

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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February, 1961



—Thad Beebe

ANTI-HUAC DEMONSTRATION: Over 350 students demonstrated in Washington, D.C. January 2, calling for the immediate abolition of the witchhunting committee. At the same time, Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, led a handful of uniformed youth, wearing swastikas and bearing the Nazi flag along with posters declaring, "Nazis support HUAC" and "God Bless Congressman Walter."

Walter Mum on HUAC Film

an interview
by Jack Arnold

While in Washington to cover the Jan. 2 demonstration against the House Un-American Activities, this writer and YSA'er Charlotte Scheer took the opportunity to interview Committee Chairman, Rep. Francis E. Walter.

They arrived at the House of Representatives building just in time to hear Walter conclude an address to a group of pro-committee demonstrators who had staged a picket line counter to the anti-committee demonstration. He told the group that he was very glad they had come to Washington to demonstrate in favor of the committee and that "In this fight you are to be commended." Five minutes later the two YS representatives were in Walter's office and recorded the following comments:

Q—Mr. Walter, as chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee could you tell us how you feel about the anti-HUAC demonstration today?

A—I was not aware that there was a demonstration. I was in a caucus meeting all day.

HOW ABOUT NAZIS?

Q—Well then, how do you feel about the Nazis who marched in support of your committee?

A—As I said, I was not aware that there were demonstrations of any sort.

Q—Well—to get to another question—What have you to say about the charges of distortion directed at the film "Operation Abolition," which your committee produced?

A—The committee did not produce the film. It was put together by news services.

[The film "Operation Abolition" is a documentary concerning the student demonstrations against the HUAC on the occasion of its visit last year to the city of San Francisco.

Q—It was my understanding that the movie was made from film clips subpoenaed from two television stations. Doesn't that seem to indicate that your committee had a hand in putting out the film?

A—The film clips were not subpoenaed.

Q—On this question of distortion—Mr. Wheeler, one of your

aides, has admitted the film was distorted.

A—The film was put together by news services. Washington Video productions made the movie. It was a factual portrayal of what took place. Mr. Wheeler was quoted out of context . . . I have a copy of his statement. Some people who don't want the people

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CONFERENCE REPORT:

SANE Can't Condemn the State Dep't.

by Fred Mazelis

(The writer represented the Young Socialist Alliance as an observer at the recent conference of the National Student Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy held in New York.)

At its recent national conference, the National Student Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy passed a motion declaring, "With reference to the Easter 'Aldermaston' demonstrations, Student SANE calls for the establishment of an ad hoc student committee to provide national coordination of such peace actions to be composed of representatives from organizations planning and supporting Easter peace talks and demonstrations." The implementation of this motion would mean the creation of a united front for the Easter demonstrations and could lead to the most democratically and efficiently organized united action in this field for some time.

Two of the conference's panels devoted to programming and political action brought forth a resolution with the same spirit of mass action as opposed to emphasis on passive means of protest such as letter-writing to Congressmen. These resolutions represented the only steps forward taken by Student Sane in a conference replete with political eva-

sions and ambiguous positions.

AT THE CONFAB

There were about 70 delegates at the conference representing local Sane chapters in many high schools and colleges, most of them from the New England-New York-Pennsylvania area. Representatives from schools included Cornell, Brooklyn College, Queens College, CCNY, Rutgers, Brandeis, Rochester, New York University, Columbia, Cooper Union, Temple U., and the U. of Pennsylvania. In addition, there were another 50 young people present, members of local SANE chapters and representatives of other organizations, which included the National Students Association, the Student Peace Union, SLATE, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, New University Thought (a publication), Advance, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Even with its resolutions favoring mass action, the conference refused to go on record in favor of civil disobedience as represented by the large civil defense protests of last spring and by the entire sit-in movement in the South.

CUBA DEBATED

In the panel session on foreign relations a resolution urging the withdrawal of U.S. bases from other countries and a policy of non-intervention by the U.S. government in the affairs of other countries was defeated. The dele-

gates were repeatedly urged to take a stand in opposition to the State Department's disastrous campaign against the Cuban Revolution and to support the right of the Cuban people to live peacefully as a sovereign nation without interference from the U.S. government. Those who determined policy for Student Sane would have no part of such an idea.

Instead, the panel and the conference passed several vague resolutions which referred to the "simultaneous" evacuation of foreign bases by all countries and a general policy of non-intervention by all countries in "trouble spots." These resolutions carried with them the concept that the drive toward war comes from both world power blocs, whereas all actual facts show this drive stems from Western imperialism.

The conference panel on the economic and political considerations of disarmament brought in two resolutions. The resolution on economic considerations urged that Pres. Kennedy set up a committee to study the economic aspects of disarmament, and it spoke of the "readjustment" of the economy within the present economic system. Steve Levine, a YSA'er and a delegate from Brandeis University SANE, presented a different point of view on the

STUDENT DEFY US WAR DRIVE

students who wanted to see Cuba for themselves. The Miami police turned their backs. Newspaper photographers, TV cameramen and secret police took pictures of everyone going to Havana. The pictures appeared with the label "Beatnik Communists."

In Cuba the Fair Players were greeted with a band, with handshakes and with a warmth such as most of them had never known before—a warmth which pervaded the entire tour. As one Fair Player put it, "I have lived in the United States for more than 40 years and never have I known such a truly human experience."

Over 150 students saw what it is the U.S. is trying to crush—the spirit of youth set free. They saw the spirit of the young Negroes in the South who are struggling bitterly for the right to dignity. It is their spirit and their ideals which govern in Cuba. We saw this most clearly in the preparations for 1961, the Year of Education. We saw it in the faces of the 10,000 youth who volunteered to go to the rural areas and teach the people to read and write with the slogan, "To have knowledge is to be free." This is what it is the U.S. Government is trying to crush.

We saw in Cuba the same spirit as that displayed by the students in San Francisco last year in their opposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee. The San Francisco students showed

ed their desires to think freely, to discuss the exciting ideas of human advancement before the world. We saw the same desires among the Cuban students. In San Francisco, the police turned firehoses on the students, arrested and beat them. In Cuba these students run their country. It is these students the U.S. Government is trying to crush just as it tried to crush the students in San Francisco.

THE REAL PEOPLE

For the U.S. press and Yankee imperialism, the real people of Cuba were the gangsters and murderers who protected U.S. investments. The American visitors saw a different people, the majority of the Cubans whose voice is seldom heard by the big neighbor 90 miles to their north. They saw that the people of Cuba, the workers, the farmers, the poor, especially the youth, are armed, ready to defend their new homes, their factories, their schools, their

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Slate Pitches Battle to Abolish ROTC at Cal.

BERKELEY, Calif.—About 75 students picketed Harmon Gymnasium of the University of California at Berkeley on December 15th, protesting the compulsory ROTC program of the University. The demonstration, organized by a Slate committee, lasted for over two hours while ROTC cadets were drilling inside the building. The placards carried such slogans as, "Academic, Not Military Discipline," "Carrying Rifles Should be a Free Choice," and "Abolish Compulsory ROTC."

Despite threats by Colonel J. T. Malloy, head of the Army ROTC program, that "Any cadets picketing in uniform will find it difficult to pass the course," a number of students refused to be intimidated and appeared on the line in uniform. The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has promised full legal support to any cadet who may undergo punishment as a result of his participation in the protest.

The Slate Committee to Abolish Compulsory ROTC has been active since 1957. In 1959 opposition to militarism on the campus was sparked by a 59-hour hunger strike by a UC freshman. A petition was also circulated in conjunction with UCLA which collected 7,000 signatures against compulsory ROTC and forced Governor Brown to declare in favor of a voluntary program.

However, despite growing student opposition, the Regents of the University on December 16th voted unanimously to continue the present compulsory program "until such time as the needs of the Kennedy administration" in the area of "defense" can be made known. Thus, the philosophy which views education as simply another instrument of American imperialism continues to reign at Cal.

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'PROGRESSIVE YOUTH' MEET:

FBI Smears 'New Horizons' Conference

by Mack Davis

CHICAGO — A conference of "socialist-minded and left-progressive" youth was held here from Friday night, Dec. 30, to Sunday night. It was attended by 81 young people from over ten states—representatives from the various clubs invited to attend. The purpose of the conference, which had been announced by the newspaper New Horizons for Youth, was to draw up plans for the launching of a new national youth organization in the not too distant future.

The handful of youth faced a vicious attack engineered by J. Edgar Hoover and carried through by the Chicago press. The F.B.I. labelled the group "Communist controlled." A group of fascists belonging to the Fighting American Nationalists, together with a spattering of refugees, picketed the conference during most of the time it was in session.

POLICE PROTECTION

The conference responded by barring admission to all but those who had received written invitations and asked the city police for protection, which did not stop the demonstrators from harassing the conference participants.

A room rented in the basement

of a building several blocks from the scene of the conference served as a press room, where a press conference was held with Pearl Hart, President of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, who had addressed the group.

In the press releases, the general aims of the organization were announced — opposition to the witchhunt, educational opportunities based on ability to learn rather than on ability to pay, support to the Negro struggle for equality, support to Cuba and the colonial revolution — aims which all socialists enthusiastically work toward.

The conference declared, "... there is need for a youth organization that will provide a place to delve into the causes of social problems and their solutions, that will promote the examination of the ideas of scientific socialism and for those who wish, the chance to study this outlook more deeply."

NOT SOCIALIST

A motion explicitly stating that the group's avowed purpose should be the furtherance of socialism was, however, overwhelmingly defeated, according to the Chicago Maroon, the UC paper.

The political declarations of the conference, however, do contain two ideas which completely contradict the supposedly "broad" character of the projected organization. If "all those interested in an investigation of socialist ideas" are really welcome, then why dictate in advance that "peaceful coexistence" be one of the aims of the group? Or why define in advance that the Soviet bloc countries are already "socialist?" These are concepts that "all socialists or those interested in socialism" are by no means convinced of. Such policies will severely hinder the "New Horizons" movement, limiting its membership and influence in advance, despite the claims of "broadness," to that small sector of the radical student population which already supports "New Horizons."

Whatever objections one may have to the policies of "New Horizons," it is crucially important for all students and young people to solidarize with this grouping in its fight against the witchhunters and the fascists. The thousands of students who have demonstrated against the House Un-American crew know that the witchhunting and redbaiting of any radical group, no matter how small, weakens their own freedom and their own fight.

YS Reviews Student Militancy

books and ideas

by Rose Jersawitz

"Revolt on the Campus, The Student Movement in the 1930's" by Tim Wahlforth. Young Socialist Forum, P.O. Box 471, New York 3, N.Y. 40 cents.

In the words of its author, this pamphlet is "written for and dedicated to the American students who kept vigil all night before the State of California murdered Caryl Chessman; who were washed down the steps of the San Francisco Court House the day the Un-American boys came to town; who were carted away from the New York City Hall Park in paddy wagons during the civil defense drill; and above all to the students who were corralled, beaten and jailed for asking for 'a cup of coffee and a seat' in a Southern dime store."

"Revolt on the Campus" is the only concise account available of the student movements of the Thirties—the pilgrimage to Kentucky, the Reed Harris strike at Columbia, the Oxford Pledge, the anti-ROTC struggles, the many peace strikes and conferences. It tells the story of the major student organizations of the time, the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union.

Parallels are easily drawn between the generation of young radicals currently making their debut on the stage of mass struggle and the student generation of the 1930's. Both follow periods of apathy and self-seeking conformity on campus; both are in response to world events;

both are aimed—whether those involved realize it or not—at the same enemy: American capitalism.

The students of the Thirties formed national organizations—the American Student Union, the American Youth Congress, the National Student League—under whose auspices thousands of students staged "peace strikes" throughout the country and signed the Oxford Pledge which stated that the signer would not fight for his country in any war. Yet in 1938, these very same students, by and large, marched off once again to fight for "democracy."

What caused this bodily absorption of the militant student movement into the ranks of its former enemy? What role did radical groups—the Young Communist League, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Spartacus Youth League, play in the student movements of the Thirties?

In other words, what can today's students learn from their predecessors? How can they build a movement which will not fizzle out under the war drive on the Government or the pressure of college administrations? Whether or not one agrees with the analysis presented in this pamphlet, everyone who is seriously concerned with the current struggles of students and their outcome must become familiar with the student movements of the past and learn from their traditions and their mistakes.

Students Hit HUAC As Facists Grow

Groups campaigning for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee report growth all over the country, particularly on campus. The National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities has chapters in 13 states. Several cities and colleges have student or youth committees against the HUAC, including the San Francisco Bay Area, New York City, Penn State, Roosevelt, Northwestern, and the Universities of Chicago, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Petitions demanding abolition of the Committee bearing over 5,000 signatures have been presented to Congressmen and more petitions are being circulated. On Jan. 2, 350 prominent citizens signed an ad in the Washington Post urging Congress to do away with the Committee. Many campus papers have supported the Abolition campaign.

On the other side, right-wing groups backing the Committee have become more active lately, partly as a result of the instigation of the Committee itself. Conservative groups on a number of campuses have taken up the Committee's defense by showing the doctored and distorted film, "Operation Abolition," (see article page 1).

A statewide group of pro-McCarthy alumni of the University of Bridgeport, Conn., have publicly attacked the editor of the campus paper there for editorials demanding the abolition of the HUAC. A bomb damaged the home of Frank Wilkinson, field representative of the National Committee to Abolish the HUAC, causing such damage that the family will have to move. Later swastikas were painted on the house.

The HUAC got its biggest blow last May in San Francisco where the militant students left no doubt in anyone's mind that the committee was not wanted. All student and youth groups which oppose the HUAC should work together in a concerted effort to stand up against the Committee—and its conservative and fascist supporters—wherever it dares to show itself.

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Hands Off Cuba

The recent move of the U.S. State Department to restrict all but businessmen and journalists from going to Cuba cannot be understood as an attempt to prevent unwitting Americans from violence in the revolutionary island. It can only be viewed as an attempt to prevent more honest Americans from learning the truth about the Revolution and its people, as the 330 Fair Play for Cuba tourists saw it (see story page 1).

In its fear of the realities of Cuba, the Government is permitting only the jaded, only those insured by their professions against understanding anything about the real desires of a real people, from venturing forth to see the revolution. This most recent move can only be understood against the background of the stepped-up hate campaign conducted by Washington during the last month.

On Tuesday, January 3, the U.S. Government broke off diplomatic relations with the revolutionary government of Cuba.

On Wednesday, January 4, Dr. Raul Roa, Foreign Minister of Cuba, spoke before the U.N. Security Council demanding that it brand the U.S. an aggressor nation against Cuba—and he proved his case conclusively. Roa charged that the U.S. was training counterrevolutionary forces in Venezuela, Florida, and that it had just established a new base in Guatemala for the training of these forces. The U.N. Security Council did not accept Cuba's charges against the U.S.

Only a few days later, the New York Times carried a front page story reporting the base in Guatemala. The Times said the U.S. was training anti-Castro forces there and that the base was obviously not set up for defensive purposes. But, the U.N. support of the U.S. came as no surprise, either to the Cubans or to this newspaper.

On Friday, Jan. 6, it was announced that Eastland's Senate Subcommittee is investigating the Fair Play for Cuba Committee regarding its alleged "support by Cuban gold." These hearings proceeded with no representative of the FPCC present or invited to attend. Eastland and Dodd's obvious aim is to brand the committee an unregistered agent of a foreign power and to declare it illegal and arrest its leaders. They hope to silence the only clear voice which has spoken up in America in opposition to the bloodthirsty designs of the U.S. State Department and which has called for an honest view of Cuba. It is hopeful to note that the Fair Play committee continues to grow in spite of the U.S. campaign against Cuba and the committee.

What these series of actions means is obvious to all of us. The U.S. Government is moving quickly to turn Cuba into another "free" Guatemala—be it under the Eisenhower or Kennedy administration. The point is, can the State Department and the CIA be stopped? From the Cuban point of view, some six million people are ready to defend their country to the death against any and all invaders.

In the meantime, can the U.S. Government be averted in its vicious war-like drive against the Cuban Revolution and its spread to the rest of Latin America? A positive answer to this question is dependent in large measure on the strength of the American defense movement for the Cuban Revolution through the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. If sufficient strength across the country can be mounted to demand "Hands off Cuba," to let the truth be seen about the role of the State Department and the CIA, then time can be gained for insuring the victory of the Cuban Revolution. We call upon all our friends and supporters, as well as the entire radical movement to raise more vociferously than ever the banner "Hands off Cuba" and to rally actively behind that banner.

YSA Defends The Cuban Revolution

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

—Passed Unanimously by National Committee Young Socialist Alliance

WHERE TO FIND THE YSA

- BALTIMORE: c/o A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703.
BERKELEY - OAKLAND: c/o Petras, 2158 Blake St. TH 5-1550.
BOSTON: Apt. 2, 47 Linden St., Allston 34, Mass. UN 4-5868.
CHICAGO: c/o Hirsch, 438 St. James Pl. EA 7-9810.
DENVER: Box 724, Tabor 5-2779.
DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.
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THE FAYETTE STORY:

Chi. Students Rip the Mask off White Terrorism in Tennessee

by Arne Baskin

When the shameful story of Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee, began appearing in the somewhat obscure back pages of the nation's dailies, it sparked a student interest which has been steadily growing throughout the country. The first to respond were four University of Chicago students, Mark Eastman, Kevin Krown, Ed Cohn and Len Levin, who set to work collecting money and made plans to take food and clothing down to Tennessee themselves.

Gavin MacFayden, a former student at Shimer college and UC student Bill Hard joined the others and agreed to drive the truck, while the four took a car. The truck and car left the quadrangles separately and met at Cairo, Illinois, the "last safe spot on the trip." From there they proceeded to Tennessee and arrived in Somerville at 6 a.m. After unloading and hiding the truck, the group traveled around and spoke to both Negro and white citizens of the town.

'WE DON'T WANT YOU'

Although they had no trouble getting to the county, both the truck and the car had difficulties when they left. The car was stopped by the Fayette County sheriff who questioned the boys and told them, "We don't want you hanging around." After they left the sheriff and the county, they crossed into adjoining Haywood county. The local sheriff was waiting for them. He questioned them and then escorted them to the next county line.

The truck was intercepted by the White Citizen's Council who surrounded it with cars and harassed MacFayden who then had to drive the truck through back dirt roads to Memphis, Tenn.

The action of the six Chicago students sparked the civil rights subcommittee of the NSA committee on Student Government, headed by Caryl Geier, to launch a campus drive for aid to the Fayette Negroes. Yet, the situation as it really is, existing in the United States of America, is not completely comprehensible to many students.

Over 700 families have been evicted in Fayette and Haywood counties as a result of adult members registering and voting in the recent national elections. According to an article by Ted Poston in the New York Post, "these people



TENN. TENT CITY: A mother and her five children live in their "home" in Somerville since their family dared to exercise the right to register and vote in Presidential elections.

are actually being thrown out on the roads. Most of them have no place to go, and, in many cases, nothing to take with them."

Who are these people? Honest, hardworking tenant farmers eking out their small livings as sharecroppers and tenant farmers in Tennessee.

What is their crime? Simply that of registering and voting in the national elections.

What is their punishment? Eviction, loss of income and medical deprivation.

The New York Post reports it, New York Post readers are "concerned" with it, some liberals "deplore" it and finally through its silence the U.S. government condones it. With this usual cycle completed 700 families are therefore thrown at the sole mercy of private charitable organizations and occasional television appeals for the "helpless and homeless citizens" of Fayette and Haywood counties.

The National Committee for Rural Schools states, "unless we can purchase tents of some kind of prefabricated housing, these people must remain out in the cold. And the recent cold spell which has swept most of the country has not skipped Haywood and Fayette Counties." So while these private organizations seek money for the purchase of tents, many of these Negro families have doubled up with other families, the less fortunate remain in the cold. All this in the land of Golden Opportunity. All this in the most Affluent Society on the face of the earth. All this in the land of Freedom and Democracy.

Shortly after the evictions some 15,000 Negroes quickly learned that all credit in the town was denied them. Many, in addition, had been refused food and clothing although they were willing to purchase in the town stores. The campaign even went so far as denying store owners the right to purchase supplies from their usu-

al wholesalers.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The whites were not yet satisfied and started a drive to pit Negro against Negro. One of the Negro farmers who had moved into a tent had previously been sharecropping on a farm owned by another Negro. The landowner, a school teacher in Fayette County, was "pressured" into removing

his tenant because he had registered to vote.

But the whites gave no awards of honor to those who had succumbed to their pressure. The medical clinics in Fayette county stopped treating Negro patients. At first they had refused to treat only those who had registered and their families. At this very moment they will not treat any Negro patient and no doctors are available to Negroes in the county. One of those who registered could not even find a doctor to pronounce his just deceased father dead.

TWO RESULTS

The students from the University of Chicago and the other people who worked to get the food to Tennessee and the information back to Chicago are trying to achieve two results. They wish to supply these people with the food and supplies to continue their fight to register and vote. Their main objective is to provide information to University of Chicago students on other campuses about what is happening in little publicized areas of America.

Fortunately there remain a few who dare to enter certain regions which the federal government has shamefully closed its eyes to. Yet it remains somewhat sad if not altogether grotesque to think that for the moment the lives and destinies of 700 families depend to a large extent upon the charity of a few humane and kindly individuals.

The students at UC, if it is their desire to inform and enlighten their schoolmates back home, must view the drama of Fayette and Haywood Counties as part of a much larger canvas. They must be able to view it as part of a canvas portraying the decadence and injustice of the capitalist system which we currently endure.

YSA in Action

BALTIMORE: Local YSA chairman Bob Kaufman addressed a Unitarian church group on his views on socialism. He recently appeared before a Jewish young couples' club with the topic, "What Makes Socialism Tick in America?" Kaufman won a partial victory in his civil liberties fight for freedom to sell the YS without police harassment. He had been arrested on charges of disorderly conduct after having been mobbed by some roughnecks outside a high school. Baltimore authorities turned around and refused to grant him a taxi-drivers license . . . Appropriately, YSAers are now conducting a class series on Proletarian versus Bourgeois Democracy.

DENVER: The YSA chapter has created quite a splash in the rocky mountain area. YS sales have increased to over 400 a month despite terribly cold weather. At a recent SANE rally salesmen stood up to a group of fascists calling themselves "Christians of the Cross."

DETROIT: Between 50 and 60 people attended the second annual Detroit "Marxmas" party. Signs decorating the hall read, "In Oriente they build schools. In Tennessee they bomb them," and "For Christ's sake! Ban the Bomb." The YSA is conducting a class on the essentials of Marxism for new friends.

LOS ANGELES: YSAers have been successful in selling papers at Unitarian Church meetings. One Sunday they sold 36 papers. Local chairman, Bill Hathaway

is running in the elections for a seat on the Board of Education. He has joined the Socialist Workers Party ticket with Oscar Coover running for Mayor.

NEW YORK: Since its forum on the role and influence of the Cuban revolutionary Jose Marti, the club has been holding a series of social affairs. It is now scheduling a forum on Che Guevara's book on "The Guerilla War" to be led by Robert Des Verney. The club has already made plans to show documentary films of the Cuban Revolution.

RHODE ISLAND: A new YSA club has been chartered in Providence with Roger Sheppard as chairman. The group has already scheduled continuing YS sales at Brown University and has received a good response to its ideas there.

SEATTLE: YSAers heard John Severn review "Listen Yankee" as part of their current forum series. Plans are underway for a class on historical materialism.

WESTERN REGION: YSAers from the Pacific Coast held a successful conference and unanimously voted to send the following telegram to the people of Cuba: "We salute the revolutionary leadership and people of Cuba on the Second Anniversary of their glorious revolution. May all America 'drink at the fountain' or your example. As revolutionary socialists of North America, we wish you permanent success and pledge our support. You will win!"

SANE Can't Condemn the State Dep't. . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

economic considerations of disarmament. His amendment read as follows: "The complexity of the problem, however, raises serious doubts as to whether the reallocation and planning necessary for a transition to a peaceful economy can come about within the present economic system. National Student Council feels it necessary to explore the possibilities which a planned socialized economy offers for such a change." The amendment was ruled out of order. The resolution on the political aspects of disarmament urged the U.S. to continue negotiations at Geneva until a test ban is achieved. It urged initiative to arrive at "inspected multilateral disarmament" and again said nothing about the U.S. policy which has caused the present inability to arrive at a test ban agreement.

MORE AMBIGUITY

The resolutions on internal policy clearly reveal the present ambiguous policies of NSC in relation to the red baiting in SANE and the democratization of the

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The first resolution makes no mention of the notorious "Abrams case," in which leaders of National SANE joined with Senator Dodd to conduct a witchhunt in the organization. Instead it says, "performance is the only criterion for any individual's participation in the peace movement."

An amendment proposed by Steve Levine of Brandeis Sane saying, "Student SANE affirms that it welcomes individuals of all affiliations to join SANE and rejects attacks from within or without the organization on individuals on the basis of their political views," was voted down.

Another resolution of the Natl. Student Council on the democratization of Natl. SANE, was extremely weak. It mentioned no concrete proposals but simply stated that Natl. SANE should reexamine its present structure "when feasible." An amendment urging that the national organization become a democratic organization with a national committee elected from the local

groups was rejected.

It is important to further clarify the political betrayals of Student SANE. The fact is that young people sympathetic to the Communist Party assisted in putting over these pro-State Dept. policies in Student Sane. These students are more interested in the foreign policy gambits of the Soviet bureaucracy than in revealing the true causes of the cold war crisis. As in the New York Youth Committee for Integration last Spring and in the redbaiting experiences at CCNY last fall, students following the ideology of the CP have played the role of giving in nearly completely to the witchhunting inside and outside the movement.

In the future we can be sure that socialists united with students who are becoming interested in "social causes" will prevent the right-wing forces in present movements and their future counterparts from imposing political and organizational policies which tie these movements to capitalism and prevent them from going forward to achieve their stated goals.

Mills Supports Cuban Revolution: Must Reconsider Marxist Theory

by Tim Wohlforth

C. Wright Mills stood out among American intellectuals in the post World War II period precisely because he refused to go along with what he has labeled "The Liberal Rhetoric" and "The Great American Celebration." His dissatisfaction with the complacency and apathy of intellectual circles in this country alienated him from the liberal orthodoxy of the academy. His continuing courageous stand in support of the Cuban Revolution, as expressed in his book "Listen Yankee," will alienate him further.

While divorcing himself from the liberals, Mills refused to join the ranks of any of the radical groups in the United States. Rather, he remained an ideologically footloose intellectual in search of a political home. Now he is no longer completely footloose. With his articles in the *Nation*, his book, *The Causes of World War Three*, and his article "Letter to the New Left" in the September-October issue of the *New Left Review* he has found an ideological dwelling place.

Mills is perhaps closer to what is known in England and Western Europe as the "New Left" than any other prominent intellectual this side of the Atlantic. He shares with the New Left intellectuals their rejection of the cold war policies of the capitalist powers; an understanding that the threat of war comes primarily from the West; a dissatisfaction with the traditional social democratic and Communist parties; a concern with the problems of alienation and culture; and at least implicit rejection of the need to build a revolutionary working class party, etc.

HAD A DIFFERENCE

He has had one difference with other members of this fast growing international club—a very interesting difference. He rejected the working class as the "historical agency of change" and substituted the intellectuals. His reliance on the intellectuals as the group that can change society was quite clear in his book *The Causes of World War Three*. In his "Letter to the New Left" he went one step further and clearly counterposed this view to the traditional Marxist view that the working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society.

For proof of his thesis Mills turned to the revolutionary events of the past year: Turkey, Korea, Cuba, Okinawa and Japan, the Negro sit-ins in the South. On the surface it is a persuasive argument, for intellectuals and students certainly did play a major role in the revolutionary events in all these countries. A somewhat deeper analysis gives us a different picture.

For instance, in Japan, which is a highly industrialized country, it took more than snake dancing students to shake the capitalist government. It was the unity of the students with the powerful workers' movement which produced a social momentum great enough to prevent Eisenhower from touring the country. A far more profound upheaval, even more than the recent demonstrations, will be successful only to the extent that it involves the working class of Japan.

MILLS VS. MILLS

The interesting thing is that Mills' own analysis of the Cuban Revolution, to take another example, refutes his old thesis. In Cuba, intellectuals certainly played and continue to play a prominent role in the Revolution. But,

as Mills points out, it was more than armed intellectuals that toppled Batista and today it is more than armed intellectuals that give Castro the strength to defy U.S. Imperialism. It was the support of the peasants which made it possible for Castro to overthrow the Batista regime and today it is the armed workers and peasants that stand behind Castro as he defies the North American Behemoth. A Castro without the support of these social classes could do little more than the intellectuals whom Mills castigates in *Listen, Yankee*—write books.

'SIMPLE PROVINCIALISM'

Earlier in his "Letter to the New Left" Mills characterizes "the intellectual circles more or less associated with the Congress of Cultural Freedom and the Magazine *Encounter*" in strong terms. He accuses these "NATO intellectuals" of "simple provincialism" which "pertains to self-styled circles of intellectuals in the richer countries.

Mills himself lives in a country which has seen very little working class struggle in the post-war period. Being a college professor, he has been personally quite isolated from what working class struggle has existed. In a simplistic empirical way, a method he so emphatically rejects, Mills deduced from this immediate context that the working class no longer influences history in any country or in any period.

With his stand now in clear support of revolution and the insight into the Cuban revolution he has had to gain, Mills might

well be forced to wonder why this "labor metaphysic" which he calls a mere "legacy from Victorian Marxism" still has such a tenacious grip on intellectuals and workers the world over.

A DIFFERENT WORLD

For all they might wish to, Mills' co-thinkers abroad will not be able to accept an outright rejection of the working class as "the historical agency of change." This is because they live in a different social and political world. In a country like England, where the Labour Party is the second largest party, it is not so easy to deny the role of the working class in political and social change.

This difference which Mills has with other New Left thinkers abroad would not divide him from them. It is an ideological, not an operational difference. While the European New Left gives lip service to the role of the working class it operates as if it felt that only the intellectuals can change society.

The New Left circles in Europe are quite isolated from the militant workers in the trade union movement (they do maintain contact with some labor "leaders"). The New Left rejects, along with Mills, the Marxist concept of fusing together in a revolutionary party the intellectuals and the advanced workers. They limit themselves to the construction of coffee shops rather than revolutionary parties. In this way these otherwise very gifted men do a great disservice to the working class movement which needs their talents so much.

Walter Mum on HUAC Film . . .

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to know the truth say [the film] was manufactured.

FIRST AMENDMENT?

Q—O.K. Mr. Walter. Let's get to another question, the question around which this all centers, that of the first amendment. As I understand that amendment it says that the people have a right to hold any political views that they desire and this means that the Congress has no right to inquire into, or investigate them for holding those ideas. Don't you feel that the committee is violating this idea?

A—Communism isn't a political belief—it's an ideology, part of a conspiracy to subjugate the peoples of the world to communism.

Q—But the people who oppose your committee hold that under the first amendment it is a person's right to believe in the ideology of communism. They believe that is their right regardless of what others or yourself may think of those ideas.

A—Well, . . . you're opposed to our form of government and I'm opposed to yours. We're not going to get anywhere discussing it. Why should I give you an explanation?

At this point the interview was broken off.

In the magazine, *THE REPORTER* of November 14, 1960, Paul Jacobs had the following to say about the film "Operation Abolition":

The movie is made up almost entirely of newsreel shots, filmed by TV cameramen who covered the events for stations KRON and KPIX in San Francisco. After the hearings had been completed two committee staff members—William Wheeler, chief West Coast investigator, and Fulton ("Buddy") Lewis III, went to the television stations with subpoenas

for all the newsreel films that had been shot during the demonstrations. They then selected the footage they wanted and had prints made of it, telling the stations that the film was needed for "documentation."

The prints were sent to Washington, where the committee staff edited the film and wrote a commentary for it. After that had been done, film and commentary were turned over to a commercial film company, Washington Video Productions, to be made into a movie.

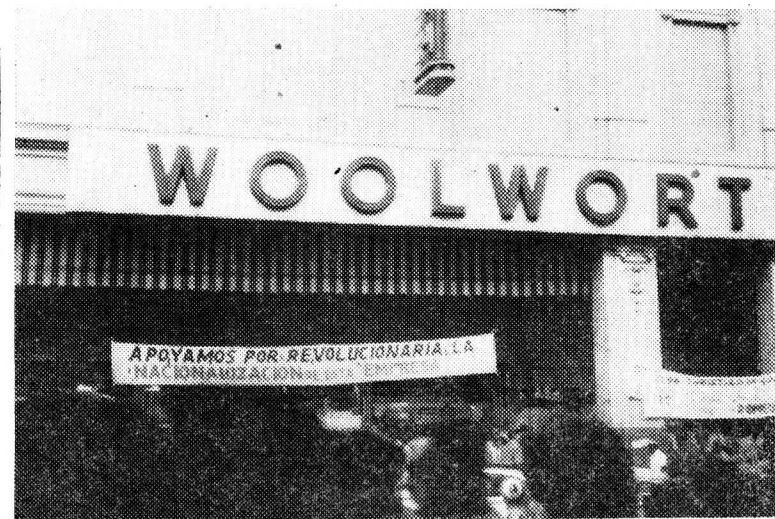
"Buddy" Lewis assisted the company with the technical work on the film, and the narrator's voice is his. Representative Francis E. Walter (D., Pennsylvania), chairman of the committee, and Gordon Sherer (R., Ohio), a committee member, both appeared as commentators.

WHEELER CONFESSES

Regardless of Congressman Walter's views on the film, William Wheeler, Chief West Coast investigator for the HUAC, has admitted the distortion in the film. The following is part of an exchange that took place on the "Goodwin Knight Show" telecast on KCOP-TV in Los Angeles.

Burton White, a Teaching Assistant at the Univ. of Calif. at Berkeley, commented about the distortions in the film. "I am basing my discussion on the fact that the film does have inaccuracies, does have distortions." William Wheeler answered, "All right we have admitted that. Let's go on to another subject. Mr. White: 'You have admitted that, Mr. Wheeler?' Wheeler: 'Certainly.'"

Copies of the 12 inch L Precord, "Sound of Protest" are available at cost (\$2) from SLATE, Box 893, Berkeley 1, California.



THIS WOOLWORTH'S DOESN'T DISCRIMINATE: Like most major stores in Havana, the Woolworth's company carries a sign saying it has been nationalized with the support of the revolutionary workers.

Fair Players in Cuba . . .

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revolution, their representative, Fidel Castro, to the death.

At the parade on January 2, at the beginning of the third year of the revolution, the students and workers of the Fair Play tour watched for seven hours as the Cuban people showed in a military demonstration that they are alert and prepared for the machinations of Yankee imperialism.

'WE ARE NOT AFRAID'

But the Cubans' animosity does not extend to the people of the United States. The Fair Players were guests of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with all Peoples. Yet we were ready to feel we were guests of all the Cuban people and most welcome guests. "We are not afraid of you," the Cubans explained. "We know you have not come here to exploit us, to rob us of our natural wealth, to make prostitutes of our sisters or to impose another Batista on us. We have made our revolution against that kind of Yankeeism. Over 90 per cent of our able-bodied people are armed in the militia to stop Yankees from doing those things to us again and we are not afraid."

"We know that you workers and students who have come to Cuba to see for yourselves what we are building here suffer from Yankee imperialism in its own home base. We welcome you as brothers and sisters. We give you our hearts. Our house is your house."

RED CARPET

As guests of the Cuban institute the Fair Players stayed at the Havana Riviera, the first hotel in the capital city. We visited schools, housing developments and cooperatives throughout the provinces of Habana, Matanzas and Pinar del Rio. We were guests at the New Year's banquet held at the school city called "Liberty City," which was formerly Camp Colombia and were joined there by the 10,000 volunteer teachers as we listened to Fidel Castro speak.

The American students could go anywhere they chose on the island, speak to anyone they wished, and ask any questions they wanted to ask. They took full advantage of the opportunity and in the course of their stay exploded one by one every lie of the U.S. State Department and the American press. They found things about the Cuban revolution that had never been reported in the papers "back home." With its recently imposed ban on traveling to Cuba, it is clear that the State Department is not anxious to have its lies exposed by many more probing American students.

CUBAN UN

The U.C. campaign of vilification against Cuba does not stop people from other countries of all parts of the world from coming to see for themselves, however. Along with nearly a thousand

other guests from these countries, we attended a banquet at which the delegations from the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, Japan, from various parts of Africa, from all over Latin America and from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee exchanged greetings to each other and to the Cuban people. We felt this meeting was like a real United Nations, where those in the world who are interested in how to feed, clothe and house the hungry people came together to learn from each other.

The visitors learned that Yankee imperialism had made Cuba a one-crop economy—a sugar economy. Nearly every kind of food had to be imported. Now all the cooperatives and farms are diversifying the crops. The people of Cuba can now eat turkey, strawberries, better grades of beef and pork which were never before raised.

NO 'FOOD SURPLUS'

At a cooperative in Matanzas province we saw how chemical farming is producing more and more food of all kinds. The process gives a yield in one acre which would ordinarily require 16 acres. In Cuba there is no problem of what to do with "surplus food." Unlike the U.S. Government, the Cubans do not think about spending millions of dollars storing excess food which cannot sell at a profit. Feeding hungry people means more to Cubans than profits. We came back with a ready answer to the outright lie of the U.S. press that the people of Cuba are starving and the Castro government intends to keep them starving. We felt the reporters must have gotten their dispatches mixed up with those of the Batista days.

The campaign of lies and the fact that the Cubans must be constantly on guard caused the Americans to end their delightful stay in Cuba with a better taste in their mouths. We were bitter because we had seen a nation of people working against time to build their homes, factories, schools and their lives and the answer of the U.S. Government was to force the Cubans to give their prime concern to the problem of defending their country. The Fair Players had seen the truth about Cuba and it was glorious. At the same time they saw the truth about their own country and it was shameful.

Most of the students resolved to continue their defiance of the State Department's war drive against Cuba, despite increased attacks by Government officials on the Fair Play Committee. They will not be frightened by the Eastlands and Dodds, their witch-hunt and any administrative actions against the campaign to tell the truth about Cuba. The students came back infected with the Cuban spirit, raising the banner, "We Shall Win!"