

A former freedom rider is dragged from the picket line at Beth-El Hospital in Brooklyn. He and four other youth face possible prison sentences for their activities in support of striking hospital workers.

90 ARRESTED:

N. Y. Hospital Workers Struggle for Union—Youth Aid Strikers

by Guv Scheer

Behind the facade of "Union Town" lies the grim reality of exploited and hungry workers who live no better in New York City than the Negroes and poor whites of Alabama or Mississippi. The most oppressed workers in New York are, by no small coincidence, Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Gradually this citadel of unionism and a "high standard of living" is being exposed for what it is—a paper symbol.

On May 23, after the hospital management defiantly refused to recognize their union or allow a vote to be taken, the non-medical workers of Beth El Hospital in Brooklyn went out on strike for the simple issue of recognition of their union, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers.

DISCRIMINATION

Ninety-five percent of these workers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans who find themselves locked out of better paying jobs in industry because of their ancestry or the color of their skins. The hospital management exploits this discrimination, paying these workers as little as \$43 a week. They are excluded from virtually all labor legislation, including Federal minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, and the right to have a union.

POLICE AID SCABS

The union revealed that Beth El has been spending up to \$10,000 a week for professional strike-breakers. The scabs are herded to work with the assistance of the N.Y. Police Department which has turned the area into a virtual armed camp in an effort to intimidate the strikers.

During the first week of the strike, the picket line was attacked by the police and a number of the workers beaten. The hospital secured an injunction from a

local judge, forbidding picketing of the hospital. The union's president, Leon Davis, however, refused to comply with the strike-breaking injunction. He was arrested, convicted and served a sentence of 30 days in jail.

YOUTH AID STRIKERS

A significant facet of the strike was that, for the first time in many years, large numbers of student youth, freedom riders, and young workers felt the urgency to come out and help these workers. They came as youth (Continued on Page 8)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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SUMMER, 1962

SPEAKER BANS:

Colleges Try Thought Control; Students Fight for Liberties

By George Saunders

Events last semester at various colleges throughout the country show that academic freedom has an uphill fight against McCarthyism on the American campus. Ultra-right student groups and conservative administrations, with businessmen boards of trustees and reactionary state legislatures at work in the background, are increasingly cooperating to restrict free speech by speaker bans and other means.

OHIO STATE BATTLE

At Ohio State University the Students for Liberal Action (SLA) a recognized campus group, planned a meeting for April 25 to protest the opening of HUAC hearings in Los Angeles. Invited speakers were Phillip Luce of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Clark Forman, director of ECLC, and Burton White of the Bay Area Students Committee Against HUAC.

A storm was raised by a right-wing columnist's "warning" in the April 22 Columbus Dispatch that Mr. Luce was to about to "invade" Ohio campuses, and pressure was put on the administration not to let the "reds" speak.

The following day OSU President Novice G. Fawcett announced that alumnus Luce would not be welcome on campus. He and other administration figures then tried to persuade SLA's faculty advisor, Prof. Shephard Liverant, not to approve the invitation to the three speakers.

LOCKOUT

When Liverant refused to alter his position, the President at the last minute overrode the rules to halt the meeting. City and university police were posted at the meeting place, the doors of which

were locked, and some 500 were turned away.

The three speakers addressed a crowd of some 200 in a backyard that evening, denouncing the ban and explaining their views on HUAC and civil liberties.

PROTESTS

On Thursday, April 26, some 75 students held an informal meeting to organize protest against Fawcett's infringement of student rights. From this core grew the Student Free Speech Committee, which began to publish a regular newsletter, Free Speech. A protest rally was held on Friday in which some 600 students participated.

A faculty petition was circulated calling for a special faculty meeting on the issue of the lockout. It needed only 39 signatures to go into force, but it quickly gained over 300. A meeting of the American Association of University Professors on April 30 passed by a large majority a motion supporting Liverant's position. A motion was also passed to distribute a factual memorandum on the lockout to the scheduled faculty meeting. Finally, another motion asked the national AAUP to investigate Fawcett's action if the matter was not cleared up to the satisfac-



tion of the Ohio State professors.

STUDENTS ORGANIZE

The issue came to a head on May 14 at the special faculty meeting when a pro-administration majority with Pres. Fawcett chairing moved to adjourn just as debate opened on a motion affirming free speech on campus. Earlier the meeting had voted to uphold Fawcett's suppression of free speech.

No protest picketing was held until it became clear that Fawcett would not speak before the students to explain his stand. After the faculty's failure even to get a debate on the free speech issue, picketing was begun which lasted nearly a week. At commencement the students planned to rent an airplane to fly over the exercises and drop free speech leaflets, but the plane was not allowed to leave the runway.

CALIF. COURT FIGHT

Students on the Riverside campus of the Univ. of Calif. in Los Angeles have gone to court to try to force university authorities to rescind a ban on Communist Party speakers. Although they lost the initial round, they will appeal to the State Supreme Court and Federal Courts if necessary.

The students are represented by A. L. Wirin, a noted civil liberties attorney, who argued that the University's "rigid, unbending policy" violates not so much the constitutional right of a speaker to speak, but "the even more important right of the student to hear—the very base and reason for being of the free speech guarantee in the first place."

MICHIGAN BANS

Students at Michigan State had to fight a speaker ban late in May simultaneously with other Michigan students at Wayne State University.

At WSU permission to allow Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, outspoken fighters for the abolition of HUAC, to speak on campus was rescinded by University President Hilberry just prior to the meeting on May 22.

In spite of last minute cancellation, members of the Civil Liberties Club, sponsors of the meet-

Kennedy Continues War in Asia

by Ted Mellor

The war which the United States is now waging in South East Asia was again pushed to the brink of an all-out war last month when Kennedy ordered a build-up of U.S. troops in Thailand. The excuse for this intervention into the affairs of another country was the situation in Laos—"Communist forces" were opening a new offensive, it was said, and U.S. action was necessary.

Actually, rightist General Phoumi Nosavan, in violation of the spirit if not the letter of last year's Geneva agreement, had been massing his royalist troops near Nam Tha, 20 miles from the Chinese border.

Threatened by this massing of troops, the rebel forces of the Pathet Lao moved into Nam Tha. The troops of General Nosavan, unwilling to fight their countrymen, refused to make any defense of the city and fled into Thailand.

TROOPS TO BORDER

As a result, the Kennedy regime began screaming that it had been

betrayed and moved 5,000 troops into Thailand. They were positioned 20 miles from the Laos border, ready to enter the country if things failed to go the way the U.S. wanted them. It was plain that the U.S. would not stop at the intimidation of the Laotians by the presence of a large body of troops near the border. "That's all we did the last time [March, 1961—ed], an administration official assured the Wall Street Journal. "This time we're going to do more."

The U.S., changing its tactic from that followed in Dec. 1960 when it assisted in overthrowing the government of Souvanna Phouma to install the reactionary regime of Prince Boun Oum and Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, was now calling for a coalition government, presumably to bide time until a more favorable opportunity for a full scale offensive against the Pathet Lao.

UNSTABLE TRUCE

Early in June a coalition government under Souvanna Phouma was announced and a small num-

ber of U.S. troops were removed. However, as the Wall Street Journal stated, "Nobody is pretending that a Souvanna Phouma government . . . will be stable enough to stand up against Communist subversion for very long." Since the primary reason for being a government in the eyes of the U.S. is to withstand "Communist subversion," the major bulk of the troops remain.

While the war seems to have reached a brief lull in Laos, U.S. troops continue to die in Vietnam while participating in the slaughter of peasants for the reactionary government of Ngo Dinh Diem, and the possibility of open fighting in Thailand increases as the totalitarian government of Marshal Sarit Thanarat in Thailand became increasingly brutal in its suppression of opposition.

"IT IS A WAR"

The U.S. has involved itself deeply in South East Asia and has shown that it will go to great lengths to keep these countries under its domination. "We (Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 8)

Spanish Youth Today

by Frank Wyler

(This is a summary of an interview with Earl Owens, a graduate of New York's City College, who recently returned from a five month visit to Spain.)

While in Spain, Earl contacted students and discussed the political situation in Spain with them. He found that they tend to be very confused politically, but that there is a great deal of support for the Cuban Revolution. They are confused by the old ideology of the Spanish Falange (Fascists) and its ideas of order and "social justice."

As one Spanish student told him, "I am a Fidelista and a Falangist. During the Civil War the Falange was pledged to agrarian reform and nationalization of the banks, but Franco betrayed us." The students are also being radicalized by a fairly recent influx of Fidelista students from Latin America.

YOUTH NOT AFRAID

On the whole, working class youth are far more radical than the students, as is the working class in general. A Loyalist veteran of the Civil War remarked, "The older generation is partially demoralized, but the youth are not afraid of Franco." Another worker said that if free elections were held, the Communist Party would get 40% of the vote.

LOOK TO CASTRO

Although the Soviet Union is fairly popular, the younger generation of Spanish workers seem to look more to Cuba and Fidel Castro than to Khrushchev and the Soviet Bloc, because Castro seems

to speak directly to them about problems which Cuba is solving, but which Spain can never solve as long as Franco and his imperialist-supported government remain in power.

There are, of course, no legal opposition parties in Spain, and the Spanish workers and revolutionary students do not seem to have any effective national organizations capable of leading them in their struggle against Franco and the Falange. All the old revolutionary leaders died in the Civil War, and new ones have not yet developed.

DEFY REGIME

Despite the fact that strikes are illegal in Spain, punishable by up to 12 years in prison, workers have recently struck in a number of major industries. Thousands of

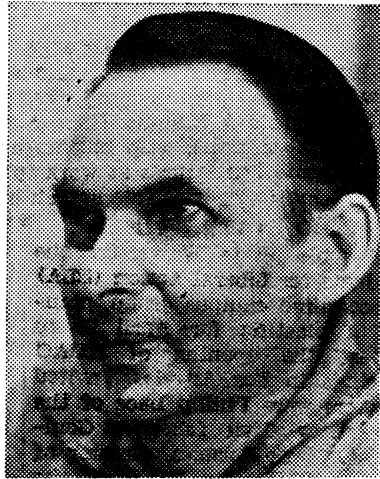
workers have been involved and some of the strikes have been successful. The official eight hour day of Spain is an illusion. Eight hours of work per day would earn a starvation wage at the prevailing hourly rates of pay. The average worker must work 12 hours a day, six days a week, to earn \$12, about equal to \$40 a week in the United States.

The strikes have shown that the Franco regime can be defied. As more and more workers come to realize this, the struggle for a better life cannot help but force the workers to develop political organizations with which to fight against the government that forces them to live in misery. And when Franco finally falls the Spanish workers will not allow another to be put in his place.

Daniel Roberts

Dan Roberts, former editor of *The Militant*, died on May 24, at the age of 44, after a long struggle with a debilitating form of cancer. Comrade Roberts had been an active revolutionist in the Socialist Workers Party for over 20 years, an organizer in Los Angeles, Seattle, and Newark, and a staff writer for the *International Socialist Review* as well as *The Militant*.

His early death deprived the socialist movement of one of its finest fighters and left a gap that will not be easily filled.



DANIEL ROBERTS

PIRACY BY U.S.:

Protest Vessel Seized

by Ward Blake

On May 26, in what can be characterized only as an act of piracy in brazen defiance of long-established maritime rights, a U.S. Deputy Marshal boarded a ship in international waters and placed its crew under arrest.

At 7:15 a.m. on that day, *Everyman I*, a small sailing boat built by members and supporters of the Committee for Non-violent Action, set sail from Sausalito, Calif., bound for the Christmas Island nuclear testing zone. The members of the three man crew were willing to risk death by radiation or bombing in order to dramatize and protest continued nuclear poisoning by the United States.

INJUNCTION

Embarrassed by this protest and disturbed by its possible consequences, the federal government had begun proceedings to halt the voyage. On orders from Attorney General Robert Kennedy, a Federal District Judge issued a restraining order on May 25, prohibiting any movement of *Everyman*. Upon receiving the order, the crew issued a statement reading, in part: "We will not cooperate with the restraining order

because we feel that the government is using the courts to protect its own immoral testing of nuclear weapons and its own illegal use of international waters to carry through the tests."

The Coast Guard, which trailed the boat as it left San Francisco Bay, made no attempt to halt it until the early evening when it was about 15 miles out, in international waters. The crew was placed under arrest and returned to San Francisco.

PROTEST SEIZURE

The halting of *Everyman I* brought forth protests around the country. In San Francisco, a sit-in was held in the U.S. Marshal's office which climaxed at midnight when police carried 27 demonstrators from the building. On Saturday, June 2, the number of sit-in demonstrators had grown to 70, and supporters held a round-the-clock vigil in front of the building.

In New York, 40 demonstrators picketed the U.S. Federal Courthouse in support of *Everyman*, and similar demonstrations took place in Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities.

Contempt of Court charges

against the CNVA (which had been named in the restraining order along with its "agents, servants and employees") and individuals connected with the protest who had not been among the crew were dropped on May 28. Crew members Harold Stallings, Evan Yoes, and Edward Lazar, were given prison sentences.

NEW SAILING

Nonetheless, the protest goes on. On June 24, the CNVA announced that another boat, *Everyman II*, set sail from Honolulu, bound for the Johnston Island testing area. A similar restraining order had been issued, but a Federal Judge had ruled that there could be no legal bar to their sailing to the testing area. However, the injunction forbidding them to enter the actual test zone stands, and the Coast Guard cutter trailing them can be expected to interfere when that time comes.

NEW YSA LOCAL

The Young Socialist Alliance has added another local unit to its branches throughout the country. Young Socialists in Cleveland, Ohio, organized the YSA's newest local late in June and have begun a full range of activities to bring the ideas of socialism to students and youth in the Cleveland area. Readers may now contact the YSA at Eugene V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. 23.

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Summer, 1962

The Right to Travel

William Worthy, a correspondent for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, was indicted by a grand jury in Miami on April 24, charged with entering the United States from Cuba "without a valid passport." Under this charge, he faces a possible sentence of five years in prison or a fine of \$5,000.

Worthy is the first U.S. citizen to be indicted under the McCarran Immigration and Nationalization Act for this offense. (None of the numerous white citizens who have returned to the U.S. from Cuba has as yet been indicted.)

The reason is that this courageous journalist happens to have the bad habit of conscientiously seeking the truth and reporting it honestly, a habit which in this country is bound to lead to difficulties. Worthy had visited Cuba and wrote several articles for the *Afro-American* from Cuba.

This, of course, came into direct conflict with the interests of the Kennedy regime which has imposed a ban on travel to Revolutionary Cuba by U.S. citizens.

The outrageous persecution of Worthy is obviously designed to punish him for his reporting of the Cuban Revolution and to intimidate other Americans who may be tempted to defy the State Department's edict and visit Cuba to see for themselves. Worthy's support of the Cuban Revolution and his recent criticisms of the sacrosanct FBI director J. Edgar Hoover have also drawn the wrath of the authorities.

The Young Socialist regards this case as a blatant attack upon freedom of the press and the right to travel. As Worthy stated at the convention of the Negro Publishers' Association, where he spoke a day after Atty. General Kennedy addressed the gathering, "Travel control is thought control, and intelligence control, and no one knows and appreciates that more than do the policymakers who, without precedent in America's peacetime history, are now routinely telling citizens where they can and cannot go."

The right to travel is a fundamental right which all must defend. If the government succeeds in its present persecution of Worthy, the liberties of all of us will have suffered a serious blow.

Cuba Rehabilitates Offenders

by Ed Slater

While police departments in New York and other large North American cities prepare for the summer months by assigning extra men, armed with clubs and traveling in special squads, to patrol the crowded streets, Cuba's Revolutionary government is making strides in meeting juvenile delinquency by modern methods of rehabilitation.

An unusually frank article in the June 17 *Baltimore Sun* describes one of the "juvenile farms" on the outskirts of Havana in which 170 girls are being rehabilitated.

VOLUNTARY COOPERATION

Most of the girls, aged between 12 and 18, have been guilty of minor offenses. The approach of the school is not to punish, but to win their voluntary cooperation and to make them good revolutionaries.

Some of the girls are allowed to go home for the weekend, returning on Monday morning. At Christmas and Easter, all were

sent home at government expense, and all returned, voluntarily, at the stated time.

According to the school's director, Miss Norma Perdigon, the girls are given an elementary education (some were illiterate until last year) and study such subjects as dressmaking, embroidery, singing, and guitar playing.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The girls do constructive work by making tin drinking cups for the use of the militia, for which they are paid up to \$3 a day. The money they receive is their own to use as they see fit.

According to Miss Perdigon, the instructors concentrate on teaching them "good behavior such as many never learned before because of the environment in which they lived."

Instruction in the principles of the Revolution is also a part of their studies; squad drills and physical exercises are as much a part of their daily life as they are that of the 58,000 scholarship holders now studying in Havana, living in the abandoned homes of the wealthy who have left Cuba.

As a practical contribution to the defense of the revolution, the girls go by bus each Sunday to join the volunteer cane cutters in the fields.

Perhaps as indicative as anything of the atmosphere of the schools is the fact that at night the director and staff go to their own homes, leaving the girls to mount their own guard at the school and assume responsibility for themselves.

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SPECIAL 4-PAGE FEATURE:

Which Road for Youth— Democratic Party or Labor Party?

by BARRY SHEPPARD

The American campus has shaken out of its long slumber. The social realities of the world beyond the ivory walls have intruded upon the consciousness of a small but growing section of the students and they are beginning to act back upon those realities, seeking change. In place of nuclear destruction and Cold War the active student wants peace and cooperation. Racism and bigotry he would replace with equality and understanding. He wants the freedom to listen, think, and consider all ideas, even dangerous ones, and he is tired of ignorant Senators and bought professors serving him intellectual pap with McCarran Act warnings against more substantial diet.

It is obvious that this active student minority will become, and is becoming, political, because the problems of peace, racism, and civil liberties require political solutions. The question is how and in what way will the movement politicalize itself? Should the students work for reforms within the existing parties and make them instruments of social change? Or should new political forms be projected? Are the answers the students seek to be found within the framework of capitalism, or will it be necessary to advance beyond capitalism to find those answers?

Oddly enough, it is certain socialist currents within the student movement who are the loudest advocates of joining the existing two-party political setup. The Communist Party youth, Students for a Democratic Society, and certain sections of the Socialist Party youth are attempting to draw the students into the capitalist Democratic Party. Almost no one talks about joining the Republican Party, since the Big Business character of this party is pretty much accepted.

But the Democratic Party is painted by its socialist apologists as a "people's party," where the plain people are and where the people and students can realize their demands by kicking out a few machine politicians and Southern racists. The idea that the Democratic Party is progressive comes from the myth of the New Deal, a myth which has been the active ideology of those same "socialists" who are now trying to funnel the student movement into support of the Democratic Party.

The Myth of the New Deal

When the American economy collapsed in the Great Depression, the ruling class at first was confused and stymied as to what to do. They clucked the phoney optimism of "prosperity is just around the corner" while the situation got worse, until Roosevelt and the Democrats promised that something would change, that there would be a new deal for the American people. And there were changes, as capitalism attempted to get the rusty and broken parts of its economic machine back into some kind of working order.

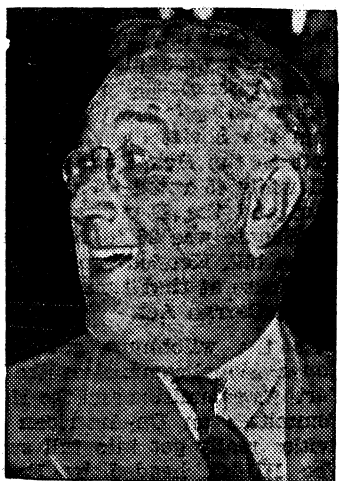
SOCIAL SECURITY

The government assumed tighter control over the gold reserves and the currency. The National Industrial Recovery Act gave Big Business the right to form cartels for the purpose of price fixing, in an attempt to raise the prices. "Make work" projects were started like the reforestation projects, and later on the Works Project Administration was formed, to put the unemployed and youth to work.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act provided the basis for the compensation paid to farmers for not growing crops in order to keep farm prices up. In the mid-Thirties unemployment insurance and old age pensions, paid for by a tax on the workers and employers, were enacted. Such measures of social security had been a part of most of the capitalisms of the world for many decades.

RISE OF CIO

It was a valiant attempt, for capitalism, but it didn't work. The economy pulled itself up in 1934 for a while only to fall again in 1937-38. The prolonged crisis stirred the working people to take action to relieve their misery. The original National Industrial Recovery Act, in its section 7a, recognized the right of labor to org-



ROOSEVELT

anize. In practice, the Roosevelt program was the program of class peace. In 1933 the American Federation of Labor signed a no-strike pledge in the spirit of the Roosevelt program. But 1934, 1935, and 1936 saw the unorganized workers in the mass industries rise to their feet to form the world's greatest union, the CIO. Then, in 1936, under the pressure of the fact of the mass organization of the workers, the Wagner Act was passed which set up the National Labor Relations Board. A union could win the right to represent the workers in a shop by winning an NLRB election.

BETRAYAL

The whole point of the New Deal was to save the tottering structure of American capitalism by getting the wheels of industry turning or partially turning and by giving enough reforms to the people to keep them committed to capitalism, or at least not actively opposed to it. Roosevelt was not able to carry out the first part, getting the economy going at near full employment, until the beginning of World War II

opened up the profitable market of war materials.

But the second part, keeping the people tied to the system, was accomplished by demagoguery, a few reforms and the support of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The working class that had shown so much determination to fight for its economic rights by forming its own economic organizations of struggle against the bosses was discouraged from forming its own political organization of struggle. The CP and SP, having influence over the most conscious workers, joined the Roosevelt bandwagon, and led the workers right into support of the Democratic Party. The SP said that Roosevelt had "stolen" their program (what a socialist program they had!) and the CP looked to Roosevelt as the friend of the Soviet Union, "Comrade" Roosevelt, almost. Both the CP and SP rejected the idea of a labor party.

The working people began to pay for this betrayal immediately, and are still paying. From the viewpoint of the capitalists, the New Deal was eminently successful in its main objective of preserving the system by keeping the workers tied to it through the Democratic Party. How did the New Deal face of American capitalism react to other questions?

The New Deal And Racism

On this question the New Deal looked like the Same Old Deal. No new legislation on civil rights was passed during the New Deal, and the old legislation like the Fourteenth Amendment was not enforced either, of course. And that means that the New Deal was another decade of extreme misery, cruelty and exploitation for the Negro people, made the worse by the general misery caused by the capitalist crisis.

The first year of the New Deal saw an increase in lynching of 180% over 1932. Even such barbarism did not cause the Administration to act against their fellow Democrats who control the South through a one-party dictatorial machine. Consider just one example (from 100 Years of Lynchings by Ralph Ginzburg):

"From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph.

"GREENWOOD, Fla., Oct. 26, (1934)—Local citizens have been preparing all day for the lynching of a negro scheduled to take place here tonight. This morning a mob seized Claude Neal, 23, from a jail in Brewton, Ala., where he had been held in connection with the murder of a white girl . . .

"At sundown the Negro will be taken to the farm two miles from here where Miss Lola Cannidy, the murder victim, lived. There he will be mutilated by the girl's father.

"Then he will be brought to a pig-pen in the middle of a cotton field nearby, where the girl's body was found, and killed.

"Finally his body will be brought to Marianna, the county seat, nine miles from here, and hung in the court house square for all to see . . .

"All white folks are invited



to the party,' said the announcement issued by the mob's Committee of Six.

"As a result, thousands of citizens have been congregating all afternoon at the Cannidy farm. Bonfires have been started, piles of sharp sticks have been prepared, knives have been sharpened and one woman has displayed a currycomb with which she promises to torture the Negro.

"The crowd is said to have been addressed by a member of the Florida State Legislature [Democrat?] who, in a humorous vein promised that no one would be disappointed if the crowd maintained decorum . . .

"In Washington the Attorney General of the United States said that he was powerless to invoke the federal kidnapping law to rescue Neal because no ransom was involved. [emphasis mine—BS.]

"In New York, Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent a telegram to Florida's Governor David Sholtz [Democrat] urging him to "take immediate steps" to protect Neal. J. P. Newell [Democrat] the Governor's Executive Secretary at Tallahassee has replied that the Governor is "out of the capital" and can not be reached.

"From the Birmingham (Alabama) Post:

"MARIANNA, Fla., Oct. 27 (1934)—The body of Claude Neal, 23, negro, confessed attacker and slayer of a white girl, swung from a tree on the courthouse lawn . . ."

The New Deal And Imperialism

Imperialism, in the Twentieth Century meaning of the term, is the economic domination of underdeveloped areas of the Earth by the advanced capitalist countries. This domination results in great profits for the capitalists of the "mother" country and great exploitation for the dominated country. The United States, being an advanced capitalism, is no exception, and is indeed the greatest imperialist nation. A change of the government from a Republican administration to a Democratic administration, even a change from a Hoover to a Roosevelt, does not change the basic imperialist character of capitalism. Every capitalist U.S. government will defend and extend American investment and economic connections in the colonial countries. The New Deal Democratic Party government carried out this task as thoroughly as administrations before and since. As an example, let us take

a look at American intervention into Cuba under Roosevelt.

ROOSEVELT AND CUBA

Carleton Beals, in his book "The Crime of Cuba" indicates the extent of American domination of Cuba economically by 1933 as follows:

"One third of Cuba's territory, nearly 90 percent of the cultivated lands of the island, is owned or controlled by long-time leases by Americans or American corporations. The remainder is largely mortgaged to American banks and creditors. Cuba's second industry—tobacco—is also mostly American. Nearly all the banks, railroads, street-car lines, electric plants, telephone system and other public utilities are owned by capital from the United States."

The condition of the people was wretched. Unemployment, illiteracy, disease and the oppression of the Machado dictatorship characterized the lives of the ordinary Cubans. The U.S.-backed Machado was there to preserve the proper atmosphere for U.S. investments.

BATISTA TO POWER

But the people were more interested in their own welfare than they were in the profits of the American corporations, and in August 1933 a general strike spread across the island. The new American ambassador, Sumner Welles, with the help of the military staff, persuaded Machado that his usefulness was over and Welles' choice, Carlos Cespedes, was sworn in. But the revolutionary wave grew; the workers took possession of plantations, mills, and factories. A new strong arm man was needed. On Sept. 5 a "Revolutionary Junta", under the leadership of Fulgencio Batista, took power. Batista attempted to ride the revolutionary wave and to involve student revolutionary leaders.

Against Welles' wishes, the students pressed for Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, and Batista named him President on Sept. 10. Washington refused to recognize the new government and recalled Welles. Jefferson Caffrey, a direct representative of Roosevelt, arrived Dec. 18 and Grau was removed Jan. 15. Batista made Carlos Mendieta President on Jan. 18, and Washington recognized the government on Jan. 23. Batista then moved to smash the revolutionary uprising, and things returned to their normal corrupt state with U.S. capital again firmly in the driver's seat. Batista was to play many important roles in the coming 25 years as a very useful tool of the imperialists, and the credit for his development and recognition must go to Roosevelt. Batista was the New Deal dictator. (See **The Truth About Cuba** by Joseph Hansen)

War, Cold War, Witchhunt . . .

The War Administration

The Second Imperialist War opened the way for economic revival. First in the production of war materials for Britain, then in the production of war materials for the U.S. armed force, the economy was reactivated and the workers drafted or put to work. Even women found many industrial jobs, for the first time on a large scale.

The government demanded the unity of the people in the hour of danger and need. "Unity" means "Don't question your stake in the war, don't question the profits made on your backs in the war, but sacrifice." The Communist Party and the Socialist Party both called for such "unity" under Roosevelt. The labor bureaucracy chimed in its approval with "We pledge not to strike."

IMPERIALIST WAR

Roosevelt and Stalin and the C.P.U.S.A. and the S.P. all called the war a war of democracy against fascism. It was nothing of the kind. It was a war for markets, for areas of investment, for sources of raw materials, just as the First Imperialist War was. It was a war primarily among the great capitalist powers of the world for spheres of economic influence and control. Its spoils were the markets of the world. For example, Japan and the U.S. fought over the big plum of Asia: China. The U.S. even used the precarious position of Britain in Europe to force Britain to get out of Latin America and leave that continent to the U.S. investors alone.

Of all the left parties in the U.S., only the Socialist Workers Party correctly defined the war as an imperialist war, one in which the masses had nothing to gain and everything to lose. While standing for the defense of the Soviet Union against all capitalist attack, and at that time against Nazi attack, the SWP insisted that the only real defense of democracy and of the Soviet Union was to fight capitalism everywhere.

SMITH ACT USED

For this stand against the war, the SWP was made the first Smith Act victim. The Smith Act was passed in 1940 over Roosevelt's "objection" of a pocket veto. How much he objected was shown by his use of the law in 1941 to suppress, or attempt to suppress the SWP. In addition, Roosevelt was doing the Teamster bureaucrat Tobin a favor by incarcerating the Trotskyists, who were influential in that union, especially in the Minneapolis local, because of the organ-

izing work they had done in building the Teamsters. Eighteen of the top leaders of the SWP were convicted and sentenced to prison terms. The Communist Party, as part of their "unity" with Roosevelt, applauded the conviction and the Smith Act.

As war clouds loomed in 1941, Roosevelt used the War as an excuse to bear down upon the workers' demands. He said, "This government is determined to use all of its powers . . . to prevent interference with the production of materials." In June 1941 it became clear just exactly what he meant. Workers at North American Aviation struck for a 75c minimum wage. Roosevelt answered with 3,500 troops to break the strike.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Roosevelt pushed for a no-strike pledge and got it from most sections of organized labor. The Communist Party joined in the chorus echoing the pledge. Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was so enthusiastic he even wanted to continue the no-strike pledge after the war.

The War Labor Board was set up to administer prices and wages. Labor would sacrifice for the war effort by not trying to get pay increases, and "management" would sacrifice by not increasing prices. As is not unusual when such pacts are made, wages were frozen but prices and profits soared. It was against these conditions—rising prices and stagnant wages (while the coal barons reaped super war profit)—that the coal miners struck in 1943. They opposed the coal companies, Roosevelt, and the Communist Party. Roosevelt took the mines over and ordered the miners back to work. William Z. Foster spoke at a public meeting near the mine fields for the Communist Party, urging the workers back to work. But the union held firm against all the bosses and the bosses' helpers and won a wage increase.

HIROSHIMA ATROCITY

The clash of the rival capitalist states resulted in an enormous bloodletting and destruction of property. The end of the war came with the most barbaric act of them all, the atom bombings of the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the direct order of Harry Truman. The *Daily Worker* accepted and printed Truman's lie that it was necessary to bomb these cities to force the Japanese imperialists to capitulate to the American imperialists, although the *Worker* did not put it quite like that. They said the bombings forced fascist Japan to capitulate to the "democracies."

The Cold War Begins

The Communist Party's pretext for its complete capitulation to the imperialist war was that the war was a struggle between democracy and fascism, and particularly between fascism and the Soviet Union. The best defense of the Soviet Union was to unite the peace-loving and democratic countries against the fascist states. How wrong they were was soon to become evident, although to this day they haven't learned the simple lesson of the Cold War.

Fascism conquered in Germany and Italy during revolutionary situations in those countries, when the workers threatened to take the factories and the state power. The fascist gangs, as

the bought and paid-for thugs of the capitalist class, attacked the workers' organizations. Because of misleadership the workers lost this struggle to the fascists.

In other words, fascism is a last ditch attempt by capitalism to save itself in time of crisis. Clearly fascism is a danger inherent in capitalism itself, inherent in all and any capitalism, not just German capitalism. To fight fascism means to fight the fascist breeding system of capitalism everywhere, not to submerge that fight in a phony war of "democracy" vs. fascism.

READY FOR W.W. III

The United States emerged as the only real imperialist victor

of the Second World War. The spoils belong to the victor. The U.S. spread out its economic tentacles in a great imperialist expansion, tripling its overseas investment in the period from 1950 to 1959 alone, occupying country after country, building airbases and army bases over the whole "free" world. The great democra-



TRUMAN

tic and peace-loving ally became the greatest menace to the Soviet Union in its entire history, surrounding the USSR with atom bomb bases and the Cold War. The enemy of the Soviet Union proved to be *capitalism*, whether German or English or American, and not just German capitalism in its fascist stage.

The American imperialists of the Democratic or Republican Parties seek to destroy the Soviet Union for exactly the same reasons as did the German imperialists. The Soviet Union represents a vast market, an investment opportunity, that is presently closed to world capitalism. To open up that market is the dream of imperialism. Also, capitalism would like to smash the Soviet Union because its very existence proves the superiority of planned economy over capitalist economy and is a very powerful attractive force for all the colonial peoples who are seeking a road to development and independence.

China was such a colonial country. The victory of the Chinese revolution forced the hand of the U.S. to pause over the war making button, and at the same time infuriated the ruling class (remember how hard they had fought Japan for China) and intensified the Cold War.

WITCHHUNT OPENS

Truman ushered in the witchhunt as part of the Cold War in 1947 with his order to the Attorney General to draw up a list of "subversive" organizations. This is the famous list which was to be used, and is still being used, by employers and professional witchhunters all over the country to weed out all leftists from the unions and to hound them continually with job difficulty, publicity, etc. The labor bureaucrats, like the present Labor Secretary Goldberg who was with the Steelworkers, joined in the witchhunt to become the cold war lieutenants of the Democratic Party and the government. The bureaucrats had long wanted to get rid of the left wingers in the unions, who were the source and leadership of opposition.

The capitalists know their servants and how *subservient* they are, and consequently proceeded to the next logical and profitable step of the attack and passed the Taft Hartley Act. The T-H Act reversed the thrust of the Wagner Act and put serious obstacles in the way of union organization and attacked the existing unions themselves.

A non-communist oath was now required for union officials, and was used by the bureaucrats and

the companies in their drive to expel the militants and socialists. Company propaganda during organizing drives, prohibited by the Wagner Act, became legal. Secondary boycott and certain kinds of picketing were made illegal. The closed shop was outlawed. And the President could seek a court injunction against a strike and use that injunction to force workers on strike back into the shop for a "cooling off" period—hopefully long enough to break the strike.

NO REPEAL

A Republican Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto, with 93 Democrats upholding the veto and 126 Democrats supporting the bill. The Democratic Party's platform in the 1948 elections was opposed to the law, and Truman promised to repeal it. A Democratic Congress resulted from the elections. The platform was not carried out, and the T-H Act is still with us today, modified in the favor of the employers by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill. In fact, Truman was one of the most liberal users of the T-H Act, having invoked the injunction against striking workers time after time. The fact is that the Democratic Party did not and does not have any intention of repealing the law.

Truman set up the C.I.A. after the war. Roosevelt had formed the Bureau that became the F.B.I. in 1933 to be an internal special police used as a political police. The function of the C.I.A. was to be an international spy and intelligence organization. Like the F.B.I., the C.I.A. is a political police, but the C.I.A. functions on an international scale where the rule of force is open and admitted. The C.I.A. plays the game according to the rule.

MCCARRAN ACT

The infamous McCarran [Democrat] Act was passed in 1950 over Truman's veto. Truman claimed that the provisions of the bill which were aimed at aliens would restrict the government's ability to get spy information from the Soviet bloc. 161 Democrats in the House voted for the bill while 45 voted to uphold the veto, and the Democrat vote in the Senate was 26 to 10 in favor of the bill. Kennedy, who was in the House at that time, voted for the McCarran Act.

As the witchhunt got going, Congressional committees like McCarthy's committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities really got into full swing. The HUAC, headed by Francis Walter [Democrat] never has had any trouble getting full bi-partisan support.

WAR IN KOREA

The Korean Civil War broke out in armed conflict in 1950. Truman, without even consulting the Congress, sent the U.S. into this civil war in defense of the reactionary dictator Syngman Rhee. Under the banner of democracy, Truman was defending the system of free investment, free markets, and the freedom to exploit, against the socialist revolution.

To accomplish his aims he had to interfere in the affairs of another country, support a regime which kept its people in grinding poverty and oppression, and attack those people. The American soldiers were ordered to wipe out the civilian populations of many towns in both North and South Korea. The senselessness and brutality of American intervention from the viewpoint of the common soldier was reflected in the lack of will to fight and even in the defection of some of the soldiers.

AIMED AT CHINA

American intervention provoked Chinese intervention as the U.S. armies rolled up to the China

border. The real question in the Korean war or in other conflicts in East Asia is the question of China. To secure a base of operations against China is an underlying issue at stake in all these conflicts. For the first time in its history, U.S. capitalism was stopped by the Chinese Revolution. The importance of this fact in preventing a war up till now can not be underestimated.

KENNEDY-LANDRUM-GRIFFIN

The Eisenhower administration was characterized by witchhunt and an increase in the Cold War through the blustering of Dulles. The military-industrial complex, admonished by Eisenhower in his farewell address, grew stronger. In foreign policy and in domestic projects like the witchhunt and attacks on labor the Democrats worked as one with the Republicans.



KENNEDY

The groundwork for the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill was laid by the McClellan [Democrat] Committee hearings into labor union corruption. Bobby Kennedy who had been chief counsel for the McCarthy committee, achieved his claim to fame as counsel for the McClellan committee. Neither the government nor the Democratic Party are really interested in eliminating corruption, since both organizations are themselves graft-ridden and corrupt to an extent no union could hope to match. What they wanted was an excuse for more anti-labor legislation. The Democrats also wanted to get Hoffa, especially, because while he is certainly as bureaucratic as McDonald or Reuther, though he is not especially corrupt compared to them, he will not knuckle under to the Democratic Party and the Establishment enough to suit them.

ATTACK ON LABOR

The Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill, named after its principal authors, was passed by an overwhelming majority, with almost all the Democrats (100% in the Senate) voting for it. Far from removing the provisions of the Taft-Hartley bill, this bill strengthens them. Under the guise of union democracy, the government, which is controlled by the owners of industry, is the arbiter over questions of union democracy, and the government decides who is or is not in violation.

The unions are corrupt. They are not real organs of workers' struggle because of the bureaucracy that sits on top of them. But the job of cleaning out the unions is the business of the work-

ers themselves, and if placed in the hands of the government gives the government power to control and constrict the unions, denuding them of all power as independent organs of the workers.

The Kennedy bill forces the unions to bond their officers, which is an expensive proposition and drains the union treasuries. Certain kinds of picketing and strikes are also made illegal.

been a kidnapping or not seems to depend on whether the accused's skin is black or not. Lynchings aren't kidnappings; frame-ups are—provided Negroes are being lynched or framed.

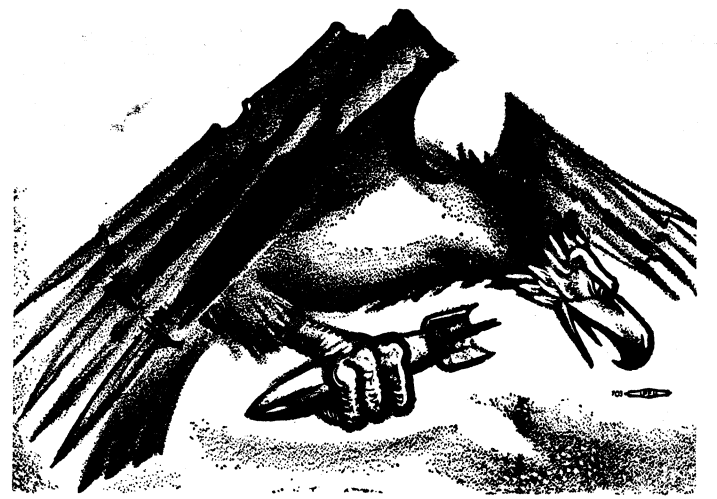
ANOTHER WAR

Following in the footsteps of Truman's intervention in Korea, Kennedy launched the American people into the civil war in Viet Nam. The action this time has been carried out in a slightly different manner so far. Instead of a mass mobilization of U.S. troops, special commando type forces are being used in the guerrilla warfare of the jungle.

Apparently the U.S. military has learned something from the Cuban Revolution. Working on Che Guevara's thesis that a guerrilla force depends for its existence upon the goodwill and support of the peasantry, the U.S. forces and forces of the dictatorial Diem government are putting the peasantry of South Viet Nam into concentration camps to keep them from contacting the Viet

Cong guerillas. The Viet Cong depends on the peasants for food and its manpower.

Once again the U.S. is intervening in the affairs of another nation, for the same old imperialist reasons. Once again misery and murder are being perpetrated in the name of the American Way of Life.



oned on the American Image, alongside the slogan "War is Peace" is the corollary "Ignorance is Strength."

RACISM

The power of the Democratic Party machine of the Southern ruling class rests upon racism. Spreading out from the South, racism is integral to the American Way of Life, and is very profitable to the whole exploiting class. Every division in the working class helps the capitalist class. Race prejudice keeps a section of the workers at a very low standard of living. In other words, Negro workers and other minority group workers are paid less than what the average worker gets. This increased misery for a whole section of the working class results directly in higher profits for those who buy the labor of this section.

The result is increased competition among the workers in general, driving down the wages of the white workers also. The racial division of the workers, where it is severe, can prevent them from combining into unions and demanding a decent standard of living for all workers from the employers. And most important, racism prevents the political union of the workers, prevents any serious challenge to the political hegemony of the capitalist class. Before the rotten framework of the Democratic Party can be overthrown in the South, a labor party cutting across race lines will have to be formed.

ROOT: CAPITALISM

Capitalism breeds war, needs the witchhunt, and profits from racism. The Republican and Democratic Parties, as parties of capitalist rule, are the instruments of capitalist action. Their function is to carry out the capitalist policies. That is why the Democrats are for war, racism, and thought control. And that is why the student movement, which wants peace, civil rights, and democracy, is by its nature opposed to the system and its parties, including the Democratic Party.

There is no way to attain peace under this system. We cannot win full equality under this system. Democracy is the enemy of this system. The only way out is to remove the privileged from their positions of power, to take the profits out of war, oppression, and racism, and to build a society that does not need those things, a society based upon human needs fulfilled by a rational and planned and cooperative production of goods, where abundance, brotherhood, and culture are the norms and not the exception. Such a society would be based upon the social ownership of the means of production and their democratic management by the workers themselves.

The Kennedy Administration

The Republican Party has traditionally been the party of open Big Business Rule, while the Democrats have maintained a more liberal facade. But in the years of the Eisenhower administration the two parties worked hand in glove on all important issues, from the witchhunt to the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill to the brinksmanship foreign policy of Dulles. The Eisenhower cabinet was composed of heads of corporations and other big capitalists. The Kennedy Cabinet changed the personnel, but the net result looked just about like the Eisenhower cabinet. A Ford man replaced the General Motors man as Secretary of Defense.

The Kennedy "team" included the President and his brother Robert, sons of a multi-millionaire; Secretary of State Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Secretary of Defense McNamara, president of the Ford Motor Co.; Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, Under Secretary of State for Ike and former Wall Street man; and Postmaster General J. E. Day, a vice-president of Prudential Life Insurance Co. The first two re-appointments Kennedy named were Hoover of the F.B.I. and Dulles of the C.I.A.

J.F.K. INVADES CUBA

The first major act of the Kennedy government was to carry out the invasion of Cuba planned by the Eisenhower administration. The little island, having taken its affairs into its own hands and kicked out the U.S. imperialists, had embarked upon the path of socialist construction. Annoyed at the loss of their capital investment in Cuba, and frightened to death at the prospect that the Cuban Revolution will become the Latin American Revolution, the rulers of the U.S. are bent on the destruction of the first socialist revolution in the Americas. Economic blockade, political blockade and military intervention are the techniques the imperialists have used to attempt to contain and smash the Cuban Revolution.

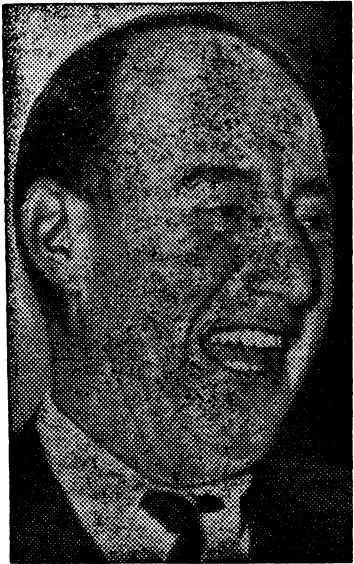
The Communist Party supported the invader of Cuba in the 1960 presidential elections in a backhanded manner. They told their supporters to vote, but not for the Republicans or for socialists. The Socialist Party didn't run its own candidates and gave its support to the Democratic Party also, with a phony "vote the issues, not the party" campaign.

ADLAI'S IMAGE FADES

The invasion punctured the illusion of the "liberal" Democrat Stevenson. From his post as the chief mouthpiece of world imperialism, Adlai Stevenson got up before the whole world and lied about U.S. complicity in the abortive invasion attempt. In front of everyone, the liberal darling of the right-wing socialists and the Communist Party exposed his real imperialist self in the moment of crisis.

GAG ACT ENFORCED

Kennedy began the implementation of the McCarran Act with the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party. The CP, because of its miserable record of capitulation to Stalinism and its poor record on civil liberties for others, is a particularly vulnerable section of the left. The capitalist class will not stop with the persecution of the CP; they will move on to restrict all opposition parties when they feel the time is ripe. Already they have used the



ADLAI STEVENSON

McCarran Act to destroy the July 26th Movement in the United States. The HUAC has attempted to link up the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Socialist Workers Party with the Communist Party with a view towards simply extending the definition of "Communist Party" to these groups.

The aim of the capitalists is to restrict or smash all the workers' parties, including the CP, SWP, and SP. They must be opposed in this endeavor, because once the socialist opposition is destroyed, it will be a very small step to wipe out all opposition in the country.

PEACE? . . . TEST BOMBS

On Feb. 16 and 17 over 7,000 students marched in Washington for peace in general and for no more bomb tests in particular. The invader of Cuba was friendly; he even offered coffee to the pickets on the first day, before the demonstration got big. But two weeks later he announced that the U.S. would resume testing of the horror weapons, thumbing his nose at the demonstrators.

RIGHTS? . . . "COOL OFF"

The Democratic Party's platform for the election was very liberal on the question of civil rights even though Johnson was on the ticket. As is usual with election promises, however, very little has been done to carry out this program, except to tell the Freedom Riders to "cool off." The alliance with Southern reaction is as strong within the Democratic Party as ever, and nothing significant should be expected from the administration on this question.

On Aug. 27, 1961, Freedom Riders who had been demonstrating in Monroe, N.C., were attacked by a mob. That night a white couple was detained two hours in the Negro community, having taken refuge in the home of Robert Williams from the understandable wrath of the Negro people. Robert Williams, president of the NAACP in Monroe, was subsequently charged with kidnapping along with three other Freedom Riders, citizens of Monroe, and Mrs. Mae Mallory. Bobby Kennedy's F.B.I. issued a shoot on sight wanted poster for Williams, but he escaped to Cuba. The other defendants are awaiting trial.

Roosevelt could not save Claude Neal from the lynch mob on the grounds of some technicality, but Kennedy could attempt to get Williams, waiving aside all justice, let alone technicality, with the kidnapping law Roosevelt refused to use. Whether there has

The Democratic Record And Its Causes

The record of the Democratic Party over the last thirty years reads like a horror story. It is a record of lynchings, war, racism, atom bombings, attacks upon labor, witchhunt, and oppression of colonial peoples. Why does this so-called "people's party" have such a miserable record?

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party and carries out the program of capitalism. In order to understand our government and its parties we first have to understand something about the social system that government serves.

MINORITY RULES

One of the myths we have inherited from the New Deal era and mentality is that since Roosevelt there has been a redistribution of the nation's wealth with resulting broader ownership and control of the economy and with a blurring of the class lines. This myth, like the other New Deal myths, has no basis in reality. The top 1.6% of the population owns about 30% of the total wealth of the nation today. The same figures were true in 1928. This 1.6% moreover owns 80% of the corporate stock, more than in 1928.

On the other side of the fence sit the 87% of the population who do not own for a living but who work for a living or are dependent upon those who work. The U.S. Department of Labor claimed that a family of four needed an annual income of \$6,120 in 1959 to maintain a "modest but adequate" standard of living. The median family income in that boom year was \$5400, or \$720 less than a "modest but adequate" budget. One in four families subsisted on less than \$3,000 in 1959 (See *Myth of People's Capitalism*, by Art Preis, Winter 1962 issue of *International Socialist Review*).

There are two fundamental classes in America, the workers and the capitalists. Those who own for a living live off those who work for a living. The tiny minority that owns most of the factories and other means of production is continually piling up the profits that accrue from their gigantic investments. This is the source of their wealth, power, and prestige. The system that places them in this favored position is in every sense their

system. They are determined to preserve it and thereby preserve their "way of life."

NEED TO INVEST

Because of the enormous return on their investments which is pouring into their coffers every hour of every day, the big capitalists are continually looking for places to re-invest their money. Internal investment within the country is already glutted; for example, the steel industry has enough plant and capital goods to produce far more steel than the American economy can use. Consequently there is a great pressure to find investment opportunities.

This pressure has forced the capitalists to look outside the boundaries of their own national states for areas of investment, new markets, and sources of raw materials. Each of the advanced capitalist countries reached this stage of capitalist expansion many decades ago, and the whole world has been divided up between them. The pressures for expansion continue to exist, however, and this has led to the gigantic conflicts between the advanced countries known as the World Wars.

WAR

Since the Second Imperialist War, capitalism as a world system led by the U.S. has been faced with growing power of the Soviet Union and the world socialist revolution, a revolution which is taking more and more of the earth from the capitalist economy. Faced with the need to expand, capitalism exists in a shrinking world. Determined to defend their privileges, the capitalists are attempting to at least halt the spread of revolution, and if possible, reverse the situation where revolutions have already won. That is why capitalism has as its long-term goal the destruction of the Soviet Union. Capitalism as an expansionist system has assumed a permanently warlike character.

CONFORMITY

In the context of the world revolution and of the need to maintain national unity to carry out their imperialist projects, the capitalists demand conformity and unthinking support. They need the witchhunt to suppress all dissident opinion and to whip up the anti-communist war hysteria necessary to win support to their cold and hot wars. Emblaz-

Democratic Party or A Labor Party?

The theory presented by those "socialists" who would have the students join the Democratic Party is that a new "vital" Democratic Party will result from a process of "realignment" within the Party. Remove the Southern racists from the Party, and a few machine politicians, and what will be left is the "liberal-labor block." The character of the party will be thus transformed, and the Party will be an instrument of social change. The students should work within the Party to help achieve this end.

The working class supports the Democratic Party. The theory of realignment begins with this generally true fact and concludes that the problem is therefore to change the Democratic Party by working with the workers where they are. At first sight this appears to be a realistic proposal.

UNDEMOCRATIC

However, the workers in general are not active Democrats working in local Democrat organizations. The Democratic Party is very undemocratic and has very few local meetings except in some areas where "reform" clubs exist. Most of the people in the "reform" clubs are intellectuals and petty bourgeois liberals, not workers. So by being in the Democratic Party one will meet actually very few workers.

LIBERAL IMPERIALISM?

Even granting the argument that workers are active in the Party, the realignment theory has serious drawbacks. The so-called "liberal" Northern Democrats like Stevenson, Humphrey, or Kennedy are imperialists or the direct servants of imperialists. The "liberal" Schlesinger recently visited Canada, trying to get that country to toe the line on Cuba. He co-authored the State Department's White Paper on Cuba. So is the realignment theory a proposal for a labor-imperialist bloc? An apologist for realignment may say here that no, these men and the other well known national figures of the Democratic Party are not liberals, and would have to go too. So now we have to get rid of the Southern racists, the machine politicians, and the imperialists, leaving the labor bureaucracy in control of the Party. What a Utopian conception!

MONEY-POWER

The imperialists are the richest, most powerful men on earth. Kennedy's father, for example, who is an old Hitler supporter, has a fortune of between 200 and 400 million dollars. They own the newspapers, radio and television stations and the companies which advertise on the air. They buy what they want, including their men in their parties. The Democratic Party is owned lock, stock

and barrel by the big capitalists. All important decisions are made without exception at the top behind closed doors by the most powerful.

SAFETY VALVE

They allow the "reform" clubs, up to a certain point; they even like the capitulation of some socialists and the Communist Party; they need the support of the labor movement. *The continued existence of the imperialist system rests upon keeping the working class from taking an independent political road and breaking with capitalist politics.* The Democratic Party is the vehicle for containing the working class, and all the "left" support given to the Democratic Party serves to perpetuate this condition by not showing any alternative.

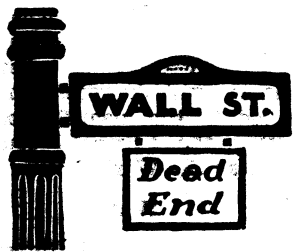
Far from defeating the imperialists, those leftists who join the Democratic Party are used by them. It's like planning to become president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, replacing the Rockefeller interests, by getting a job as teller.

WASTED LIVES

In addition to being stupid, the policy of realignment as it is carried out will have the sole result of wasting the lives of all those who fall for it. They will not obtain their original objectives. They will serve alien objectives, and in all likelihood will gradually become corrupted until they are actual supporters of the imperialist policies. Far from reaching the working class, the realigners will be bypassed by the workers in the coming struggles in America.

GOVERNMENT POSTS?

A variant on the theory of realignment is the idea of worming into posts in the government through the Democratic Party and "influencing" the foreign and domestic policies of the government. The Communist Party had this viewpoint for a while, and actually succeeded in winning posts in the government during their jingoist Second World War phase. The imperialists used them for the duration of the war and



then when the Cold War became the order of the day they unceremoniously kicked them out without even a "thank you" for a job well done. The CP still goes on supporting the Democrats

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Aug. 12: **TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD**—The story of the Russian Revolution, directed by S. Eisenstein; **A Day of the Painter**—short.

even today, while the Democrats are throwing them in jail.

MARK LANE

Many leftists had pinned their hopes on a liberal Assemblyman in New York recently. Mark Lane had taken many liberal positions and had come out against bomb testing. As a Democrat he favored working in that party as the only "realistic" political path. He was tolerated for a while, since he served the useful function of paralyzing a section of the socialist opposition in New York by devoting it to the Democratic Party. But the machine politicians with obvious sanctions from Kennedy, moved into Lane's own local reform club and defeated his bid for nomination to another office.

The rulers of the country cannot be fought by attempting to use their own political machine against them. What is needed is a party capable of truly representing the people, that can be an effective force opposing the Democrats. Such a party would have to have as its base the organized workers, because the workers are the only mass force in society that have no inherent stake in the capitalist system.

WORKERS DISCOUNTED

The people in the new student movement have come to consciousness in the fifties and early sixties, a period during which the working class has been passive. Never having seen the power of the labor movement first hand, the students are inclined to discount the working class and feel that the workers will be forever bound up in capitalist politics.

Part of the reason that the workers are politically tied down is the fact that they are tied into the Democratic Party. Those leftists who advocated supporting the Democratic Party have to bear much of the blame for this situation. The first step for those who seek a change is to reverse this policy and break with capitalist politics. The alternative to capitalist politics must be upheld and brought out into the open as the beginning of the change.

PASSIVITY FOREVER?

The major reason that the working class has been passive lies in the objective situation of the past couple of decades. For the American worker prosperity and slow progress has given him confidence in the system. The post-war prosperity rests upon the imperialist expansion of the American economy all over the "free world" as the result of the second World War, and the gigantic war budget. American overseas investment almost tripled in the decade of the Fifties. As long as profitable investment opportunities were open, as long as capitalism could expand, general prosperity was possible. Although super-exploitation of the colonial workers helped radicalize them, it has also paved the way for concessions and small wage increases to be granted to the U.S. workers out of the super-profits of the imperialists.

STABILITY UPSET

The expansion is coming to a halt. The colonial revolution is so disturbing the colonial countries that they are becoming "unsafe" for investment. The Cuban Revolution has upset Latin America enough so that the *New York Times* reported the whole continent is virtually closed to investment. The reconstruction of

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Western Europe, which had absorbed great quantities of U.S. capital, is completed. In fact, the European countries have once again risen to the point where they are competing with the U.S. for markets and investment opportunities.

BURDEN ON WORKERS

The war budget is no longer able to be as effective an economic buffer under these conditions. Inflation, caused mainly by large war expenditures not fully paid for by taxes, is still a problem and will be a problem with any kind of "pump priming." High taxes cut into the living standards of the workers. The stock market gyrations, rising residual unemployment, and a sick growth rate are the first indications of a more general downturn to come.

Under the conditions of restriction of investment opportunities and increased international competition, the capitalists are turning upon the workers in an attempt to maintain their falling rate of profit. By law (Kennedy-



Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, key man in Kennedy's drive to hold the line on wages and hours.

Landrum-Griffin), at the bargaining table (steel strike), and in the plants themselves (automation) the offensive against labor is on.

UNIONS FIGHT BACK

Automation under capitalism does not mean that the work load for all is lighter. The capitalists automate in order to cut their costs, which means that they automate to fire workers, not to spread the work a little lighter. The unions are faced with decreasing membership and increased unemployment due to automation. In order to defend themselves they have to begin pushing for 30 hours of work for 40 hours of pay, just to keep their members. Those who lose their skilled jobs because of automation generally fall back into more unskilled and unorganized work.

The unions will have to fight to organize the unorganized as a self-defensive measure. But that can't be done without engaging

in a real struggle and violating the provisions of the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bills. A real fight is not going to be carried on by the present labor bureaucracy either, and as in the thirties, radicals will have to lead the coming necessary struggles.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

The next stage of working class action will start from where the thirties left off—with an established union organization. Its first task will be to build its own political arm, a labor party, to fight for decent labor legislation at the very least. Rallying the support of the oppressed minorities will be necessary in order to make the class cohesive and the labor party strong. This will open the way to a real solution of the political problem in the South—the overthrow of the Democratic Party machine. Such a labor party would find that its objectives could not be reached except in the most bitter conflict with the employing class. This conflict will lead to the victory of the working class and the establishment of the new society.

STUDENTS CAN AID

We are in the first stages of increased class conflicts. As yet the initiative is largely on the side of the employers. But the objective situation dictates that the attack upon the workers will continue and increase as the economic situation worsens, and sooner or later the growing objective need for change will find expression in the counter-attack by labor.

The students can aid in this process and help to bring it to fruitful conclusion by preparing now for the struggles that must come. In every student action on peace, civil rights, civil liberties, defense of Cuba, or support of union organizing drives, the issue of the Democratic Party will be posed. Bow to the capitalist party out of fear or ignorance or fight it out of loyalty to the issue. Every election will raise the problem: support to socialist candidates or support to the capitalist parties.

As a section of the student movement fused with young workers, the Young Socialist Alliance calls upon the student movement to break with capitalist politics, to advocate the idea of labor to power, to join in building the socialist society by joining the YSA. For the problems of our day can be boiled down to **socialism or racism, socialism or fascism, socialism or war.**

Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism

The complete text of Castro's sensational speech of March 26 is now available in English.

35 cents a copy

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YSA LOCALS

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BERKELEY-OAKLAND: 1937 1/2 Russell St., Berkeley.

BLOOMINGTON, IND.: P.O. Box 915.

BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.

CHICAGO: c/o Jack Barnes, 1304 Judson, Evanston, Ill.

CLEVELAND: E. V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., Rm. 23.

DENVER: Box 724, Tabor 5-2779.

DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES: 1702 E. 4th St., L.A. AN 9-4953.

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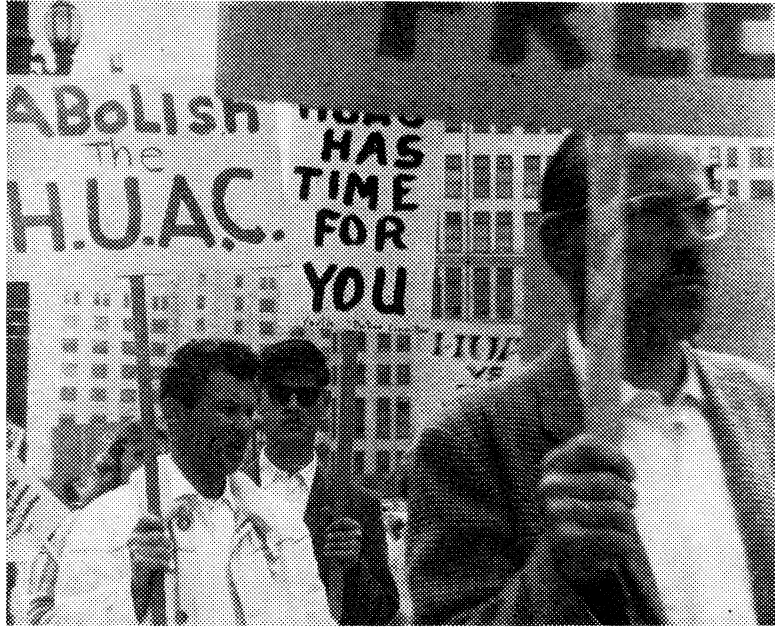
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Where We Stand

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 Marxian 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.



Wendell Phillips (right) joins students in protesting HUAC hearings in Los Angeles on April 24. The committee was given a hot reception by pickets from a number of groups, including the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and an ad hoc group, the HUAC Reception Committee.

Jim-Crow Restaurants Barred by Baltimore Law

BALTIMORE—After months of picketing, sit-ins, and demonstrations, Baltimore Civil Rights fighters were heartened on June 8 when the mayor of Baltimore signed a bill providing for equal accommodations in restaurants, the first such law to penetrate Dixie.

The new law, which prohibits restaurant and hotel owners from denying service to anyone because of race or creed, was patterned after a state-wide bill defeated by the Maryland General Assembly.

NO JIM-CROW CONVENTIONS

The passage of the law came after the local NAACP launched a campaign directed at the profitable convention business, urging organizations to hold no conventions in Baltimore until equal accommodations legislation had been passed. The American Association of University Professors responded by cancelling a convention scheduled for Baltimore and several hundred delegates to the convention of the Child Welfare League refused to attend.

The new law is not without its loopholes and inadequacies; it does not cover bars, cocktail lounges, or restaurants which do 50% or more of their business in liquor sales. In addition, the police department has announced a hands-off policy in regard to the enforcement of the measure. A patron who suffers discrimination must bring his complaint to the Equal Opportunity Commission which can then go to an equity court for enforcement power.

Despite these weaknesses, the law does represent a wedge into the segregationist wall. On the weekend following the signing of the law, Negroes were served without incident in a number of previously segregated establishments. Members of the Baltimore CORE chapter, testing the new ordinance, visited more than a dozen restaurants, none of which refused them service.

EASTERN SHORE

Meanwhile, integration fighters were making plans for continuing their campaign against segregation in Maryland. Freedom Riders from New York and Baltimore were scheduled to hit segregated facilities along route 40 on Maryland's Eastern Shore. This area has been the scene of continued demonstrations (and attacks on freedom riders) for many months.

In Baltimore, Clifton Henry, a leader of the Civic Interest Group, announced plans for "Project: Eastern Shore." In a manner sim-

ilar to the Peace Corps, students have volunteered to spend their time and efforts working with local integration leaders in various communities for an extended period of time.

TRADE UNIONS

The group will concentrate on voter registration and "economic stability." In reference to the latter, Mr. Henry stated, "Unionization would be a first step toward better working conditions and economic progress," and indicated that one facet of the group's work would be to encourage trade union activity among the Negro community, most of whom work in unskilled jobs where employment discrimination is rife.

Sit-ins Highlight Balt. Conference

by Shirley Stoute

A weekend of conferences and demonstrations was held in Baltimore the weekend of May 12 during which restaurants practicing segregation were hit by waves of sit-in demonstrators. The weekend took place under the sponsorship of CORE, CIG (Civic Interest Group), Nonviolent Action Group, and SNCC.

After the workshops we broke up into small integrated groups and tried to get service in various restaurants. The owners would read us the trespass law and call the police to eject us, after which we would picket outside. At one restaurant a number of bouncers looking like extra-heavyweight boxing champions blocked the doorway to keep us from entering.

Later that evening, 200 demonstrators picketed the jail in which a freedom rider, arrested during the demonstrations, was being held. The picketers sang songs of freedom, their voices ringing with determination and militancy, and they meant every word.

POLICE HARASSMENT

Following the demonstrations, a social held at the civic center was broken up when a gang of teen-aged thugs, armed with knives, hoses, and bottles broke the window of a car leaving the party. When the police arrived on the scene, they made a feeble effort to catch the thugs and then concentrated on questioning one of the freedom riders. When Bill Hansen, a student leader, asked: "Why are you questioning him, he's one of us?" the cops

Support Grows For Victim of Calif. Witchhunt

LOS ANGELES—Over 75 academic figures from 17 southern California campuses have become sponsors of the Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee, in response to a letter signed by Dr. Linus Pauling, attorneys A. L. Wirin and Robert W. Kenny, and Profs. John Caughey, Kurt Bergel, and Alfred Nichols. The committee was formed to defend academic freedom and to support the case of Wendell Phillips, a welding instructor who was fired from his job at Fullerton Junior College in the Birchite stronghold of Orange County, Calif.

REFUSED TO INFORM

Phillips was questioned and later fired under California's repressive Dilworth Act after a hearing before the college's School Board. He had answered questions freely, stating that he held past membership in the Communist Party and present membership in the Socialist Workers Party. He had refused, however, to name past or present political associates.

Phillips is appealing the decision and is fighting for re-instatement on the grounds of academic freedom. His next court move will be on Sept. 5, at which time the court will rule on whether or not the School Board was within its legal rights in firing him. Both sides state that they will appeal an unfavorable decision.

MAY SET PRECEDENT

The letter to academic figures, signed by Dr. Pauling and others, states, "While we do not take a position in favor of or against any political point of view, in our opinion the main problem presented by this case is Phillips' position that he should not be compelled to become an informer, even as to persons with whom he may be in political opposition."

The letter concludes, "It is our opinion that this case may result in an outstanding court victory establishing the right not to inform as a significant principle of constitutional law."

The Academic Freedom Committee estimates that it will take from \$7,000 to \$10,000 to carry the case to the California Supreme Court, and is appealing for donations to cover the cost. A complete transcript of Phillips' original hearing, which includes a statement by the American Civil Liberties Union, and a legal analysis of the case by the Oakland firm of Edises, Treuhart, Grossman and Grogan, is available from the committee for a minimum donation of \$3.00. The committee's address: Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee, Box 33176, Los Angeles 33, Calif.

threw him against a wall. As more left the party, other student leaders, while asking people to stay inside to avoid further trouble, were arrested.

About 60 people attended the trials at which the four were accused of being boisterous, causing danger by overflowing onto the sidewalk, using profanity, being called a socialist, saying this is Hitler's country, threatening to pull a fellow freedom rider out of the paddy wagon, and resisting arrest.

The judge noted that the defendants were wearing CORE buttons and said that even though he had no reason to disbelieve the cops, he thought there was something more to the case than just disorderly conduct. The defendants were finally acquitted.

Yevtushenko On Privilege

This poem needs no introduction. It makes its points clearly. We have made our translation from the Soviet literary journal, *Moskva*, where it was published in July 1961. The "honey" of the poem's title is more than the central object of an incident that actually happened. In the end it becomes the symbol of the "sweet life" as a whole which some elements of Soviet society enjoyed even at the height of Hitler's invasion, and which they still enjoy. The "important personage" with rose-painted sleigh personifies everything self-seeking, boot-licking and betrayal-minded of which Yevtushenko warningly spoke in his truly programmatic poem, "Consider me a Communist." A full English translation of this latter poem—despite its importance—is still lacking. We hope to provide one in a future issue.

—Kit Chorney

Honey

by Yevgenii Yevtushenko

I'll tell you a story that's true about honey.

Let it, if need be, offend somebody.

Let someone, sort of, not catch on that he's the one under discussion.

So then,

I'll tell a tale of honey.

In that very year—

in 'forty-one—

in Chistopol,

where everything was famishing and freezing, they set out a barrel on the bazaar snow— a twenty-bucket one!

of honey!

The vendor was of that swinish crew that thrives on others' misery, and misery lined up in a row simple,

and bare, and bitter.

He didn't take in cash,

but in watches,

in lengths of cloth,

or womens' garments

His merchant's hand with load of rings disdained obviously tattered things.

He looked things over close in the light . . .

An elderly artist unwound the cords on his boots

with one hand,

with the other—

held out a bottle.

He watched the honey drain leisuredly, watched stooping over, un murmuring, and with the honey—

that constant valuable—

went off through the snow in patched stockings.

Round about with glassy gazes

wives of soldiers and officers

stood with jars,

with glasses,

stood intently,

without a word.

And a girl in her translucent hand in some sort of strange semi-dream was lugring a teeny liquer glass with a mother's ring at the bottom.

But—

a sleigh came screeching mightily.

On the back of its seat—

painted roses.

And with great brow officiously wrinkling, someone climbed out,

heavy,

massive.

Grand,

ceremonious, as though framed,

with no shade of the slightest pity:

"The barrelful!

I'll pay with carpets.

Give it here like a good fellow!"

The waiting-line stood there, morose, as though not taking part in any way, the ring,

slipped out of the teeny glass,

dropped in the track of the speeding-off sleigh . . .

Year 'forty-one is far off now,

year of retreats and adversities,

but he's alive—

that honey-lover,

and living sweetly to this day

When with measured step he bears his self-assured frame along,

when he's looking at his watch

and stroking his replete mustache,

I recall to mind that year,

I recall the honey there.

That honey then—as on its own—

along those whiskers,

THOSE,

did flow.

Never will he wipe them clean

of honey forever stuck to them.

Book Review

The Nonconformers—Articles of Dissent.

Edited by David Evanier and Stanley Silverzweig. New York: Ballantine Books, 1961.

The range of subject matter covered by the essays in this little book is wide—from the Algerian War to Pacifism—and many of them have something worthwhile to offer. In an America where, as the editors say, "the more serious the writer, the less likely it is that he can be published in a magazine or newspaper with large circulation," their publication cannot help having some effect.

RIGHTS - PEACE

Without a doubt, the most important article of the even thirty in this collection is "Challenge to Negro Leadership" by Julian Mayfield, dealing with the approach to civil rights practiced by Robert Williams until he was forced to flee into exile in Cuba. Mayfield relates the Negro struggle in Monroe, N. C. to the struggle throughout the South, and explains in detail why Williams favors the approach of "meeting violence with violence" or, in other words, self defense when attacked. The conclusion of the article is that eventually Williams and other young men and women like him will become the new leaders of the entire movement because the

"only way to a revolution is to be a revolutionary."

Other articles of value include I. F. Stone's "A Nuclear Warning Disregarded on Pearl Harbor Day" which indicates how frighteningly touchy the world situation can be when the U.S. early warning system reports a Soviet attack that turns out to be "a large earth satellite of whose existence Intelligence had apparently failed to inform them, called the moon."

WEEP FOR ADLAI

However, a number of the articles are of dubious value. An illustration is the article by Murray Kempton (of the *New York Post*) called "The Haunting Presence" in which the author cries a bucketful of tears for Stevenson, the fallen idol of the liberal community.

Indeed, the editors themselves seem to be former followers of Stevenson and to orient themselves toward this particular school of "dissent." "Stevenson has lived to rationalize the actions of an administration whose actions he would have criticized," they write in the introduction. "His former followers will persist in the search." One can only hope that some of these former followers will learn from their experiences and search where the Democratic Party isn't.

—Arthur Maglin

Hospital Strike . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

conscious of a social injustice and interested enough to commit themselves to struggle with the employers.

Large numbers of youth turned out on the picket lines in response to a leaflet issued by an ad hoc committee, the Youth Committee for Justice for Hospital Workers. So far over 200 youth have assisted the strike and have had a significant impact on its progress.

On June 3, while over 500 workers from various unions picketed the hospital, the police, in an obvious attempt to halt youth participation, attacked and beat five of the youth, including the chairman of the youth committee, and then proceeded to arrest them on a number of hastily contrived charges, including 3rd degree assault, disorderly conduct, malicious mischief, and making noises in a hospital zone.

SIT-INS STAGED

Participation continued and grew. On June 5, 24 students, many of whom had been freedom riders, staged a sit-in at the hospital. They issued a statement reading, in part: "The struggle of the Beth El workers and of all voluntary hospital workers to win the same rights that other American workers enjoy — union representation and collective bargaining — is part and parcel of the struggle for civil rights for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority peoples throughout the country . . . The struggle for freedom and for human dignity is universal and indivisible. All who believe in these goals must show by word and deed where they stand in this fight."

They were dragged out of the hospital, arrested, and charged with disorderly conduct.

Since then, two more sit-ins have taken place in which 40 students have been arrested, bringing the total number of arrests during the strike to over 90.

SUPPORT GROWS

As a result of the determination and fighting spirit of the workers

and youth, the Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO has committed itself to support the strike. On June 23, the Council, in a demonstration of labor solidarity, defied the injunction against picketing to hold a mass demonstration of nearly 2,000 at Beth El in support of the hospital workers.

EXTEND STRIKE

While the fight at Beth El goes on, a second hospital, Manhattan Eye and Ear, is now out on strike for union recognition, and the union is considering extending the strike to 11 more hospitals in the N. Y. area.

The significance of this fight goes far beyond these hospitals. These strikes promise to spark an organizing drive that won't be halted until all the non-profit hospitals in the area are organized. Such a struggle could mark the beginning of the organization of New York's most oppressed (and largely unorganized) strata of workers — Negro and Puerto Rican labor in low-paying industries.

The consequences of such a drive for those who reap enormous profits from that labor are obvious. This could help explain why the hospital trustees have been so brutal in their dealings with the union. It could also indicate why, when hired detectives, imported scabs, police brutalities, injunctions, and jailings are being used to break a strike in the "union town" of New York, the city's "pro-labor" Democratic Party machine remains thus far conspicuously silent.

"They Didn't Work"

Dr. Edward B. Fall, author of several books on Indochina, on U.S. action in Vietnam: "Everything being done at this moment is a repetition of what the French tried and failed. [Strategic hamlets] were invented in 1951 by [French] Gen. Linares, who called them 'protected villages.' They didn't work."

Liberties on Campus . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

ing, arranged an off-campus meeting which was attended by 70 students.

BACKYARD MEETING

A similar situation occurred at MSU when the Young Socialist Club invited Robert Thompson, lecturer for the Communist Party, to speak on "The Communist Party, its Philosophy, Aims and Tactics in the U.S."

After attempts to get the club to call off the meeting failed, President Hannah arbitrarily cancelled it. The action brought forth protests from students and faculty, and Thompson spoke to an audience of some 1,000 in the backyard of a fraternity house.

I.U. RECOGNITION FIGHT

At Indiana University, another Midwest Big Ten school, a free speech struggle was begun this spring. This was not over speaker policy but the related question of campus recognition.

In April, a group of students applied for campus recognition for the Young Socialist Alliance at IU. The recognition of groups has been a thorny issue for years around IU, ever since the Civil Liberties Union won the right to operate on campus over American Legion cries of "Communism." Last year's great furor over recognizing the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was the most recent victory. The main argument brought to bear in denying recognition to the YSA at IU was that the YSA supposedly "duplicated the function of the already recognized campus group, the YPSL."

The administration delegated

the decision over recognition to the student Senate where, due to the paternal influence of a letter from an administration representative, it was defeated, 16—6.

On the question of "duplication" YSAers argued that a n educated person knew that there were many varieties of socialism, just as there are many varieties of capitalist groups, from guilty liberals to financiers of fascism. The YPSL group at IU concurred in this view and wrote a statement that in their opinion the two socialist groups did not overlap but were separate. The YPSL statement aroused the previously silent student body president, a liberal, to vote for YSA recognition in the higher administrative body to which an appeal was directed.

This appeal was also voted down. YSAers at IU plan to continue their struggle for campus recognition. They have the support of ACLU and look to liberal student and faculty backing in the fight. Ultimate recourse to

the courts is also considered.

At stake is not only that revolutionary socialism should get an equal hearing at Indiana University, but that any group of students, whatever their views, would have the right to participate on an equal, non-discriminatory basis in an organized way in the intellectual and political life of the campus.

KENNEDY NO HELP

Kennedy's enforcement of the McCarran Act has helped create an atmosphere detrimental to academic freedom. It has encouraged administrations to hamper campus political activity which they consider 'subversive' and to pamper ultra-right activities on campus, because of the super-patriots' devoted "anticommunism."

Students who wish to fight HUAC and the witchhunt can expect no help from the "liberal" (imperialist) party which Kennedy heads. The first commitment of capitalist politics today is to maintain imperialist posts around the world. Free speech, etc., must be subordinated to imperialist policy.

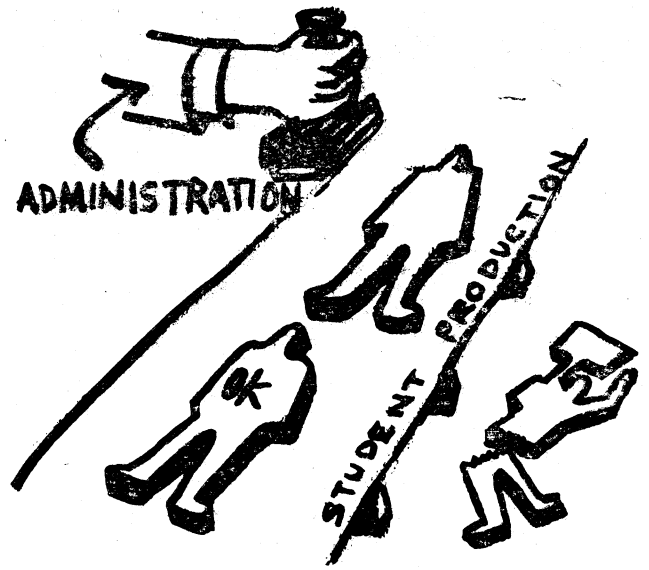
UNITE AGAINST ATTACKS

So in their fight against thought control students must rely on themselves and any allies they can find outside the establishment. Unity against red-baiting in any form will be one powerful weapon against the witchhunt. Another will be the constant and determined effort to get proscribed ideas before the campus, constantly challenging authority to live up to the gaudy claims of the "free world."

Real freedom of inquiry, freedom to hear all ideas, is of tremendous urgency nowadays. As the American Association of University Professors at Ohio State wrote their President, "our students are concerned about the issues which trouble our society as no past generation has been. They share with every thoughtful person the haunting fear that our society will destroy itself before their lives are well begun. We cannot deny them the right to explore every possible way in which a democratic society might escape from that horror."

Students cannot let themselves be fenced off from any proposed alternatives to the present crisis. They especially must demand a hearing for the ideas of revolutionary socialism, because these will prove to be the only workable guide for humanity to save itself.

A Virginia education official on the teaching of Communism in the schools, as quoted in the *New York Times*: "Students come to class with some poorly grounded, preconceived clichés about the Communist system. They are not prepared to handle economic theories. Marxism-Leninism stops them cold."



—reprinted from Free Speech

War in Asia . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

can't expect termination of a war—and it is a war—in a matter of months," said Secretary of Defense McNamara on July 7. "It will be years before it is concluded and I believe it will be concluded successfully."

It is not that these small countries are particularly valuable in themselves. U.S. investment is comparatively small; the countries have no industrial strength, their main products being rice and food, in addition to some rubber. The June 16 *Wall Street Journal* assured its readers that even if these assets were lost, the situation would not be critical.

AIMED AT CHINA

What is at issue for the U.S. however, is a question of strategy against growing world revolution. S.E. Asia has much in common in its history with China, where the anti-imperialist struggle after WW II developed into a revolution which overthrew capitalism. The revolution in S.E. Asia, however, established independence from direct foreign rule, but has not yet succeeded in overthrowing foreign economic domination. The U.S. needs to maintain its control over these countries in order to contain the revolution in Asia, isolate the Chinese revolution, and

secure territory for bases around China in hopes of eventually recapturing that country.

SLAUGHTER PEASANTS

The July 8 *N.Y. Times* indicated what kind of a war is being waged to accomplish these aims in Vietnam: ". . . It is often difficult to ascertain whether the people killed by napalm or fragmentation bombs were guerillas or merely farmers." In other words, U.S. and South Vietnam troops are following the simple method of slaughtering everybody in sight.

In the countryside the peasants are being rounded up into "strategic hamlets" — concentration camps—where they live behind barbed wire enclosures under armed guard. The purpose of these camps is to isolate the guerillas from their base of support, the peasantry, and allow the government to keep the peasants themselves under their close control.

YOUTH MUST PROTEST

Information about this vicious war which the U.S. is conducting is being withheld from the American people while the Kennedy regime involves the U.S. more and more in steps which could lead directly to World War III. Under these conditions it is imperative that everyone interested in peace and justice vigorously protest this war and demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. The various peace groups, with a few exceptions, have been unfortunately silent about this war which is actually being waged right now. If the youth who are interested in stopping war are to be effective, they must take the initiative in calling for an end to every particular war, including the war in South East Asia.

A Christian Science Monitor

reporter asked Lai The Cuong, director of a "strategic hamlet" in Vietnam, what had been the greatest difficulty he faced in building the enclosure. "Getting the people to come inside to live," he answered. "We used three battalions of troops to sweep through here and relocate these villagers."