demonstration disclaimed responsibility for those who had sat down.

The demonstrators are angrier still. Picket lines and sit-downs have been organized in front of the New York headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission.

SLAP IN THE FACE

Students throughout the country felt the slap in the face the Democratic Administration gave the growing peace movement with

PICKETS PROTEST:

Integrationists Framed

Three Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee members are being held in Baton Rouge, La., on charges of "criminal anarchy." Racist officials claim that their activities for integration constitute attempts to overthrow the government of Louisiana.

Dion Diamond, a SNCC field secretary, was arrested early in February on the Southern University campus. When the others, Charles McDew and Robert Zellner, attempted to visit him in jail, they were detained, questioned, and arrested on the same charge. The chairman of the local CORE is also being held for "criminal anarchy."

PROTESTS

The arrests sparked a nationwide series of protests, beginning on Feb. 28 when members of the Non-violent Action Group picketed the Washington home of Senator Ellender (D-La) and presented a petition to the justice department

demanding action. On March 16, while SNCC members were staging a second sit-in in the Attorney General's office, over 100 youth picketed the federal court house in New York's Foley Square. Other demonstrations were planned in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago.

FREE HAND

The "criminal anarchy" charges came as a part of a widespread crack-down on integrationist activities. Having been given a free hand by the Kennedy Administration, which refuses to intervene into the area of "states rights," racist officials are becoming more brazen in their drive to crush opposition. If this drive is to be halted, youth must mobilize strong support for victims of racist frame-ups in Baton Rouge, Monroe, N. C., (see page 4) and other areas, and prepare a new offensive against Jim Crow.

ATTACK PEACE VIGIL:

N.Y. Police Riot in Times Square

by Ward Blake

On March 3, thousands of demonstrators in Times Square were treated to a public display of New York's club-swinging cops in action. Although the police issued a statement denying brutality "despite great provocation by students and beatniks," eye-witness accounts prove otherwise. After the cops had finished clubbing and arresting a small group sitting in the street, they charged into the main body of the vigil; mothers with small children had to scramble out of the way as blows rained down from infuriated police on horseback. Demonstrators were beaten, knocked down, and arrested at random.

INJURIES

Charles Schnall, one of the 42 arrested, described the scene in Main Events, a City College student newspaper: "I saw a priest struck and knocked down by a policeman's nightstick; a young girl grabbed by a police officer on horseback and dragged." Attempts at appeasement did not prevent beatings. "I saw," Schnall continues, "a man extending his hand asking to be arrested. He was knocked down by a police officer, thrown into a paddy wagon, and ironically enough is now being charged with resisting arrest." One of the demonstrators, Julian Beck of the off-Broadway Living Theater, was taken to the hospital with a punctured lung, in addition to head and rib injuries. At the police station, according to witnesses, two men lay unconscious and unattended for over an hour

before being given any attention.

LAUGHING COPS

Even in jail the brutality did not cease. At his arraignment, Mr. Schnall was repeatedly kicked by a policeman standing behind him; other prisoners suffered similar injustices. When one objected to being fingerprinted unconstitutionally, two guards spat in his face, and then yanked him up by his ears. Others, locked in their cells, shouted at them to stop. All the police did was laugh and continue to twist his fingers, forcing them on the ink pad and card." During their detention, the prisoners were twice stripped and searched, and thrown into cells too small to hold all of them.

Police brutality, as such, is

nothing new; it is an everyday experience of Puerto Rican and Negro youth who live constantly at the mercy of New York's graft-ridden police department. But on March 3, many student youth became aware of it for the first time. Some were able to see behind the uniformed thugs who attacked the vigil to those who set them loose and whose interests they serve, catching a glimpse of the power, hostility, and determination of American ruling circles. The attack, like the 1960 attack on anti-HUAC demonstrators in San Francisco, gives an indication of the kind of resistance those interested in peace, civil rights, and civil liberties will have to face in the coming years.

Death of C. Wright Mills

American youth suffered a loss last month with the death of C. Wright Mills, one of the country's foremost sociologists. In books like the *Power Elite*, the *Sociological Imagination*, and the *Causes of World War III*, Mills boldly challenged prevalent academic orthodoxy, and had a powerful impact on students dissatisfied with official answers. He was an ardent supporter of the Cuban Revolution, and his book *Listen Yankee* was instrumental in bringing the truth about Cuba to thousands. In his newest book, *The Marxists*, he attempted to arouse interest among American students in the ideas of socialism. The editors of the *Young Socialist* join in paying tribute to this great thinker and humanitarian.



C. WRIGHT MILLS

Two Views on Cuba's Future

To the Editor:

The YSA's resolution on the Cuban Revolution states that the YSA supports "the earliest possible establishment of a government on the basis of workers and peasants councils, or some equivalent organizational forms." Well, for that matter, so do I. However, putting this statement into an official document, without qualifying statements about the prospects for fruition of this wishful thinking in being nearly nonexistent, has the smell of advice to leaders. (Why not ask the President or Congress of the United States to do the same thing?)

The YSA's resolution seems to believe that it is within the realm of reasonable probability to expect the Cuban Revolution to become democratic in form. This, after more than three years of a dictatorship of the revolutionary leadership! It goes without saying, that the dictatorship is extremely popular (and by contrast with Batista, rightly so). Nevertheless, there can be no avoidance of the word "dictatorship" in describing the Cuban government, that is, if one does not intentionally intend to de-emphasize this fact.

The reason the YSA's document seems to ignore this essential situation is that the Cuban Revolution is different in character than other socialist revolutions. However, the fact that Cuba's dictatorial leadership is not a privileged bureaucracy is no reason for overlooking the fact that it is a non-elected ruling body which the Cuban people would have to take extreme measures in order to remove.

As for myself, I recommend the slogan: "For the Cuban Revolution, Against Fidel Castro." Cuba's government is popular because it is paternalistic and gives the people what they want. I suggest that the Cuban people are foolish for not wanting something more than three meals a day—today and maybe even tomorrow, but then again the state's quota for next week will not permit . . .

The only adequate and permanent defense of Cuba against counter-revolution is the success of political revolution against the Castro government. Expecting political reform in Cuba smacks of Deutscheristic speculation about the Soviet Union.

—Arthur Maglin
Antioch College

Y.S. Answers

In approaching a question like the Cuban Revolution, it is essential to take such abstract categories as "democracy" and "dictatorship" within the context of the actual content they derive from the struggle of class forces in society as a whole. The government of the United States, for example, despite its "democratic" form, actually functions as an instrument of the American capitalist class, to serve its needs, against the interests of the American workers and the colonial peoples. We agree with Mr. Maglin that it would be the

wildest sort of wishful thinking to suggest to these "leaders" that they establish workers councils.

In Cuba, however, capitalism has been overthrown; the Cuban State functions to defend the new property relations, which are in the historic interests of the working class. The Cuban Revolution, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, has been profoundly democratic in content, opening up to the majority of the Cuban people for the first time the opportunity to live a decent life, free from foreign domination and exploitation. Under fierce attack by counter-revolutionary forces under the tutelage of the U.S., fully developed forms of proletarian rule have not as yet been institutionalized. However this does not mean that opportunities for democratic expression have been entirely lacking; through their defense committees, militia, and other organizations, the Cuban people have been playing a significant role in shaping revolutionary policy.

Unlike other countries which have overthrown capitalist rule, the Cuban workers state is not saddled with a parasitic bureaucracy. It is this decisive fact—a fact which cannot be glossed over—that makes our attitude toward the future of Cuba so different from our attitude toward that of the Soviet Union. The wealth and privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy give it a material incentive to pursue a counter-revolutionary policy abroad and to stifle workers democracy at home. It is this built-in drive, inherent in the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, which makes it necessary for the Soviet workers to struggle against it.

CASTRO NO BUREAUCRAT

Such a material drive is not operative on the Cuban Revolutionary leadership; as Mr. Maglin states, the Castro government is not a privileged, parasitic bureaucracy. It does not have material interests of its own separate from those of the Cuban workers and peasants. Consequently, its basic tendency has been consistently in a revolutionary and democratic direction. Fidel Castro himself has been in the forefront in attacking incipient manifestations of bureaucratic tendencies in Cuba.

It is considerations such as these which lead us to the conclusion that workers democracy is not only a "possibility" under the present leadership, but the direction in which that leadership has been moving. Partisans of the Cuban people should beware of echoing the State Department's call for the "foolish Cuban dupes" to revolt against their government. Under these circumstances, such a call is a call for support to counter-revolution. The best assurance that the Revolution will continue its democratic development lies not in overthrowing its leadership, but in a vigorous defense of the Revolution against further U.S. attack, the mobilizing of wide support for the Revolution among the people of North and South America, and the future success of the Latin American revolutionary forces.

—The Editors

Young Socialist

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Editorial Board: Nora Roberts,
Ted Mellor, George Saunders**"A World to Win!"**

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year, \$5.00 for six months. Bundle rates: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone GR 5-9441. 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. 5, No. 6 (45) 401

April, 1962

Gag Act Threat To Liberties of All

The U.S. government has opened up a new stage in its offensive against civil liberties. On March 15, Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis, identified by the government as leaders of the Communist Party, were indicted by a grand jury for failure to register under the repressive McCarran Internal Security Act. Hall was indicted on five counts, Davis on six, each count carrying a penalty of five years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. Earlier, the U.S. Court of Appeals stayed a sentence of six-months handed down to James Jackson, editor of the *Worker*. He had refused to answer questions concerning the relationship of the *Worker* to the Communist Party on the grounds that government interference in this area constituted a flagrant violation of freedom of the press.

C P OUTLAWED

The same Supreme Court decisions on June 5, 1961 which upheld the registration provisions

of the McCarran Act also upheld Smith Act provisions under which mere admission of membership in such an organization provides grounds for a prison sentence. The American Civil Liberties Union noted that "for the first time in American History, the requirement that an organization register because of the content of its political program has been given constitutional sanction." Because Communist Party leaders, like leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, have been imprisoned under the Smith Act, the registration provisions actually constitute the outlawing of a political party in the United States.

If the Washington inquisition succeeds in its attempts to suppress the Communist Party, it will not stop there. As the international situation deepens, a new drive to crush opposition at home is underway. Washington must have a free hand to pursue its counter-revolutionary aims abroad; all dissent must be stifled at home; the American people must be terrorized into passive submission.

WHO'S NEXT?

It is essential for all student and youth groups to recognize the realities of this situation; there can be no freedom, no civil liberties, for anyone while the Communist Party is denied its rights. No group or individual will be safe from future suppression, no matter how "mild" its objectives. We call upon all student and youth groups to act against the McCarran Act and other repressive legislation, the rights of the Communist Party and of all other victims of the current drive must be unconditionally defended.

JOIN THE YSA

For more information on the Young Socialist Alliance, send for the free pamphlet, **INTRODUCING THE YSA**. For your copy write to the YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

YSA LOCALS

BALTIMORE: c/o A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703.
BERKELEY-OAKLAND: 1941 Oregon St., PH 3-6867.
BLOOMINGTON, IND.: P.O. Box 915.
BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 299 Huntington Ave.
CHICAGO: c/o Jack Barnes, 1304 Judson, Evanston, Ill.
DENVER: Box 724, Taber 5-2779.
DETROIT: 3757 Woodward.
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TWIN CITIES: 822 Ninth Ave. So. FE 8-2156.

Castro Hits Distortion Of Revolutionary History

by Pete Camejo

Fidel Castro delivered a speech to the students at the University of Havana which we feel should be given the speech of the year award.

The occasion was the fifth anniversary of the student attempt to storm Batista's palace led by Echevarria, a student leader who was among those killed. The chairman read a letter written by Echevarria the day before the attack and his expected death. At one point, apparently following somebody's instructions, the reader skipped three lines which contained a religious reference.

When it was Castro's time to speak he put aside his prepared speech, read the omitted lines and proceeded to discuss the need for honesty and the fight against bureaucratic privileges and abuses in a socialist revolution.

UNFETTERED THOUGHT

Explaining what this type of deception will lead to, he said, "Into what is the revolution changed by this? Into a tyranny. And that is not revolution! Into what is the revolution changed? Into a school of docile spirits! And that is not the revolution! The revolution must be a school of courageous men! The revolution must be a school of unfettered thought!"

The complete text of the speech



Fidel Castro

is available in English, in spite of the black out by the major press and the embargo of Cuba, thanks to Pioneer Publishers. The pamphlet costs 15 cents and can be ordered from P.P., 116 University Pl., New York City or from the YSA, Box 471 Cooper Sta. NY 3, NY.

Argentinian Voters Make J.F.K. Confess

The victory of "Peronista" candidates in Argentina threw that country into a political crisis which is as yet far from being resolved. It also appears to have thrown many people into a state of confusion. The primary reason for the confusion lies in the error of identifying the Peronista movement simply with the man Peron, and thus as a pro-dictatorship movement. However, it must be recognized that the Peronista movement is the present political expression of the labor movement in Argentina; Peron himself functions only as a symbol of the early struggles for Trade Unions and of nationalism against American imperialism. Furthermore, the leaders of the Peronista movement are quite aware of this.

LEFT FIDELISTA

The *Nation* quotes Amado Olmos, one of the trade union leaders, as saying, "We want him back in from exile, but as a sort of party hero, not as President. Peron is not a revolutionary." The left wing of the Peronista movement is Fidelista and has no illusions in regards to Peron.

The vote was not what the American press implied, i.e., that the Trade Unions and poorer people of Argentina voted for a tyranny, while the militarists, the upper classes, land owners, and industrialists, were fighting for democracy. No, in reality, the vote was between the working class opposing the austerity program and open sacrifice of Argentina to American investments and the pro-imperialist forces, with the militarists in the vanguard, defending the continued impoverishment of the masses for bigger and juicier profits. The capitalist class of Argentina and the U.S. lost. What has so far followed is the stripping of bourgeois society of its "democratic" dressings and its naked state power revealed.

"ACADEMIC"

Kennedy, whose propaganda tactic in the cold war is aimed at presenting the New Frontier as pro "democracy," had the following to say when questioned about the Argentinian situation in an abstract manner (since he openly refused to answer directly,) at his press conference of March 29th.

"Well, I would think that we would—I would have to . . . I have stated in answer to your question that . . . in a generally . . . general way in . . . I think my interview with Mr. Aleksei I. Adzhubie where I commented upon what the position of the United States is in regard to free elections and the choice of the people and providing the free choice continues, of course, they may make their judgment.

But I'd prefer to keep it . . . I'd be glad to talk to you about it sometime as an academic question."

Kennedy hit it on the nose. To the capitalists, democracy is an academic question. If the capitalist politicians win, O.K. if not, no. Now guess what Kennedy means when he says he's for free elections in Cuba. The lesson the Argentinian workers have undoubtedly learned is that their needs cannot be won under capitalism even in its most progressive form of bourgeois democracy.

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

A Revolution's Defense

BOOK REVIEW

by Fred Mazelis

Terrorism and Communism (also known as **In Defense of Terrorism**) was written in 1920. It stands beside Lenin's two works, **State and Revolution** and the **Proletarian Revolution**, in the Bolshevik polemic against the ideas of Karl Kautsky, a leader of the German Social Democracy. Its republication is one of a series of works issued by the University of Michigan Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the study of Communism and Marxism. The fact that it has been made available again is a welcome indication of the renewed interest in Marxist ideas among the U.S. intellectuals.

DEFENSE A DUTY

Kautsky represented a position toward the Russian Revolution not altogether unlike that taken toward the Cuban Revolution by people like Theodore Draper today. While in theory a supporter of the Revolution, Kautsky claimed it had been "betrayed" by the Bolsheviks who did not uphold the usual forms of bourgeois parliamentarianism and suppressed "too harshly" the armed counter-revolution.

Trotsky answers this attack with a defense of the Bolshevik concept of the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class and the firm suppression of counter-revolutionary activity. "The working class," he writes (p. 57), "which seized power in battle, had as its object and its duty . . . to make sure of carrying out Socialist reforms." It is bound to, and will, resist all efforts to tear that power out of its hands. "Otherwise," Trotsky points out, "there would be no point in seizing power." The methods of defense do not depend on the preferences of the workers

state, but on the degree of savagery with which it is assailed by the terror of armed counter-revolution.

DISTORTION

Trotsky brings his defense of the Bolshevik concept of the proletarian revolution up to date in two essays written in 1935 and 1936, included in the present edition. The relation of Leninist theory to present-day reality is the task of a new introduction to this work. This, unfortunately, has not been accomplished; instead, Max Shachtman of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has given us a curiously ambiguous distortion of that theory.

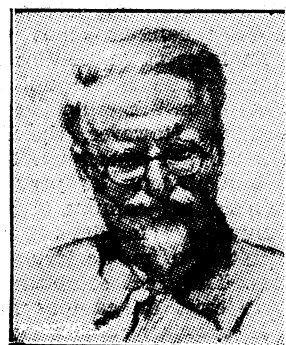
For instance, he ends his introduction with a quotation from Lenin on the interdependence of the fight for socialism and the extension of democracy. It is tragic, states Shachtman, that Lenin and Trotsky did not adhere to this view when it would have assured a "different evolution" for the Soviet Union.

"DIFFERENT EVOLUTION"

It is difficult to pin down what he means by this. He mentions the ban on factions within the Bolshevik Party, but neglects to mention that this was intended as a temporary measure essential to the preservation of the Revolution. Does he consider that this was a fundamental error? Or does he agree with Kautsky that the civil war was prosecuted too harshly, that Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries ought not to have been suppressed when they were actively fighting with the counter-revolution? If this is Shachtman's suggestion, then it is hard to believe that the "different evolution" he refers to under these circumstances could have been any-

thing but the triumph of counter-revolution.

Stalinism and Social-Democracy both seek to identify Leninism and Stalinism, the Stalinists placing a plus sign before both, the Social Democrats a minus sign. Surely Shachtman still knows the difference? Certainly he recognizes that Trotsky carried on a long, difficult struggle against the rising bureaucracy of Stalin and that Lenin, had he lived, would have joined them in the fight.



Trotsky

SHACHTMAN NEUTRAL

But Shachtman's own "different evolution", has drawn him ever closer to the position of right-wing Social-Democracy, to the point where last April he could be "neutral" about the counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba (although against Castro and for the "left-wing" of the mercenary invaders). As Trotsky remarked about Kautsky, "If well-intentioned bourgeois doctrinaires sometimes appear in the guise of retired theoreticians of the Second International, this in no way deprives their characteristic nonsense of the right of remaining nonsense." Readers will find the book itself an effective antidote to the incongruous introduction.

Bomb-Test Protests Mounts . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

concerned with physical survival." Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear testing, followed by a "get tough" line in the Geneva foreign ministers conference, comes as a telling blow to all those who hoped to convince the Democrats to put an end to the insanity of the Cold War.

FIRST COME . . .

It is becoming increasingly clear that those in power in this country have no intention of ever giving up the arms race. They have a vested interest in preserving the capitalist system, and that can only be done by putting the needs of the big corporations first—protecting them with guns and whatever weapons may be necessary—and putting the needs of humanity last. Government offi-

cials obviously cannot be convinced that the peoples of the world will take kindly to exploitation, given a free choice, nor, it has been shown, are they prepared to give up the profits of those they serve.

If a decision is to be made to end the cold war, nuclear testing, and the arms race that goes with it, someone else will have to make it—someone who is not committed to the protection of the profits of the major corporations. This is the lesson which is being driven home by the frustration of this generation of peace demonstrators. It is time for the people of the United States to know the facts and have the decision making power on questions of war and peace—on whether or not they want the air they breathe to

be poisoned by radioactive fallout—Kennedy and his gang of "new frontier" politicians can no longer be trusted with this power.

LET US VOTE

Already a movement is beginning within the Student Peace Union to call for a nation-wide referendum, with full and free discussion on all questions of war and peace. The City College chapter of SPU in New York has passed a resolution calling for a campus-wide referendum on testing, to be initiated by the Student Government, if possible. In addition, it has called upon all campus chapters of SPU in the city to take similar action. More locals are preparing to urge SPU nationally to launch a campaign to "let the people vote on testing" at its forthcoming national convention at Antioch College in Ohio, April 27-28. If SPU hopes to continue its leadership of the more militant elements of the peace movement as a whole, it will have to face up to their growing political frustration, and begin to provide a meaningful answer. President Kennedy has made his position clear, New York's Mayor Wagner and his "brutes in blue" have made their position clear, now it is time that the people of this country learned the truth and made their position clear—decisively clear.

Where We Stand

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

UCLA Hears Phillips-YSA Wins Fight

by Leslie Evans

LOS ANGELES—Six months of unprecedented growth in radical forces here culminated at the beginning of March in the achievement of "recognized off-campus status" for the Young Socialist Alliance. This is in keeping with the directives of University of California President, Clark Kerr, prohibiting campus clubs which take an interest in politics from using the name of the university or holding membership meetings on campus. However, the directives make the concession to the First Amendment of permitting "recognized off campus clubs" to use university facilities for the presentation of public forums and debates. The YSA established its right to exist on campus in the face of growing right-wing hysteria and hooliganism resulting in the on-campus beating of a YSA member by five defenders of "American Democracy."

PHILLIPS FIRST

For its first on-campus forum on March 2, the YSA presented Wendell Phillips, descendent of the famous abolitionist, who was suspended from his post as a welding instructor at Fullerton Junior College, under California's Dilworth Act. He had testified to past membership in the Communist Party and present membership in the Socialist Workers Party, but refused to inform on his political associates. He is fighting for reinstatement on the grounds of academic freedom.

Phillips had just returned from a speaking tour of northern California, where he addressed student audiences from Berkeley, San Francisco State, Stanford, and in numerous off-campus appearances. On two occasions, William Mandel, frequent contributor to the Peoples World, appeared in support of the case, and at a protest against the McCarren Act in San Francisco, Phillips shared the platform with Dorothy Healy, who had been barred from UCLA and Berkeley as a "communist."

At UCLA, he spoke to an overflow crowd of 230, which was the largest gathering to hear a socialist speak there in many years.

RESERVISTS OUTRAGED:

'Yankee's Want to Go Home'

by Ed Slater

Six months after Kennedy began stepping up the draft and hit reservists with an "emergency" call-up, many of those pulled from their jobs and homes are beginning to wonder what's going on. They resent being called up without any convincing explanation, and without any indication as to when they will be released. In short, they want out.

Early in March, while members of a New Hampshire National Guard Unit at Ft. Bragg, N.C., were on a hunger strike, 35 members of the "Irate Wives Club" picketed at Ft. Devons, Mass., demanding the return of their husbands. Their signs read, "Call-up, propaganda device," and "Plan your career, join the reserves." Soldiers at the base showed their sympathy by providing the picketers with coffee.

COURT MARTIAL

At Ft. Polk, La., military police are under orders to break up any attempted meetings on the

base. This crackdown on the rights of free speech and assembly occurred when "We Want Out" rallies involving 300-600 reservists went so far as to "criticize the President and the Congress." On March 23, military authorities went a step further in their drive to crush opposition, sentencing Pfc. Bernis Owens, a University of Texas student before the call-up, to six months at hard labor for his part in the Ft. Polk protest.

'WE ARE AT WAR'

One effect recent "we want out" actions have had is to call attention to the current military build-up which has been given little notice in the press since its inception last October. At that time the reason government propaganda gave was to "meet the needs of the Berlin crisis." With this alibi less plausible every day, military and government spokesmen are now hastening to explain that "Our Way of Life" (i.e., capitalism) is in danger not only in Berlin, but throughout the world, and that "the U.S. is, in a very

real sense, at war."

The manpower build up, like the scheduled resumption of tests, is intended not only to threaten the Soviet Union, but to intimidate the masses of colonial people struggling for their freedom throughout the world. The call-up of reservists frees regular troops for action in places like Vietnam, where thousands of U.S. troops are now fighting in an undeclared war against the Vietnamese people. Many of the American youth dragged into uniform may see action in Latin America to prop up some tottering reactionary regime, or in future activities against the Cuban people.

It is important that students and other youth give support to the protests of their fellow young Americans caught in this military drive and demand their immediate release from active duty. In the face of increasing vindictiveness by the militarists toward those who dare protest, the rights of free speech and assembly must be secured for servicemen. Only through military opposition to the war drive in all its forms can American youth hope to obtain the right to plan and lead a normal life.

750 See Cuba Films

by Jack Marsh

BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—The Fair Play for Cuba Committee's presentation of the truth about the Cuban Revolution met with widespread campus interest at the University of Indiana here, but not without a show of resistance from right-wing students.

The local FPCC prepared a film showing and panel discussion for the weekend of Feb. 10 and 11, after devious and evasive tactics by the campus administration and petty leaders, to limit advertising, literature distribution, and thereby to disqualify the program.

But despite the attempts of the administration, over 250 students turned out to the Saturday showing, and 500 to Sunday's program. Saturday night also brought the right-wingers out to hiss, boo, stamp their feet, whistle the "Star Spangled Banner" and set off a stink bomb. Any presentation of facts, figures, or views about the Cuban people or government was shouted down. Many interested people had to leave or wait outside to talk to the Fair Players in a

more coherent and rational atmosphere.

On Sunday night the conditions were more favorable for those who wanted to learn about Cuba and Fair Play. The audience sat silently throughout the movie, except for some mild hissing when Castro appeared on the screen, and some clapping for the mercenaries by the Conservative League members. But regardless of the childish pranks, they all watched and watched closely. They were seeing what they would be fighting against if they supported another U.S. invasion of Cuba. Apparently it wasn't inviting, for the discussion that followed was at least coherent.

YAF Rally . . .

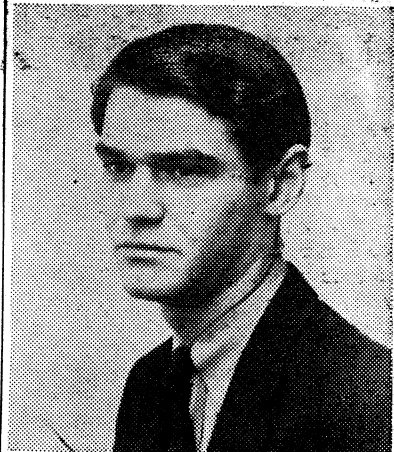
(Continued from Page 1)

of mouth campaign was carried on against the YOC, attacking it as a "Trotskyite Front." It came into the open at a CCNY discussion by representatives of 11 organizations planning for the March 7 picketing. The chairman claimed the YOC was a front for the YSA and the Labor Negro Vanguard Conference. "Just the YSA!" shouted a representative of the Marxist Discussion Club.

EFFECTIVE PICKET

The final results pointed out that what the left and liberals need is not sectarian in-fights, but unity and non-exclusiveness in action. Despite the campaign carried on against it, an effective, united, and democratic picket line was held on March 7. The most popular slogans on the line were "One Line Against the Right," and "Unity Against the Right." This spirit on the part of the rank and file participants made itself felt even at the ADA and Young Democrats rally which followed the picket. Roy Wilkins, of the NAACP, was hissed by the audience when he attacked the "far left," and another speaker was greeted with shouts of "No red-baiting here!"

Unity in action, with no censorship of signs or exclusion of any groups or individuals for political reasons must be the basis on which future actions are built. Only in such a way can the growing right-wing hysteria be countered.



John Lowry

One of the victims of the current Monroe, N. C. frame-ups is now engaged in an extensive speaking tour of the mid-west. Freedom Rider John Lowry, who together with three others faces a possible sentence of 20 years to life imprisonment on charges of "kidnapping," will visit areas from Chicago to Tucson Arizona to gain support and aid for the defendants.

Lowry's tour is under the auspices of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, which is raising funds to aid in paying trial expenses. The Committee is also attempting to bring as many people as possible, particularly African students, into Monroe in May to witness the trials. For information, write CAMD, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Youth Notes

NO MORE WAR—At Haverford College in Pennsylvania, nearly half the student body and faculty halted classes on Feb. 24 to protest Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear tests . . . over 200 demonstrated in Detroit against the Bomb Test decree, 350 picketed Chicago's City Hall and at least 500 protested at City Hall in Philadelphia . . . A New York Student Peace Union demonstration at the UN drew over 200 on March 7 to protest the tests and the police brutality in Times Square the previous Saturday. . . . A Ft. Knox soldier was confined to the "psycho ward" at Walter Reed Hospital for two days after picketing in uniform at the Washington Peace Demonstration . . . President Kennedy told a press conference in Washington that he "understood the feelings" of the reservists demanding release from active duty. However, he added, "There is always inequity in life." . . . The U.S. Information agency has announced that, while the U.S. came out better than Russia in a world survey on testing, most people are in favor of no tests at all. . . . A course in disaster survival in Newark which had lined up an impressive array of civil defense hounds, cops, and military brass, had to be cancelled when only four people showed up to learn how to live with the Bomb . . . Elsewhere on the get 'em ready front, an army psychiatrist has characterized U.S. troop indoctrination as "more often than not a failure, useless, or even negative in its effects."

FREEDOM NOW—Members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee held a sit-in in Attorney General Robert Kennedy's office, protesting laxity in Negro rights and demanding action to release the three youths held in Louisiana on charges of "criminal anarchy." Burke Marshall, Brother Bobby's assistant, told them that his office "could not intervene." . . . Students at

UCLA voted 2,086 to 1,435 to lend \$1,000 to each of five UCLA Freedom Riders, the money to go for bail and legal fees. However, the faculty-student Board of Control refused to carry out the student's decision. On March 14 hundreds of Los Angeles students joined in a protest rally and a sit-in was planned on the Administration building steps. . . . Four members of the New Haven, Conn., CORE chapter staged a sit-in in the offices of local Republican and Democratic chairmen demanding action on slum conditions in Negro neighborhoods. They were fined \$100 each by a non-partisan court.

WORLD YOUTH—Three leaders of Zengakuren, the militant Japanese student organization, were arrested in Tokyo on March 3 in a demonstration against the renewal of U.S. Bomb testing. Similar protests took place throughout the world. . . . The South Korean puppet regime is having its own problems keeping up the war-drive. Radio Taejon reported that over 1,100 draft evaders in that city alone had gone into hiding rather than aid in repressing their countrymen.

ON THE CAMPUS—In Los Angeles, 500 UCLA students picketed Congressman Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, when he arrived to speak at a local hotel on March 19. The anti-HUAC line, was countered by a smaller group of witch-hunt supporters. . . . A picket line two blocks long greeted President Kennedy in Berkeley, Calif., when he spoke at the University of California's Charter Day ceremonies. Nearly 500 students, organized by the ad hoc "Committee for March 23," demanded an end to Bomb tests, the end of the war in Vietnam, federal action for integration, hands off Cuba, repeal of the McCarran Act, and no arms for suppression of colonial peoples. One sign summed it up: "Kennedy Stinks."

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