

# BLP Youth Vow to Fight Right Wing's Expulsion Moves

by Our British Correspondent

"We do not recognize Gaitskell as leader of the Labour Party—we only recognize as leaders those who carry out conference decisions," said Dennis Gilligan, member of Barking Young Socialists, at the opening of *Keep Left's* national conference. Applause echoed 'round the hall. Nearly 200 delegates from 47 Young Socialist branches and several Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament branches gathered in Manchester to hammer out plans to implement the Scarborough decision and to build a strong socialist youth movement in Britain.

"Stop publishing this paper" is the directive issued by British Labour leaders to Hendon and Wembley Young Socialist branches—the joint publishers of *Keep Left*. Following the defeat of their nuclear weapon policies at the Scarborough annual Labor Party conference, the Right Wing leaders have now decided to open fire on that section of the Party which most militantly campaigned against the H-bomb. The National Executive Committee decided at its November meeting that *Keep Left*—the rank and file Labour youth paper—must cease publication.

The paper is well known for its Left Wing views. During its ten years of existence it has led many campaigns against the Party leaders on behalf of the youth. It has campaigned against conscription, for democracy in the Labor youth organization, against witchhunts of Left Wingers, for the withdrawal of troops from the colonies, and has given support to young trade unionists in industrial struggles.

## 'KEEP LEFT' IN FRONT

Recently it has opposed attempts by Hugh Gaitskell to remove Clause 4, the nationalization clause, from the constitution. It has been in the front of the campaign to stop the manufacture of the H-bomb by Britain and fully supports the policies adopted at Scarborough to close rocket bases, cease manufacture of nuclear weapons and to withdraw from NATO.

The real reason for the attack on *Keep Left* is its growing influence amongst Labor youth. The national conference which the paper held recently scared the officials at Transport House, Labor's H. Q. "The H-bomb decision was an historic one because the Labor Party drew a line between the interests of the working class and those of capitalism by once and for all breaking with Tory defense

strategy," stated Dennis Gilligan at the conference.

He went on, "Keep Left has always supported young people in industrial disputes but we also think it necessary to bring politics into industrial struggles and show that the fight can only really be won when industry is nationalized and out of the hands of 'profit seekers'. The fight against the bomb and the fight for better conditions are one and the same fight to weaken employers and eventually put them out of business by taking over industry. The decisions reached at Scarborough both on the H-bomb and on Clause 4 can be the means towards recruiting thousands of young people into the Party. There is one thing holding us back—the right wing who would rather split the Party than fight the Tories."

To this conference came greetings from the Maltese Labor youth, the Canadian Young Socialist Alliance, the American Young Socialist, and the Japanese Socialist Students League (Left Opposition). They were read by Elizabeth Thompson from the Chair.

## ROOTS OF STRUGGLE

A member of North Kensington Young Socialists, Mark Jenkins, took up the question of internationalism. He explained that the struggle in the Party was not just a case of Gaitskell versus Cousins, but one which had its roots in the international situation as expressed in Japan, Africa, an Korea. "The fight for peace is the fight for socialism," he said and that is why the Tories were so disturbed about the situation in the Labor Party. "They look upon Gaitskell as a sort of lion tamer—keeping the workers in their place—who had suddenly discovered that the workers were not so tame after all."

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# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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**FAIR PLAY PICKETS:** Several hundred friends and members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York staged a picket line at the United Nations building last month protesting U.S. foreign policy in Cuba. The enthusiastic demonstrators were anxious to show that some Yankees defend Cuba.

## YSA RUNS PICKET:

# Boston Protests Venezuelan Tyranny

by Steve Levine

**BOSTON**—In a demonstration of sympathy and support for the embattled students of Caracas, the Boston branch of the YSA called for the end of American military aid to the Venezuelan government headed by Betancourt. YSA members, their friends, and other sympathizers numbering about 20, marched in the busy Harvard Square section of Cambridge in December.

Later a street meeting was organized and more than a hundred people gathered to hear speeches attacking the present Venezuelan regime. In line with the YSA's policy of free speech, time was given to a member of the audience, a Venezuelan student, who disagreed with the YSA position, to state his views.

In a handbill distributed to interested passers-by, and in the impromptu speeches, YSA speakers charged that the Betancourt regime had betrayed its promises

to the people who had brought it into power in 1958. When the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez was overthrown in that year by workers, peasant and student forces, the people were looking forward to a change in their conditions.

All the parties contesting the election ran under the necessary cover of socialist names. Betancourt promised a program of land reform, of industrial development, and a reexamination of Venezuela's pro-U.S. foreign policy. Now, two years later, little has changed in Venezuela. United States owned oil companies still exploit the rich wealth of the country in alliance with the government, while the masses of the population live in conditions of poverty and disease.

Not satisfied with a government which promised everything and delivered nothing, Venezuelan students and workers called for the fulfillment of all prom-

ises and organized the movement of the Revolutionary Left as their political vehicle. Demonstrations and street fighting broke out in Caracas and Betancourt summoned the army, equipped with American weapons. The students were forced to surrender after several of them had been killed.

The YSA announced its solidarity with the students and its support for the Movement of the Revolutionary Left. Much of the crowd which gathered was sympathetic to the cause of the Venezuelans. The Boston YSA, whose members have played an active part in the Fair Play for Cuba committees, believes that only by such revolutionary measures as have occurred in Cuban can the peoples of Latin America free themselves from U.S. imperialism. Observers of the demonstration commented that it has been a long time since anyone has marched through Cambridge and called for socialism.

## 'WE HEAR YOU' CUBA:

# Mills Tells U. S. About Cuba's 'Great Moment of Truth'

by Alice Pelkey

(The writer just returned from a one-month stay in Cuba.)

(Listen, Yankee, by C. Wright Mills, published by Ballantine Books; 192 pages, 50c.)

C. Wright Mills spent a month in Cuba traveling and interviewing Rebel soldiers, intellectuals and officials. He has written Listen, Yankee in the form of 8 letters to the American people expressing what the Cuban Revolutionaries would like to say.

"The revolution in Cuba is a great moment of truth," Mills has captured this moment of truth because the truth is not about Cuba, it is a "great moment of truth" about the United States. After the insurrection succeeded, and the mask was ripped away, it was not a corrupt Cuba that was revealed, but rather the United States—all over the world—wallowing in blood and exploitation that was revealed.

"Perhaps the reason you, Yankee, don't know about it—and we do—is because the big sharp rough edges of Yankee imperial-

ism don't show up yet inside the United States. They show up down here, and you're not down here. Down here is where it's brutal — just as all imperialism is brutal out on its own frontiers: it can afford to be gentle and nice in its home base, at least for a while."

## SHOCKS AMERICA

This is why "Listen, Yankee"—like the Cuban Revolution itself—is so highly insulting and shocking to Americans. It destroys the American illusion that our comfort, our high degree of "civiliza-

tion," is due to the "superior" capitalist system. Mills' Cuban presents a new image—in which the "American way of life" rests on the tyrannical rule of men like Batista. And that is the "great moment of truth," for the American people.

There is also a great moment of truth for the world. It is the truth of people. It is that Man, no matter how suppressed, can make what Mills terms "the Big Connection," the connection between daydreams, fantasy, hope—and reality, just by realizing his

own strength. Within two years, the Cuban people have leaped from an almost animal existence to what will prove to be a new Renaissance.

From this point of view, Professor Mills' section on "Culture in Cuba" is in many ways the most exciting in the book. His Cuban says, "We are going to gather up all the young children from the impoverished and illiterate corners of Cuba—all that hitherto wasted talent — and with them we're going to establish in Cuba an intellectual and a cultural life of the sort most people the world have ceased even to dream of . . . We want an absolutely free manifestation of the human spirit . . . and the only way to do that is to open up a true world forum that is absolute-

ly free . . ."

## CUBAN POLITICS

Perhaps one of the most difficult subjects for North Americans that Listen, Yankee deals with is the question of Cuban political and economic program, discussed in letters 4 and 6, difficult because the Cubans do not have what is thought of as a "political program." They follow no political ideology. As they say, "you name it what you wish, We're too busy building it." So their political and economic education is being developed with every new cooperative and hospital. Still one can't help note the similarity between the Cuban solution and the Socialist solution.

If the economic problems of nations are similar, as most

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## 'NEW ORLEANS STORY:'

# White Mobs Battle Integration

by Carol Lawrence

"Token integration," as begun in New Orleans on November 14, has given the world a token of what the United States really means by democracy. The admission of four six-year-old Negro girls to two formerly white schools has been the occasion for violent racist agitation, threats and demonstrations, culminating in a boycott of the two schools by all but a few white students.

During the first week of "integration," racist crowds swelled to as many as 1,500 people—most of them mothers and teenagers. The mob greeted the four Negro and two white girls as they entered school with the cry "Nigger go home!" and banners stating "Glory Segregation," and shouted, "two, four, six, eight; we don't want to integrate." The white citizens then marched on City Hall. The police dispersed the crowds, but not before a young Negro boy was mauled. Sydney Goldfinch, a leader in the recent sit-in demonstrations and a student at Tulane, went to observe crowds in front of the schools. He was remembered, and with cries of "Jew bastard nigger lover," the mob went for him. He is the son of a Protestant minister.

**NEIGHBORS ACCOMMODATE**

By the sixth of December crowds had dwindled so that there were only 25 people in front of the schools. Twenty-three white children returned to the William Frantz School. In the other school, McDonough 19, the white boycott was total, leaving only three Negro girls in attendance. White children from both schools were accommodated at neighboring all white schools.

Then the more methodical intimidation began. Those breaking the boycott, which included

members of an organization called "Save Our Schools," had been driving children to school. They began to receive threatening letters, phone calls at all hours of the night, and rocks crashed through their windows. Two fathers, one Negro and one white, lost their jobs. At least two others were warned that they would be fired unless they took their children out of school. The attendance of white children fell to eight by the end of the week.

The Negro father who lost his job had worked for a gas station. The manager had received threats that his establishment would be bombed unless the father was fired. A city water meter reader, James Gabrielle, who defied the white boycott lost his job. The Gabrielles kept their daughter out one day since "integration" began. Mrs. Gabrielle debated with herself all that night.

**'WHO AM I?'**

"I think I lost ten years of my life the night I made that final decision," Mrs. Gabrielle said to reporters. "I pulled Yolande out the second Monday I was so scared. Who am I to fight the whole state of Louisiana and the Governor, I asked myself. But that night my conscience tore at me. Are you going to give in to a mob? I knew that if I gave up the minister would give up too and there would be no one at all left." Her daughter was back in Frantz school the next day with the minister's daughter.

The struggle for integration in New Orleans has reflected itself legally in a contest between the state legislature, which has "interposed its sovereign power," and the city school board which is acting in its own fashion on a Federal Court order that integration be started in the first grade of New Orleans Public Schools. The

order was issued last May to go into effect in the fall term. The parents of 133 Negro children applied for entry of their children to neighborhood all-white schools. However, under the Louisiana pupil placement law, only four of these children were admitted to these schools.

When it became known that despite orders from the State Legislature, the school board planned to go ahead even with only this token integration, a legislative committee flanked by armed troopers, marched into the school board office and deposed the elected school board members and the superintendent of schools. Federal courts upheld the legality of the board. The segregationists resorted to other means.

**ECONOMIC MEASURES**

State aid for education has been withheld. This has forced the Board of Education into a financial crisis. Meanwhile, the State has been petitioning the Federal Courts for a temporary stay of the integration order, with no success.

On the other hand, 31 white citizens have petitioned the court for a permanent injunction against state interference in integration. The local NAACP plans to begin court action for a real implementation of the Federal Court order.

The Montgomery bus boycott and the recent sit-in movement, by demonstrating the increasing militancy of the Negro people have undoubtedly contributed to the stiffened attitude of the courts, which have refused a stay of integration order to the segregationists. The rising level of militancy among the Negroes in the South, coupled with the active support of students and the trade union movement in the North, can bring the long arduous legal battle for integration to fruition.

## Carl Skoglund

by Nora Roberts

Carl Skoglund, veteran union and socialist leader, died of a heart attack December 11 at Washington, N.J., after 76 years of purposeful life. His life stands as an answer to the cynics, especially among the youth of this generation who repeat the lie that no workers' leaders can be honest.

Before coming to this country in 1911, Carl had already played a role as strike leader among the Swedish pulp-mill workers. His experiences as leader of Swedish demonstrations against militarism made him a staunch opponent of imperialist war.

Carl was elected strike committee chairman of the great 1923 railway shopmen's strike and was blacklisted when the strike was defeated. His activities as a worker militant brought him into the radical movement. He helped build the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and remained one of the leaders of the CP through the Palmer Raids.

When Stalinism began to corrode and finally betray the revolutionary principles which had

founded the CP, Carl joined the struggle of the Trotskyists and was expelled from the CP.

As a truck driver in Minneapolis during the depression, he played a key role in the drivers' struggle to organize. He was a leader of the 1934 general strike which made Minneapolis a union town, then became president of General Drivers Local 544, which took a clear stand in opposition to the imperialist war drive of the Roosevelt administration.

In 1941, Roosevelt decided honest unionists with an antiwar program were too dangerous and he decided to do something about it. Carl and 17 other leading Trotskyists were sent to prison as the first victims of the Smith Act.

Not satisfied with this reprisal, the government began deportation procedures to move Carl back to Sweden. But the Democratic administration let him serve out his 16-month prison term before taking up the deportation matter in real earnest.

For nine years following the end of his prison term, the Skoglund Defense Committee carried on a running fight with government authorities to keep Carl out of jail.

Carl was already suffering from a heart ailment when in the height of the McCarthy era in 1954 he was put on Ellis Island for deportation. A court order got him off the ship for Sweden within 10 minutes of sailing time.

The Government made it clear that it does not appreciate honest labor leaders. It locked up Skoglund three times—in 1941,



CARL SKOGLUND

1944 and 1954—because of his socialist views and class struggle history.

During the last six year of his life, Carl spent much of his time teaching youth the lessons of his struggles in the working class. One link in the direct relation between the youth of today and the rich struggles of the youth of previous years has been broken with the death of this teacher and beloved comrade. That tie between young socialists fighting for a better world and those who laid the foundations for that fight will have to be forged all the more strongly. Young revolutionists can forge that link with a close study of the lessons which Carl Skoglund gave so much of his time to teach.

## Young Socialist

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## On 'New Horizons'

A new youth paper, **New Horizons for Youth** announces a "national conference of progressive youth who will meet to 'establish a committee to organize a national, socialist-oriented youth organization.'" The group is organizing ostensibly to "help advance the democratic, labor and socialist traditions of the American people."

In the midst of the current campaign by both the Republicans and the Democrats headed by President-elect John F. Kennedy to crush by force, if possible, the revolution of the Cuban people to establish their own control over their lives and remove U.S. and Cuban capitalism, young people orienting toward socialism could be a welcome sign.

At this time, when the students in the South have been so militantly struggling—a struggle against both the Democrats and Republicans; and now when the young workers as well as the labor-movement as a whole is faced with attacks on the very existence of the unions as represented by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, more young people calling for a clear break with the capitalist parties would be a welcome sign.

**NO BREAK WITH CAPITALISTS**

Unfortunately, neither **New Horizons** nor its "socialist-oriented" youth called for such a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for support to the socialist candidates. The "progressive youth" followed very closely the line of the Communist Party's **Worker**. The youth paper was saddened by the fact that the Democrats failed to nominate Adlai E. Stevenson, whom the paper claimed represented to youth (at least to its youth) "a symbol of their desire for responsible leadership for peace."

Undaunted, the "progressive youth" gave shame-faced support to the Democratic party campaign, declaring Kennedy "the lesser of two evils." Even when Kennedy called for open support to the counter-revolutionary forces of Cuba, including giving them American arms and military training, **New Horizons** was unrattled.

At an election symposium sponsored by Student Sane in New York, the paper's editor, Daniel Rubin, called for a struggle and a vote "on the issues." He added that under no circumstances would he call for support to the Socialist Workers Party candidates, who made defense of and aid to the Cuban Revolution the central point of their platform. Thus, with the Cuban Revolution as the key "issue" of the election campaign, **New Horizon** could give no support to the only party with a program in defense of Cuba, yet it could cover its tacit support to the saber-rattling Senator from Mass. by calling him the "lesser of two evils."

There are labor and socialist traditions in this country. If the new youth organization wants to advance them, it should first learn that these traditions do not include giving tacit support to the candidates of the capitalists. They will not learn these traditions by listening to such Communist leaders as Herbert Aptheker and Elmer Benson, who "welcome the launching of **New Horizons for Youth**." For the CP, these traditions are long forgotten. For the progressive youth whom they welcome, these traditions have never been learned.

**'A HEARTENING POINT'**

With the election of Kennedy, **New Horizons** announces what it feels to be a "heartening point." This, it says in its editorial, "is the statement by our President-elect that he is considering the establishment of a Peace Corps. We not only support this idea, we urge all our readers to activate themselves in behalf of it."

Referring to Kennedy's idea in another article, the paper announces "More than 100 eastern students leaders met with businessmen and experts on emergent Africa, Asia and Latin America . . . in an effort to initiate nationwide support for the peace corps." **New Horizons**, then is calling on its supporters to join with Kennedy, his business colleagues and chosen experts to build a program which can only be an arm of the State Department to settle the problems of "emergent Africa, Asia and Latin America" to benefit the businessmen's investments. Kennedy has used the label "peace corps" to cover his attempts to crush the growing colonial revolution short of an international scandal, and **New Horizons** becomes his most vociferous supporter.

Nowhere has the paper called on its "socialist-oriented" readers "to activate themselves in behalf of 'the Cuban Revolution by joining and supporting the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. When Kennedy calls for youth to help businessmen peacefully exploit the peoples of the colonial countries, **New Horizons** is quick to respond. When the Cuban Revolution desperately needs the support of American youth to mobilize in defense of their revolution in opposition to the criminal policies of Kennedy, **New Horizons** is silent.

If these "progressive youth" organizing themselves in Chicago intend to be serious about their orientation towards socialism, we hope they will break with the politics of the Democrats and Republicans, prepare themselves to support socialist candidates and mobilize in active defense of the Cuban Revolution by calling on all their supporters to join the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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"KEEP LEFT" CONFAB: British Young Socialists meet to defend Scarborough decisions. Dennis Gilligan, Elizabeth Thompson and Ken Scarr (from left to right) call for full British nuclear disarmament.

## BLP Youth Fight Right Wing . . .

(Continued from Page 1)  
Delegates from Scottish Young Socialist branches spoke in opposition to the establishment of Polaris missile bases in Holy Loch, Scotland. The conference unanimously passed a resolution proposed by Roy Caldwell, Chairman of Ayr Young Socialists, which demanded that the Scottish Trade Union Congress organize demonstrations of protest at the Polaris missile bases and investigate the possibility of direct industrial action.

Many delegates took part in the discussion which lasted for six hours. When Dennis Gilligan wound up the debate he referred to the anti-Polaris campaign and stressed the dangers of it becoming an anti-American campaign.

**'U.S. WORKERS OUR ALLIES'**  
"Our quarrel was not with America—it was with the rulers of America," he said. "We must distinguish between these rulers and the American working class who, alongside workers in countries all over the world, are our allies in fighting nuclear war." "Action by international labor," he said, "is the way to fight war, and not summit talks between statesmen."

At this conference many proposals were put forward and agreed upon regarding the expansion of **Keep Left**. It was agreed to send messages of support to prominent defenders of the Scarborough decision such as Michael Foot, Konni Zilliacus and Sydney Silverman.

The conference greatly strengthened the support for **Keep Left** among Labor youth. The National Executive Committee has instructed the Hendon and Wembley Young Socialist branches to cease publishing the paper. Support for the paper, however, is growing every day. As a result of the Manchester conference, many more Young Socialist branches have now added their names as publishers of the paper.

The instruction issued by the NEC must involve the Right Wing leadership in a battle with a large section of the Young Socialists. It must also bring the top officials into conflict with the rank and file of the adult Party and the Trade Unions since the Right Wing leaders have been openly and publicly campaigning up and down the country against official Labor policy.

**Keep Left** is launching a campaign in defense of the paper and the Scarborough decision. It is calling meetings all over the country of Young Socialists branches.

### HENDON JOINS FIGHT

The reaction of the Hendon Young Socialists branch to the Right Wing's instruction is an indication of the response that can be expected from Labor's rank and file.

They decided to continue to publish the paper and passed unanimously the following resolution: "The Hendon Young Socialists believe that the real reason why the Right Wing of Transport House is opposed to **Keep Left** is because the paper is the proud supporter of the Scarborough conference decisions.

"The first number of the youth paper **New Advance**, issued by Transport House, contains not a single word in support of the Scarborough decisions. The people who are not accepting the principles and the constitution of the party are the right wing on the NEC who support the policy of Gaitskell. We believe, therefore, that the letter of A. L. Williams is not in accordance with the decisions of the Scarborough conference but an action taken as part of the conspiracy to witchhunt Left Wingers who defend these decisions.

"This branch calls upon all Young Socialists to express their rejection of the attack on **Keep Left** and to rally to the paper's support."

# Toronto YSA Hits School Cadet Training; Is Third in Board of Education Race

TORONTO—The slogan, "Give students a voice in education" rallied 6,000 voters to the Young Socialist Alliance campaign here to put its candidate, John Darling, on the Board of Education. Although the two incumbents in the ward were returned to office with ten thousand and 8½ thousand votes, the socialist platform came in with a strong third. The Communist party, running on a non-socialist, non-committal program, received only 3½ thousand votes.

The YSA distributed 17,000 leaflets along with 3,000 special leaflets distributed at ten high schools calling for the abolition of Cadet training in the schools with an article on "How to fight in the next war." The leaflets showed that the so-called "extra-curricular" Cadet training is in fact an attempt by Canadian military brass to use drill and rifle practice in high schools as an excuse to subject the students to Army authority and their preparation for a future war.

### ARMY EDUCATION

"We suspect the Army brass is interested in showing who's boss," the YSA leaflet declared. "They want to get the students used to taking orders, used to instant obedience to an Army command, used to the idea that an officer is a small god and you don't answer back."

"Students want to know exactly how the soldier fights the missiles and H-bombs of future wars. There seems to be one logical way. Fight the button-pushers, the "brinkmanship" diplomats, the "pre-emptive" war experts, and this is fighting the war. Fighting this war is fighting for peace.

"And brother, it is going to be a fight. It will mean establishing a different kind of society, one without professional soldiers. The way to start fighting the brass is demanding that the Toronto schools end Cadet training."

Calling for "a student-labor program in Toronto schools," the leaflet demanded free university education by making universities controlled and financed publicly, more student self-government, and free textbooks in high schools and universities.

### STUDENTS PHONE IN

Students from a number of

schools phoned in to the YSA campaign headquarters. Some of them had a lot to say, some were very critical of capitalist society, and many agreed that the Cuban Revolution is doing great things for the people of the island and should be defended.

The campaign, which was conducted with the Socialist Educational League's campaign for Mayor and Board of Control in Toronto, will help the growth of a high school nuclear disarmament organization. The nucleus

for such a movement exists on an unofficial basis in a few schools at present.

This organization, the CSND, along with the university organization, are busy with plans to send a motorcade to the Canadian capital in Ottawa. Cars and delegations are expected from many Ontario universities, from Montreal and even from the prairies. The protest at Parliament buildings will demand that there be no nuclear arms in Canada and that the country withdraw from NORAD and NATO.

## Trailblazers in the Rockies

Trail-blazing with the YOUNG SOCIALIST for socialism in the Rocky Mountain area produced strange results on the many small campuses in Utah and Colorado. The YSA's support of the Socialist Workers Party's presidential election campaign meant an opportunity to bring the ideas of socialism to this otherwise secluded area.

YS salesmen visited three campuses in Utah. At the University of Utah in Salt Lake City they sold about 40 papers in 15 minutes. A few minutes later, one of the salesmen, was asked to leave by a dignified-looking gentleman who identified himself as a vice-president of the university.

The young socialists then went to the office of the student newspaper to describe their encounter with the official and request some support for the right of students to hear a new point of view.

### MORMON CURIOSITY

At Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, the salesmen met with a tremendous amount of student curiosity from a conservative, but strangely friendly campus. Students gathered around the YS salesmen, and asked a great many questions about their view of the Cuban Revolution and about the socialist movement.

Soon the campus security police were called and asked the socialists to leave. The YSA's started an impromptu street meeting on civil liberties on the campus. Eventually the cop said the papers could be sold on campus and paid 10 cents for a copy of the YS for himself.

### 'STATE-WIDE SCANDAL'

Because of YS sales at Carbon Junior College in Price, Utah, the YSA's were arrested while putting out literature house-to-house in the town. They were taken before the chief of police, the sheriff, and other assorted dignitaries. The trail-blazers, however, gave them no opportunity to open their mouths, but instead gave them a lengthy lecture on civil liberties and threatened to turn

the matter into a state-wide scandal by suing them for illegal arrest. They were then told to leave the office and finish their business in the town.

The YS salesmen went on to tour throughout scenic Colorado. At Colorado State (Teachers) College in Greeley they sold about 40 copies of the YS in a few minutes to a large, very interested student body.

At the University of Colorado in Boulder, YS's sold like hot cakes and in the middle of a snow storm. Trail-blazers cried, "Support the Cuban Revolution—Read the YOUNG SOCIALIST."

### YPSL WON'T DEBATE

The YSAers then sent the following press release on a scheduled YPSL debate to the CU campus paper, **The Colorado Daily**. "... The Denver Young Socialist Alliance challenged the CU branch of Young People's Socialist League to a debate, but has, as yet, received no answer. This debate, which it was hoped would take place before the elections, would have discussed the course which socialists should follow during an election campaign.

"Believing that socialists should not support capitalist parties, the YSA supported the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss. The YPSL, on the other hand, followed the lead of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, which ran no candidates itself, refused to support the campaign of other socialist parties, and gave tacit, if not open, support to the Democratic Party.

"Although the elections are now over, the YSA is still willing to go ahead with a debate, as originally suggested between Dr. Alex Garber of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, a member of the CU Faculty, and Tom Leonard, Colorado Campaign Director for the Socialist Workers Party. But from YPSL, and Dr. Garber, has been heard never a mumbling word. How about it, YPSL? Or are you afraid to meet the YSA?"

## WHERE TO FIND THE YSA

**BALTIMORE:** c/o A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reistertown Rd. LA 3-3703.  
**BERKELEY-OAKLAND:** P.O. Box 265, Berkeley. TH 5-1550  
**BOSTON:** Apt. 2, 47 Linden St., Allston 34, Mass. UN 4-5868.  
**CHICAGO:** c/o Hirsch, 438 St. James Pl. EA 7-9810.  
**DENVER:** Box 724.  
**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 5-9441.  
**PHILADELPHIA:** 2708 W. Sterner St. BA 2-4078.  
**SAN FRANCISCO:** c/o Mattingly, 2331 Market St.  
**SEATTLE:** c/o Heatlie, 3429 Huron St. EA 5-4695 or ME 2-7827.  
**TWIN CITIES:** 822 Ninth Ave. So. FE 8-2158.  
**TORONTO:** 81 Queen St. W. EMpire 6-1454.

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## 'CUBA'S FATEFUL CHOICE:'

# Can Castro Defeat a Kennedy-Khrushchev Combo?

by Shane Mage

Will Cuba be America's Algeria? Will American youth be sent to die in a bloody effort to destroy the Cuban Revolution? Such a possibility is almost too gruesome to contemplate—yet every week some event occurs which seems to make a U.S. invasion of Cuba more likely, more imminent than ever.

The military and political preparations for the invasion of Cuba have not been kept very secret. In fact, it is hard to find a historical parallel for the open preparation of an international crime now taking place. Cuban counter-revolutionaries in Florida give newspaper interview boasting of their armaments, training centers, invasion plans.

The U.S. president-elect, Mr. John F. Kennedy, who in his campaign stated that "The forces that are struggling for freedom in exile and in the mountains of Cuba must be supplied and assisted," gives a vote of confidence to Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, the organization in charge of the dirty details of this "supplying and assisting." Mr. Dulles already has on his record the overthrow of the Guatemalan government in 1954.

## IKE'S LAST ACTS

Meanwhile the Eisenhower administration, acting in consultation with the president-elect, "advises" American families to leave

Cuba; deploys the U.S. fleet around Cuba; lands 1,500 marines for "shore leave" at the Guantanamo Bay naval base; and most recently and most ominously, declares Cuba to a "Communist-controlled" country, a formulation virtually identical to the "under the domination of international Communism" which would be used to give OAS cover to U. S. military aggression.

But the question remains: are these threats meant seriously, or do they represent a gigantic bluff? No doubt the guns and the planes are real, and the Batista gangsters who make up the core of the counter-revolution have already shown what they could do. The U.S. would not hesitate a moment to repeat the Guatemala operation—if it could again get away with it. But there's the rub: the Cuban people are well armed, and ready to fight to defend their revolution. They could be defeated only in a major war. In 1961 can U.S. imperialism envisage

such a naked war of colonial reconquest?

This, of course, is what is really basic in U.S. policy toward Cuba. Why did the attitude of the U.S. government and the media of mass brainwashing switch so quickly and completely from favorable toleration of hysterical ferocity, when Castro committed the "unforgivable sin" laying rough hands on the United Fruit Co. et al? The nominal dollar loss suffered by U.S. capitalists was sizable in absolute terms, but relative to their total assets was insignificant, particularly since U.S. taxpayers can be made to cough up at least 52% of the loss (and don't be surprised if some tax lawyers figure out a way to actually make money on the deal).

But the effect on U.S. investments in the rest of their Latin American colonial preserve is the crucial point. Such investments outside Cuba, total some \$8 billion; and what is more, essential raw materials are supplied by Latin America. If Cuba can today with impunity seize U.S. property, what tomorrow, will stop the rest of Latin America from doing the same?

## IMPERIALISM'S PROBLEM

Thus the problem is posed for U. S. imperialism: the Cuban revolution must be suppressed in order to "save" Latin America for capitalism—but military intervention in Cuba could set off the revolutionary explosion that it intends to block! And so while maintaining and intensifying the threat of counter-revolution and invasion, the U.S. has relied primarily on economic aggression—abolition of the Cuban sugar quota and refusal to sell American goods to Cuba. The hope is that, squeezed as in a nutcracker between economic embargo and the threat of military attack, the Cuban revolutionary government will either capitulate or be overthrown from within. Cuba is to be starved into submission!

Can this strategy succeed? Thus

far the effects of the economic aggression have been blocked because the countries of the Soviet bloc have agreed to barter oil, machinery and other essential commodities in return for the Cuban sugar that the U.S. refuses to accept. And, if they continue to do so, the U.S. embargo can be defeated.

Soviet aid, unfortunately, is not a disinterested act, motivated by revolutionary solidarity—it depends on the needs and interests of the ruling bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. For the Kremlin the main political goal is not the success of the Latin American revolution, it is "Peaceful Co-Existence with the West." Today Khrushchev is preparing for a new summit conference with Kennedy. Who can doubt that at such a conference Cuba would be one of the main points on the agenda?

The U.S. press has been filled with nonsense about the "Communist" nature of the Cuban revolutionary movement; in fact, this view turns reality inside out. Prof. C. Wright Mills in his book "Listen Yankee" describes the reality as seen from Cuba: "... we Cuban revolutionaries of the 26th of July movement are much more advanced than the Communist party ever was or is today. . . In a real revolution today in Latin America at least, the local Communists are to the right of the revolution. Here in Cuba, certainly the revolution has outpaced them and does on every front."

## CUBA'S TO THE LEFT

The CPs are "to the right of the revolution." This is why Soviet economic aid, though indispensable to the Cuban revolution, presents great political dangers. The decisive fact about the Cuban revolution is that it is progressing uninterruptedly from limited and immediate measures like the land reform and the overthrow of the foreign-dominated dictatorship toward a complete socialist transformation of Cuban society. It has begun a frontal assault on capitalist private property, both Yankee

and Cuban. But the Stalinists are fiercely opposed to "Permanent Revolution." They maintained that the Cuban revolution should have been a capitalist revolution. And now, as a recent N. Y. Times article admitted are trying to hold back the revolutionaries, to keep the revolution from becoming a fully socialist one.

So in addition to the threat of invasion, the Cuban revolution now faces a new and grave danger: that the Soviet Union will use its economic and political power to force revolutionary Cuba to yield to U.S. imperialism. It is probable that Kennedy will begin his administration with a "conciliatory" approach to Cuba: an offer to reestablish the sugar quota and rescind the embargo if Cuba agrees to return nationalized U.S. property, pay compensation on U.S. terms for land taken over in the agrarian reform, and stop revolutionary propaganda in the rest of Latin America.

## A FATEFUL CHOICE

Such a "compromise" would return the Cuban revolution to within capitalist limits, and quickly lead to its collapse. But as part of an over-all deal with Kennedy the Soviet Union is likely to put pressure on Cuba to accept it. The Cuban revolution is approaching a fateful choice: to surrender to U.S. capitalism or in defiance of the counter-revolutionary efforts of the State Department and Kremlin to move forward toward socialism.

The leadership of the Cuban Revolution has so far shown its unwillingness to tie itself to the Kremlin's political antics and to conciliate the revolution for the sake of the CP's "peaceful co-existence" line. The armed Cuban workers and peasants have shown themselves ready to fight to the death to defend their factories, their land and their homes, even if their leaders were to accept a "deal" with Kennedy. The desires of U.S. capitalism for Cuba cannot be easily satiated.

## Youth Notes

**AROUND CAMPUS:** Over 300 CCNY students protested Governor Nelson Rockefeller's proposal that the college change its historical tuition-free status and adopt a \$300 a year tuition. The students raised a banner on the campus lawn saying, "Nelson, who do you think we are, Rockefeller?" The CCNY chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee invited Raul Roa, Jr. to speak. But the Administration postponed the club's charter so the Debs Club invited Roa. Its faculty advisor then refused to sign the necessary forms, referring to Roa as an "unwashed ape." The Student Government then agreed to sponsor the meeting, but the Administration dug up a little-used ruling postponing the meeting. When Roa finally spoke he drew an overflow crowd of 250 students. Evander Childs High School students in New York published an independent newsletter, *Outlook*. When the first issue came out in support of the New York City teachers strike, the principal threatened the editors with "everything ranging from expulsion to burning at the stake." The students went ahead to publish a second issue which opposed the civil defense drills. They plan to keep on publishing. The issue of freedom of speech was raised sharply on the Wayne campus in Detroit when the University was forced to allow Harvey O'Connor to speak on the "Upheaval in Latin America." The administration had denied campus facilities usually rented to off-campus groups to the Global Books Forum. The Forum took the University to court, charging unfair political discrimination and won its suit. The Los Angeles City College Collegian came out with a vicious, McCarthy-like attack on a meeting held by *New Horizons* editor, Daniel Rubin. It went on to smear the anti-HUAC demonstrations in San Francisco with the statement, "Veteran Communist agitators organized and led student mobs against an orderly legislative process." "What does the Bill of Rights mean to you?" it asked in a subsequent editorial. "Did you ever realize the importance behind it?"—Did the Los Angeles Collegian ever realize its importance? The all-white post of the Knoxville, Tenn. American Legion is demanding an investigation of the predominately Negro Lane College by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Lane College band had included the Russian national anthem in its tribute to the "Big Four" nations at a football game.

**YSA IN ACTION:** Seattle YSA'ers announce a class on dialectical materialism, the philosophy of Marxism. It will be led by Clara Kaye, a prominent local socialist. . . In Chicago, Isadore Warwick will lead a discussion group on the Cuban revolution sponsored by the University of Chicago's Young Socialist Club meeting in Ida Noyes Hall. The group will read "Listen Yankee," by C. Wright Mills, "The Anatomy of a Revolution," by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy and "The Truth About Cuba," by Joseph Hansen. . . New York YSA chairman, Rose Jersawitz, will teach a class on the "Trotskyist World View." . . Denver University's International Relations Club wanted to hear someone speak "In Defense of the Cuba Revolution" so it invited local YSA chairman Howard Wallace to speak. . . From Berkeley, Seattle, San Diego, Oakland and San Francisco, YSA'ers will meet for a two-day regional conference in December. . . On the East coast, YSA'ers from Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, New Jersey and New York will converge on Mountain Spring Camp in New Jersey in February for a weekend seminar on the development of Leninism. . . The Canadian YSA is publishing its own six-page mimeographed supplement to the YS. The first issue, which came out last month, featured a report on the developing socialist youth movement in labor's New Party. The New Party will formally come into existence in 1961 as a merger of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the official Canadian labor movement.

## Mills' 'Great Moment of Truth' . . .

(Continued from Page 1)  
economic problems are, it should not be considered a conspiracy if a number of nations solve these problems in the same way. The only thing that should be considered, is that there is probably a great deal of truth in that solution. And perhaps this is a very important lesson—that the Cubans are reaching Socialist conclusions through reason, through working experience, and through a great desire to relieve the economic pressures on the Cuban people

immediately.

The great things the Cuban Revolution has meant and continues to mean for the people of Cuba are great undeniable facts. But what the Revolution has exposed about the United States is an even greater fact, a fact that no one in the world can ignore, and the American people cannot afford to ignore.

## 'WE AREN'T WAITING'

The reason "Listen, Yankee" is the most important book about the Cuban Revolution is that it

captures the very essence of the Revolution. The Cubans are not asking us to throw them a bone, they have thrown us one, and we better take it. "Listen, Yankee" now you know what the U.S. Government has been doing in your name and the name of democracy. . . Will you allow them to go on using you? We are watching Yankee, all the hungry nations are watching. But we are not waiting.

## JAY SELDEN

It is with a feeling of sorrow that we report that Jay Selden, a student at Columbia University, died on November 23 in an automobile accident. While Jay had many political differences with us—he was a member of YPSL—we worked together in many causes. He was an active supporter of the sit-in movement, and most recently a supporter of Dobbs and Weiss. We shall miss him and his contribution to the struggle for socialism.

## Where We Stand

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

## DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

As socialists we defend the Cuban Revolution on several grounds: (a) we uphold the right of self-determination of the Cuban people; (b) we support all anti-imperialist struggles as such struggles tend to weaken our enemy, world capitalism, which has its center here in the United States; (c) we support every step taken by the Cuban people in the direction of common ownership of the means of production—in the direction of socialism.

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—The Revolution in Cuba  
by C. Wright Mills  
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