

YOUNG SOCIALIST

Vol. 6, No. 8 (56)

October, 1963

Price 10c

Arrest Negro YSA Member in Assault By Mounted Cops

When several hundred demonstrators sat down in front of New York's 35th St. police station to demand the release of a co-demonstrator unfairly arrested earlier, they did not expect to be attacked, for the second time that day, by mounted police.

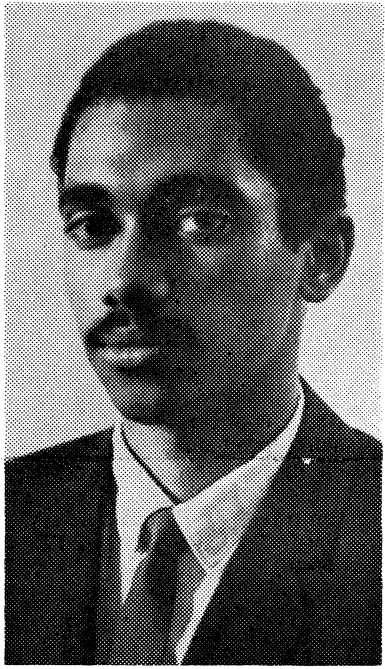
In the chaos that followed, two were arrested, one of whom, Thadd Beebe — a member of the Young Socialist Alliance — was beaten, handcuffed, and charged with assaulting an officer. (See article on U.N. Demonstrations, page 2.)

Beebe, a 19-year-old guitarist and accompanist to folk singer Jimmy McDonald, had tried to get out of the horses' way up the street, like everyone else. Turning around, however, he saw a friend being pushed down the street by four cops. As he reached out to help him keep his footing, the cops jumped Thadd, hit him in the stomach, wrenched his arms behind his back, and handcuffed him.

A "Hootenanny," starring Dave Van Ronk, Danny Kalb, and Barry Kornfeld, was held by the Y.S.A. Saturday Sept. 28 to collect funds for Beebe's legal defense.

In the course of a meeting at Town Hall in memorial to the six Birmingham children murdered by racist bombers — held the same night of the arrests — author John O. Killens, the chairman, announced the receipt of a telegram from Mayor Robert Wagner, A man in the audience shouted, "We got his telegram this afternoon when his horsemen rode us down."

"Thank you," said Killens and put the telegram aside.



Thadd Beebe

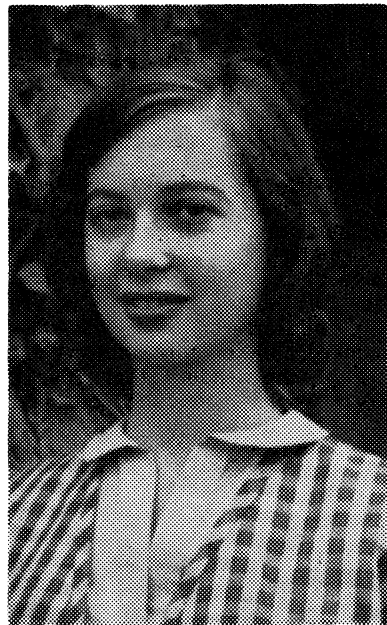
Defense Mounts Across Nation For I. U. Students

by R. Levine

Nation-wide support for the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has begun to blossom: teachers, writers, professors, civil rights leaders, civil libertarians, student newspaper editorialists and hundreds of student rank-and-filers have expressed their sympathy and offered their sponsorship for the committee that "unconditionally defends" the rights of the three Indiana University students reindicted on July 18 under Indiana's 1951 "Exterminate Communism" Act.

Ralph Levitt, 25, James Bingham, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22 face possible terms of three years imprisonment on each of two counts: they are charged with assembling on March 25 and May 2 for the purpose of "advocating and teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States and the State of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence, and any unlawful means."

The first count is based upon the attendance of the three officers of the I.U. chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance at a talk given by Leroy McRae, a Negro and a National officer of the YSA, on March 25. McRae asserted that Negroes have the right to defend themselves from violent racist attack. The second count concerns a



PAULANN GRONINGER, General Secretary, Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

May 2 meeting where the defendants met with some fellow students to discuss . . . their defense!

Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley, newly elected by a narrow margin

(Continued on Page 2)



INSIDE HUAC. Washington cops, under order from HUAC Chairman Willis (D., Louisiana), attack and eject student observers of HUAC inquisition of Cuba travelers.

Police Beat Students At HUAC Witchhunt

By Jay Garnett

The rising temper of the black revolt is not the only indication in this country of the deepening of the world struggle between the privileged classes and the mass of the people. That struggle, reflected as a struggle of ideas, has found its way to the student youth, and they too become impelled to take sides.

But what if, in order to form their opinions, they choose to visit a concrete source of ideas which has been declared "off limits" by guardians of official ideology?

The trip to Cuba and its aftermath showed that they would run right up against the Kennedy administration, the Dixie congressmen who run the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and the brutal police apparatus, not accidentally the same elements that Negro freedom fighters have had to come to grip with.

Kennedy made it clear in his Aug. 1 press conference that since the students, "some" of whom are "Communists," had not shown "concern for the security and foreign policy of the U.S.," their passports would be lifted, "which may discourage travel for a period." On the basis of POLICY, not law. What he told the House Un-American Activities Committee privately is not known.

Subpoenaed

What is known is that shortly after the students' return, HUAC subpoenaed several of them for questioning, claiming it wanted to determine whether tighter laws were needed to restrict travel in the national interest, and a Federal Grand Jury in New York began its investigation of the trip.

Early in the morning of September 12, students from all over the east coast trickled into Washington D.C. to attend the committee hearing, many out of sympathy for the Cuba travelers and all out of curiosity.

The first person called by HUAC to testify was Barry Hoffman, Boston realtor and an undercover agent on the trip. He very obligingly gave the committee the names and activities of the people who played leading roles in the Student Committee for

Travel to Cuba. He spoke at great length, with HUAC's complete attention when he felt he had to elaborate on the "un-American-ness" of the Student Committee.

Uniformed policemen lined the walls, the members of the American Nazi Party in the room took out their swastikas, and cameras and went up and down the rows snapping everyone.

In the afternoon, after HUAC chairman Louisiana Rep. Edwin Willis — other HUAC leaders hail from Prince Edward County, Va., and Texas — found himself unable to coax the student witnesses to testify in executive session, the hearing was reopened to the public.

When Levi Laub, one of the leaders of the Student Committee and first witness called, was asked if he didn't know he was breaking the law by going to Cuba, he explained that there was no such law, but only a State Department public notice which requested that American citizens not go to Cuba and "several other countries the

(Continued on Page 2)

As we go to press four New York City students have been indicted for conspiring to violate "United States travel laws" in organizing and participating in the recent Cuba trip which about 60 students made this summer. Three of the four face a possible 15 years imprisonment and \$20 thousand fines; the fourth, who participated only in organizing an unsuccessful trip last December, faces 5 years and \$10 thousand.

U.S. Attorney Joseph Hoey, who requested the indictment from a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn, said the Government bases its charge on Sec. 1185 of the Immigration Laws which authorize "travel restrictions in time of war or national emergency." Hoey made the unlikely claim that a "national emergency" is in effect regarding Cuba.

Besides fighting the lies of Hoadley and HUAC, supporters of civil liberties must turn their fire to those of Hoey.

Eye-witness Tells Story

By Toni Turner

When the seriousness of HUAC's investigation of the students who went on the Cuba trip became apparent, youth from all over the East coast flocked to Washington, D.C., to protest. The following was written by a participant in this protest on September 13.

When the students appealed to other American youth to protest HUAC's investigation, I piled on a bus in New York City along with other kids who thought it was time to protect our right to freedom of travel. We had better start now, I felt, because otherwise, we might end up in a few years not being able to leave this country, if countries going through a revolution are taboo.

Our bus had students with vary-

ing political views, but we all agreed that going to Cuba was an education and that an attack on one American who travels to find the truth is an attack on all who seek the truth. As we entered the city of Washington, we were quite shocked to realize that the great white slabs of marble where the laws are made are surrounded by a monstrous ghetto where America imprisons its black people — after a few moments of thought it did fit in, however.

The newsmen snapped our pictures as we left the bus to enter the House Office Building, but inside also men with unlabeled cameras carefully photographed each one of us for the secret pin-

(Continued on Page 2)

... Defense Grows

(Continued from Page 1)

gin, whose "interest" in the YSA stems from an anti-blockade picket which YSAers participated in during the Cuba crisis last year, has openly stated that his purpose was not the conviction of the students, but "the removal of the Young Socialist Alliance from the campus." Since the students have refused to be intimidated, Hoadley has sought to imprison them along with their ideas.

New Republic writers Murray Kempton, and Jay Neugeboren, who has written on the Bloomington case in that magazine's Sept. 21 issue, have come out in support of the defendants. On the sponsors list of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students are Harvard professors H. Stuart Hughes and Mark DeWolfe Howe, Brandeis professors Ray Ginger and Gordon Sato, UCLA professor Keith Berwick and University of Minnesota professor Mulford Q. Sibley.

Sponsors

Noted pacifist A. J. Muste and Detroit civil rights leader Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., have also agreed to be CABS sponsors.

Articles on the case have appeared in British and Canadian papers and favorable editorials have written in several American papers.

Late in August, the National Student Association considered the Bloomington case and passed a resolution condemning Hoadley's action "in violation of the principles of academic freedom which specify the rights of all students to represent their own political

views, no matter how controversial, through student groups and as part of the process of free inquiry . . ."

Organizationally, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has planted its feet on the ground. Student supporters have been and are working to set up local chapters on colleges and universities across the country. On the Indiana University campus itself, the original CABS chapter has been fighting the witchhunt at its source and is winning sympathy and support from I.U. students and faculty.

Funds

Public meetings, benefits, and concerts have been and are being arranged in cities and on campuses from coast-to-coast to raise funds for defense work.

At a public meeting in Chicago a Muslim, a Nationalist, a SNCC field secretary, and a YSAer discussed their common struggles in a talk entitled "The March on Washington — What Next?" Proceeds went to support the defense cases of the Los Angeles Muslims, the SNCC workers who face the death penalty in Americus, Ga., and the Bloomington defendants.

C.A.B.S. needs money for the defense. Two of the defendants plan a forthcoming coast-to-coast tour to speak on their case. Any student or non-student wishing to hold a meeting for one of the defendants, to give financial or moral support, or just to receive further information on the case, is urged to write to The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213 Cooper Sta., New York 3.

... HUAC Witchhunt

(Continued from Page 1)

State Dept. did not wish people to see."

Annoyed by the applause that this information drew from the audience, Willis put the students present on notice that they were "guests" of the HUAC and that "further demonstrations" would "not be tolerated."

Asked to inform on others concerned with the trip, Laub refused to duplicate the feat of "that rat Hoffman." Again the students applauded. At Willis' nod plainclothed House employees and several police grabbed six students and forcibly ejected them.

"Disobedience"

Late in the afternoon Laub, still on the stand, made the statement that he was acting in the traditional American method of civil disobedience, as practiced by Thoreau, and as was being practiced by hundreds of Americans in the south against the same racists who sat on the House Committee. In the midst of applause for the witness, Willis banged the gavel and dismissed Laub.

The cry "Racist Go Home!" found echoes in the room and then a young man yelled "There is more freedom in Cuba than in Louisiana." Suddenly he was no longer visible; six cops jumped on him, beating and kicking and dragging him and several others from the room. Bob Zellner, former SNCC field secretary who was there, said such brutality paralleled that common in Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia.

The only students able to get into the hearing on the morning of Sept. 13 were those that came before the cops.

At a noon meeting of the Student Committee and their sympathizers outside the House Office Building, one speaker said of the cops, "The police, you know, are supposed to be neutral; they hit you with neutral blackjacks."

He pointed out that the president himself had given HUAC the green light by his press conference

statements. "This is the first time the vast majority of the government apparatus has lined up openly against students." Why? It's afraid of what these students have to say.

For the afternoon hearing the cops let in the Nazis, house employees, and friends of the committee before allowing a few students in, screening out even then the Negroes, the beards, and people they remembered from the day before.

Wendie Suzuko Nakashima, like the others questioned, a participant in the Cuba trip, was baited by the Committee for her participation in the Helsinki Festival and in the refusal by the Student Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy to take shelter at City College of New York in a May 1960 civil defense drill! Against the objection of Miss Nakashima's lawyer, the HUAC counsel replied, "This evidence leads us to believe Miss Nakashima is a Communist."

Had she worked with Communists while in Cuba in the summer of 1960? HUAC asked. She replied that she had worked with ordinary Cubans in the literacy campaign, but hadn't inquired as to . . . "I know," the HUAC inquisitor said, "but it's part of our jurisdiction."

Problem

"Yes, that's the problem." When the second witness that afternoon was asked if she was a member of a Progressive Labor student club, she answered, "I am, because I believe that socialism is the only way to end racism and because under socialism we will have congressmen that are truly representative."

Clapping broke out from the students. Willis banged the gavel and pointed. Mobbled by a half dozen cops, a group locked arms and tried to cling to their seats. A second cop contingent swept in. They were dragged out, one by a full nelson around his neck, with other cops twisting his arms and legs.

Shortly after that, the hearings were declared adjourned.

... Report

(Continued from Page 1)

ky files. We paraded into that building not afraid of anything and ready to practice our right to attend a public hearing.

A few of us got in but most of us were forced to remain outside while inside there were empty seats. Since Rockwell and his boys could get in, I began to think that maybe you have to be a Nazi to get any democracy in this country.

Those of us not allowed in went to the office of HUAC to demand an explanation, but HUAC's answer man had none: "all matters" had been put into the hands of the police.

You get a pretty rotten feeling when you're within the walls of a police state, sort of 1984 come real. While Big Brother watched, we held a sit-in: nobody paid any attention to us quietly sitting there except when a cop felt like pushing some student against the wall.

In the afternoon we lined up to enter the hall but only entered the arms of the Washington police. The silence of the line was broken when the first girl was dragged away by four cops twisting her arms and punching her back. She kept telling them "I'll walk out peacefully," but — I guess they liked her cries of pain too much — they could not understand. After this, every kid was brutally dragged, pushed, and beaten out of the building if he could not pass for a tourist.

Heave-Ho

The subhuman animals called cops threw us down steps, then ran to pick us up to beat us as they carried us to the next flight of stairs. At the last flight they gave a tremendous heave-ho and hurried to meet us with the kicks of their scummy feet. We were thrown out time after time only to return to try to get past these monsters to exercise our right to attend a public hearing.

We kept shouting as they beat us: "The Nazis are in there, why not Americans?" "Is this America or Hitler Germany?" "America is a police state!" "Fascist racist cops."

I heard the screams of a girl and ran to the steps, where one of my friends had landed tossed by the cops. He was enraged beyond control as he looked behind him to see the Negro girl thrown out with him being picked up and dropped in the same place over and over again. Eleven cops kicked her while one held his foot on her stomach.

My friend could not be held back. When he leaped into their midst, I tried to drag the girl away. I had to drag her down 80 steps to get her free from her brutal attackers. Maybe this sounds rough on my part, but she could not stand and I was so badly beaten myself that I was unable to hold her up.

It took her half an hour to get out of the hysterical state she was in; her face was red, her clothes ripped, her shoes off. She had received a chipped rib, two bruised ribs, and a wrenched arm.

It wasn't comfortable returning bruised on the bus, but we sang to forget our injuries; we sang every protest song we knew and even taught each other some new ones. We knew the papers said that we had attacked the police and called us barefoot Cubaniks.

The American press lies powerfully but they can't overcome us as long as we keep up our fight for our rights; for we have truth on our side and they only a decayed facade waiting for the dirt to be thrown on its grave.

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Young Socialist

Jay Garnett, Editor

"A World to Win!"



SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year. Bundle rate: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly. P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York 3, New York. Phone GR 7-3640. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

Official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance

Vol. 6, No. 8 (56)



October, 1963

One Line at UN Against Racists

By T. Jervais

A picket-line protest of the brutal Birmingham murders of six Negro children was held in front of the U.N. when Kennedy spoke on Friday, Sept. 20. The line upheld non-exclusion of organizations and posters, in marked contrast to a demonstration on the same issue the previous Tuesday, which was marred by the machinations of white-liberal members of Students for a Democratic Society, who had appointed themselves censors and banned signs such as "Arm Birmingham Negroes for Self-Defense."

Several youth groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, Advance, Progressive Labor Youth, Core, and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee gathered to protest the man, who is to blame by virtue of his default on sending Federal marshals or troops to disarm the Alabama racists, lest it offend lily-white opinion.

Recalcitrants, apparently feeling uneasy at the signs carried and the line advocated by the Socialist Workers Party — which called for the picket at 9 a.m. and whose candidate for Brooklyn Councilman-at-large, Clifton DeBerry, has called for the arming and deputizing of Birmingham Negroes by the Federal Government — were constrained upon to join the line by the united cry of "One line against the racists!"

At about noon horsed policemen turned back a contingent that spontaneously left the picketing to demonstrate in front of the U.S. mission to the U.N. Running their horses into the line without provocation, the cops injured some and arrested Willie Blackmon. The demonstrators, having expected no trouble from the cops, were nonetheless angered by their disregard for the dignity of a protest.

Again, 300-strong the demonstrators marched first to one police station, where they had been told the person arrested was being held, then on finding that this information was at least no longer correct, to a second, whereupon they sat down.

In mid-afternoon it was announced to the demonstrators by one of the leaders that Blackmon would soon be out on bond and it was suggested that a committee made up of the groups present be delegated to try to obtain an apology from the City Police Dept. The gathering was about to break up when about a dozen armed cops on horseback rode right into the area where they were sitting.

Dividing the demonstrators into two groups and driving them around corners in opposite directions, they left no doubt, as one victim said later that day, that "these cops have been given the green light to do about anything they want to civil rights demonstrators." Going after people with their billy clubs, and swinging their horses' flanks so as to throw people against the walls, the cops

cleared the street in front of the 15th Precinct Station.

Two were arrested, Thadd Beebe, a YSA member, and Calvin Hicks. All those arrested that day were Negroes, who formed a numerical minority of the demonstrators.

The previous Tuesday 300 demonstrators had marched before the U.N. building carrying such signs as "Let the U.N. investigate Alabama Apartheid," "U.N. protection for Birmingham Negroes," and "March on Alabama Now."

At a rally held on the spot, Pratheia Hall, a SNCC field secretary working in southwest Georgia, emphasized that racist terror has increased since the beginning of the sit-ins in 1960:

"We have tried the program of non-violence. But we would be derelict in our duty if we didn't tell you people are getting tired of seeing pregnant women being beaten in the streets, of knowing that their children may be the next murdered by racists . . . We are tired. But our job is still to cry 'Help'."

Iran Youth Denounce 'Elections'

NEW YORK — The greater New York section of the Iranian Students Association protested the so-called "free" elections held by the Shah of Iran September 17 with a line of demonstrators before the United Nations building.

Iran's elections were held under martial law, where all meetings except those approved by the military governor are forbidden, where the press is totally controlled by the regime of the Shah, where all those opponents of the regime's curtailing of constitutional law are imprisoned or held incommunicado, including distinguished professors and former Ministers and Deputies of the Parliament. Nine prominent leaders of the National Front will be tried by military court and face the imposition of the death penalty without the benefit even of a public hearing.

The Iranian youth demanded the removal of the charges against their national leaders; their release; and the restoration of constitutional freedoms. Finally, they demanded a genuinely free election.

Ever since the overthrow in 1951 of Dr. Muhammed Mossadegh's constitutionally elected parliament by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and the reinstatement of the Shah's power when Mossadegh threatened to nationalize the properties of the oil monopolies in Iran, these students have been in the forefront of the battle against the dictatorship of imperialism's local strongman.

Is USSR Capitalist Or Workers' State?

New York, N. Y.

To the Editor,

Contrary to the Y.S.A.'s recent stand on the Soviet Union, it is impossible for the Marxist to see anything "progressive" in present day Stalinism. The U.S.S.R. incorporates and intensifies all the notorious characteristics of modern capitalism without any of its better features — namely the presence of freedom, albeit restricted and continually endangered freedom. This is because the Soviet Union is neither a workers' state nor "basically a workers' state" nor anything but a state managerialism very similar in form to mature fascism; i.e. a more brutal form of monopoly capitalism.

A planned economy is not ipso facto "progressive" as all modern managerialist or monopoly capitalist economies are planned. What is important is not that there is planning but in whose interest the planning is done. To be more specific the crucial factor is the relationship of the masses to the means of production. In the United States a small ruling "power" elite owns directly the means of production and consequently the planning is done in the interests of this elite. In the U.S.S.R. an even smaller homogeneous elite controls the means of production through the state apparatus and, again the planning is done in the interests of the controlling elite. What makes one system more "progressive" than the other? Nationalization is obviously not sufficient for either socialism or a progressive society. In the West it has merely meant the transference of the exploitation of labor from a corporate to a government bureaucracy. In the U.S.S.R. it has meant precisely the same thing.

Efficacy

If the planned economy is not socialism, if nationalization is not socialism, if Stakhanovism is not socialism, what can you mean by "The Soviet economy . . . has proved the efficacy of socialist methods"? Socialism has nothing in common with methods of industrialization but is the culmination of the highest possible development of the means of production under capitalism. Capitalism or state capitalism can industrialize but socialism cannot coexist with industrial backwardness or a predominantly peasant economy. The Soviet Union's success, economically speaking, can be attributed to the intensified use of most of the capitalist methods of primitive accumulation of capital. But the Soviet Union has failed miserably in any effort to create a new society. It is a caricature of capitalist society and precisely because it is merely a more brutal form of class dictatorship.

In summary, any theoretical support of the Russian Revolution is fine (if meaningless) but any praise of its perversion under Stalin and Khrushchev (and even somewhat under Lenin and Trotsky) is not socialism or Marxism. Of course, the causes of this perversion are found in the failure of the German Revolution, Russia's isolation, backwardness, etc. Nevertheless, from Trotsky's brutal suppression of the Kronstadt revolt to Khrushchev's still more brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, the Soviet Union has represented a reactionary influence in world affairs, has been a counterrevolutionary power. If the Y.S.A. does not recognize this reality, it will happily applaud a new imperialist division of the world, assured that one half of it belongs to the "progressive socialist camp."

Mark Shafer

New York, N. Y.

Mark Shafer says "Contrary to the Y.S.A.'s recent stand on the Soviet Union, it is impossible for the Marxist to see anything 'progressive' in present day Stalinism." Contrary to what Shafer claims to be the position of the YSA, we find it impossible to discover anything progressive in Stalinism not only in the present but any other time.

Another point of misunderstanding is over the question of whether the Soviet Union has achieved "socialism." The YSA holds that the Soviet Union is a workers state, in between capitalism and socialism, and believes that the Soviet Union has a long way to go to become socialist — i.e. reaches that stage where the state begins to wither away.

Our differences with Shafer and others, like the YPSL, who believe the Soviet system to be some form of "monopoly capitalism" or "bureaucratic collectivism" are not over whether Stalinism is reactionary — we all agree on that. The differences lie in different evaluations of the Soviet state as a whole, and over the meaning of Stalinism on a world historical scale.

Progressive

The YSA does see progressive aspects of Soviet society — but Stalinism is not among those progressive aspects. Where Shafer sees an identity between the Soviet system and Stalinism, we see contradiction and conflict.

Stalinism cannot be understood if it is considered as a static phenomenon. Like all social reality, it can only be grasped as an historical process produced by the ebb and flow of class forces.

The proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky, established the most democratic state and the most honest, selfless regime in the history of man to date. The system which became known by Stalin's name took root and deformed the first workers state in spite of and against the proletarian revolution in whose name it usurped power.

The bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin was able to form and to consolidate its power under the peculiar economic and political conditions the young workers state found itself in during the 1920's. The October Revolution inherited all the economic backwardness of Tzarist Russia including the ruin of the first World War. The long bitter years of the civil war, fought against the "united front" of the Whites, the imperialists, and anti-Soviet "socialists," physically destroyed the cream of the revolutionary workers.

By 1922, the country and proletariat were exhausted and starving. Many died from hunger, and many more went without shoes, clothing, and housing.

In Germany and Italy the revolution was defeated, thanks to the leadership of the parties of the Second International. These

"socialist" parties, who today hold theories similar to Shafer's on the Soviet Union, proved that they loved the capitalist version of "democracy" better than the workers' revolution, and fought against it arms in hand in defense of capitalism.

The failure of the revolution to spread meant that the young Soviet republic was isolated and could expect no help from the advanced countries. Under these conditions of isolation and extreme scarcity, the struggle of man against man for the necessities of life again reasserted itself with considerable force, in spite of the transformations in property relations carried out by the revolution.

The bureaucracy grew up under the guise of arbiter of conflicts and distributor of goods — and like any cop made sure that it received its share. The bureaucracy's share became larger as the bureaucracy's power over distribution became larger, and it soon constituted a group separate and apart from the workers, with interests separate from and opposed to them.

In order to place itself in this position of prestige, privilege, and power the bureaucracy had to destroy the organs of workers' power, the Soviets (workers' councils), and the Bolshevik Party. By 1938 only two members of Lenin's 1917 Central Committee survived the terror — Stalin and the exile Trotsky, who was finally silenced by the pick-axe of Stalin's henchman in 1940. Stalin's techniques of maintaining power were those of the blackest reaction, and are comparable to Hitler's — the lie, the machine gun and the knout. His rule was marked by the slave labor camp and the political frame-up.

The political counter-revolution carried out by the bureaucracy reflected itself in international politics. The conservative caste, interested only in maintaining its own power, tried (and is still trying) to make a deal with world capitalism, to trade revolution in the West for the right to be left alone by the imperialists.

While the imperialists have not kept their side of the deal, the Stalinist regime, through its control over the Communist Parties of the world, kept its side. The result of the Stalinist policy of betrayal of revolutions meant the continued isolation of the Soviet Union with the resultant strengthening of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Counter-revolution

All Stalinists of every variety either deny the historical facts of the political counter-revolution which took place under Stalin's leadership, or believe that such facts should be covered up in the interests of defending the Soviet Union. Such thinking has nothing in common with Marxism, which faces the facts squarely in the firm belief that without the truth the workers cannot win. At the same time Marxism demands that the facts be squarely faced — not one's emotional response to evil and ugly crimes.

The facts of the Stalinist counter-revolution are that it was not able to wrest from the workers the essential economic gains of the revolution, the expropriation of the capitalist class, the development of the economy on a planned basis under social ownership, and the monopoly of foreign trade which kept the imperialists out.

The importance of political structure should not be minimized, but the political structure is secondary to the economic foundations of a society. Capitalism itself has produced many different political systems at different times and places — representative democracy, military dictatorship, one



TROTSKY, LENIN, KAMENEV. Bolshevik leaders confer during early years of Soviet Republic.

party rule, fascism, monarchy, etc. Under many different political conditions from Napoleon to Kennedy capitalism has remained capitalism because the economic foundations have remained capitalist.

The economic foundations of the Soviet state remain as they were established by the October Revolution, based upon workers property relations. It is this fundamental economic criteria which determines the class character of the Soviet state as a workers state, deformed by the bureaucracy.

The Soviet economy, although distorted by the bureaucracy and sapped by it, is progressive. In spite of the horrible bureaucratic waste of the forced collectivization, in spite of the ravage of the Nazi invasion, in spite of the backwardness and isolation, the Soviet Union built up itself into the second industrial power of the world, in forty years. No backward country has or can come anywhere near this spectacular achievement under capitalist relations.

Credit

Those who see the Soviet economy not as a bureaucratic distortion of a workers' economy, but as belonging to the bureaucrats, must give the credit for the tremendous economic progress to that bureaucracy. The Stalinists and the right-wing socialists agree on this point — that Stalinism is the Soviet Union, and that the great achievements of the Soviet economy are due to Stalinism. The Stalinists applaud "dictatorship" as necessary, and the right-wing socialists deplore such "means." Both are wrong in their premise.

The Soviet economy did not develop because of the methods of Stalinism, but in spite of them. At every turn the plan is thwarted and subverted by bureaucrats who fake statistics in the interest of their own factory or department, who steal part of the product to sell on the black market, and who are more interested in making sure they get their pie than in the functioning of the economy.

More waste is introduced by the fact that the workers, who know the factories and machines best, are not consulted in the carrying out of the plan. Since the workers do not have a say in the formulation of the plan, their interests as consumers are only secondarily taken into account — secondary to the interests of the bureaucrats. The non-participation of the workers in the plan of production and distribution means that they do not identify with the production process, and consequently develop the same attitudes of hostility towards the machines and their work as exist in the capitalist countries.

The more modern the economy becomes, the greater the waste and inefficiency introduced by the bureaucracy. Technology demands industrial democracy and the intelligent participation by the workers in the formulation of the plan and administration of production.

The Soviet economy was created by the workers in 1917 through revolutionary struggle, and defended by them in the civil war and the Second World War. It was the workers who built and developed their economy in spite of the bureaucracy, and who proved under the worst conditions that the "socialist methods" of planned economy under social ownership are superior to capitalism. And it will be the workers who will defend their economy by kicking out the bureaucrats like the Hungarian workers did in 1956.

Both Shafer (and others who think like him) and the YSA agree that there is a struggle between the Soviet workers and bureaucrats, and that the task of the workers is to democratize the administration of the state and economy, although the YSA holds that the workers will and should use such a political revolution to defend and extend the nationalized economy. Indeed, the workers want nothing else and are justifiably suspicious of anything else.

The main difference between the Shafers and the YSA is that the YSA defends the Soviet economy not only against the bureaucrats, but also against the imperialists, who would like to completely overturn the gains of October and re-introduce capitalism into the Soviet bloc. The Shafers find capitalism "more democratic" than the Soviet Union, and in all essential conflicts in the cold war they come down on the side of imperialism.

Reversing

The conditions which gave rise to the bureaucracy are reversing. The isolation of the Soviet Union has broken down, and even though Stalinist parties have deformed the workers states of Eastern Europe and China (but not Cuba), the Stalinist monolith has been shattered. The Sino-Soviet rift extends deep into the Communist parties of the world, and into the workers states themselves.

The working class is now a majority in the Soviet Union, with growing power giving vent to pent-up demands. The bureaucracy is trying to appease the growing mass pressure, and in recent years great concessions have been made, such as the abolition of the slave labor camps.

But new, fresh demands are being thrown up by all layers of the population. This process will not end until the political revolution tosses out the whole rotten, self-seeking bureaucracy, and Soviet democracy is restored on a higher level than even in 1917.

The democratized workers state will make all the past achievements of the Soviet economy look like what they are — spectacular foreshadows of the power of socialist methods under healthy conditions. And it will put Stalinism in its proper historical place as a temporary and peculiar deformation of the world's first socialist revolution.

Barry Sheppard



No Let-Up in Dixie Struggle

SNCC Documents Brutal Jail Conditions in Americus, Ga. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee brought 14 Americus residents to Atlanta September 10 to tell newsmen of incredible jail conditions and police brutality in Americus, Ga. Although the Justice Department announced that FBI investigations showed no evidence of brutality, SNCC produced James Williams, a 28-year-old Negro resident of Americus, whose leg — smashed by two state patrolmen and a local city policeman — will be in a cast for six months.

SNCC produced photos of conditions in Leesburg stockade, where as many as 36 young girls were jailed in a single room with no beds, no mattresses, and no blankets. The youngsters, two no older than 11 years, told of the overflowing toilets and the fact that they had to use cardboard boxes in which their food was brought to take care of waste materials.

Call for Action Against Birmingham Industrialists. In a request sent from SNCC HQ. in Atlanta, Sandra Hayden called for immediate response from "all friends of justice and supporters of SNCC." "We are asking that you use every possible means to exert pressure on the corporation executives who control much of Birmingham's economic and racial policies. These industrialists, by their silence and inaction, are supporting the killers of innocent children."

The appeal also called for demonstrations by supporters "to protest the failure of Birmingham officials to apprehend those responsible for some 20 bombings of a racial nature which have occurred there in the past few months."

Against the Law to Stand Talking. The conviction of a SNCC field worker, Charles McLaurin, on the charge of "creating a disturbance" was upheld Sept. 16 by the Washington County, Miss., Court. He was also convicted of resisting arrest in connection with a July incident and sentenced to 90 days and \$100 fine.

Standing on the steps of the municipal courthouse in Greenville after the trial of two fellow workers, he was arrested while talking with several persons.

90 Negroes Arrested in Alabama Protest Demonstration. Over 90 Negroes were arrested in Selma, Alabama, September 16 during a demonstration in protest of the arrests of five high school students who had staged sit-in dem-

onstrations earlier, and the beatings of two Negro youths.

The five students were arrested while sitting-in at the lunch counter of Pilcher-McBride's Drugs and Tim's Cafe. The students, from Austin High School, also demonstrated at seven other lunch counters.

Lula Brown, 15, was knocked from a lunch stool in the Carter Walgreen Drug Store by the manager, Mr. Carter, and was "temporarily stunned and unconscious." While on the floor, witnesses stated, she was shocked with an electric cattle prod and hit by a man believed to be a member of a special all-white posse reported to be newly deputized by city officials.

NY Times Distorts Russell

When Bertrand Russell wrote in a letter to the *New York Times* about the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam, the *Times* attacked him editorially for failing to provide evidence. His reply, in which he devoted five paragraphs to document the use of chemicals, was so cut up and censored when it appeared in the *Times* that all the particular references to chemicals had been omitted and the *Times* had created the impression that Russell's charges were without base in fact.

Russell has revealed the text of his argument to the New York off-campus chapter of the Student Peace Union, which had in the past showed its devotion to the truth when the mass media of the capitalist class refused to digest it.

The SPU release quotes Russell's letter, "The U.S. Government has been charged by the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross, after a year's study by them of the chemicals sprayed in South Vietnam and their effect upon the health of human beings, animals, and crops, with using weed killers which, in the large doses used, are harmful; with using white arsenic, various kinds of arsenite sodium and arsenite calcium, lead manganese arsenates . . . ; with having spread these poisonous chemicals on large and densely populated areas of South Vietnam.

"Admittedly, the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross is, as its name suggests, allied with those opposing the U.S. supported Diem regime, but its published findings cannot be ignored since it has urged international investigation of the situation. The use of these weapons, napalm bombs and chemicals, constitutes and results in atrocities, and points to the fact that this is a war of annihilation."

Russell points out that the *Times* itself in January had stated that of nearly 2600 villages in Vietnam, nearly 1400 had been destroyed by the United States and the Diem Government; his charge of atrocity was based on "the ruthless usage of chemicals and jelly-gasoline, the wholesale devastation of civilian populations in their villages, the usage of concentration camps . . ."

"It is precisely the distinction," Russell argued in the letter the *Times* refused to print, "between chemicals which are weedkillers and chemicals which rot human flesh and kill those who come in contact with them that I have sought to make in the course of making clear to the American public the nature of the barbarous war conducted by their government in South Vietnam."

YSA Resolution on Black Nationalism

The following is from the section on Black Nationalism from the resolution "Youth and the Black Revolt." The resolution was adopted by the 3rd National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance on Sept. 1.

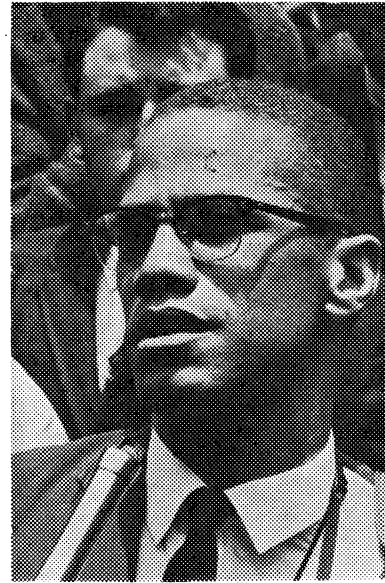
The mood of the Black Revolt, militancy and boldness, is being conditioned by a new sense of self-esteem. The Negro middle-class and some Negro leaders aspire to be assimilated into the society of whites. Among the Negro masses, however, this is not so. The Negro people are rejecting many of the white men's values, codes of conduct, and forms of struggle.

Although there has been no clearly defined territorial or linguistic base for the creation of a homeland or national economy for the Negro in the U.S., anti-Negro prejudice as a phenomenon of American capitalism has fostered racial-national sentiments among American Negroes for over 300 years. Segregation means that the Negro's position in society is special as an oppressed national minority. Jim Crow segregates the Negro into second-rate neighborhoods, second-best schools, secondary jobs and second-class citizenship.

Resentment

Since there has been no social assimilation of Negroes in Jim Crow America the black ghetto dwellers have banded together in common resentment against racial injustice. While confined to the ghetto the Negro is stripped of his personal identity; he is denied his heritage and his rights — he is simply available to be commercially exploited.

The growing unwillingness to accept the bankrupt values of



Malcolm X

American class society and the dissolution of Negro heritage, character, and culture into the "broad" stream of American life — the growing determination among Negroes to define clearly their own destiny — is commonly referred to as "black nationalism."

The appearance of black nationalism on such a wide scale and to such a profound degree indicates a vote of "no confidence" in gradualism. The militants, suspicious of gradualist Negro leaders influenced by white liberals, are now calling for black leadership. They have asserted the independence of the ghetto from white society and challenge the Negro middle-class seeking individual assimilation into Jim Crow America. Nationalism expresses the feeling of Negroes that U.S. capitalist society

is degenerate and doomed by history.

The black nationalists want to build an independent movement as a vehicle to realize their goal of human equality — whether through integration or separation. Both integrationist and separatists wish to unite the Negro masses, both hope to force the ruling class to concede to their demands.

Many cannot understand how integrationists can also be black nationalists. The two are not necessarily contradictory. Integration, when viewed as a social process consciously directed, is a strategy toward achieving racial equality. If integration were more than strategy, that is, a goal, then we would have to say that "token integration" is progressive — but tokenism is an obstacle to real human progress. The objective goal is not integration per se, but human freedom.

Independence

There is no major contradiction between the organization of the black masses along independent lines and the necessity of achieving alliances with other sections of the population, namely the white working class. It is just as true that white workers cannot win their rights while Negroes are oppressed.

Negroes are doubly exploited, as blacks and as workers. Their struggle for equality has an impact upon the social and political life of Jim Crow America out of proportion to their numbers; their special demands inject progressive class elements into the consciousness of the general working class, and their independent action incites other, even larger forces into motion.

While the labor movement and the Negro movement are traveling along different roads of struggle and at a different pace, they nevertheless move toward a common objective. Both can achieve their victory against a common foe through a concerted struggle against capitalism. This does not mean that the Negro movement must wait for Labor. NO! The Negro movement should and will push ahead, initiate a new course, and spur other sections into action. This is essential today where Negroes are rapidly becoming radicalized while Labor remains relatively inactive and conservative.

White liberals, labor bureaucrats, and Negro gradualists are insisting that the Negroes must slow down, wait for whites to "have a change of heart." Some radicals do the same when they exaggerate the dangers of Negroes "going it alone" and politicize against the growing sentiment of black nationalism.

Connected

The YSA, on the other hand, supports all movements expressing the desire of Negroes to lead their own struggles and assert their right to independent organization. We do this because we recognize the Negro struggle as separate from, though connected to, the class struggle. This movement must therefore have independent organization. Black nationalism is progressive since it contributes to the creation of such an independent movement for the unification and mobilization of the black masses.

We welcome the growth of black nationalism as a vehicle of struggle against racial oppression. We assert that revolutionary socialists and black nationalists are complementary forces which should seek to unite in action and collaborate in thought.

Puerto Rican Youth Demand Freedom; Cuba Their Beacon

By Peter Camejo,
National Secretary of YSA

Few American youth are aware that Puerto Rico is a country occupied by foreign troops for 65 years, its rights to self-determination denied by the foreign invaders, its youth forced to serve in the army of the occupants. This army has taken 13% of its land for military uses and has planted atomic weapons and long-range missiles on its soil.

Its policy has been to assure that American capitalists directly own all the major industries and that the native government be ready at all times to lick the boot of the conqueror, like the French Vichy government established by the Nazis. Large numbers of Puerto Rican patriots following in the spirit of fighters for U.S. independence are now imprisoned in the same U.S. for fighting for Puerto Rico's independence.

Present

Last month I witnessed the Third National Youth Conference of the Movement For Independence in San Juan. Close to 500 delegates rose in shouting applause to the declaration of support for the Cuban Revolution and a program of continued work for the liberation of Puerto Rico.

Ramon Arbona, graduate of the University of Puerto Rico and conference chairman, introduced the two observers from the United States (a representative from Pro-

gressive Labor and myself, representing YSA) and twelve students from several organizations in the Dominican Republic.

The Conference climaxed with a speech by Juan Mari-Bras, head of the adult *Movimiento*, who had just returned from Algeria. He announced that Algerian youth organizations wished to solidarize themselves with Puerto Rican youth in their fight for independence.

The Conference, held in honor of Albizu Campos, the Independence movement leader imprisoned in the U.S., reflected the general trend which is sweeping the youth of all Latin American countries — the deepening struggle against imperialism and for social justice within their countries. That Dominican students, for instance, turned out *en masse* to fight the right-wing coup in their country, is no accident.

Although the new Movement For Independence has been in existence only for a few years, it is rapidly winning the imagination of the students and finding support among the working people throughout Puerto Rico.

The next issue of the *Young Socialist* will run a feature article describing the new movement and the conditions which make independence essential for the Puerto Rican people.

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BOSTON: c/o Horowitz, 45½ Mt. Auburn, Cambridge 38

CHICAGO: c/o Britton, 807 W. Bradley, Chicago 13

CLEVELAND: c/o Ernest, 1856 E. 101st, Cleveland 6

DENVER: Box 724, TA52779

DETROIT: 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1

LOS ANGELES: 1702 E. 4th St.

MADISON: c/o Roberts, 508 W. Johnson St.

MINNEAPOLIS: c/o Chelstrom, 301 3rd Ave. S.E.

NEWARK: c/o Newark Labor Forum, Box 361

NEW YORK CITY: 125 4th Ave.

PHILADELPHIA: c/o Hathaway, 3517 Hamilton St.

SAN FRANCISCO: c/o Walker, 1488 Fulton

SEATTLE: c/o Heatlie, 3420 E. Huron St.