

Socialist Presidential Slate Named; YSA Endorses DeBerry-Shaw Ticket

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party nominated a Negro house painter for President and a seaman-turned-printer for Vice President to carry the lead in its drive to forge a national political alternative to capitalist politics in the 1964 elections.

The SWP national committee unanimously endorsed the candidates in a December meeting.

Clifton DeBerry, the presidential candidate, is presently the New York State Organizer for the SWP. He was a candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large in the fall elections and has recently toured the country speaking on recent developments in the Freedom struggle.

Born 39 years ago in Holly Springs, Miss., DeBerry graduated from Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. He has been active in the civil rights movement for many years, having been a delegate to the founding convention of the Negro Labor Congress in 1950 and an organizer of a Station-Wagons-to-Montgomery Committee during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

DeBerry is the first Negro in U.S. history to be chosen by a political party to run for President.

Capital Parties

Although the capitalist parties have not yet chosen their national slates, they have already begun demagogically to seek support. DeBerry commented on Johnson's "attack on poverty." A serious look "at the actual measures Johnson proposes shows his attack is mostly hot air," he said. "The same thing is true of his so-called stand for civil rights. He is trying to win the Northern Negro vote at the same time he holds on to the Dixiecrats. We should make that impossible for him."

Edward Shaw, the SWP's 40-year-old Vice Presidential candidate, began life on a farm in Lake County, Illinois; his father was a rural mail carrier and a part-time farmer. Graduating from a township high school, Shaw went to Chicago to study at the Armour College of Engineering.

When U.S. intervention in World War II interrupted his studies, he chose to volunteer for the merchant marine. He made several trips to the Caribbean — especially Cuba — and once the perilous Murmansk (Soviet Union) run, in which 15 out of 30 ships in his convoy were sunk.

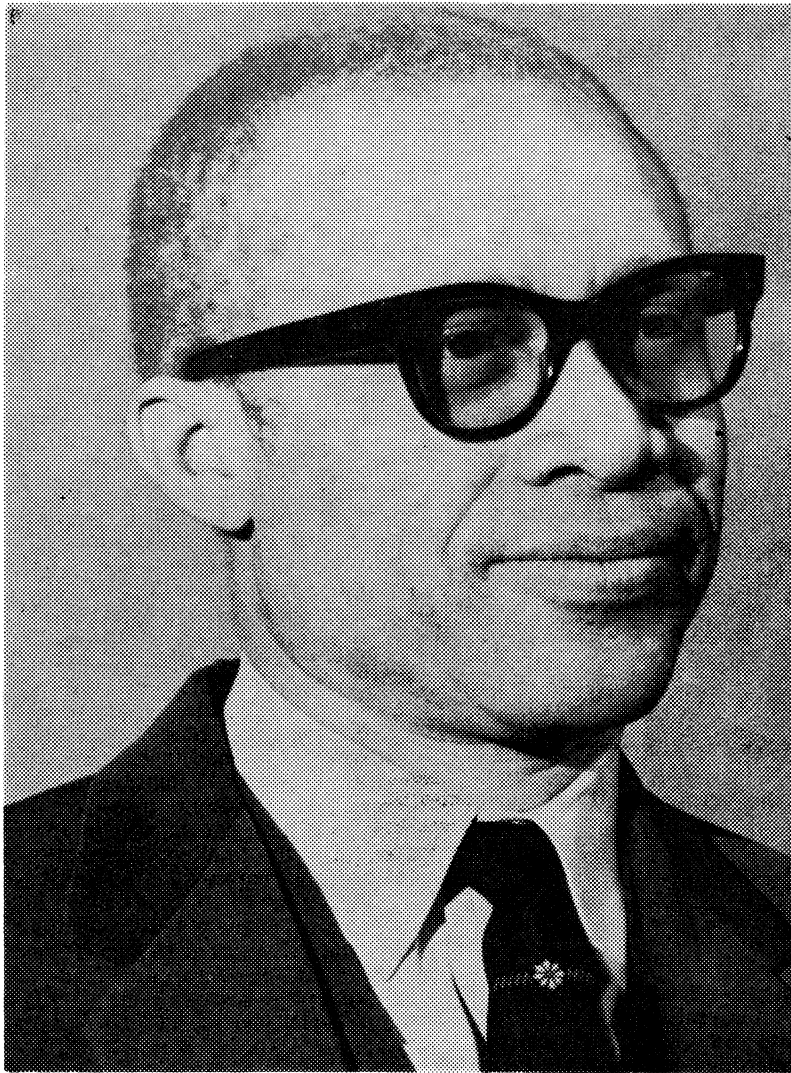
They Take Sides

Both candidates first took sides with the oppressed people in this country over the race question. Just before he sailed from Detroit in 1943, Shaw was present during the large anti-Negro riots; he helped several Negroes escape pursuers who were out to lynch them.

Both candidates developed politically through their participation in the union struggles of the working people. DeBerry was a union organizer in the South and the Midwest with the Farm Equipment union. Shaw joined the union the first day he joined his ship. Since then, he was elected to ship's committee on every ship he sailed.

Shaw has worked in the auto industry and as a printer since he left the sea about a decade ago. At one point he was elected organizer of the Detroit branch of the SWP.

He visited Cuba again in 1960 to see what changes the Revolution had made and traveled from one end of the island to the other. Returning home an enthusiastic supporter of the Cuban Revolution, he spoke, showed slides, and wrote about what he had seen.



Clifton DeBerry

YSA Urges Youth: Join in Support

The Young Socialist Alliance declares its full support for Socialist Workers Party candidates Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President in the coming 1964 elections.

The National Executive Committee of the YSA urges all American youth to back the drive for independent working-class politics which the SWP campaign represents. We ask all young people, whether they consider themselves socialist or not, whether they

fully agree with the YSA or not, to join the campaign in critical support of the DeBerry-Shaw ticket.

The Democrat and Republican parties — both capitalist parties — offer no way out of the constant job insecurity, race discrimination, and threat of nuclear annihilation. Only united political action by workers, Negroes, and students can demonstrate that there is a viable political alternative.

Why Support SWP Candidates

Today's students and young workers have never known what it is like to live in a world without the constant threat of international war; many have never been able to adapt to the scramble for a shrinking number of jobs and a human standard of living; they have never been free from the constant presence of bigotry and the discriminatory treatment of dark-skinned peoples; finally, they have never had a spokesman that could challenge these oppressive conditions loud enough for all America to hear.

The election campaign opens an opportunity to raise all the fundamental questions of our time, for only in politics can day-to-day struggles be brought to a level where all can consciously confront them. The Democrats and Republicans will again try to ignore these struggles, to avoid discussing real solutions. But it is for the student, the young Negro, and the worker youth not to let them avoid discussion and to mobilize at the grass roots to cut under their sugar-coated demagoguery.

Out of a fundamental antagonism

in our society workers and bosses have organized at cross purposes. The workers have joined unions to gain better wages and more rights. Bosses have formed Chambers of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to win more profits, maintain their property and their power. Yet when it comes to politics only the bosses have well-organized parties.

Dividing Lines

Although the lines of confrontation seem to be drawn in this election between the two capitalist parties, the real lines are between the capitalist rulers on one side and the workers and Negro people on the other.

Since a mass labor party or Freedom Now Party has not yet risen to provide a powerful alternative to the capitalist parties, the workers and Negro people are going to lose these elections — just as surely as if they elected their boss to head their union, or Barnett to head SNCC, the NAACP, or the Muslims.

This fact makes the SWP campaign all the more important: it

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Will the Generation Of the 'Sixties Be Silenced?

A Statement of the YSA National Executive Committee On the Bloomington "Sedition" Case

Most Americans believe that the American legal system is just. Recent events, however, have shaken this belief. Doubt is beginning to pierce the curtain which veiled the true content of American justice and of the extent of legally-cloaked violence.

The southern freedom fighters have continually exposed the fraud of southern justice. More doubts were raised about the content of American legal guarantees when a nation-wide audience witnessed the lynch justice accorded Lee Oswald. The obvious wealth and power behind the right-wing groups which attempted to use Kennedy's assassination as an excuse for a renewed witch-hunt have deepened concern over the safety of our civil liberties.

Within this context the prosecution of the Indiana students — officers of the Indiana University YSA — in the Bloomington "sedition" case becomes even more important. This prosecution includes the denial of the rights to due process under the law. It includes a blatant attempt to convict by newspaper smear and innuendo, to destroy the basic constitutional rights of free speech, thought, and assembly, and to attack the university's role in facilitating and encouraging exchange of ideas.

The Bloomington case demonstrates that the frame-up and indictment of the young rebels of our generation is not geographically limited to the South.

Quite the contrary, it has been, is, and will be part of the arsenal of northern prosecutors if they see they can get away with it. Blind faith in the basic objectivity, fairness, and impartiality of the American police and legal system, especially its northern variant, allows the Hoadleys as well as the Bull Connors to continue business-as-usual, unexposed.

Thomas Hoadley, the young, newly-elected Monroe County, Indiana, prosecutor launched the Bloomington case in earnest on February 18 not with an arrest or indictment but with an attack on the University. In a public statement to the Bloomington *Daily Herald-Telephone* he demanded — without success — that the University drop recognition of the Young Socialist Alliance club. According to Prosecutor Hoadley, University recognition permitted a "subversive" and "illegal" student group to function as a legitimate part of the college community.

The prosecutor's cliché-ridden imagination and belief in the community's gullibility knew no bounds. In the months that followed, the papers directly quoting or paraphrasing Hoadley accused the YSA of being "practically in a gun battle with the state of Kentucky," of being founded by agents "trained in Moscow," of possibly using "marijuana . . . to recruit new members to the YSA," and of course of being part of "the international communist conspiracy."

The slanders mounted and the pattern was always the same: Hoadley would accuse, and the papers would play it up. Letters-to-the-Editor from members of the university community would follow exposing the inaccuracies, logical absurdities, and falsifications. Libel suits would be threatened. Hoadley would drop the subject with no retraction and move on to his next smear.

The indictments themselves were obtained in a manner which gave a clear indication of the prosecutor's intent and methods. The first indictment was based on a March 25 speech given by Leroy McRae, a Negro YSA leader, at a public meeting on the Indiana University campus.

McRae's speech, an analysis of the fight for Freedom Now, had been given dozens of times on



Edward Shaw

(Continued on Page 2)



WELL-TRAINED, NO? This cartoon by the late Laura Gray — perhaps the greatest political cartoonist of our time — first appeared during the 1952 campaign.

... Why Support SWP Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

Shaw, the candidates of the SWP, it asks them to compare what they stand for with what the Democrats and Republicans preach and practice. The SWP candidates directly confront the problems which the capitalist parties talk about when pressure is brought to bear, but deliberately forget when it comes to action.

The candidates stand for reducing the work week to 30 hours at the present pay rate for 40 to cut unemployment, which demoralizes and impoverishes millions of Americans and sets white against black in cut-throat competition for jobs and a decent standard of living.

They advocate an extensive public works program which could provide low-rent, attractive housing to replace the slums — which should be demolished. They are for rebuilding and expanding the schools and setting aside unlimited financial aid to education. They support the socialization of medicine and public subsidy of the arts and sciences.

How can one protest the build-

ing of nuclear stockpiles and an armament budget amounting to over \$50 billion yearly? Vote for the candidates that advocate channeling the resources now used for war into the social benefits we have mentioned.

How can one protest the beatings, shootings, and jailings of Southern and Northern Negroes which occur under Democrat and Republican presidents? Or the discrimination in the Armed Forces under Roosevelt, Eisenhower, or Johnson as Commander-in-Chief?

Support the slate that stands for unconditional backing of the Black Revolution, that stands for Federal enforcement of the rights guaranteed in the 13th and 14th constitutional amendments, that starts from the assumption that Negroes have a right to self-defense like everyone else and advocates the employment of well-integrated troops or federally deputized Negroes in the South.

DeBerry and Shaw support the creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission with rock-hard determination to root out prejudicial treatment of job applicants. They approve the independent political action which the Negro people are undertaking in the Freedom Now Party. They advocate control of the curriculum of ghetto schools by the Negro people themselves, to counter the falsifications of Negro history which now predominates.

Why should American youth vote for the parties of corporate kings (Rockefeller, Harriman) and well-paid political spokesmen of these parties' class (Nixon, Truman)? These parties both aid and militarily maintain the dictatorial regimes of S. Vietnam, Formosa, and elsewhere; they both want to keep the world dotted with foreign military bases; they are both opposed to the social reforms carried through in China and Cuba and refuse to establish diplomatic or trade relations with them.

The SWP candidates wish to end these capitalist class policies and supply the freed colonial peoples extensive economic and technical aid — with no strings attached.

How can one protest the Democrat-Republican policies that have bequeathed to our countrymen

only the hate of the world's oppressed millions? Vote for the slate that defends the right of the underdeveloped nations to nationalize the foreign-owned industries and to turn the profits over to an economy planned for the use of the people.

As we enter 1964 the main problem facing youth speaking and acting to help reform our society is the open repressions being carried out by local and national authorities.

At this moment Negro youth throughout the South face daily imprisonment in their struggle

Some four students face up to fifteen years imprisonment for traveling to Cuba to "see for themselves" — an open travesty on the right to travel.

In New York a small youth group Advance is being forced to register by the government as a "Communist Front" or face jail sentences. Three young people face life imprisonment in Monroe, North Carolina on a frame-up kidnap charge.

Who will speak up for these young people being victimized by the power structure in order to halt the fight for social reform? Who will speak up for the right of all to organize meetings, to speak, to print? Who will expose on TV, Radio and at public meetings to thousands, to tens of thousands of Americans these little known open violations of the bill of rights in our own country?

Only the Socialist Workers Party. The Democrats and Republicans will not have one word for these youth.

NEW YORK, Jan. 21 — The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has announced that James Baldwin, internationally known writer and outspoken civil-rights advocate and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have become sponsors of C.A.B.S.

This is just another index of the rapidly growing support that the three Indiana University students are receiving from fighters for civil liberties in cities and on campuses across the nation.

Young Socialist

Jay Garnett, Editor

Dave Goodwin, Circulation Manager

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... Indiana Case

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campuses from Harvard to UCLA. At Indiana, however, this discussion of the American Negro's fight for freedom and equality suddenly became "seditious." On May 1, three students, Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan, were indicted for participating along with 125 other students and faculty members in this meeting.

On the evening of May 2, after having posted \$1000 bond each, the three students met hurriedly with a half-dozen of their friends — including two attorneys — in the basement apartment of one of the attorneys. They wanted to discuss their defense.

Unknown to the defendants or their friends, and without even the legal cover of a search warrant, Hoadley had installed a tape recorder with a highly-sensitive microphone over the heating ducts leading from the basement apartment to the landlord's apartment. With this "captured" conversation, Hoadley was later to claim that the defendants had assembled "voluntarily participating therein by their presence, aid, and instigation" to secretly plan the violent overthrow of the state of Indiana.

On July 18 the defendants were re-indicted on two counts: the McRae March 25 public speech and the May 2 private meeting to discuss their defense. They now face two-to-six years in prison if convicted.

What Crime?

Of what are these three students guilty?

Their crime is their youth. They, like many others, broke from the "silent generation" of the fifties. They began criticizing and demonstrating against the abuses they saw about them. Like the Freedom Riders and Sit-Inners, they are a part of the post-McCarthy generation who protest, act and then generalize from their experience.

Hoadley, by picking out these three students, unwittingly exposed the main role of "anti-communism" today. It is a smoke-screen to cover up the legal clubbing back into quiescence of the active and critical generation of the sixties.

However, the prosecutor and the press find it impossible to conjure up the traditional prejudices used to camouflage most attacks on freedom of ideas, assembly, and speech. None of the defendants are foreign-born. In fact they were all born and raised within sixty miles of Bloomington, Indiana. Their only previous political experience had been little more than membership in Young Democrats and Young Republicans.

They joined their campus chapter of the YSA whose membership is limited to people in their twenties and teens. The YSA is itself a product of the student awakening of the late fifties and did not have its founding conference until April 1960.

Concerned about the threat of nuclear war, the meaning of the Cuban Revolution, and the injustice of racial oppression at home, the three students' studies and experience made them deeper and deeper critics of American capitalism. Their crime was the socialist conclusion they drew. They compounded this crime by acting on their convictions and joining with others of their generation

who had come to socialism in the same way.

The Indiana Anti-Communist statute itself was passed almost thirteen years ago during the developing witch-hunt, so blatantly in contradiction with both the Indiana and United States constitutions, it was not used by any Indiana prosecutor even at the height of the McCarthy period. The indictments hammer home the fact that such laws can always be taken off the shelf and used to halt freedom of speech.

The basic ideological result of the post-war witch-hunt has been almost universal acceptance of this general anti-communism, which has almost destroyed the democratic senses of the American people. The continual attacks on the civil liberties of alleged Communists included the outlawing of a political party — the Communist Party — for the first time in American history. Even this step evoked little criticism. It was only a short step from these persecutions to the indictment of three students for their ideas.

The fact that laws and prosecutions are illegal, unconstitutional and reactionary does not guarantee their defeat. Quite the contrary. Every month young students in the South are not only being indicted but convicted under such laws. If the case remains isolated to southern Indiana and if the only voice heard is that of Hoadley, the students will be sentenced to prison.

It is not enough to read about the case and shake one's head in disbelief and disgust. The facts about the case must be carried to universities and young people all over the country. National exposure and protest will not only defeat Hoadley but will take the wind out of the sails of all the potential Hoadleys, who, we can be sure, are following the case with interest.

What is at stake is the right of any student to develop his ideas, critically, and in an atmosphere free from repression.

Hoadley, in order to nip in the bud the expression of ideas with which he differs has abrogated at least five Articles of the Bill of Rights. He has put himself outside procedural legal guarantees. He has exchanged trial by jury for trial by libel. It is the Hoadleys, both those from whom he has learned and those he is teaching who are forcefully and violently destroying our democratic rights. It is this that makes this case crucially important to everyone who values democracy.

Hoadley's target is those of our generation who are beginning to think and act critically. The same contradictions and abuses of American capitalism that brought the YSA defendants Morgan, Levitt, and Bingham, and national officer Leroy McRae to socialism frighten and confuse Hoadley.

As these contradictions deepen, larger and broader strata of the American people, like the Negro militants today, will begin questioning and acting to oppose abuses. The precious worth of freedom of inquiry, speech, and assembly will then become even clearer. The ability to think, speak, and change the world tomorrow will partially be a function of the fight we put up against Hoadley's attempt to destroy these freedoms today.

Freedom NOW!

PROTEST APARTHEID APOLOGIST

When a spokesman for the racist government of South Africa attempted to whitewash that country's *apartheid* policy while speaking before the University of Minnesota International Relations Club, more than 35 pickets joined the African Students' Association in condemning his apologetics.

The pickets carried signs reading "Afrikaner Nationalism Is White Dictatorship," "There Is No Supreme Race," and "Why Does the United States Back South African Racism?"

The Afrikaner claimed that the white minority in South Africa exerted a "disproportionate force for economic and social good" and added that until full segregation is achieved and the race problem is "solved," there ought to be no opposition parties in the country.

He did not say that the problem of how white South Africans would continue to profit from the labor of the Bantu majority under complete apartheid had been solved.

Clement Udeze, Nigerian student in charge of the picketing, remarked that "We knew his speech would be not only pro-white but anti-black. We wanted him to know there are African students here."

MONROE DEFENDANT ON TOUR

MINNEAPOLIS — "We are for self-defense, not violence," said Harold Reape, Monroe, N.C., defendant Nov. 18 at the University of Minnesota. Reape was on a coast-to-coast tour to explain his case. He and several other integrationists, he said, had been falsely charged with kidnaping a white couple in 1961.

Reape said that a Monroe civil-rights demonstration in which he had participated had been attacked by a racist mob of 5,000. "When we got back to our section of town, we stayed out in the streets. A white couple drove into the neighborhood but could not proceed because of all the people in the streets."



ALBANY, Ga. Nation-wide civil-rights struggle is the way to guarantee these Southern freedom fighters victory.

The air was so tense that the couple asked Robert Williams, community leader and former president of the local NAACP, to offer them the protection of his house. "He let them in and two hours later they left, unharmed. I was in the house of Richard Crowder with him, two houses away from Williams' house.

"When the white couple left they were immediately taken to the police station in the white section of town." Three days later, in contradiction to the woman's earlier statement's the police and the white community "had exerted enough pressure on her to get her to say she had been kidnaped."

Reape and Crowder were charged with aiding and abetting Williams in the kidnaping. A white freedom rider, who had moved the couple's car from the middle of the road where they left it to the side, was charged with "driving the getaway car." They all face 20 years to life imprisonment.

Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory, of

Cleveland, Ohio, a guest at Williams' house at the time of the incident, was also charged with aiding and abetting.

Because of the lynch atmosphere in the Monroe white community, there is little chance of their getting a fair trial. Robert F. Williams, the leading advocate of self-defense — a policy increasingly accepted in the Black Revolution, had to flee the country to save his life. Mrs. Mallory waged an unsuccessful struggle to block extradition from Ohio to North Carolina.

The defendants now face trial on Feb. 17. James Baldwin has sent out an urgent appeal for support for the case. Contributions and requests for further information may be sent to: The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, GPO Box 1314, New York, N.Y.

DETROIT 'BANK-INNERS' CONVICTED

DETROIT, Dec. 12 — Today 15 members of the Detroit NAACP Housing Committee were convicted of "trespassing" and "creating a disturbance or contention in a place of business." About half of them were students. They face a possible 60-day sentence.

The conviction stems from an Oct. 4 sit-in occurring at the main office of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association located in downtown Detroit. The demonstration came as a result of the refusal by the First Federal to meet the demands of the Housing Committee to end discrimination in hiring practices. An additional demand was that First Federal end refusal of loans to Negroes moving into all-white neighborhoods.

Since the first action at First Federal two others have taken place; demonstrators in these two were arrested.

The sit-in demonstrators of Oct. 4 were convicted by a jury of six whites. One of the NAACP lawyers said that the prosecution had carefully excluded all Negroes and Jews from the jury. He added that, though Negroes had answered questions with replies entirely favorable to the prosecution, the prosecution had rejected them.

The judge stopped the defense from informing the jury the reasons for the sit-ins. He went so far as to silence the prosecution for fear that it would open up the question of discrimination at First Federal.

To his bigoted presiding over the proceedings, the judge added insult: He instructed eight of the defendants — mostly students — to appear for a psychiatric examination. (Originally he had considered sending all the demonstrators, including a number of teachers and a psychologist.)

—George Carlton

Zone Racists Break Flag Pact

by Peter Camejo

JAN. 20 — Mass student demonstrations in Panama supported by sympathy demonstrations in other Latin American countries this month shattered the silence hanging over U.S. colonial domination over the Canal Zone.

Panamanian students attempted to raise their flag in the Canal Zone Jan. 9th, to enforce a policy agreed upon by the United States and Panamanian governments. Met by Canal Zone police, they were roughed up and prevented from raising their flag. When word of this spread, thousands poured into the Zone. Without provocation, United States troops threw tear gas into their midst and then opened fire, killing several of the demonstrators, who were unarmed.

Prior to the turn of the century, the U.S. decided to establish a canal through Central America in order to be in a position to patrol both oceans with a single, unified fleet — the better to watch its hemispheric "sphere of influence."

But Columbia's Congress rejected, without a single dissenting vote, a proposal by the U.S. to buy up a French company that had begun building a canal in the Panamanian isthmus, then part of Columbia.

A Frenchman, Bonau-Varilla, representative of the company, then arranged for a "revolution" — which he subsidized to the tune of 100,000 dollars. Headed by a Señor Amador, an employe of the North American-owned Panama Railroad Company and later first President of Panama, the "revolution" broke out on Nov. 3, 1903.

Conveniently, American warships were at hand when Columbia sent troops to suppress this "revolution." And who was the ambassador of the new nation (which the U.S. recognized within three days)? Señor Bonau-Varilla himself. He signed a treaty which made Panama a U.S. protectorate and permitted the U.S. complete domination "for ever" over a ten-mile wide strip around the proposed canal. Bonau-Varilla also gave the U.S. the right to send troops into Panama at any time.

Ever since, Panama's most important resource, her geographic location, has been exploited by a foreign power through military occupation. Such was the origin

of the "treaty" which President Johnson refuses to re-negotiate.

A product of U.S. domination in Panama has been a Mississippi-style racism toward the predominantly Negro Panamanians. The overwhelming majority of the 36,000 U.S. citizens in the canal zone are white Southerners, who have brought with them the overt racist standards of their native power structure. The continuous provocations on the part of the Zonians and the demand of the Panamanians for more say over their own territory has led to outbreaks against North Americans.

Since the end of the Second World War, demonstrations led by Panamanian students have forced concessions from the United States. In 1955, some of the racist hiring practices were formally ended and the meager "rent" paid by the U.S. for use of the Canal was raised. In 1959 public facilities were legally integrated and the right of the Panamanians to fly their flag next to the American flag in the Zone was established.

Panama Provoked

The recent mass demonstrations were outcome of a deliberate move by Canal authorities to break the 1959 agreement. The U.S. press has intimated that the Zone students who flew the U.S. flag and tried to prevent the Panamanians from flying theirs acted independently. But they were not only permitted to fly the U.S. flag alone by the same Zone authorities that shot down Panamanians for attempting to raise *their* flag; they were encouraged by the vacillation of the Zone governor on this question.

The *Young Socialist* has no sympathy for the racism and anti-foreign attitude of the U.S. students in the Canal Zone's segregated schools. They have taken the side of imperialism and exemplify its natural outcome. We take the side, as we think all American youth should, of the Panamanian students who were murdered in cold blood demonstrating on behalf of their people.

Blame for the needless death of American troops in Panama lies with the imperialist policies of the United States, which arms and trains its young people to occupy foreign territory and kill patriots of the occupied countries.

Colo. 'Greetings' Wallace

by Bill Perdue

DENVER, Jan. 9 — Despite a temperature of 10 degrees Fahrenheit, some 300 civil rights supporters picketed Alabama Gov. Wallace's appearance here at the University of Denver yesterday. This picket action, Denver's largest and most militant to date, resulted from the unification of efforts by most of Denver's civil rights, peace, and political groups — including the Young Socialist Alliance, the Denver Committee Against Police Brutality, the Denver CORE and NAACP chapters, the Committee for Non-Violent Action, and local SNCC supporters.

Gov. Wallace came to Denver to convince local industrialists that the racism he practices has successfully paralyzed the Alabama workers. Effective division into antagonistic "races" has led to lower wages and a weak union movement, in short, to "labor peace." For the bosses this means higher profits and fewer strikes.

The demonstrators' line snaked around the University Student Union and shouts of "Freedom!" and "Jim Crow Must Go!" filled the air. They sang songs and chanted, stamping their feet to jar the creeping numbness. College youths, working girls, high school

students, men in suits and men in working clothes made up the line.

They carried signs such as "President Johnson, Deputize Birmingham Negroes Now," "Not States, But Human Rights," "Racism Should Have Died With Hitler," "Uhuru!," "George Wallace Must Go," and "One Man — One Vote." A Negro girl carried the sign: "Wallace Speaks Here; Can I Speak At 'Bama?"

The over-all success of unity in action was indicated by the fact that Wallace — heavily guarded — had to be brought into the building through a back door. But there was a negative side which only the inertia of the movement overcame. A group under the guise of Boulder CORE tried to exclude demonstrators without CORE signs from the line. They were, however, ignored by the picketers and remained ineffective.

This would not deserve the space to report it, if this group was not also known (mistakenly) as "socialists." The Young Socialist Alliance holds that deeds and not words are the test of an organization's fiber. Joining in the unified action, the YSA showed that it had nothing in common with the action of the so-called "socialists" in the Boulder CORE.

Letters To The Editor

Colombo, Ceylon
December 1963

To the Editor:

Thank you very much for the reply to our letter. We shall be glad to publish an article on the Bloomington case in our magazine. You should focus attention on the manner in which civil liberties are safeguarded this side of the so-called iron curtain, in the very "citadel" of democracy. Sufficient public opinion has not been created in our country on the treatment of coloured people and the suppression of civil liberties in the U.S.

... It is very strange that your Alliance and our [Young Socialist] League have had similar origin and development. Our League was formally inaugurated on 5th August 1963, exactly two years after the publication of the first issue of the *Young Socialist* [magazine]. It was formed around the supporters of the magazine. Our numbers are small and we are confined at the moment to the Capital city, Colombo.

We have less than 150 members at present. . . . We are starting to enroll members for the coming year in a week or so, and I am confident that we can have more than 300 members in the coming year. Our numbers are small partly for this reason: One membership is entirely English-speaking. (The English-speaking population is just 4% of the whole.

(The non-English speaking

youth are organized by the Lanka Sama Samaja [Trotskyist] in a 40,000-strong youth organization.)

Sydney Wanasinghe
Editor, Young Socialist

Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico
To the Editor:

I do not have words to express the way I felt when I started reading your newspaper. (May-June 1963)

Before knowing that in the United States of America there exist people like you, all of you of the Young Socialist Alliance, I had the wrong idea that all Americans were always talking about "democracy" and about "God," but never knowing what they were talking about.

I am a member of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico, and the paper was given to me by a member of the Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia. (You are publishing an article about the F.U.P.I. in the above-mentioned issue.) I am very, very glad to know the way you feel — to know that in the U.S.A. there is a group like you, that fight for a right and just cause, as we are fighting to be free from the colonialism that the U.S.A. practices here.

As soon as I get paid I will mail you \$1.00 to be a subscriber of your wonderful newspaper.

Revolutionary yours,

C.R.B.

Student Strike Shakes France

CHALLENGE DeGAULLE REGIME

PARIS, Nov. 30 — The French National Union of Students and the Trade Unions of the Personnel of Higher Education have carried out a one-week, nation-wide strike to protest the government's policies toward education which have led to both a lack of teachers and school buildings. The Government claims a financial shortage, but billions are being spent for the "force de frappe" [atomic striking force].

The strike, successful throughout France, kept most teachers from the universities and many students on the picket lines.

The week of demonstrations was to end yesterday with a rally in Paris' Latin Quarter. Although the Minister of the Interior banned the gathering under the pretext that it would block traffic, the organizations decided to go ahead anyway.

Yesterday afternoon some 10,000 students gathered at the edge of

a zone guarded by large numbers of police. They shouted their demand for the resignation of the Minister of Education.

When the police sought to disperse the students, violent incidents developed. For over three hours the Left Bank was the scene of demonstrations and scuffles in which the police used their lead-weighted capes, riot sticks and high-pressure fire hoses against the students. Some groups of students crossed the Seine to demonstrate along the Grands Boulevards.

These events testify to the hostility which the campus feels towards the Bonapartist regime of Charles DeGaulle and also toward the civil authorities.

The workers' organizations are expressing solidarity with the teachers and students. But they make no call for action to support the right to demonstrate because of the lack of will among bureaucratic leaders to struggle against the Gaullist regime.

GERMAN MAGAZINE ON 1917-18 REVOLUTIONS

Some of our readers may recall that several decades ago the youth of the German Social-Democracy were the leadership of the international opposition to the imperialist World War I. Much, however, has happened since Engels founded their International and Karl Liebknecht led the Socialist Youth. Consider, for example, the following article from a recent issue of *Junge Gemeinschaft*, the journal of West German young Social-Democrats.

"The Petrograd Soviet is in danger. During the night counter-revolutionary putschists, junkers, and stormtroopers have been drawn together from the suburbs for the attack on Petrograd. We order you to move to the alert and to await new instructions. Disobeyal or hesitation in carrying out orders will stand as betrayal of the Revolution."

"These were the words of the now-famed Order No. 1 given by Trotsky on 24 Oct. 1917 . . . Thus began the undertaking which is celebrated by some as the Great Socialist October Revolution, cursed by others as a bloody reign of terror. The truth lies certainly about (!) in the middle, as most now admit . . .

"In March 1917 the Tsar's regime broke into pieces under the socialist onslaught. Social-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and Bolsheviks divided power amongst themselves. The Bolsheviks came out on top. They carried through a Revolution and in 1918 concluded peace.

"The Bolsheviks took possession of a heavy heritage. They mastered the situation without sparing human lives. For them the end justified the means."

The political acumen of the German Social Democratic youth thus consists in adding the Russian Revolution to American imperialism and taking the average — which, being impossible, is only a cover for their abstention from political controversy.

The non-political pages of the



GERMAN YOUTH DEMONSTRATE. Demand Freedom for Algeria on May Day, 1958. The established Left in all of Europe remained silent.

magazine declare how nice it is to own a private cottage (built by a contractor from you-know-what class) and drag on with stories of sports at their camps and pictures of Fräuleins doing the [American] twist. Internationalism, presumably.

On the "political" side, they whisper about the ex-Nazis in the capitalist parties but they have remained apathetic and impotent to counter the total suppression of the liberties of the SED (Communist Party). Like their few and dormant American counterparts, they have little or no program for the ills of modern society.

But now they can discover that the German workers' councils in the 1918 Revolution did not desire to establish, indeed they could not have established, a dictatorial Stalin-type regime similar to the one that developed under the isolation and impoverishment of Soviet Russia. The majority of the workers, they find out, wanted to "re-build the economy."

But the Bolshevik-led Soviet Union did not receive the blessing of the creation of a Ger-

man workers' republic. For then, if not now, the Social Democracy understood that the workers did want to follow the Bolshevik example and suppressed them, killing their leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The Social Democracy understood then, when they had political power, that their end — the preservation of the capitalist state and their bureaucratic slots in the party and trade unions — justified their means.

The Bolsheviks too pondered this philosophical problem. And they couldn't find anything which a proper end could justify except an appropriate means. They carried on seriously their defense of workers' power in the face of attacks by 13 capitalist nations — including Social Democrat-supported Germany.

Instead of twisting so much, real socialist youth in Germany are following the example of the young adherents to the Fourth International in bringing support and aid to the Algerian Revolution, whose workers' councils are rebuilding their economy.

College Students Aid Ky. Miners

by Roland Sheppard

Christmas didn't come to Hazard, Kentucky, last year; it had to be brought there. The Greater New York Student Committee for Miners organized a student emergency relief campaign to "Bring Christmas to Kentucky" and its starving, unemployed miners. Thirty-five students from 11 eastern colleges went down to Hazard to distribute the several truckloads of food and clothing which they had collected on their campuses.

Berman Gibson, leader of the miners, many of whom have been out of work for years, addressed the students: "These miners know that this is a token gesture of help and they sure appreciate it. I hope this support to the men who have protested the bad conditions down here for over a year now will bring national attention to the unemployed miners of Eastern Kentucky. The miners need this kind of help now, but it's jobs we need, not handouts."

The miners need jobs in order to live, but the coal industry which brought them there years ago no longer supplies those jobs. The coal output for Eastern Kentucky has decreased from 1947 to 1957 by 26 per cent; at the same time output per man has increased 60 per cent. This eliminates jobs from two angles: less coal is produced, so fewer men are employed; and three miners now do the work of five, so again fewer men are employed.

Until 1958 miners were able to go elsewhere to different industries for employment; but these jobs are no longer open. The miners and their families are now forced to stay in the area. And there are so many out of work now that 65,000 jobs are needed.

The small, less mechanized mines must pay lower wages in order to compete with the large, mechanized mines which pay union wages. The only way the small mines can do this is to break the union. To do this they close their mines down and reopen them under a different name and ownership, paying the miners pre-union wages. Because of the unemployment, they have partly succeeded: For some of the miners, working for scab wages is better than not working at all.

The United Mine Workers of America is only protecting the rights of the miners in the large mines — they are not helping the unemployed miners nor are they trying to keep the smaller mines unionized. The result is that the union membership is shrinking, as the large mines automate and the small mines go scab.

But the miners in the area have decided to fight for themselves and the long-range interests of the union and the workers of the United States. The militancy of their picketing against the scab mines has not been without effect. Yet now they are under constant legal and extra-legal attack. Their leaders are facing \$10,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment on a federal indictment for allegedly conspiring to dynamite a bridge, and a death penalty on a state charge of armed robbery and assault with attempt to kill.

Berman Gibson has denounced these frame-up charges on campuses and in union halls across the country as he tries to secure aid for his brother miners.

On Jan. 5, Gibson led a delegation of 28 unemployed miners to Washington, D.C. There the miners presented their requests to provide for their welfare and to secure justice. But, although they voiced support to the Presidential Committee on the Appalachin region, this committee recommended no adequate relief for the present situation. They get the same reply as the civil rights movement: long-range promises, short-range denial.

Like the civil rights movement, the miners of Kentucky demand freedom now — to work and live. SNCC has given support to the miners, seeing their problems as a part of its long-range fight.

It is up to all of us to defend the miners. For information on what you can do to support them, write Committee for Miners, 96 Greenwich Ave., NYC.



Berman Gibson

YSA Stirs Controversy

by Adam Knox

When YSA national secretary Peter Camejo Valdez spoke at Harvard last July on "Venezuela — the Next Cuba?" a representative of a group of 50 students just brought from Brazil by the U.S. State Department stood up after the talk and in an altogether spontaneous manner indicated his solidarity with the Young Socialist Alliance.

The student, Flavio Flores da Cunha Bierrenbach, said that he and his group were in full agreement with Camejo, that they hailed the YSA as the representative of the best in American youth, and that he wished to shake his hand as a demonstration of the hemispheric unity of all fighters against imperialism. As they did, the audience applauded.

In reaction, the administration banned the Summer Socialist Club and announced that no other clubs of a political nature could function during the summer session. Protests against this were to no avail.

The *Harvard Crimson* headlined "Valdez Returns; Proclaim World-Wide Radicalism" as it reported the YSAer's return engagement on Dec. 19. In an attempt to picture the members of the Harvard-Radcliffe Socialist Club as wild-eyed radicals, the paper wrote a story containing the following comments:

"Peter Valdez," the *Crimson* said, "spoke amid the cheers of almost all the sixty or so people at an open meeting; he brought to an audience that needed little convincing the message of the 'wave of radicalism' that is sweeping

Latin America and the rest of the world. 'The majority of students in the world are pro-socialist,' he claimed."

Some pro-Betancourt Venezuelans there criticized the speaker. "The challengers were hissed and Valdez was applauded enthusiastically in the encounter that followed."

Henry Kahn, Socialist Club President, rightly indignant about the *Crimson* article, wrote the paper a letter in which he noted:

Source Material

"A member of the audience asked first the [pro-Betancourt] student engineer and then Mr. Valdez in turn specifically what books each of them would recommend as source material. The engineer answered that he did not believe one could get anything from books on Latin America, but that each of us should go and compare for ourselves the conditions in Venezuela, Cuba, Brazil, etc. Mr. Valdez replied with the brief list of works in English and Spanish, emphasizing Stanford University's *Hispanic-American Report*, and concluded that travel was indeed valuable and he would appreciate the privilege of visiting Cuba. Applause."

As at Harvard, the YSA finds that students all over the country are more and more willing to listen to socialist ideas and speakers, but with a healthy, critical attitude. They have to compare the YSA's program to other points of view before accepting it; but they are increasingly more honest in accepting the socialist viewpoint once the confrontation with the "alternatives" has been made.

To the end that no opportunity for a confrontation is missed, the YSA national officers have made regular national speaking tours. This winter, national chairman Barry Sheppard is traveling from coast to coast to emphasize to students' and young workers the concrete importance of the fight for democracy within the U.S. in light of the totalitarian treatment of SNCC demonstrators in the South and the Indiana YSAers in Bloomington.

The YSA has held two educational conferences in the last two months — a local Minneapolis conference having a turn-out of 50 persons and an East Coast Conference with about 70 participants. A Chicago-sponsored Midwest Conference is being held as we go to press.

YSA spokesmen have made short-range tours on specific topics: "A pretty 22-year-old socialist demanded United States withdrawal from Vietnam in a speech at the Minneapolis Socialist Forum," commented the Nov. 25 *Minneapolis Tribune*, for example. Here, YSA representative Joyce Daniels was urging that the U.S. peace movement awake from its slumber and mobilize protest against "the brutal and grotesque war which U.S. imperialism is waging against the majority of the Vietnamese population."

The YSA will continue to keep bringing the socialist message to American youth. The success of its last fund drive, ending Dec. 15 and raising \$3578 to support its speaking tours and monthly paper, proves that a socialist youth organization is viable in the U.S.