

RISE OF THE RIGHT:

YAF Must Face Student Militants

by Lynne Harper

Not even during the reactionary fifties and the heyday of McCarthyism was the ultra-right able to organize a viable youth organization, but a decade and a half of unrelenting cold-war propaganda and attack on civil liberties and labor has finally borne fruit, with the successful mobilization of over 30,000 right-wing youth around Young Americans for Freedom. While this organization in itself represents no long-term threat, it is important that those youth concerned with civil liberties, civil

capitalism. Thus the 5,000,000 unemployed workers in America are as free as wealthy businessmen to pursue the dictates of free will—doubly free, in fact, since YAF would also free them from unemployment benefits or any other form of relief. The greatest single threat to freedom, the document continues, is International Communism which must be destroyed at all costs.

But how do patriotic youth fight this elusive enemy. Communism, these days? YAF's method is to label "Liberalism" (government measures such as unemployment compensation, etc.) the "unwitting handmaiden of Communist subversion." Given the fanatically anti-Communist climate of this country, such smear tactics can be effective in promoting conformity and discouraging those who would speak out and act against militarism, segregation, and other injuries arising out of capitalism.

RIGHT'S WAYS

YAF uses what it terms "radical" methods to promote its aims, some of which may be ascertained from the following brief glances of YAF in action. In November, students picketing the White House against nuclear testing were counterpicketed by YAFers bearing such signs as "I Like Nike" and "Test Si—Disarm No." YAF has distributed leaflets calling, among other things, for all control over education to be returned to the states—which would reinforce the brutal system of racial segregation in the South. YAF organizes and works in such ad hoc action groups as "Student Committee for a Free Cuba," "Student Committee for Congressional Autonomy" (to support the

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Confront YAF

The Youth Organizing Committee Against the Ultra-Right Rally has called on all young people to join a protest picket line in front of the Madison Square Garden Young Americans for Freedom clan-gathering on March 7.

rights, academic freedom, peace, and the struggles of the labor movement have a clear understanding of what YAF, the declared enemy of social progress really is.

FULL FREEDOM

YAF claims to be founded on nothing less than "eternal truths," which may be found in the Sharon Statement, a document adopted by the founding convention of the organization in September, 1960. First among these truths is the existence of an individual's "God-given free will whence derives his right to be free . . ." and the second truth, following close after, informs us that, freedom being indivisible, it cannot exist apart from a "free" economy, i.e.,

UNIONS GIVE SUPPORT:

Hundreds Join Fight for Monroe

by Shirley Stoute

More and more people are rallying to the support of three young men who are carrying on a struggle against the Government-backed forces of the bloody terror and violence of KKK barbarism in the racist jungle called the south.

Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and John Lowry, a Freedom Rider showed their courage and determination last August when they built an anti-segregation picket line around the Union County courthouse in Monroe, N.C. They were attacked by a police-encouraged mob of 5,000 white supremacist gangsters.

THE FRAME-UP

In the excitement that followed, a white couple drove through the Negro neighborhood and were thought to be part of an expected Klan invasion. They were detained for an hour and a half, took refuge in the house of Robert Williams and left unharmed when the excitement subsided. Because of this, the three youths and Mae Mallory, who was visiting Williams at the time, face possible life sentences on charges of kidnapping. Crowder aged 19, Reape aged 17, and Lowry 19, have been released on bail posted by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. Mae Mallory is being defended by the Monroe Defense Committee.

The CAMD held a rally in N.Y. on Feb. 15 which was addressed



CONRAD LYNN

by William Worthy, foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, Conrad Lynn, attorney for the CAMD, the novelist Norman Mailer and the defendants. Harold Reape summed up his feelings by saying he thought it better "to be one of those that try and fail, than to be one of those who do nothing and succeed." Richard Crowder said "we will continue to fight as long as we know we have support."

The New York City and New Jersey Baptist Ministers Conferences have endorsed the case. Already, freedom riders have brought their story to the attention of several church congregations and have found support. The

Rubber Workers union in Brooklyn has invited CAMD speakers to its meeting and gave contributions to legal expenses. CCNY students plan to set up a booth for the collection of food and clothing for the hard pressed Negro community of Monroe which is suffering intensified economic reprisals because of its militant actions. Last semester the student council passed a resolution authorizing a booth to be sponsored by student government. Shipments of food and clothing have been sent from N.Y., Detroit, Ohio, and Boston.

The Detroit branch of the Negro American Labor Council and individual trade unions have contributed funds to the shipment of food and clothing. The Detroit Brotherhood Youth Council-CORE endorsed a CAMD rally which was addressed by Conrad Lynn.

FIGHTS EXTRADITION

Mae Mallory sought refuge in Ohio and now faces extradition to Monroe. The Governor of Ohio, Michael DiSalle, after postponing his decision has finally joined hands with racists. He has announced that he would not refuse to extradite Mae Mallory. This decision, however, was passed over a sea of protest by many who cannot stand racial injustice.

The Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council called upon the Ohio state AFL-CIO to oppose extradition if there was any doubt that Mrs. Mallory could receive a fair

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THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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MARCH FOR MILES:

Washington Peace March Is Biggest Anti-War Action

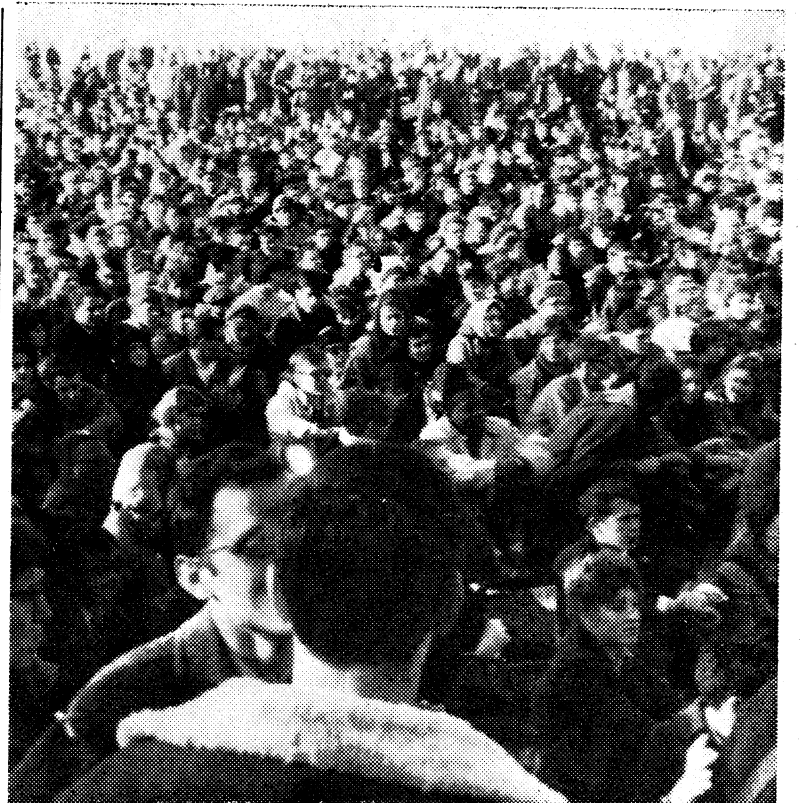
by Ted Mellor

On the weekend of Feb. 16-17, the seat of the U.S. government became the target of the largest anti-war demonstration in over 30 years as over 8,000 high school and college students united in action in Washington, D.C. The march, taking place under the co-sponsorship of several anti-war groups, drew youth from eastern areas, including Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Many travelled greater distances to express their opposition to war — 95 came from Detroit and over 30 from Indiana University at Bloomington.

MASS PICKETING

A picket line of thousands, stretching four square blocks around Lafayette Gardens, was conducted in front of the White House, followed by a march through Washington to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. While many participants felt it ineffective because of its route, the march did form an impressive picture of student protest.

Later a mass rally was held at the Washington Monument where several speakers addressed the marchers. One speaker, a student from Howard University, pointed out the interrelation between the struggle for peace and the struggle for civil rights. The same people who are fostering segregation and discrimination are the ones



—Thadd Beebe

8,000 DEMONSTRATE: The Peace March gathers at Washington Monument for a mass rally. The march was preceded by a week-long General Strike for Peace.

who are driving the country toward war, he said.

"LOYAL" LEADERS

The leadership of the March remained in the hands of the liberals and other elements seeking to function as loyal, if somewhat critical, supporters of the Kennedy Administration. The Feb. 17 N.Y. Times quoted one of the leaders as saying, "We're the right wing among the disarmament groups. We're not for unilateral disarmament. We're not pacifists. We're not for selling out to the Russians." A leaflet issued by the Student Action for a Turn Toward Peace echoed the State Department line of "preserving democratic values" in the face of "Communist Expansionism," and

urged new "peaceful" means of preserving U.S. capitalist domination.

On the other hand, the contradictory nature of these actions was shown in the same leaflet which also demanded no nuclear tests in the atmosphere and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from some overseas bases. Clearly the struggle for demands such as these, if pressed, leads inevitably to a direct clash with the State Department and the Kennedy Administration which have consistently demonstrated their determination to utilize any means—whether nuclear testing or foreign bases—to maintain control

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LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

(The following is the text of a leaflet distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance at the Washington Peace March, Feb. 16-17)

TAKE THE WARMAKING POWER OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT that murdered 200,000 civilians in the atom bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the government that plunged the U.S. into the Korean civil war without even consulting the Congress; the government that sent U-2 spy planes over the Soviet Union; the government that engineered the invasion of Cuba; the government that is marching the country down the road of World War III **IN SECRECY AND WITHOUT CONSULTING THE PEOPLE!**

PUT THE POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE!

The question of war and peace has become a question of the life and death of the whole people. The people have the right to decide their fate—the workers and youth must have the determining voice in all questions of war and peace.

LET THERE BE A NATIONAL DISCUSSION AND REFERENDUM VOTE ON THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR TESTING! A recent Gallup poll, taken after the U.S.S.R. had resumed testing, revealed that 45 per cent of the people are opposed to U.S. atmospheric testing, 44 per cent are for testing, and 11 percent are undecided. How much greater would that majority be if there were a full national discussion!

The Washington student demonstration for a turn toward peace is a real step forward. In the spirit of this united action the Young Socialist Alliance calls upon the Student Peace Union, Student SANE, and all other groups interested in peace, to adopt as part of their programs the idea that **THE PEOPLE SHOULD DECIDE ALL QUESTIONS OF WAR THROUGH REFERENDUM VOTE.**

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YS Open Forum

Challenges YS on 22nd Congress

(We regret that limited space did not permit us to publish the following letter from Mr. Drinkhall in its entirety—Ed.)

Mr. Shane Mage:

The following comments are directed to your article in the Dec. 1961 issue of YS: "Congress Promises, But Won't Win Masses."

Firstly, in regard to your criticism of the Draft Program of the CPSU, some clarification is necessary. In your article you quoted as follows:

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."

Taken out of context, the quote . . . which you used would imply that imperialism could be converted into a "peaceful system." However, the implication of the entire thought is; rather than meeting imperialism head-on, the more judicious and advantageous (in the long term view) method of warfare against capitalism is to settle each specific issue as it arises (i.e., compromise, negotiate) and avoid war, in order to gain the necessary time for the convincing and clear proof that socialism is overwhelmingly superior to capitalism. As this proof becomes more and more evident, the governments which have slacked away from the use of force and are using the "economy for peaceful purposes" will tend to slip from this middle or neutral position into the logical and realistic realm of socialism. Right now, I think, any threat or calling of a bluff could lead to disaster for both sides.

Marxism-Leninism never has advocated a "conversion" of im-

perialism. Imperialism's final end must be complete overthrow and its complete eradication.

On your second observation:

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."

However, the Draft Program does not, as you stated, "explicitly embrace" this tactic. In the paragraph prior to the above (p. 39), it is offered only as a **desired** method of attaining power:

"The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist parties—prefer (emphasis mine) to

achieve the transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat by peaceful means, without civil war."

A most important development for the Soviet Union to push harder for is, I agree, a very necessary expansion of democracy and freedom. The long and arduous road to Communism will be even more difficult to come by if this condition is not realized. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat should not entrench bureaucracy as much as it has. More active and open self-criticism and less inner Party decisions should be soon implemented, if not already in progress.

James Drinkhall
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Shane Mage Replies

If Mr. Drinkhall believes that the key passages I cited from the Draft Program are subject to a different and more favorable interpretation: his letter not only fails to make this point—it establishes the precise opposite. Thus, though he objects to my accusing the Draft Program of advocating the conversion of imperialism into a peaceful system and the establishment of a socialist state through parliamentary reforms, when it comes to summarizing what the Draft actually means he interprets it as follows: "the governments which have slacked away from the use of force and are using the economy for peaceful purposes" will tend to slip from this middle or neutral position into the logical and realistic realm of socialism." Whatever leftist phrases may be strewn around it, this completely reformist concept is in fact at the heart of the document.

What is of central importance for revolutionary Marxists in evaluating a document like the "Draft Program" is, however, not the balancing of words and hair-splitting interpretations, but the fact that it expresses a specific political program carried out in the interest of a specific social group. This political program is that of **Stalinism**, however embarrassing Stalin's corpse may now prove to his heirs, and it expresses the interests of the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

This bureaucracy, which Marxists consider a parasitic and degenerative growth upon the Soviet workers state, seeks above all to preserve and expand its monopolistic political and economic privileges at the expense of the workers of the Soviet Union. In order to do this it requires an in-

ternational stabilization perpetuating the present division of the world between imperialism and the bureaucratically-dominated workers' states.

Since this **status quo** is permanently being undermined by colonial revolutions and by the struggle of the working class in the advanced countries, the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to maintain "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism does all in its power to restrain such movements within the bounds of reforms acceptable to capitalism, and thus acts as a thoroughly and permanently counter-revolutionary force. Totalitarian rule in the countries of the Soviet bloc and a reformist approach to Western Imperialism are merely two expressions of a single reality.

I welcome Mr. Drinkhall's desire to oppose the Soviet bureaucracy and hope he will join with us in the fight for real workers' democracy in the Soviet Union, so that the world struggle for socialism can go forward to victory.

—Shane Mage

Victory in Providence

Editor:

I thought you would like to know that The Fair Play for Cuba Committee at Brown University here in Providence won its victory. The third attempt of the students to show a program of Cuban films succeeded Jan. 11.

Richard Gibson, Acting National Executive Secretary of FPCC introduced the films, including one on the April 17 invasion. He then gave a short talk on the danger of another invasion before an audience of about 140.

As we reported in the YS last month, two earlier programs had been suppressed by the Providence Police and the Brown Administration, and attendance at this showing was restricted to Brown students by the authorities. With this victory under our belts, we are planning a showing open to the public.

—Paul Lee
Providence, R. I.

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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.

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Cuba Answers the OAS

The United States maneuver to expel Cuba from the Organization of American States reveals the next stage on the aggression schedule of the cloak-and-dagger CIA. The State Department accuses the Castro leadership of "communism," of being a threat to the peace of the hemisphere and of being incompatible with the American way of life.

Eight years earlier the U.S. pushed through a similar resolution in Caracas Venezuela against "communism in the hemisphere." At that time, the American press was screaming about the "red" take-over in Guatemala. Guatemala was invaded and a right-wing dictatorship re-established three months later. The land that has been given to peasants was promptly returned to the United Fruit Company. Having failed in its attempt last year to bring about the downfall of revolutionary Cuba, the U.S. tried to prepare the groundwork for another stab at counter-revolution through the recent OAS decision.

But the OAS resolution could not wipe out the hope for a better life which Cuba symbolizes for the peoples of Latin America. Even though the conference took place at a resort location where there would be no "interference" by the masses, the workers and students demonstrated throughout the major Latin American cities, despite gunfire and many tragic deaths.

It was to these demonstrating workers that Cuba's President, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, addressed his answer to the Latin diplomats. "Have we," he asked, ". . . signed a military pact with anyone, as the government of the United States has signed aggressive military pacts that are introducing the cold war into the continent and are compromising the peace of the hemisphere?"

"Is the peace of the continent, perhaps, not being disturbed when the United States Naval squadron mobilized in order to force events in the Dominican Republic? Is the peace of the continent, perhaps, not being disturbed when atomic bases are established in Puerto Rico? Is the maintenance of a United States naval and military base in Cuba by sheer force not, perhaps, a disturbance of the peace? Is it, perhaps, not a disturbance of the peace when training centers for aggression again Cuba are being organized and are in actual operation, not only in the United States but in other Latin American countries—training centers we have publicly reported a thousand times, as we reported the training centers set up for the invasion of Giron Beach?"

Behind this historic meeting is a decreasing standard of living in Latin America, as the population grows faster than the economy, while Cuba's economy has been growing at 14 per cent per year since the revolution, a rate much higher than that of any of her sister nations. In the Second Declaration of Havana, the Cubans described the situation thus: "There die of starvation, curable diseases or premature aging, around four per minute . . . ten million every five years. These deaths could easily be avoided." "Through it all, there flows out from Latin America into the United States a continuous torrent of money, \$4,000 a minute, \$5 million per day, \$10 billion every five years. For every \$1,000 that goes to them they leave one [person] dead."

It is precisely the social-economic turnover in Cuba that has made possible improved housing, increased and varied diets, the obliteration of illiteracy, the rapid growth in unemployment, which will be wiped out completely within a year or two, that has stopped the flow of \$4,000 a minute that has ended the domination by the U.S. imperialists.

The OAS decision denied Cuba or any Latin American country the right of self-determination. It lays the basis to prevent the people of Latin America to choose a real land reform, nationalization, planned economy, or the arming of the working class, for these are the very acts that Cuba has committed which the OAS labels "communist." Against the declaration of the OAS stands the Second Declaration of Havana which will be the program of the working masses of Latin America.

DECLARATION OF HAVANA

THE MILITANT, America's leading Marxist weekly, has published a special eight-page issue featuring the full text of the Second Declaration of Havana, an historic manifesto from Revolutionary Cuba. Quantities of ten copies or more may be ordered at six cents each.

Please send me copies of the Declaration of Havana issue.

I enclose 50 cents for a special four-month trial subscription to THE MILITANT.

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'THERE'S A TASK HERE':

Integration Fight Moves North

by Ed Slater

The struggle for civil rights continues not only in the deep South but in places further North as well. Freedom Rides and sit-ins in Maryland and Chicago linked many Northern students more closely with the movement for freedom and equality going on throughout the country.

Maryland's Eastern Shore has been the scene of continued violence against integrationists since the first action to desegregate the area's restaurants began last Christmas Eve.

On Jan. 20, nearly 200 Freedom Riders arrived in Cambridge, Md., under the watchful eyes of over 250 state troopers whose leaves had been cancelled for the occasion. At the Choptauk Inn, a tavern on U.S. highway 50, and a scene of violence the previous week, 300 whites milled around awaiting the demonstrators. When the Freedom Riders attempted to enter the restaurant, they were greeted with flying beer bottles and broken glass thrown by waiting patrons. William Hansen, 22, Field Director for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was thrown to the floor, kicked and beaten by jeering pa-

trons, then arrested by the state troopers.

Eighteen demonstrators in Chestertown, Md. Feb. 3 were victims of physical attack and chased through the streets. Violence and arrests continued in Cambridge as well.

Clarence Logan, chairman of Baltimore's Civic Interest Group which sponsored the initial actions has sent a telegram to Attorney General Robert Kennedy demanding an investigation of the apparent laxity of law enforcement agencies and requesting protection for the demonstrators.

The Freedom Riders have stated that they intend to continue their activities. "There's a job to be done here," said one, "and I intend to see it through."

CHICAGO SIT-IN

Students at the University of Chicago have been engaged for several weeks in a struggle with the administration over the practice of segregation in University-owned housing. The discriminatory policies were brought to light Jan. 20 by the campus chapter of CORE which had been conducting test cases in University-owned buildings. In each of the six cases, the Negroes who applied were

refused apartments, while the white students were accepted.

President George Beadle issued a statement on Jan. 22 declaring that the University believes in equal opportunity for all. However, he added, "Whenever the University acquires a building threatened with deterioration . . . it does not make abrupt changes of practice with regard to occupancy, because maintenance of a socially practicable rate of integration is essential to the prevention of further deterioration."

This statement was rejected by the students who answered, "CORE does not believe that a policy of segregation maintained by the University or any other institution is the means by which an integrated community can be achieved."

On Jan. 23, over 30 students began an all night sit-in in the Administration Building. Nine students were arrested as the result of similar demonstrations and the University threatens to suspend students who participate in such actions.

At present, the Administration has offered to negotiate and CORE called off the demonstrations to see if agreement could be reached.



-Sid Brown

'Rightists of the World Unite!'

Calif. Clamps Down On Teacher's Speech

Wendell Phillips, a welding instructor at Fullerton Junior College in California, was officially suspended from his position on Jan. 15 by the board of trustees. He was charged with unprofessional conduct for refusing to answer questions put to him by the board and violating other provisions of the reactionary Dilworth Act.

Phillips was hired in 1961 after eight years' experience as a first class welder. He holds a Special Vocational Class A Credential, one of the highest in metal working, and was considered by the Personnel Director to be well-qualified for the post. However, he is a former member of the Communist Party and at present a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He admitted both these facts to the board, refusing to answer only those questions which required him to inform on his associates.

BIRCHITE ATTACK

The suspension came after an intense campaign against him by Orange County right-wing groups. The Dec. 4 issue of a California Birchite newspaper carried an attack on him, charging the California Teachers Association with whitewashing the presence of an "Ex-Red" in the school.

QUARANTINE

At a public hearing on Dec. 18, Phillips stated: "As a teacher of welding, I confined my instruction to that area. At the same time, I support the right of a socialist to teach as a crucial test of freedom and democracy in our schools. Academic freedom has no meaning when it is restricted to those who conform to majority opinion. How can students cope intelligently with the problems of nuclear war, unemployment and insecurity if their minds are put in quarantine?"

Phillips has appealed the decision of the board and has indicated his refusal to succumb to the idea that the Bill of Rights is only for those who meet the approval of the Birch Society. In an effort to advance the struggle for academic freedom and to demon-

strate the unconstitutionality of current attempts to impose thought-control in the schools, he intends to take whatever legal steps are necessary to maintain his right to teach. For further information, write: Wendell Phillips, P.O. Box 33176, Los Angeles 33, Calif.

A Millionaire Speaks

Ever since Governor Nelson Rockefeller took office in New York the free tuition status of New York's City Colleges has been in jeopardy. Rockefeller has equivocated several times on the issue. He was recently asked by a City College delegation for an absolute guarantee that New York's youth would have free higher education. "Well, you're not going to get it young man," snapped John D.'s favorite grand-son.

End of a Generation

-- Natalia Trotsky --

Young revolutionary socialists throughout the world have cause to mourn the death of Natalia Ivanovna Sedova, the widow of Leon Trotsky. She died in a small French town on Jan. 23, after eighty-one years of rich life.

Natalia became a revolutionist while still in her teens. She was an active member of the Russian emigre movement with Lenin in Paris, where she met and fell in love with Leon Trotsky. Her courage never failed during the long years of exile and sometimes imprisonment which the Trotskys faced from the Czarist forces.

A political figure in her own right, she worked in the Commissariat of Public Education after the October Revolution, where she was in charge of protecting museums, art treasures and historical monuments from the ravages of civil war.

But the greatest test came in the 1930's with the degeneration of the revolution and the rise to power of Stalin and the bureaucracy he represented. Natalia and her husband were forced to flee Turkey, France, Norway, until only Mexico would grant them political asylum. There they heard the news of their friends and relatives facing doom under Stalin's brutal hand. Three years later Stalin's gang caught up with Trotsky himself and murdered the former leader of the Petrograd Soviet and head of the Red Army.

Natalia's last twenty-one years of widowhood were lonely years, years of isolation from friends and co-thinkers. Yet she never lost faith in the struggle for socialism, as did so many of her generation, nor did she succumb to the Stalinist bureaucracy and give up even one of the principles for which she had fought valiantly in her youth. She was determined to devote the rest of her life to the restoration of Trotsky's rightful place in history and for the rebirth of the socialist revolution.

In her last days, Natalia was able to read of such events as of the statement of the Italian Communist youth who declared themselves ready to probe "the role played by Trotsky himself in the October Revolution."

On the eve of the first victories in her twenty-one year old battle, Natalia died. Her passing marked the end of the generation of honest revolutionaries who came to the fore in the beginning of this century, in Russia and throughout Europe. She was among those few whose courage and life-long devotion to revolutionary honesty will continue to inspire new generations to take up the battle where she and her generation left off. We join the world revolutionary socialist movement in honoring Natalia Trotsky.

Rise of the Right . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

House Un-American Activities Committee) and "Committee for the Loyalty Oath." Last year and again this year YAF sponsored rallies honoring such well-known enemies of American labor as Herbert Kohler. YAF organized a vociferous group of students in the National Students Association to prevent it from taking stands in support of the sit-ins, and against an invasion of Cuba.

With an appeal largely to rich students, YAF openly defends and praises capitalism ("The market economy is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government"—Sharon Statement) and seeks to exert a reactionary influence by working within the structure of present day capitalist politics as a campaign vehicle for conservative candidates.

ANTE-BELLUM

But YAF's program is a program of the past, not the present. Capitalism at its present state of degeneration is forced to resort to "reforms" and state intervention. With the advent of monopoly capitalism, the strongest segments of capital want government controls to eliminate destruction from "cut-throat" competition. Today, when a powerful union movement exists it is simpler and less disruptive to harness labor by bringing it increasingly under government control rather than seeking its out and out destruction. Kennedy's program, not YAF's, is that of the American power-elite.

Yet many liberals as well as reformist tendencies on the left put Kennedy forward as a bulwark against the ultra right. YAF for them is an alibi for their support of the New Frontier. In this way they rally support for the government of the world's leading capitalist country. Moreover, by crying "wolf" they weaken the real struggle against extreme-rightist tendencies—the struggle for socialism.

ANOTHER SIDE

But the growth of the radical right is not the only side of the picture, and those seriously interested in civil rights, civil liberties and socialism have no cause to turn to the Cold Warriors as

their only hope. The same social pressures forcing some young people to seek out the ultra-right, have urged on a whole new generation of young militants, of peace-marchers, of anti-HUAC demonstrators, and especially of Negro youth who have shown they are ready to lay their life on the line for the cause of racial equality.

The strength of these militants was shown by the fact that the right-wing was not able to capture last fall's NSA congress. Instead, the organization went on record for the first time in its history in support of the struggles of the Negro youth, as personified in last spring's sit-ins, and it also came out against many aspects of Kennedy's measures to stifle the Cuban Revolution.

The youth in San Francisco and Berkeley who came out by the hundreds to protest the right-wing inquisition of the HUAC, the youth who march in Washington to protest Kennedy's war drive, the thousands of Negroes and white students who refuse to give up the fight for human rights have shown the path and it is side by side with these young militants that those who really want to defeat the right-wing belong. It is they, and not Kennedy, who understand the threat of the Goldwaters, and Birchites and the YAF, and it is they who have a vested interest in seeing that a program of social justice is carried out.

SCAPE-GOATS

The Negro community, particularly, is well aware of the threat of the right-wing fanatics. They feel that in the event that these groups become a real force and start looking for social scape-goats, the Negroes will be the obvious choice. For that reason, many organizations have planned to join a picket line against the YAF's annual rally for "World Liberation from Communism," scheduled for March 7 at Madison Square Garden in New York. They will be joined by students from throughout the city as well as adult and labor groups, to demonstrate to the rightists that if they decide to go about their struggle seriously, they will have a real force to contend with.

Two Young British Writers And How They Protest

BOOK REVIEW

by Charles Gerrard

Saturday Night and Sunday Morning by Alan Sillitoe and John Osborne's **Look Back in Anger** are important works representing two different trends in the recent literature of protest in England. Aside from their genuine artistic merits, these works in some ways present stereotypes of two approaches to the cataclysmic political and literary problems of our age—the nature of capitalistic society and its effects upon individuals. Although neither author explicitly puts forth a solution to this problem, one of them creates the possibility for an answer through social action while the other offers only a perverse sort of individual salvation.

Perhaps no other title could be so apt as **Look Back in Anger** for John Osborne's play. Although there is little action or ordinary plot, the main character, Jimmy Porter, is skillfully portrayed through conversation. Anger is the over-riding emotion revealed from the very beginning; an anger which we find out later to be based upon Jimmy's love for his father who died in the Spanish Civil War; an anger based upon his feeling that he alone sympathized with his father and mourned his death. This tragic event also has symbolic meaning for the main character because it represents to him the death of a cause to fight for and of a way of changing society.

NO CAUSES

Jimmy's hatred for society and his desire to hurt those whom he

loves are understandable in the light of this experience. For him "There aren't any good, brave causes left. If the big bang does come, and we all get killed off, it won't be in aid of the old-fashioned, grand design." Instead of striking out at society, he showers his hatred upon himself and his wife. The final resolution of the play comes when his wife, who had left him, loses her child. In the last scene she cries out, "I was wrong, I was wrong! I don't want to be neutral. . . . I want to be a lost cause. I want to be corrupt and futile!"

What sort of problem does this play present and what solution does it offer? The problem is one of an intellectual who sympathizes with the goals of revolutionary change, but who views them as lost causes. It is a view which sees social change as hopeless, yet it also refuses to compromise with present society. With change remote and normal adjustment impossible, the intellectual turns to an almost morbid introspection and simultaneous hatred of his society. The answer, then, provided by Osborne is essentially no answer at all for it merely provides a way for the individual to escape.

WORKER SPEAKS

Alan Sillitoe's **Saturday Night and Sunday Morning** is a very different sort of work. As the title implies this is a novel about the ordinary occurrences in life; the rebellion and good times of Saturday night and the after thoughts and realities of Sunday morning. Sillitoe has done a remarkable thing with his main character, Arthur, a worker in a bicycle factory. In a series of episodes (some of them unrelated to the main plot) the author puts forth piece by piece the unsophisticated and rough-edged raw material of working class ideology. Unlike Jimmy Porter, Arthur has not intellectualized his feelings, but expresses them in what seem almost instinctive reactions. However,

New Okla. Paper Stands for Cuba

The voice of student protest has been raised as far off the beaten track as Norman, Oklahoma. With this semester, **The Free Press**, "The Journal for those who think," has started publication with the view in mind of giving Oklahoma University students a new opinion about campus and world matters—an opinion decidedly different from those of the State Department and regular press.

The mimeographed newsletter's editor, Jim Hamill, recently resigned as president of the student senate because he felt there was too much apathy in the body.

Not at all apathetic, **The Free Press** took a stand on Cuba as follows: "Hundreds of Americans visited Cuba immediately prior to the travel ban. Many of these people noted the vast discrepancy between what American newspapers claimed was taking place in Cuba, and what was actually happening. Most of the visitors were impressed by the pride of the Cuban people in their revolution, by the great strides towards the construction of a new society.

Our leaders have isolated us from Cuba. They have restricted the free movement of American citizens. They have built an invisible wall around Cuba."

this is not a romantic view of the worker.

Sillitoe sees a protest against society in almost all of the main character's actions. This in turn leads to what deceptively appears to be amorality. Unsystematized as they may be, Arthur's ethics are not amoral; it is society which lacks morality. The book focusses his sexual adventures which culminate in his engagement. Even in this there is protest, for Arthur takes obvious delight in the secret meetings, the danger, and the sense of thwarting society in his affairs with married women. He agrees to marry and is willing to accept some of the limitations upon his freedom with which his bride hopes to bring his behavior into line with middle-class standards, but there is never the feeling that he has sold out. In the closing moments of the novel, he says to himself, "Well, it's a good life and a good world, all said and done, if you don't weaken, and if you know that the big wide world hasn't heard from you yet, no, not by a long way, though it won't be long now."

THE CAUSE

A number of other important episodes in the novel reveal his hatred for the management of his factory, his attitude toward work, his sympathy for the underdog, his distrust of union officials and police, and his dislike of government. In a sense, the plot of the book is a series of events in which the main character, acting on his own crude but unmistakably working-class morality, clashes with the accepted but unmistakably middle-class standards of his society.

Thus Sillitoe's book, although it provides no solution to the bankruptcy of the society he pictures, at least does not deny the possibility of a social answer. Instead of turning upon himself in anger, the main character strikes out (although in some cases, aimlessly) at the institutions which would distort him as a human being. Although the author does not say so explicitly, one has the feeling that some day, all of the Arthur's will be "heard from."

Campus Vigil Protests War

CARBONDALE, Ill. — Members of the Southern Illinois University Student Peace Union participated in a 57-hour vigil, Jan. 29-31, in support of the "World Wide General Strike for Peace." About thirty students participated in the action, carrying signs demanding an end to the arms race and stressing the dangers of resumption of nuclear testing.

During the first night of the vigil two of the marchers, one of them a wheelchair student, were attacked by an unidentified man claiming to be a "war veteran" who hit them and destroyed their signs. Police questioned the man and released him when the students, characterizing the attacker as a "victim of the general war hysteria," refused to press charges.

The vigil, which drew widespread support from both students and faculty, was the first in a series of actions of this type planned by the SIU-SPU.

'MILITANT' EDITOR TOURS

Eye-Witness to Revolution

by Melissa Singler

The visitor in Latin America today is impressed by the revolutionary atmosphere felt throughout the continent. As a recent visitor to South America, Joseph Hansen, editor of **The Militant**, was first greeted by a wage of general strikes in most of the countries in which he traveled. Mass demonstrations, tear gas bombs, militant picket lines, and marching workers were everyday occurrences observed by Hansen.

TALK IT UP

Daily papers mirrored this revolutionary feeling with articles on the definition of a pre-revolutionary state. Leftist discussed plans for the revolution and argued about the problems to be faced after the revolution.

Just back from his four-month tour, Hansen is now preparing to travel throughout the United



JOSEPH HANSEN

States to bring home the message of the Latin American revolutionaries. Interested students will have their first opportunity to get a real picture of developments south of the border, and the impact of the Cuban Revolution on these countries, with **The Militant** Editor's invaluable insights.

YSA Leader Tours on Peace

The Young Socialist Alliance is sending its National Chairman, Barry Sheppard, on an extensive national speaking and organizing tour. He will be hitting such out of the way places as Iowa City, Iowa; Norman, Oklahoma; Carbondale, Illinois and Nashville, Tennessee, in addition to cities with established YSA locals. Well over 30 campuses will hear him talk about socialism.

The anti-war struggle and the fight for civil rights are the key issues he will discuss in his two speeches, "No More War!" and "Freedom Now!" Sheppard, who is a graduate of M.I.T., will give a socialist analysis of the peace and integration movements, presenting real alternatives to im-

perialist war and second-class citizenship.

The national tour is just one of many activities of the YSA and the YOUNG SOCIALIST. As more and more young people are taking action against the evils of capitalism, the YSA must grow and expand its actions. This increased activity requires funds, and the YSA has launched the **Young Socialist Growth Fund** to help spread the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the ideas of socialism throughout the country. YS readers will want to participate in the expansion of the fight for socialism. Contributions to the YSA fund drive should be sent to the YSA at Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y.

Wilkinson Out of Jail, Vows Fight On McCarran Act

by Ira Littman

NEW YORK—Nearly 1,000 people gathered at Palm Gardens on Feb. 5 to greet civil liberties leader Frank Wilkinson on his release from Lewisburg Federal Prison. Wilkinson had served nine months of a one-year sentence for his refusal to answer the questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee, utilizing his rights under the First Amendment.

Otto Nathan and Willard Uphaus paid tribute to the courage and determination of Wilkinson to see the fight to abolish the HUAC carried out to its successful finish. They emphasized the threat to free speech in the United States inherent in the continued existence of the HUAC as a reactionary body.

WELCOME BACK

Wilkinson arrived during the meeting and was greeted by several minutes of enthusiastic cheering and applause. During his talk he spoke of his experiences in jail and the lessons he learned there. He had been subject to exceptional harassment as a political prisoner, but the inmates accepted him as a friend and even admired him for his opposition to Congressman Walter's inquisition.

Wilkinson expressed deep concern about the outlawing of the Communist Party and said that repeal of the McCarran Act and other reactionary laws cannot be separated from the struggle against HUAC. He declared that he is determined to continue the work he was forced to halt by his imprisonment. All partisans of civil liberties welcome Frank Wilkinson back into the struggle, remembering the valuable contributions he has made.

Monroe Support . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

trial or threat that her personal safety would be endangered. Martin Mason, business agent of the Building Laborers Union, local 125 of Youngstown and chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Youngstown AFL-CIO council sent a telegram to Governor DiSalle urging him not to allow extradition of Mae Mallory. Leaders of the largest labor union in Steubenville, local 1191 of the United Steelworkers of America signed a petition supporting Mae Mallory. Civil Rights fighters in Ohio also staged a picket line in Public Square No. 11 to protest extradition and plan to continue picketing until the trials.

Robert Williams, also charged

with kidnapping, was the subject of a F.B.I.-sponsored manhunt throughout the U.S. and Canada. He was depicted as a maniacal criminal having homicidal tendencies and armed. Because Williams is a long time fighter against social injustice, because he militantly defends revolutionary Cuba, because he tried to spread the truth about the Negro struggle abroad and every ounce of truth threatens the existing order, he found it necessary to take asylum in Cuba to flee the hunters trained on him by the American government. Cuban supporters of the Negro struggle have initiated a petition campaign in support of Williams and the Monroe defendants.

Peace March . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

over foreign areas important to the needs of U.S. investment.

The Washington demonstration was preceded by a week-long World Wide General Strike for Peace.

Many of the several hundred participants in the "General Strike" left their jobs to take part in the activities. Highlights included a picket and sit-down at the Atomic Energy Commission offices on Jan. 30, to "psychologically, if not physically, immobilize" the activities of this agency of nuclear war. On Feb. 1, in addition to continuing picket lines at U.S. Army recruiting stations, demonstrators picketed the New York Stock Exchange, pointing

their demands directly at those who profit most from the war drive.

The thousands of students mobilized in the peace pickets found themselves in a demonstration objectively pitted against the U.S. government and the interests it represents. The success of this huge protest was a victory in itself.

However, its major significance lies in what it portends for the future and the impetus it will give to the struggles that will follow. The march on the nation's capital contributed to a growing awareness among students and youth seeking an end to war that the struggle will involve a direct clash with the U.S. government, that its war—making power must be put in the hands of the people.