

NYC Students Strike for Free Speech

by Nora Roberts

NEW YORK CITY—More than 2,500 Hunter and City College students boycotted classes, protesting an Administration ban on Communist speakers, centered around Benjamin Davis. Queens College students plan a full day strike to voice their protest. The action marks the largest such demonstration for academic freedom at the city colleges in some 12 years.

The ban on all "known" members of the Communist Party speaking at the city colleges was made by the Administration Council of the City University. It followed the action of Queens College's President Stokes, who nullified a speaking invitation sent to the National Secretary of the Communist Party, Benjamin Davis, by the campus Marxist Discussion Club.

'PRINCIPLES'

According to the Administrators, the ban was based on four essential principles:

1. The university commitment to the independent search for truth.
2. The preservation of an atmosphere of free inquiry.
3. The preservation of the university's intellectual integrity.
4. The necessity of all parts of the university to obey the laws of the state and nation."

On the basis of its fourth point, the Administration used an interpretation of the recent Supreme Court decisions forcing the Communist Party to register under the McCarran Act as "agent of a foreign power," to nullify its first three points. None of the students was fooled by this double-talk.

STUDENT ANSWER

A resolution passed by the CCNY Student Council "deplores, decries, and denounces the action of the Administration Council."

An editorial in City College's **Observation Post**: reacted sharply: "We, the students at this College are being denied the privilege of complete, uninhibited exposure to all ideas. We are going to be denied the right to think, for without a free airing of all facts, thinking is a fruitless exercise."

"There are times when petitions are effective, but that is long past now. The only alternative left for the students at the College is direct action, a mass rally, for example. The campaign has to be a continuing one, for that is the only way that our opinions will be heard."

More than 1,000 City College students attended a subsequent rally protesting the ban. At the rally Student Government leaders called for support to a boycott of classes as further demonstration of protest. The response

was overwhelming enthusiasm.

At Hunter College, 25 student leaders staged an all-night "read-in" at the library. The next day about 40 per cent of the student body gave up their classes to demonstrate their desire for full academic freedom. A rally and boycott are planned by Brooklyn College student leaders. Queens College students will take up the lead with their all-day strike.

'BREAK THE BAN'

The strike actions, however, are not viewed as the end of the student action. One student editorial

said, "The need for immediate action against the ban has been emphasized repeatedly. But the planned boycott must not be seen as the panacea. The most pertinent action which could be taken at present would be an invitation to a Communist to speak here."

This sentiment reflected a move on the part of a group of City College students, including leaders of the E. V. Debs Club, the CORE chapter and the Student Peace Union, as well as editors of both campus papers, to defy the Administration by having Davis

appear on campus, breaking the ban.

These students distributed a leaflet, feeling that students could not in good conscience obey the ruling of the Administrative Council, outlawing free speech at the city colleges. They promised to support any group which would risk punitive action and sponsor Davis on the campus. Plans are now being laid to put this into effect.

Davis' appearance on the campus, despite the ban, would produce (Continued on Page 3)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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December, 1961

Fair Play's Student Editor Hits Planned Cuba Invasion

Over 3,000 students throughout the country have thus far heard Bert Wainer, editor of Student Council, a Fair Play for Cuba Committee newsletter. He is on a three-month national tour which began September 22 in New York City and will wind up Dec. 15 in the same city.

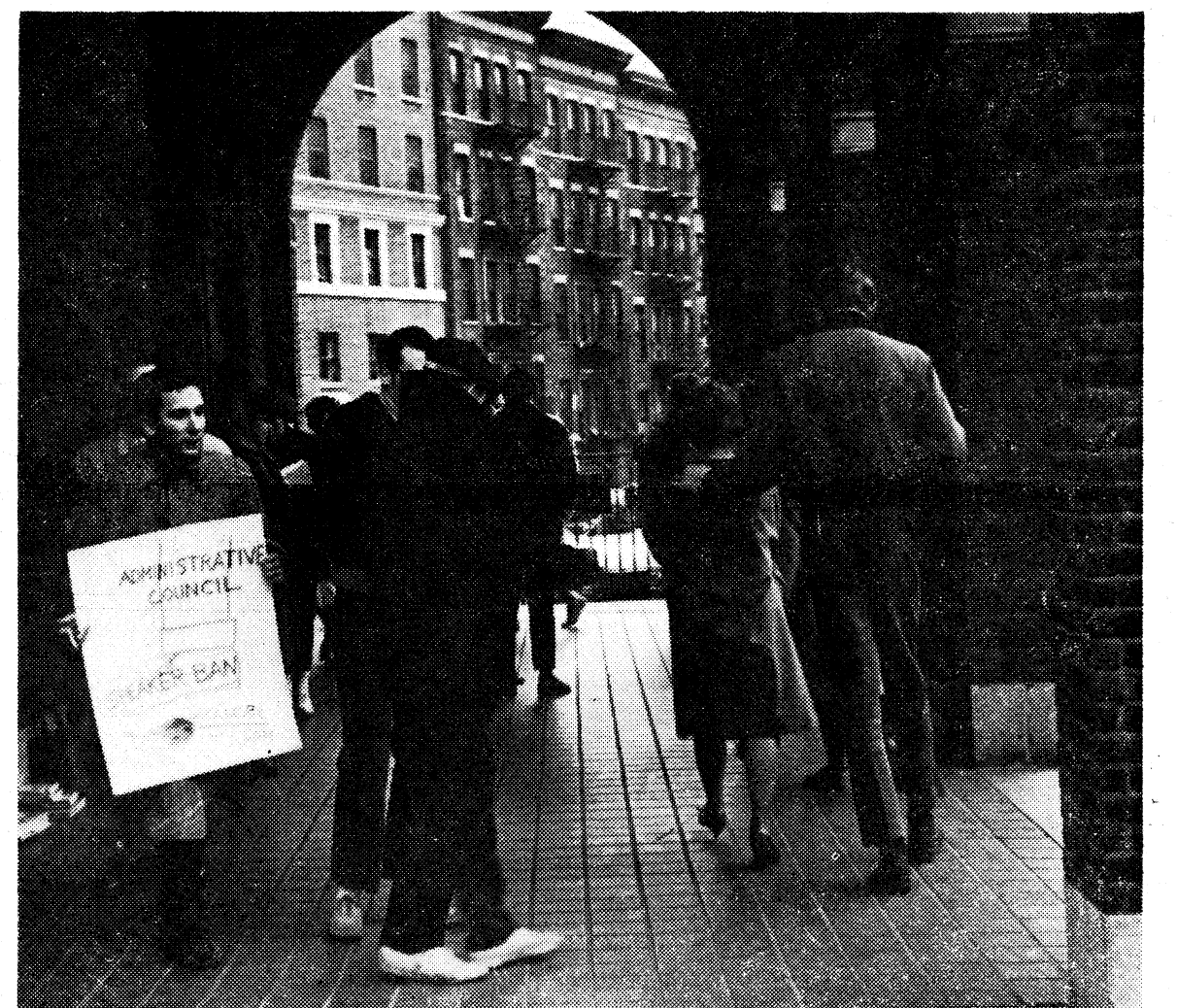
Wainer is warning his audiences of an impending threat of another U.S. invasion of Cuba. He visited Venezuela last summer and is now speaking on the subject, "Latin America Looks at Cuba."

The Denver Post Oct. 18 reported Wainer's charge that "the United States is sponsoring a military buildup in the Caribbean that will probably lead to another invasion of Cuba." The Colorado newspaper said, "Wainer's state-

ment comes two days after a protest by the national advisory council of FPCC that 'counter-revolutionaries are being trained at dozens of bases in this country and throughout the Caribbean'."

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, Wainer debated a counter-revolutionary, Robert Brown, who claimed to be a 'former member of the July 26 Movement,' Wainer said, "If one believes in democracy, that is, the right of people to choose, then all you have to do is travel throughout Cuba and find out how the people feel about the government."

Wainer had accompanied hundreds of students who visited Cuba last winter before the travel ban was instituted. He reported (Continued on Page 3)



BOMB THE BAN: CCNY students fill academic halls with protests against the ban on Benjamin Davis and their right to hear. About 25 per cent of the students turned out with 1,500 Hunter students.

FIRST TASTE OF VICTORY:

Monroe Victims Get Out of Jail

by Leroy McRae

The emergence of the Monroe defendants from the Union County jail was an occasion for celebration by civil rights fighters in the KKK-dominated city in North Carolina. The judge of the Union County Superior Court granted a motion by the prosecution postponing the trials of Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, Monroe Negro youth aged 19 and 17 respectively, and John C. Lowry, 19, white Freedom Rider from New York, resulting in their release from prison on bail.

The three face a possible life imprisonment sentence on a trumped-up kidnapping charge as a result of their fight to enforce recent Supreme Court desegregation rulings in the KKK capital. The Negro community rejoiced at their release as a first

taste of victory since the police-inspired riot of August 27 when Freedom Riders were beaten when they came down to demonstrate.

EXTRADITION

In Cleveland, Ohio, Mrs. Mae Mallory, 34, a Negro mother of a teen-age girl, is fighting extradition on the same "kidnap" frame-up charge. Mrs. Mallory was freed on bail earlier and her extradition hearing is slated for November 22.

Over objections by defense counsel, Conrad Lynn, the judge granted the postponement until February so that there might be a consolidated trial of all four defendants if North Carolina can take custody of Mrs. Mallory. Defense attorneys in Monroe succeeded in having the extremely high bail (\$10,000 each for Reape and Lowry, \$15,000 for Crowder)

reduced in view of the state-requested postponements.

Crowder, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and Reape, an active member of the committee, reside in Monroe and rejoined their families. Lowry, a Freedom Rider, returned to his home in New York.

FREEDOM RIDERS

All four were arrested, along with several others, when 18 Freedom Riders came to demonstrate for integration in Monroe. They had been invited by local NAACP head Robert F. Williams. During the last day of their picketing the Freedom Riders and members of the Negro community were brutally attacked by white mobs. The police refused to make any arrests of the people who attacked the

(Continued on Page 4)

Canadian Youth Join Labor

by Cliff Cotton

TORONTO, Canada — Definite steps were taken by student and working youth to build a mass labor youth movement here. A series of conventions now underway in the provinces, (already completed in Ontario, and soon to be held in British Columbia and Saskatchewan) are carrying forward the decision made in Ottawa last August to launch this new movement, called the New Democratic Youth (NDY).

In Ottawa delegates from union and farm organizations, from Labor's New Party and Canadian Commonwealth Federation clubs, initiated the nation wide movement.

Behind the formation of the NDY, and giving great encouragement to it, was the formation of the New Democratic Party, a few days earlier. This party is based on the union movement, and independent of any ties to the big corporations who rule this country through the Liberal,

Conservative, and Social Credit parties.

UNONS STEP UP

The union movement here enthusiastically took the big step into politics in response to the ever increasing viciousness of anti-labor legislation passed by the parties of big business in recent years, and to alleviate the conditions of the workers, which have been getting steadily worse since the 1957 recession.

The CCF, a social-democratic party enjoying the support of sections of the labor and farm movements, since the mid-1930s, dissolved itself into the NDP, and provided it with much of the organizational apparatus and personnel it is now using.

YOUTH FIGHT RIGHT

Convinced that with hard and sustained work the new youth movement will grow rapidly, the delegates at the Ottawa and Ontario conventions hammered out (Continued on Page 3)

'JUGGERNAUT' REVIEW:

Behind the Warfare State

by Arthur Phelps

In recent years we have come to expect Fred J. Cook's excellently documented muckraking articles in the *Nation*. The October 28 *Nation* was turned lock, stock and barrel over to Cook's full-length "JUGGERNAUT—The Warfare State," which follows on the heels of and in the tradition of "The Shame of New York," "The F.B.I." and "The C.I.A."

A perplexing and significant quote from Eisenhower's Farewell Address introduces the JUGGERNAUT:

"We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex."

Cook's central thesis is: "This complex has come, in fact, to determine all our policy; to orient the entire nation, not toward peace, but toward war. If we are ever to avoid that war, the overwhelming and insidious power of the military-industrial complex must be smashed." He supports this thesis with a devastating mountain of evidence.

COMPLEX HISTORY

The rise of this complex is traced from the pre-world War II days when according to C. Wright Mills, "In the civilian distrust that prevailed, the military were supposed to 'stay out of politics' and most of them seemed glad to do so." Then in 1941, "from 267,767 men, the Army leaped to 1.4 million. . . . In one year the Army's Services of Supply spent more billions than the entire federal government had expended for all its operations from 1789 to 1917." Just to put the matter into perspective, 1942 saw \$32 billion spent for war—in days when the U. S. was creating a war machine and fighting a war; today the military costs are in transit from \$60-\$70 billion.

Thus, we see the *raison d'être* for the partnership, or, to use Cook's metaphor marriage between the Military and Big Business. He shows that in the early days of courtship, the Chief of Ordnance had advisers named Baruch, Fairless (U. S. Steel), Keller (Chrysler) and Brown (Johns-Manville Corp.)

"The Hebert investigating committee in 1959-60 found that more than 1400 retired officers from the rank of major up were employed by the top 100 corporations that split up three-fourths of the 21 billion dollar armament pie."

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

The military, in its turn, has a dowry for the corporations. The permanent war economy has been shaped to do what the New Deal couldn't: prevent depression. "In 1939, after 6½ years of the New Deal, America still had 9.5 million men out of work, a staggering 17.2% of the labor force." Harvard's Prof. Harris then clinches Cook's point:

"If we treat the years from 1941 to the present [1959] as a whole, we find again that a period of record prosperity coincided with a period of heavy military outlay of a gross national produce of \$5.25 million. In eighteen years, purchases of goods and services for defense and war accounted for more than \$700 billion. About one dollar out of seven went for war and preparation for war, and this expenditure was undoubtedly a stimulus to the economy."

The role of the military described by Cook is that of undermining civilian control over the political-military destiny of the nation through the uncontrolled use of tremendous resources of propaganda, political and economic power—in concert with some of the major corporate power of this country. The creation of a Prussianized professional officer

caste and soldiery through the institution of compulsory military training (UMT) is used as a case study. In the campaign for Universal Military Training, the military not only broke the law by using taxpayer's money to propagandize the taxpayers, but in so doing created a propaganda machine that would make Goebbels blush. This machine (which Cook calls "Madison Avenue in Uniform") became one of the main architects of the witchhunt and cold war.

NO WORKERS

Two years later, June 19, 1950, the Korean War broke out and



Remington Rand's President, Douglas MacArthur

Cook gives some reasons for the U. S. defeat: "What we had produced was a sprawling military bureaucracy, so top-heavy in the echelons of command, staff and administration that there weren't enough men to fight a sixth-class war." He apparently is not aware of the power of a revolutionary people (such as the Koreans . . . or the Cubans) when called upon to defend their land against imperialist invaders.

The history of atomic armaments is yet to be written in detail, but Fred Cook gives us a look at it. According to Cook "the mere existence of the bomb signaled the start of the arms race in which we are still engaged, and resulted in the virtual enthronement of the Military."

Startling quotations abound by sometimes rather unexpected commentators backing up Cook's thesis:

"Our Government has kept us in a perpetual state of fear—kept us in a continuous stampede of patriotic fervor—with the cry of a grave national emergency. Always there has been some terrible evil at home or some monstrous foreign power that was going to gobble us up if we did not blindly rally behind it by furnishing the exorbitant funds demanded. Yet, in retrospect, these disasters seem never to have happened, seem never to have been quite real."

This statement was made in mid-1957 by the head of Remington-Rand; the man who willed to risk World War III by crossing the Yalu River from Korea into China: Douglas MacArthur

LOOKS TO FUTURE

The main evils of the warfare state are headed by a heedless drive toward total worldwide civilization-destroying war—the sabotaging of all negotiation on disarmament, and nuclear testing; the creation of a permanent war economy at the expense of welfare and the sacrifice of American democracy to the mythology of total security.

Cook's main hope for the future however, is that there are impor-

tant American politicians and even soldiers who know that the Russians do not need or want war. Since there is no real military need (at least not to the degree of 60 to 70 cents out of every budget dollar), then we must recognize as purely self-serving and disastrous the permanent war economy and the war hysteria witchhunt and rule of the military-industrial complex which feeds it.

The signs of a growing recognition and fear of the problem by Eisenhower, MacArthur; Kennedy's appointment as Secretary of Defense of a 'tough-minded' civilian such as McNamara, Fulbright's defense of civilian control over the military—all appear by Cook to be leading in the right direction. The author adds that the mere tackling of the problem must make clear to these notorious cold-warriors the need for constructing an economy of peace and welfare rather than the present warfare state—and then they must do it.

GOOD DESCRIPTION

The JUGGERNAUT is an excellent descriptive piece. It really does lead one to the conclusion that the "military-industrial complex" must be smashed. In the tradition of C. Wright Mills, Cook follows both his line of great contribution to our factual wares and the Mills error of allowing his description to be self-sufficient unto itself. The result: there is no scathing searchlight thrown on the cause or any real hint as to the solution. In our view, the lack of democracy, the drive toward war, the rise of the military-industrial complex and the need of the permanent war economy to avoid depressions is all based on the fact that the American ruling class—the capitalists—requires all of this paraphernalia merely in order to exist. In due time, it may serve up other weapons — Bonapartism (outright military dictatorship) and Fascism (with its street gangs) if necessary to smash its only reservoir of decisive opposition—the labor movement.

The Cook analysis ends with solutions that include Kennedy's McNamara and Fulbright. He ignores the one social force in the U. S. which will not lose by dismantling the economy of war and constructing an economy of peace and plenty—the working class. To lean upon a Stevenson or Kennedy or McNamara is self-defeating. This should be obvious to all after their role in the CIA-organized invasion of Cuba last April. The unflinching guide—the one which history so plainly indicates but which Cook fails to see—is that the capitalist politicians are trying to hang on to a sinking system; and Kennedy has warned they will do so "without regard to peril or cost."

To support such politicians is to oppose humanity. To support such politicians is to support the war machine—the JUGGERNAUT

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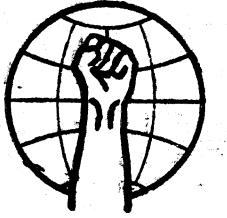
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Superbomb's No Answer

The Soviet Union's 57 megaton superbomb has raised a hue and cry throughout the world. The recent Soviet atmospheric tests have focussed the attention of the workers and student anti-war movement away from the United States, giving the imperialist West a dangerously valuable propaganda and military weapon. President Kennedy's announcement that the United States is making preparations to resume underground and atmospheric tests glaringly points out the utter hypocrisy of the "peaceful" intentions of the "free world." The hue and cry only serves to distract from the real enemy—the U.S. government's threats of war.

This has been the most damaging effect of the Soviet tests. The capitalist world has used its propaganda advantage to turn the justified horror of the world against nuclear weapons into a "righteous" war drive by the West.

While this might be the most dangerous effect of the Soviet tests, the physical effects are ominous and all too real—the effects of radiation, even with an immediate end to all nuclear testing, will find its way into all of us, and future generations.

The Soviet leaders claim the tests are militarily necessary against the Western threat. However, the world is already well aware that while the sophistication of their weapons may vary, both the East and the West have a nuclear arsenal sufficient to over-kill the peoples of the world scores of times.

At the same time the Soviet Union's need to defend itself is very real. Since the formation of the first workers state, the capitalist West has tried either to destroy or buy up any country which dared to break from the imperialist orbit. At every opportunity the aim of Western imperialism has been to take back the countries they "lost" to workers economies. The Korean war and the April invasion of Cuba were direct attacks upon planned economies and thereby on the Soviet Union.

If the Soviet Government feels a military need for these tests, its duty, if it were to be the revolutionary leadership of the world working class, would be openly and honestly to discuss its problems with that working class, starting with the Russian workers.

The bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, however, has failed to call upon the greatest force for peace in the world, the world working class. Neither one of its chosen policies—peaceful co-existence (which mans, in effect, status-quo-existence) nor saber rattling, played separately or together—will bring the victory of peace any closer for the world or in the thoughts or actions of the American workers or students. The Soviet bureaucracy has demonstrated once again it is incapable of leading a real fight to destroy imperialism.

"Peaceful co-existence" urges unity with Reuther and Stevenson behind the "New Frontier." Then this bucking bronco is to be guided toward the Summit. But, so long as coexistence is peaceful enough not to disturb the spheres of economic influence, why should the U. S. negotiate? So Khrushchev chooses to rattle the saber (in this case, the big bomb). The result is that those fighting against war are again deluded into thinking that capitalism will become peaceful, if not by love, then by fright.

The Soviet Union has a pressing need to disarm. Unlike capitalism, the Soviet economy does not require military spending. But are "peaceful co-existence" or bomb throwing a means to peace? A study of the causes of war shows that private enterprise requires international economic domination. This reaches world war proportions when "free" enterprise is blocked from its economic expansion.

The struggle of the working people to take economic and political power in their own hands would bring a lasting victory against imperialist war—will rid the world of oppression and exploitation; will place people above profits and human needs above power. Only such a solution will bring peace. The fight against war is the struggle of the workers against imperialism. Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence policies by ignoring the real power against imperialist war sets back the battle for survival.

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Cops Ban Cuban Story From Providence YSA

by Frank Wyler

PROVIDENCE—Students who attended a YSA public meeting and film on "Military Intervention in Latin America" had an opportunity to witness first hand the extent to which rightists will go to prevent the discussion of socialist ideas, and also the readiness with which police assist them in suppressing free thought. The police officers who halted the showing of the film said the YSA did not have a permit to show the film or to request a donation to cover expenses. When asked whether this applied to everyone, including, for example, Brown University, they had no comment. Police did not act spontaneously; they were sent when three Brown students complained that admission was being charged. It is sus-

pected that these student acted from a political rather than a legal standpoint, since their identities, as well as their right-wing views are well known. The complaint was part of a deliberate plan to suppress free information and free discussion of Cuba and the Latin American revolution.

Whether or not there is a law prohibiting the showing of films without a permit is still in doubt, as in the constitutionality of any such law. This, in any case, is not important. It is obvious that the law's enforcement is selective; that is, the law will not be applied unless someone complains. And there are always plenty of people around to complain about civil liberties, peace, socialism, or anything else which is anathema to the ruling class, including truth.



BULLS: Providence cops won't allow truth about Cuba to be heard.

Cal Students in Uproar Over Nuclear Radiation

by Marvin Garson

BERKELEY—Some 250 students spent a drizzly Halloween night on the steps of the administration building at the University of California's Berkeley campus in a vigil protesting nuclear tests. Hundreds of others joined the 24 hour vigil at one time or another, and about two thousand sympathizers wore arm bands.

Planned to coincide roughly with the Soviet 50-megaton bomb test, it protested "atmospheric, underground and undersea bomb testing by any world power; the tests of England and France; the underground and proposed atmospheric tests of the United States; and in particular on this occasion, the score or more nuclear tests, including the imminent 50-megaton test by the Soviet Union."

A similar demonstration at San Francisco State College drew about 50 people.

Twenty faculty members at Berkeley publicly supported the vigil. Student political organizations were forbidden to sponsor the vigil, but SLATE, Young People's Socialist League and the Young Socialist Alliance were permitted to "endorse" it.

YPSL distributed leaflets blaming both sides equally for the cold war, calling for a socialist alternative and a "democratic foreign policy" which would be better able to cope with "Communist expansionism." YSA issued a leaflet blaming "western imperialism" for the cold war, but condemning the Soviet Union's "bureaucratic reaction" to external threats.

The only physical opposition to the vigil was two barrages of eggs thrown by unidentified persons. Students Associated Against Totalitarianism, a right-wing group, passed out leaflets calling the vigil "foolish and futile." It urged President Kennedy to order immediate resumption of atmospheric tests and to "take definite measures" against "Communist enclaves" in the Western hemisphere. ASUC, the student government, refused to endorse the vigil, and would not consider sponsoring it since this was expressly forbidden by the Administration. The ASUC president proposed a series of lectures on nuclear testing as a "rational answer to the emotionalism" of the vigil.

Canadian Youth in Labor . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

their respective constitutions for the as yet skeleton organizations. But expressed agreement on the desired end of building the movement and linking it to the workers fight for a better society did not prevent the right wing elements, largely ex-CCFers, from attempting to curtail the activities of the socialists.

Their efforts to impose a reactionary membership clause banning members of other political parties, "supporters" of such parties "or organizations ancillary thereto," met head on resistance from socialists and large numbers of political newcomers.

'NO MCCARTHYISM

This clause was seen as leading to a McCarthyite withhunt of the type that effectively destroyed the CCF youth movement several years ago.

Although passed at the federal Ottawa convention by a slim majority, this clause was defeated resoundingly when taken to the Ontario convention, held in Toronto in mid-October.

To prevent future arbitrary expulsions by the executive the Ontario delegates wrote into the constitution a clause giving rejected members final appeal to the convention.

NO TIME FOR POLICY

Due to a great deal of confusion on procedural points, plus deliberate filibustering by a minority of delegates, the Ottawa gathering was able to deal with only the organizational report during the two day session. Thus the resolutions on domestic and international policy from the

Fair Play Tour . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

that students who saw Cuba were deeply impressed by the revolutionary people striving to build their own free society. "At the very least," Wainer said according to the *Colorado Daily*, "let us say 'hands off Cuba' and let the Cuban people decide their own fate."

Wainer declared that students were waking up in opposition to the U. S. State Department's ban on travel to Cuba. This, he said, is manifested by the significant action of the U. S. National Student Association congress' resolution calling for an end to this ban. The USNSA held its 14th congress last August at the University of Wisconsin with 388 colleges and universities present.

clubs, including some which expressed considerable sentiment for support of the Cuban Revolution, withdrawal from NATO, and nationalization of basic industries did not reach the floor.

However, the delegates to the Ontario convention showed that they were very conscious of the growing unemployment crisis and the impact it is having on young students and workers. Motions from the floor that the \$100,000,000 slated by the Tory government for centennial celebrations be used to help the unemployed, and that the civil defense expenditures be scrapped and applied to the depleted Unemployment Insurance fund were enthusiastically received. The conventions called for an end to compulsory high school cadet training; free university education and extensive bursaries to students; and an end to compulsory religious indoctrination in the public schools.

CLASS NATURE

Although the name of the new youth movement does not reveal its class character, a resolution

guaranteeing union representation to future conventions, passed overwhelmingly, places the movement firmly in the camp of the working class. So too does the declared aim of the Ontario NDY, which calls for "the participation of all who are dedicated to the elimination of exploitation, the abolition of poverty and the extension of freedom, and who seek to build a new society based on political, economic, and social democracy."

The presence of a large number of young people, (many of them coming from the various anti-war movements) who look on themselves as left-wingers and socialists, and who, in many cases, see their task as bringing socialist ideas to the program of the NDP and the labor movement, is the most positive guarantee that the NDY can be built into a mass movement of radical youth which can meet the needs and problems, national and international, of Canada's younger generation, and can play a key role in leading the struggle for a socialist society.

Unions Would Find a Weapon If They'd Back Minority Youth

by Vicent Rodriguez

Increasingly in the news these days are reports and statements from NAACP leaders and some minority vote-minded congressmen on what is probably one of the greatest scandals of the American trade union movement, namely the discrimination practiced by the AFL-CIO against hundreds of thousands of minority workers.

The overwhelming majority of these workers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans and it is the youth among these that are possibly hit the hardest through the unions' misuse of control of the apprenticeship programs.

This has meant the closing out of so-called "non-white" minority workers from the skilled craft occupations and hence their being confined to the unskilled and semi-skilled classification with the continuing differential between "white and colored" workers. The major cause of this situation is the shutting off of apprenticeship opportunities to minority working youth by the unions with the support of man-

agement and the government, all of whom have their own interest in maintaining the apprentice training programs as they are.

This is a cruel and vicious blow to a young worker of minority extraction; a blow he might expect from a boss but certainly not from his fellow workers and from the trade unions which are supposed to represent him and fight for him in the class struggle. It can mean the frustration of his ambitions and the development of his talents and the final result might well be anti-social behavior.

The denial of the right to earn a decent wage and the prestige and self assurance of being a skilled craftsman are only the most apparent results of this kind of injustice. The deeper scars and the bitterness that ensue have transformed many a healthy personality. This is something that cannot be measured in statistics and charts. The trade unions would find they had a strong, militant ally in the minority working youth, if they would give them a better break than the bosses give.

Freedom Riders Greet YS

NEW YORK — Special guests, including two Monroe Freedom Riders, and the New Jersey Organizational Secretary of the 26th of July Movement greeted the start of the fifth year of publication of the YOUNG SOCIALIST at a banquet held here Nov. 19.

Fred Halstead the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for Controller in the recent city elections, also spoke, along with New York chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Fred Mazellis. More than 100 young people joined in the annual celebration.

The courage of this generation, as expressed by the two Freedom Riders and the young Cuban, keynoted the celebration, remarked the chairman, YOUNG SOCIALIST editor, Nora Roberts.

Said Freedom Rider, Richard Griswold, "I feel very honored and very humble to have the privilege of speaking to you on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the YOUNG SOCIALIST; it is all the more a privilege since I speak as a guest rather than as a member of your organization. However, I do not feel at all an outsider here. Admiring as I do both your principles and the dedication with which you honor them, I have been happy to learn that we share many of the same beliefs and objectives."

Griswold had spent over forty days in a Mississippi jail before going to Monroe where he was arrested twice and brutally beaten. He is now active in the Com-

mittee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

The other Freedom Rider may face a sentence of life imprisonment as a result of his activities in Monroe. He spoke on the development of the civil rights movement. "When the thirteen of us Freedom Riders went to Monroe," he said, "it was against all wishes and admonitions of the recognized leadership of the integration movement — that is, CORE, NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SCLC had a field worker in Monroe who conducted workshops and attempted negotiations, but regardless of apparent support from national organizations, our action there was against their policy and thus a basic split with them took place."

"The more militant people," he continued, "are demanding changes—and if they don't happen there are going to be more splits and ultimately, an organization that can do the whole job will take over."

CCNY Strike . . .

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vide a test case upon which further legal action could be taken. In addition, it is felt, it would be a direct challenge to the Administration's right to regulate free speech at the colleges.

BANNED HISTORY

The ban marked a culmination of five years of reversals by the Administrative Council, invoking and revoking speakers bans. In 1957 a ban on all speakers convicted under the Smith Act was instituted, following action by a previous Queens College president. This ban prevented Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, from speaking on campus. Last semester, after some student protest, it was quietly dropped, only to be followed up with the current ban on all "known" Communists.

Students feel that if a banned speaker were to speak on campus under student auspices, in direct defiance of the ban, it would mean a major victory against this and any future attempts to stifle free thought in New York's institutions of higher learning.

'Squelch That Opinion'

Colorado University's paper was attacked for "tearing down the American way of life," by Denver's Scripps-Howard run *News*. The city newspaper cited the *Colorado Daily's* refusal to play up "Homecoming Day" — as evidence of its "communistic leanings." Further evidence was the *Daily's* urgings that Red China be admitted to the United Nations and its coverage of pro-Cuba events on campus. The *Colorado Daily* editors should be removed, demanded the Scripps-Howard press, and the student publication placed under screened faculty control.

KHRUSHCHEV'S PROGRAM:

Congress Promises, But Won't Win Masses

by Shane Mage

Phrases like "peace and friendship for the people of the world" and the explosion of 30 and 57 megaton Hell Bombs, proclamation of the "indestructible unity of the world Communist movement"—and an open conflict with the Albanian and Chinese Communist parties; denunciation of Stalin, disinterment of his mummy—and the bureaucratic suppression of the "anti-party" opposition to Khrushchev; promises of democratization—and the elevation of the Chief of the Secret Police to membership in the Party Secretariat—these dramatic contradictions dominated the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, quite overshadowing the new "Draft Program" which is, supposedly, to guide the Soviet people to the establishment of a Communist society.

Nevertheless the spectacular events in Moscow are not very mysterious, particularly since the conflicts within the Soviet Communist Party as well as between Moscow and Peking have, despite the official denials, been public knowledge for years. To defeat his opposition Khrushchev moved to gain the support of the generals by using the Berlin "crisis" to resume nuclear tests and to abandon (temporarily) the announced reductions in Soviet conventional armed forces. At the same time he attempted to win support from the masses by another edition of the 20th Congress "destalinization" moves.

STALIN'S USEFULNESS

In reopening the attack on Stalin and promising a full disclosure of the facts about Stalin's frame-ups, Khrushchev was not merely appealing to the workers and students. He was even more obviously striking his opponents at their most vulnerable point, who will worry about the real arguments of the "anti-party group" when Khrushchev is threatening to put them on trial for their complicity in the crimes of Stalin—a trial whose only aspect of frame-up would be the equal guilt of prosecutors and defendants?

By once more appealing to the



YOUTH BRIGADE: Khrushchev's "Communism in one country" program, proposed when the Chinese people are undergoing some of their gravest hardships, is damaging to the cause of socialism.

desires of the Soviet peoples for a freer and better life Khrushchev again opens the way to a process pointing toward profound changes in Soviet society. Such a process began in the post-Stalin "thaw," but was for a time blocked off after the repression of the Hungarian workers' revolution. What, today, is the nature of this process, and what are its limits? These, not the spectacular headlines, are the fundamental questions. To answer them, the "Draft Program" remains the most significant aspect of the 22nd Congress.

DRAFTY PROGRAM

The "Draft Program" consists of two parts: an analysis of the present world-historical situation presenting a political program for the entire World Communist Movement; and a section, entirely separable from the first, entitled "The Tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Building a Communist Society."

It has long been clear that, in

relation to capitalism, Stalinism represents a new type of reformism, willing to support any "progressive" capitalist government that would work with the Soviet Union. The Khrushchev program, based clearly upon Stalinist practice, explicitly embraces those Social-Democratic doctrines which Lenin condemned most sharply:

—Conversion of imperialism into a peaceful system: "The working class can make ruling circles cease preparations for a new world war, renounce the idea of starting local wars, and use the economy for peaceful purposes."

—Establishment of a socialist state through parliamentary reforms: "The working class can . . . win a solid majority in parliament, transform it from a tool serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people."

—Support for capitalist nationalists in the "underdeveloped countries: "The national bour-

geoisie . . . is objectively interested in accomplishing the basic task of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Its progressive role and ability to participate in the solution of pressing national problems are, therefore, not yet spent."

CUBA BELIES

Of course a glance at the reality of the Cuban revolution should convince any communist that these reformist pipedreams have even less substance now than they had in 1917. Which, no doubt, is why the word "Cuba" never once appears in this so-called Communist program!

The second section, on "Building a Communist Society," is of even more substantial interest. Its projection of the economic and political development of the next 20 years casts a good deal of light on the present condition of the Soviet Union.

"LOOK TO 1981"

The main economic promises made to the Soviet people can be summed up in the phrase reach the level of the U. S. by 1981. At that date the Soviet citizen will have a work week of about 30 hours; there will be a single grid supplying electric power to all areas; adequate supplies and good qualities of all consumer goods and food products will be available; the country will be covered by a network of highways and automobiles will be readily available for hire; above all, "every family . . . will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultured living." All these promises point out precisely what the Soviet people lack today. Such an increase of living standards, reckoned by the Program as equivalent to a 200 per cent increase in average real wages, is to be based on a growth of agricultural production by 25 per cent and of industrial production by 500 per cent over the 20 year span.

These percentage figures may seem high, but they are not in the least utopian. In fact they represent merely the continuation of the present 9.5% annual growth rate for industrial production, and the raising of Soviet agriculture by 1980 to the 1960 level of U.S. agricultural productivity.

But the projected economic growth increase, more than twice the best U. S. rate and also above the historic Soviet rate, is by no means easily achieved; it will demand a considerable intensifica-

tion of effort by the Soviet workers. Yet if we go back to the projection of real income for the workers, we see that real wages are to increase at a rate only three-fourth that of productivity. This contradiction, at the very core of the 20-year plan, shows that they are deluding themselves who count on economic progress to reconcile the Soviet workers to continued bureaucratic rule.

IN ONE COUNTRY

Equally revelatory with the economic sections are the political and theoretical aspects of the Program. This is a document whose watchword is "Communism in a Single Country," and thus is completely in line with Stalin's "Socialism in a Single Country." At a moment when the Chinese people are undergoing the gravest hardships in a struggle to lay the basis for a modern economy, when the East European buffer states are still weak and exposed, this nationalist egotism is obviously damaging to the entire cause of socialism. And at the same time it deprives the Soviet Union of the economic advantages to be gained through elimination of the national frontiers fragmenting the billion inhabitants of the non-capitalist countries.

In reality, despite the promise of "Communism" and the myth that the U.S.S.R. achieved "Socialism" a generation ago, the "Draft Program" merely proves that for the Soviet people even Socialism is over 20 years away. Economically a society can begin to call itself Socialist only when it stands on a higher level than the most developed capitalist country. This, at least will be possible for the Soviet Union after 1980.

But Socialism, as Marx and Lenin conceived of it, has an all-important political dimension—the expansion of democracy and freedom far beyond the bounds known even in the most democratic capitalist state. The "Draft Program" talks of "democracy," but, despite the cracking of the monolithic nature of Stalin's party this is still shallow pretense. Not only does it deny the Soviet workers and peasants the right to form their own political parties, but it is also made brutally plain that even within the Communist Party itself "all manifestations of factionalism" will be suppressed. Khrushchev's "Draft Program" is a program for the preservation of his bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union. It stands as an evidence that the Leninist system of workers' democracy will not be restored by reforms from on top.

Monroe Victims Released from Jail . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

peaceful demonstrators. Instead several of the integrationists were picked up and thrown in jail.

That evening, the Negro community turned out in full force to protect their leaders. Then, a white couple drove through the area and was stopped by the crowds. Williams offered them his home as refuge from the community which was justifiably angry after the attacks and naturally suspicious of any strange whites driving through. The couple was unharmed and left later of their own accord. This was the basis of the "kidnap" charges against Robert Williams and the other four.

A full scale manhunt was launched by the local police and the F. B. I. against Williams. "Wanted" circulars characterized the heroic Monroe civil rights leader as "heavily armed," "extremely dangerous" and "schizophrenic," a thinly veiled notice to cops to shoot on sight. Williams barely escaped with his life to Cuba.

"NOT GILTY"

"I am not guilty," stated Williams. "My only crime is that I am a Negro who has loudly and militantly protested America's ruthless oppression of Negroes." Conrad Lynn is also defending

two other Negro youths of Monroe, Albert Rorie, 17, and James Covington, 15. Both have been falsely charged with shooting policeman J. W. Rushing in the leg during the August 27 riots. At that time, many Negroes were pursued and shot at by police and white racists.

One policeman admitted on the stand that he had stopped and searched Rorie and, finding no weapon, had let him go. Next day, however, Rorie was arrested on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill. He denied the allegation. Bond was set at \$2,000. Covington was picked up several days later and similarly charged with shooting the same policeman.

No gun was ever produced by the prosecution, nor were the bullet, pictures or X-rays of the alleged wound. Rorie and Covington, however, had been active in the anti-segregation picketing in the downtown area the week preceding the August 27th incident.

The jury members barely got up from their seats before they brought in the guilty verdict. Rorie was sentenced to three to five years in jail. Covington was sentenced for an undetermined period to the county training school. The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is appealing

and endeavoring to bring the two out on bail.

COMMITTEE AIDS

The Committee is furnishing legal counsel and court expenses for as many more people as are indicted. In addition a trailer load of food and clothing collected by the CAMD was driven down to Monroe on October 21. The Negro community in Monroe is being victimized for its attempts to win full freedom and desperately needs material assistance.

In the North, CAMD is beginning to break through the news blackout around the events in Monroe. A mailing describing the events was sent to more than 12,000 people, and met with an excellent response. Press releases are given increasing coverage, especially by the Negro press. More radio and TV time is being lined up by local committee throughout the country.

Defense rallies have been held in New York, Boston, New Haven and New Jersey. More are scheduled for Detroit, Minneapolis, Washington, D.C., Providence, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Denver, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Responses are expected from Canada, England and Cuba.

Requests for further information should be sent to Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

YSA LOCALS

BALTIMORE: c/o A. Robert aKufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd., LA 3-3703.
BERKELEY - OAKLAND: c/o Petras, 2158 Blake St., TH 5-1550.
BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.
CHICAGO: c/o Dengler, 746 Belden. RE 9-1903.
DENVER: Box 724, Tabor 5-2779.
DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.
LOS ANGELES: Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.I. 54. NOrmandy 4-0967. GR 3-1342.
MILWAUKEE: c/o Myrtle Kastner, 3460 N. 16th St.
NEW YORK CITY: 10 E. 23 St., GR 9-9441.
PROVIDENCE: c/o Roger Sheppard, 62 Waterman St.
PHILADELPHIA: 3708 Powelton Ave., Apt. 4L, BA 2-4073.
SAN FRANCISCO: c/o Mattingly, 2331 Market St.
SEATTLE: c/o Healdie, 3420 Huron St. EA 5-4695 or ME 2-7827.
TWIN CITIES: 822 Ninth Ave. So. FE 8-2158.
TORONTO: 31 Queen St. W. EMpire 5-1454.
VANCOUVER: 875 East Hastings St. Vancouver, B.C., Canada.