

**THE YOUNG SOCIALIST**  
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**PROTEST BAN:** Hunter College students staid out of classes for one full day to protest the infringement on their academic freedom. It was this kind of demonstration that brought about the reversal of the speaker ban.

# Victory Won Over NYC Speaker Ban

by Sylvia Reubens

NEW YORK — The thousands of students who protested the ban on Communist speakers at the city colleges here won their victory. Its third reversal on speaker policy, the Administrative Council of the City University decided that speakers were to be approved or disapproved by each college. This means that no speakers can now be barred from all the colleges as "Communists."

Controversy around the ban had brought out the largest number of New York students in demonstration in 14 years. Nearly 10,000 students boycotted classes during organized protest actions at the five colleges. More than 200 City College faculty members signed an advertisement in the *New York Times* protesting the ban as an "exercise in sophistry" just prior to the reversal. One professor noted that this was "the first time in 25 years that faculty members have banded together to make a public statement on an issue."

### A CONSIDERED OPINION

The ban's reversal was apparently based on a report by the Committee on the Bill of Rights of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. The report stated, "It is our considered opinion that a faculty or administration of the City University is illegally entitled to permit known United States Communist party members or officers to speak on their campuses."

Student action, a crucial factor in the Administrative Council's decision, had continued to mount even after the huge single-day demonstrations. About 200 students picketed the Council's office on Dec. 2 in the first co-ordinated action of City University students. This action was sponsored by the Student Councils of CCNY, Hunter and Queens College, the first affected by the ban.

Students on the line chanted slogans such as "Ban the Ban—We Demand the Right to Hear!" Signs read "Bomb, Bury, Break, Blast, Ban the Ban!" and "Students Unite—You Have Nothing to Lose but the Ban."

### CCNY BANS ONE

The first formal implementation of the ban at CCNY occurred when the Eugene V. Debs Club submitted to the administration a list of speakers including Dr. Herbert Aptheker, editor of *Political Affairs*. Other speakers invited included Black Muslim leader, Malcolm X; Farrell Dobbs,

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Mark Lane, New York State Assemblyman; the First Secretary of the Soviet Delegation to the United Nations; *National Review* editor William Buckley Jr.; Michael Harrington, editor of *New America*, and Richard Gibson, Acting National Executive Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Nearly all of these speakers had been barred from speaking at the City University during the past few months. The CCNY Administration chose to bar only Dr. Aptheker, whom they claimed was a "known" communist. Malcolm X was barred, from speaking at Queens College this fall because of his "extreme" views. Mark Lane was briefly banned at Brooklyn College because he was under indictment as a Freedom Rider. Farrell Dobbs was recently banned as a Smith Act defendant. The ban against Smith Act defendants was revoked last year only to be followed by the ban on "known" Communist speakers this year. Buckley had been barred from renting a hall at Hunter College this fall. The administration's granting of permission to speak to the First Secretary of the Soviet Delegation to the UN indicates the senselessness of the ban—only American Communists are con-

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# Political Opposition Now Outlawed

The persecution of the Communist Party under the recently upheld McCarran Act has far-reaching implications for all Americans carrying on the fight for a better world.

"Not since the Alien and Sedition laws in the beginning of the 19th century have there been so many American citizens in jail or on their way there for the political 'crime' of practicing free speech," noted Mrs. Jean Wilkinson, wife of Frank Wilkinson, at a recent rally to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. "Every citizen today who raises his voice in dissent, no matter on what issue; foreign policy, integration, or political or economic theory, is in danger of prosecution under the McCarran law," she added.

The effect of this vicious law is the outlawing of the Communist Party. Under the Internal Security

Act, the party must register as a "foreign agent" handing over lists of its officers and members to the Justice Department. Under existing laws, mere admission of Communist Party membership is sufficient for imprisonment under the Smith Act. Party spokesmen have stated they will not so jeopardize their members. Failure to register will mean \$10,000 fine per day and a stiff prison sentence if the party is convicted under a 12-count indictment against it.

This outlawing of an opposition political party sets a dangerous precedent in American politics. As Mrs. Wilkinson pointed out: "In the South this is dramatically illustrated by the newly organized coordinating committee of police departments in nine Southern states, which exchanges information and cooperates in the repression of 'subversive elements.' By using the anti-Communist hyste-

ria and the terminology of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Southern racists no longer have to defend their segregationist views openly, but now merely term every integrationist a 'subversive' and have him arrested and jailed."

Every group that stands up for civil liberties, civil rights, in defense of the Cuban Revolution for an end to the war drive, and for better conditions in the factories and in the universities, if labelled a "Communist front" by the witchhunters, can face penalties similar to those placed on the CP. This is a dangerous weapon in the hands of any government. In the hands of an American government with a long record of persecutions of every kind of movement for human rights, it is not only a threat but a clear and pres-

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### 'I WANT TO LIVE':

# Students Across Country Demand End of War Drive

by Arthur Phelps

"I Want To Live!" This simple statement sums up the worldwide protest against nuclear testing and for disarmament.

There have been dramatic demonstrations—a hunger strike at Wayne State University, a vigil at Cornell, women with babies marching on the N.Y. Atomic Energy Commission office, picket lines before Kennedy throughout his tour, a student hunger strike in front of the White House keeps Washington informed. And all of this gets into the press, on radio and TV so that no one can fail to know the truth—that there will always be opposition to rulers, crazed with the compulsion to have things their own way, and, if they can't, will drive toward destruction of everything and everyone.

### PERSONAL PROTEST

An important characteristic of the "I want to live movement" is that its participants are making a personal protest.

A 100-student, 30-hour "Vigil Against Fallout" at Cornell University was conducted on an individual basis without the sponsorship of any campus organization," reports the Oct. 9 *New Freedom*. A vigil leaflet said: "As members of a political community aware of the heinous consequences of fall-out, we felt impelled to register our moral indignation at the indiscriminate misery inflicted upon the human race. Could we give our silent assent?"

Robert E. Smith, a Wayne student hunger-striker put it this way: "I speak for myself and no one else. My reasons are entirely personal. . . . My reaction to this appalling prospect of hundreds of millions if not billions, of my fellow human beings being killed) can be nothing less than vio-



**SEATTLE DEMONSTRATION:** Citizens from the state of Washington show that they want an end to U. S. aggressive policies toward Cuba. They linked their picket line with a city-wide demonstration against preparations for a third world war.

lent, and, as a pacifist, a hunger strike was the most violent reaction I could allow myself . . ."

### AGAINST BOTH K & K

Another frequent characteristic is that blames, protests and demands are aimed at both Kennedy and Khrushchev. A photo in the Wayne (Mich.) *Daily Collegian* is captioned: "Atom-Protest Letters to Khrushchev . . ." But the protesters in the photo sported a sign "Write Khrushchev or Kennedy—Stop Nuclear Testing."

"The Women's Strike for Peace Opposes All Nuclear Tests," "Mr. Kennedy: Remember your Peace Pledge," "Mr. Khrushchev: The Time to Stop is Now." These signs carried at the N.Y. anti-AEC picket line are perhaps a good

cross-section of sentiment in the nationwide demonstrations of Nov. 1. A United Press International report said the protests by the Women's Strike, "penetrated into virtually every section of the country and every major city." They urged Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Khrushchev to help bring a halt to bomb tests. One of the largest demonstrations was in Chicago where an estimated 1,000 women gathered to appeal for a halt to testing.

### NOT AN ISOLATED ISSUE

A third, but more selective, aspect of the demonstrations—especially among college students—is that some protesters do not see their actions against testing as separate from other issues, even from some issues which may to some seem far removed.

The Nov. 10 *Hilltop*, of Howard U., reports: "Nationwide student opposition to present world hostilities has found fertile soil on the Howard Campus" where a group named Students for Peace is being formed to seek alternatives to war and violence. " . . . Spending for armaments should be utilized for the relief of worldwide human sufferings," said a group spokesman. The article continues, "The group also urges students . . . to participate in the Nov. 11 Freedom ride [to desegregate public facilities] on Route 40."

Kennedy's visit to Seattle was met by "signs asking for an end to war and a solution to the Cuban situation," reported the U. of Washington *Daily*. The peace walk of "200 housewives, students, faculty members and business men" was joined by a Fair Play for Cuba Committee picket line.

In his letter to the *Daily Collegian*, Wayne hungerstriker Rob-

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# The Truth Can Be Heard At World Youth Festival

an open letter

(Following is the text of an open letter drafted by the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance and sent to the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League. The letter was sent to the University of California's Collegian for publication.)

## Young People's Socialist League Berkeley, California

The Berkeley Chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance welcomes the opportunity presented by the VIIIth World Festival of Youth (in Helsinki July 27-Aug. 5) to meet politically minded young people of many countries. While recognizing that the leading financial and organizational support for the Festival comes from the Soviet Bloc countries, we also recognize that its composition will include many representatives of Asian and African nations with whom we can discuss ideas of socialism and national independence.

The scheduled events are to include concerts, sports, meetings, dances, parades and seminars. Unfortunately there is no organized political discussion but as at any conference the most useful discussions are the informal ones. Reports in the YOUNG SOCIALIST (Oct., 1957 and 1959) by delegate Maurice Pelter (ex-Communist Party member who broke with the party after the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution) and Shane and Judy Mage (members of the Young Socialist Alliance) say that there has been free and full discussion with the thousands of young people that came to Moscow and Vienna. We therefore urge the students of the University of California to attend the World Festival of Youth in order to engage in discussion and debate on the political issues facing the youth of today.

### YPSL RESOLUTION

The Berkeley Young People's Socialist League has adopted a resolution condemning the coming Festival as a weapon in the arsenal of Soviet propaganda and urging students not to participate in the United States delegation. We believe that this is an incorrect approach and that the Young People's Socialist League should reconsider its action for the following reasons:

(1) The Y.P.S.L. statement seems to imply that the composition of the delegation will be rigged. Only attempts to participate in the delegation will test the truth or falsity of this charge.

(2) The Y.P.S.L. resolution back-handedly red-baits all those students who join the United States delegation in

the face of the Y.P.S.L.'s charge that this would only promote Soviet propaganda.

(3) Acknowledging that Soviet propaganda stands to gain from this festival as it has in the past, the question remains whether the Berkeley Y.P.S.L.'s resolution and the discussion of a few prospective attendees has the slightest impact on the effectiveness of this propaganda.

### TOOL FOR STATE DEPT.

(4) Such a resolution plays into the hands of our State Department (which the Y.P.S.L. is justifiably critical of) which can now proclaim that even American Socialist youth condemns and boycotts the Soviet-sponsored Youth Festival.

(5) It is the responsibility of those interested in advancing their ideas to take every opportunity to present them, whether they be the ideas of freedom of autocracy socialism or capitalism. Ideas must be communicated to be effective.

**Comrades of the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League!** The peoples of the Soviet Bloc are in a period of political study and action. There are reports of "Italian strikes" (slow-downs), of student protest over Hungary and Stalin, of proclamations posted on bulletin boards by students against the distortion of Soviet history, including the role of Trotsky. Lenin's "Testament" has been published along with the long-banned records of early CPSU Congresses of 1917-1923. You have told us that a majority of you are Revolutionary - Socialists, taking your inspiration from the words and deeds of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We ask you to join with us in presenting their ideas of the need for workers democracy, for intellectual freedom, for a struggle against world capitalism and its built-in drive to imperialist war, to the youth of Berkeley and the delegates to the World Festival of Youth. To effect this we propose the following joint projects:

### JOINT PROJECTS

(1) Classes on the history of the Russian Revolution, placing the greatest emphasis on developments as discussed in the following books by Leon Trotsky: **The Third International After Lenin, The Revolution Betrayed, and The Stalin School of Falsification**, and any other books which you might suggest. Both our agreements and differences could be expressed, perhaps ending the series with discus-

sions or debates on the class nature of the Russian state, our attitude towards it, and the development of the Cold War and the World Revolution;

(2) Joint projects to raise money in order to help members of the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Socialist Alliance attend the World Festival of Youth to present their ideas to the delegates and observers;

(3) The preparation of joint or separate documents in several languages to distribute at the World Festival of Youth.

**Comrades!** We are armed only with our ideas. Join with us in action to present them to the World Festival of Youth.

—Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance

## Ban Victory...

(Continued from Page 1)

dered dangerous.

### 'CP IS JUST THE FIRST'

The final meeting, attended by about 50 students, was cosponsored by the Debs Club and the Student Peace Union. Speakers present were Dobbs, Lane, Gibson, Harrington and Malcolm X. Farrell Dobbs pointed out that the speaker ban was a direct result of the U.S. Government's attempts to outlaw the Communist Party through the McCarran Act. "If the Government can outlaw its political opposition," he said, "then no movement for civil rights, civil liberties, or trade union demands is safe." He warned that all thought would be subject to control if this trend continues. He stated that the Socialist Workers Party was ready and willing to do all in its power to struggle against the McCarran Act and for its final removal.

The victory over the speaker ban in New York City Colleges is the first blow against the move to outlaw the Communist Party. It represents the force which can be wielded by the organized students in protest.

To celebrate the victory the Student Government of CCNY immediately arranged a meeting for Ben Davis through its Public Affairs Forum. Davis spoke to a packed audience of over 200 students. At the same time, however, a small group of right-wing students staged a protest demonstration in front of the building housing his meeting.

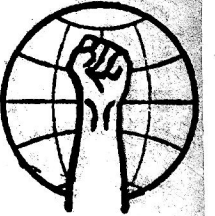
## YSA LOCALS

BALTIMORE: c/o A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3763.  
BERKELEY-OAKLAND: c/o Petras, 2158 Blake St. TH 5-1550.  
BOSTON: c/o Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave.  
CHICAGO: c/o Dengler, 746 Belden. RE 9-1903.  
DENVER: Box 724. Tabor 5-2779.  
DETROIT: 3737 Woodward.  
LOS ANGELES: Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.I. 54. Normandy 4-0967. GR 3-1342.  
MILWAUKEE: c/o Myrtle Kastner, 3460 N. 16th St.  
NEW YORK CITY: 10 E. 23 St. GR 5-9441.  
PROVIDENCE: c/o Roger Sheppard, 129 Benefit Street.  
PHILADELPHIA: 3708 Powelton Ave., Apt. 4L. BA 2-4078.  
SAN FRANCISCO: c/o Mattingly, 2331 Market St.  
SEATTLE: c/o Heattie, 3420 Huron St. EA 5-4695 or ME 2-7827.  
TWIN CITIES: 822 Ninth Ave. So. FE 8-2158.  
TORONTO: 31 Queen St. W. EMpire 6-1454.  
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"A World to Win!"



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## Let Dominicans Decide

The Dominican Republic has suffered tyrannical rule since the day American Marines landed to protect U.S. interests. Trujillo, the late dictator, got his start as a pimp for U.S. Marine officers during the U.S. occupation and through Colonel Richard M. Cotts became a leader in the special Dominican army built by the U.S. Marines. After the Marines were removed Trujillo won an "election" (he was the only candidate) and became the Dominican Republic's permanent ruler.

The United States backed his regime through three decades of tyranny, mass repressions, murders, misery and starvation among the workers. Now the Cuban Revolution has had a strong effect on the masses throughout Latin America and the U.S. has had to try new maneuvers in order to maintain its position against the raising tide for social change. One of these maneuvers is the support of the dumping of Trujillo who became a point of embarrassment for the State Department.

Once again the U.S. sent gunboats into Dominican waters to guarantee its interests. The propaganda line of the State Department was that the boats were sent to prevent the re-emergence of tyranny, i.e., the tyranny the U.S. put into power and supported for three decades. The local man who was to prevent this re-emergence and set up a constitutional government is none other than a great admirer of the late Trujillo, Joaquin Balaguer the "New Frontier" type of dictator. He wrote a book during the Trujillo reign called **Dominican Reality** which tells us: "It is the purpose of this discourse to prove, absolutely impartially, that President Trujillo is the actual organizer of the Republic in its present integrated form. This work does not rank as a eulogy..." If today we constitute an integrally free nation, possessing powerful moral energies and consciousness of our historical destinies it is because Trujillo has given lasting characteristics to the accomplishments of the founder of the Republic, consolidating the nation created by them and endowing it with the unity of conscience necessary to keep it firm and true to itself."

While Balaguer's government is busy shooting women who are protesting the continuation of the tyranny, in Cuba the literacy brigades are finishing up their work which will wipe out illiteracy in Cuba. The open military support which the U.S. gives to the continuing Dominican tyranny indicates what kind of "freedom" it hopes to establish in Cuba by armed force. The State Department fears that if they are allowed to determine their own destiny, the Dominican people will follow the Cuban example in order to win their basic freedom from poverty and oppression. The fear is undoubtedly well founded.

## There's No 'All Clear'

Cuba is threatened with invasion again. The plans are laid; the date may even be set. This much is evident from the recent flurry of denunciations of Cuba by Latin American governments under U.S. pressure. Kennedy and Stevenson's trip to Trinidad to speak with the Argentine Government is just the latest incident in the military preparations. A threat is indicated in the demand for action to "guard hemispheric security." It is indicated in the few stories about training camps for the counterrevolutionaries that have seeped through the press censorship demanded by Kennedy after the CIA's debacle last spring.

The Cuban people do not want war. "Let Cuba live in peace," declared Foreign Minister Raul Roa, "and you will see how suddenly the hotbed of international tension deliberately created by the Government of the United States, with the goal of reconquest and the establishment of hegemony, will die out."

The U.S. Government took a severe beating during the April Cuban invasion, which it organized. This was not merely a military beating. People throughout the world, including tens of thousands in this country, were justifiably horrified at the shameful aggression. There were more student demonstrations protesting that invasion than have occurred around any single issue of U.S. foreign policy in decades. The American people cannot tolerate a repeat performance of this country's aggression against revolutionary Cuba. Students and working people should call for the dismantling of all military training camps ringing Cuba and the restoration of diplomatic relations with the tiny island.

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# Wayne U. Officials Tremble When First Radical Speaks in 10 Years

The Wayne University Board of Governors rescinded a 10-year standing ban on "Communist" speakers in 1960. Still, students at the Detroit institute have been able to hear few Communist ideas. The University replaced its ban with a policy of allowing all qualified off-campus scholars to share their knowledge (as long as they refrain from touting their political prejudices).

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, editor of **Political Affairs**, was among the first such scholars to qualify who had previously been banned. Permission was granted to the Independent Socialist Club to present Dr. Aptheker on the subject of "The Negro in the Civil War," a safe and scholarly enough topic it was felt.

### NURSE PROTESTS

A group of Detroit citizens vigorously protested, however. The group's spokesman, a practical nurse, Miss Ann Byerlein, urged the Wayne Board of Governors to cancel the scheduled lecture on

grounds that Aptheker would propagandize. Miss Byerlein was part of a group which collected some 65,000 signatures opposing the decision to rescind the Communist ban last year. The Board resisted outside pressures, however, even when they amounted to threats to cut down on the university's financial grants.

"I have no fear for this country, since the very essence of American freedom is difference of opinions," stated the Chairman of the Board of Governors. "Extra precautions have been taken to see that the speaker will stick to his subject and that no harm will come to the students," he added.

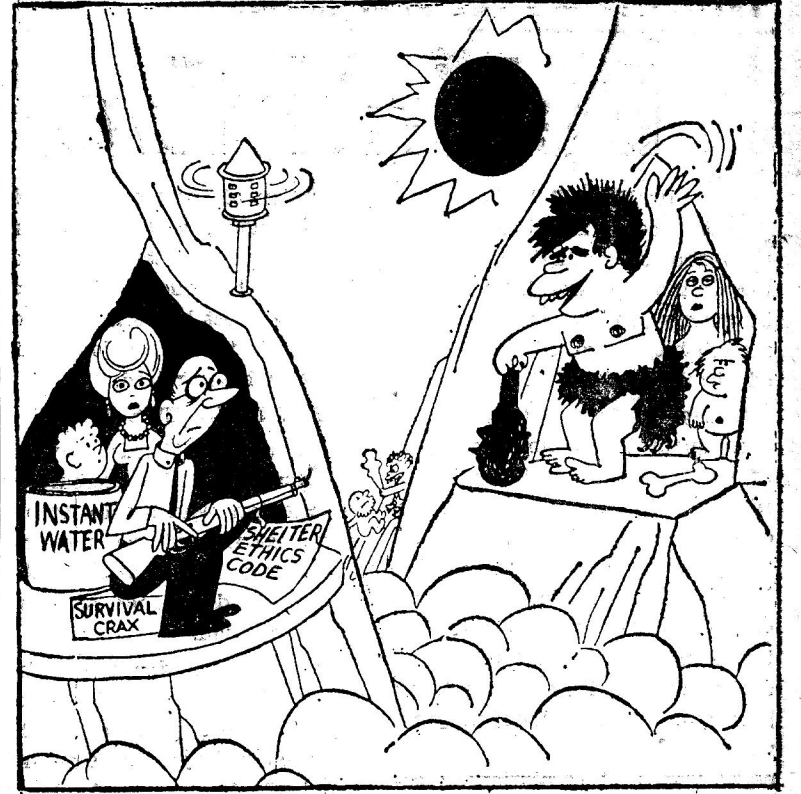
### CHORUS PREPARES

These "extra precautions" meant that Dr. Aptheker was asked to submit a detailed outline of his scheduled lecture to a group of history professors and other officials who were to join the Chairman of the Board of Governors in the front row of the lecture hall, prepared to rise up and say in chorus, "this is a far cry

from your subject; meeting adjourned" should he deviate from the outline. In addition, all questions were to be sent up in writing to be reviewed by a faculty screening board before answered by Dr. Aptheker.

While all students and faculty members at Wayne were invited to the lecture, certain special guests could be invited, but only if they were screened first. Arnold Kessler, the Socialist Club's president, noted however, that there were several policemen, FBI and Detroit subversive squad agents present with cameras. Waiving responsibility for their presence, he said, "It should be up to our club to determine who our guests should be."

Some 175 people jammed the hall to hear the speech. Previously, a Russian chemist had been allowed to speak during a cultural program, who would have been barred under the old ban. Dr. Aptheker's meeting marked the first real test of the new decisions against outside pressures.



'HI'YA NEIGHBOR'

## Youth Notes

### PLAN MORE ACTIONS:

# YSA Holds Second Convention

The Second National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was convened in Chicago Dec. 29.

The YSA was organized in Philadelphia in April 1960 by young students and workers in response to the need for a national revolutionary socialist youth organization. The formal organization of the YSA in 1960 was preceded by the development of Young Socialist supporter groups around the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

This conference finds the YSA firmly established as a national youth group with a substantially increased student membership over that of the founding confer-

ence. During the past year and a half members of the YSA have been active in the movement to defend and support the Cuban Revolution, they have been in the forefront of the student movement to bring full civil rights to the Negro people. In addition the YSA has joined in protests against the war drive and has been active in campus movements to defend academic freedom.

At its Second National Convention, YSA members have a chance to get together, to discuss activities during the past year and prepare to participate in and lead student actions in the coming

year. The conference is composed of delegates elected by the YSA branches across the country. They plan discussion and democratic decision on the tasks and perspectives for the YSA for the coming year. The nature of the Cuban Revolution and means to further its defense in the light of overt and covert hostility of the U.S. Government will also be discussed.

On the basis of the discussions and decisions made at this conference, the YSA looks to even greater participation with American youth in the struggles of this generation, and continued recruitment to the ideas of socialism.

# Students Demand End of War . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

ert E. Smith recalls his participation in a 'Swim-In' to integrate a local swimming pool.

### SPU IDEOLOGY

Out of a combination of continual globe-threatening and enervating actions by the "major powers" and the upsurge of student protests focusing on specific issues, several "peace" groups appeared. The influence of Student SANE is waning since the new student activists reject its witchhunt atmosphere and refusal to call for unilateral cessation of testing and disarmament. They feel Student SANE is tied too closely with the State Department and the existing order.

The Student Peace Union is more palatable to many students becoming politically aware. Its unequivocal call for "unilateral initiatives for disarmament" by the U.S. and its condemnation of "the United States no less unequivocally than we do the USSR" for renewal of testing are attractive to the new generation.

Furthermore, the SPU opposes the arms race for failing "to preserve . . . freedom, civil liberties and individual dignity. Franco, Chiang Kai-Shek and other dictators are among the supporters of the 'free world.' In the name of anti-Communism basic civil liberties are suppressed. We speak of individual human dignity in the same breath that we discuss whether the toll of a nuclear war

will be a minimum of sixty million or a maximum of 180 million deal in this country. While millions of people all over the world are starving, we turn our backs and watch our grain rot." (From Program Statement, 1961 National Convention, SPU.)

A major SPU premise is that the U.S. "could be influenced to take such moves" as are necessary to bring about disarmament and peace—the main "moves" being (1) "the cessation of the testing and production of . . . weapons under UN inspection" and disengagement (e.g. Rapacki Plan, etc.) and (2) disarmament and transformation of the war economy to welfare pursuits and non-military foreign aid. But the question is not of policy, but of imperialism.

In 1959 U.S. companies exported \$1.2 billion in capital but made \$6.7 billion in foreign investments (the excess came from foreign profits, depreciation and loans). Year-end 1960 cumulative U.S. investment abroad totalled about \$32 billion. Kennedy's speech to the NAM, Dec. 6, reported a return of \$1.3 billion on \$200 million invested in underdeveloped countries alone. But the U.S. rulers are worried. \$1 billion of investment was lost in Cuba (fourth largest area of U.S. investment). More revolutions are brewing. Inflation and falling values of U.S. currency go hand in hand. Kennedy declares: "We are determin-

ed upon the preservation of our system without regard to cost or peril!" In a nutshell these (let alone the prop of the war budget economy) are some of the stakes in U.S. policy and its policy to defend these stakes.

SPU does not yet recognize, apparently, that this system must be removed to remove the cause of war. Yet SPU declares it wants "a society which will insure both peace and freedom and which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited by another."

It is this paradox which the student antiwar movement must solve: not by giving advice to the imperialists but through the method epitomized by Cuba. A program of struggle against war based on the force of the international working class would bring the movement closer to its goal.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR —How to Win It by Shane Mage

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**CIVIL RIGHTS:** The arrest of 11 Freedom Riders in Albany, Ga. sparked demonstrations met by the arrest of over 300 including Dr. Martin Luther King. An agreement was made, according to the N.Y. Times, involving "minor concessions" by the whites in return for a temporary cessation of demonstrations . . . "Police brutality—tear gas—dogs" at a Baton Rouge, La. civil rights boycott demonstration (73 Negroes were arrested). This provoked a CORE sponsored march on the State Office Building in New Orleans, resulting in the arrest of 292, mostly Negro students of Southern University. Meanwhile, the Consumers League, a "Negro integration organization" planned a march to the voter registrar's office. It asked police protection and telegraphed President Kennedy protesting the student arrests. Ronnie M. Moore, 18, a sophomore at Southern U. and chairman of Baton Rouge CORE, was held in \$2,000 bond . . . Louise Ingraham, a Freedom Rider jailed in Jackson, Miss.: ". . . as for Kennedy's name among the prisoners it was a dirty word. The Jackson students invented a song to the tune of Frere Jacques:

Brother Bob (repeat)  
Are you sleeping (repeat)  
Freedom Riders waiting (repeat)  
Enforce the law!" (repeat)

**CUBA:** Dr. Corliss Lamont says the Kennedy Administration's action against Cuba has "aroused considerable misgivings among liberals and progressives, including myself, who had come out in support of his candidacy." . . . Seattle student Fair Play for Cuba Committee's delegate told Kennedy, in a picket-line leaflet: "today in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic . . . as in Florida and Louisiana, forces are being trained to invade Cuba," inspired, financed and trained by the U.S." . . . Fair Play for Cuba Committee's delegate will ask the World Peace Council gathering in Stockholm to "take a strong stand against any U.S. intervention in Cuba and (to) launch an international campaign of solidarity with Cuba."

**ON THE RIGHT:** YAF "clarified" its stand on the ban of Dr. Herbert Aptheker at Wayne University: "right wing . . . enemies of freedom . . . should (not) be denied freedom to speak . . . communists should be denied freedom to speak." . . . Hunter College "Arrow" reports: "The American Committee For Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters . . . is headed (largely) by the staffs of the "National Review" magazine and YAF" and is centered at YAF headquarters, 79 Madison Ave., N.Y. . . . Less moderate conservatives can write Tanks for Katanga, Dept. K, Conservative Thunder Inc., Detroit, Mich. . . . Authoress Ayn Rand ("Fountainhead," etc.) speaking at John Hopkins University: ". . . the future belongs to a new type of intellectual, a new radical; the fighter for capitalism . . . I wish to put an end to that monstrous cannibalism—the morality of altruism," she declared. "I am on the side of justice and capitalism."

**JUSTICE AND CAPITALISM:** "Nearly a million youths now out of school and out of work are suffering that sense of being surplus in an economy built on the dignity of work," editorializes the N.Y. Times. The unemployed rate for Negro youth is double that for whites . . . At the same time, college yearly costs average \$2,200 for private schools and \$1,800 for land-grant schools—and they are rising. Detroit YSA's leaflet campaign against a Wayne U. tuition raise of \$200 per year is most timely.

**NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION:** The right wing attack by YAF, etc. to capture, split or smash NSA began at the NSA Congress last Aug. 20-30. The attack and its initial failure (epitomized by the passage of a resolution calling for abolition of HUAC) is described in "The Right at NSA," a feature of "New University Thought," Autumn, 1961. (Also, see YS, Nov., 1961). . . . Kansas University has withdrawn from NSA and similar action is being discussed elsewhere. Meanwhile right-wing plans for a rival organization are being implemented. The YS will follow developments further, though it appears that not many students will do likewise until NSA clarifies its defense of the right for students to be represented as total members of a society and not simply "as students." In addition, many students will not defend NSA against the right until they can be made to feel they actually have some say in what NSA says and does.



**TROTSKYISM'S THE REAL ISSUE:**

# Behind the Moscow-Peking Rift

by Nora Roberts

Until recent times it was thought that Trotskyism had no place in the Communist world. The Soviet bureaucracy, under the brutal and monolithic control of Stalin seemed firmly established.

Today we are witnessing the breakup of the monolithic aspect of Stalin's party and the beginnings of ideological struggles of ever widening proportions. No "new" questions are suddenly being brought to the fore. It is interesting that the dispute in the international Communist movement are along the lines of Trotsky's program. The Trotskyist program was based upon the two essential cornerstones of revolutionary socialism—workers democracy and the policy of workers internationalism.

**THE PROGRAM**

With the firm establishment of Stalin's control in the Soviet Union, there developed a ruthless bureaucratic caste imposed on the backs of the Russian workers. This caste had to stifle opposition from the old Bolshevik cadre by brute force in order to sink its roots. The bureaucracy meant a loss of efficiency in the workers state. The Russian workers had to be coerced into watching passively as a large part of the wealth they produced was siphoned off to support this large unproductive caste. Workers democracy was essential, in the eyes of both Lenin and Trotsky, to prevent this bureaucratic deformation.

A free discussion of ideas among the Russian working class would insure that the most revolutionary policies would be carried through and that the Russian economy would develop in the healthiest possible manner. Instead, in order to subordinate the needs of the working class to the needs of the bureaucracy, Stalin had to use every means his bloody hands could grasp, murdering his opposition and all those who dared speak up against his regime, until finally there were few who dared to speak at all. Preserving the interests of the bureaucracy on an international scale meant that all sections of Lenin's Communist International had to be brought into line. Policies followed by the CP in each country were merely orders from Moscow.

**REJECTS INTERNATIONALISM**

Internationally, Stalin threw over the Marxist and Leninist concepts of international working class political action, substituting "peaceful coexistence" with "progressive" capitalists in order to build "socialism in one country"—which meant, in reality, building his bureaucracy in one country. Developing workers revolutions in Germany, Spain, Italy and France were betrayed in the 'thirties, liberal capitalists preserved in power, often with Soviet arms, on direct orders from Moscow.

Trotsky counterposed to this policy the idea that the first duty of a revolutionary socialist is to break from the bourgeoisie on a program of independent workers struggles. Colonial struggles throughout the world will become socialist struggles, he said, and their victory means the building of workers states. A program leading to the victory of the world's working class is the only real way to bring about a lasting peace.

These were the two points of discussion as the process of de-

generation of the workers revolution unfolded, and the bureaucracy was firmly established. Now, when the bureaucracy is receiving its severest blows in three decades, it is these questions which are again being raised.

**KHRUSHCHEV'S POINT**

First of all, Khrushchev has been forced by the pressures of the Russian workers to account for the growth of the monstrous bureaucracy and the destruction of workers democracy since the 1917 Revolution.

Since Stalin's death the true nature of his regime is coming more and more to light. In 1956, Khrushchev began a seemingly uncontrollable process beginning with exposing Stalin's "cult of the personality," and recently highlighted by the removal of his body from its place of honor in Red Square. The vicious nature of his frame-up trials in the 1930's was brought to light, story upon story was related demonstrating Stalin's cruelty in dealing with opponents. The Soviet masses have not allowed Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes to stop where he began. He has had to continue, every conference bringing forward new horrors.

Khrushchev has attempted to place the blame for this bureaucracy all on his late predecessor's neck, hoping thereby to absolve himself from guilt. At the same time, he has been forced to grant many reforms along democratic lines. Soviet youth and intellectuals have written and spoken up against the regime, against anti-Semitism and other crimes, and they are still alive.

The post-Stalin thaw in the Soviet Union has been mainly directed around the questions of workers democracy. On the question of internationalism, Khrushchev stands firm in upholding Stalin's theories of "peaceful coexistence" in order to build "socialism in one country."

**CHINESE OBJECT**

It is against this program that the Chinese CP has been carrying on its discussion. Khrushchev's position against the Chinese was summed up in 1960 with the statement, "The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. In the case of the struggle for peace, this is a question the solution of which can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees real danger of a thermonuclear war." A workers program is then subordinated to this section of the bourgeoisie. This is the policy which leads the American Communist Party to support such "liberals" as Adlai Stevenson, instead of advocating independent working class political action, which led the Cuban CP to oppose Castro's struggle before his victory.

National revolutions which overthrow capitalism will lead to war, Khrushchev claims, mimicking Stalin. On the contrary, state the Chinese. "The forces of the masses of the people of various countries and their struggle are the decisive factor in checking war and defending world peace. War can be held at bay and world peace preserved only by continually strengthening the forces of the people in the countries of the socialist camp, the liberation movements of the Asian, African



**TEAMWORK:** The Bolshevik team of Trotsky, Lenin, Kamenev and Zinoviev insured full discussion and democratic decision by all members of the Communist International.

and Latin American peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the people in various capitalist countries and by relying on their alliance in the resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys so as to isolate U.S. imperialism to the greatest extent."

**PERMANENT REVOLUTION**

Following the death of Stalin, the Chinese have increased their determination in their struggle against the policies wrought by Khrushchev's "socialism in one country" line. The position of the Chinese has been that "national wars of liberation" or colonial struggles can be lead along socialist lines and that the victory of these struggles, rather than provoking war, holds back the imperialists. They hold up their own revolution and the Cuban Revolution as examples of this process. They reprint long sections from

Lenin's works to bolster their position.

However, it must be remembered that if the Chinese have adopted a Leninist stand in their debate with Khrushchev, they have by no means changed their Stalinist methods in dealing with the Chinese workers. The Chinese Communist Party established itself as representatives of a bureaucratic caste with the victory of the Revolution and have not altered that role.

The Moscow-Peking debate itself has never yet been brought to a level where the Russian and Chinese workers can discuss and democratically come to their own decisions. Rather, both sides have refrained from referring to each other by name. Both attack "opportunists" and "dogmatists," Khrushchev centering his attack

on the "dogmatists," and the Chinese on the "opportunists" holding up Yugoslavia as the collective whipping boy. The Chinese came closest to naming their opponents openly, referring to positions held by "certain muddle-heads." Khrushchev, on the other hand, hopes to pin the label of "Stalinist" on his opponents in order to attack them. His blows against Albania can be interpreted as directed against the Chinese.

**IGNORES THE ALLIES**

The reasons each side has for covering up the running dispute cannot be for expediency. If Khrushchev were to appeal directly to the Soviet masses for a full discussion of the Stalin era and how its crimes could be rectified, he would find a ready response—a willingness to oust all those who bear the guilt. The Chinese masses likewise, would be more than willing to combat betrayals of workers struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to give meaningful support to their revolution which they had to defend with their lives from imperialist attack in the Korean War.

Both the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies are undoubtedly well aware of this eagerness. They are both operating under direct pressure from the working class in their countries. What these bureaucrats justifiably fear is that the workers will carry the questions to their logical conclusions, and rid themselves forever of the parasitic gang which has eaten up wealth rightfully belonging to them and has been responsible for the failure of the spreading of their social revolution and thereby for the continued danger of imperialist war.

This discussion which was opened up under pressure from the working class in the Soviet bloc and in China has spread to international proportions, involving all supporters of the workers revolutions. Trotskyism is the key issue in the dispute and the Trotskyist movement cannot be isolated from the discussion.

## Opposition Now Outlawed . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

ent danger.

The first use of this weapon against academic freedom was felt on the City Colleges in New York. There the McCarran Act was used as the excuse to deny speaking privileges to Communist Party Secretary Benjamin Davis—thereby denying the students the right to choose their own outside speakers. Protests by thousands of students and faculty members dealt a decisive blow against this infringement of students rights. (See story this page) Further action is called for.

The Socialist Workers Party has already joined the fight against the McCarran Act. "The Socialist Workers Party stands ready to

aid the Communist Party defense in every way we can," stated National Secretary Farrell Dobbs in an open letter to the CP. "We are prepared to help build the broadest possible movement in defense of the democratic rights of the Communist Party, a defense movement based on the great American labor tradition that an injury to one is an injury to all."

**YSA VOWS FIGHT**

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance add their voice to the struggle for civil liberties on this issue. This struggle must grow and encompass all young people especially students who stand in the forefront of today's movements for a better world, and who have therefore placed themselves directly in the line of fire of the witchhunters.

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New York 3, New York**CORRECTION**

Due to unfortunate technical errors, the article in Dec. YS entitled "Khrushchev's Program: Congress Promises, But Won't Win Masses" by Shane Mage should have the following corrections.

(1) The article refers to "a growth of agricultural production by 25 percent . . . over the 20 year span." This should read "by 250 percent."

(2) The article states "the projected economic growth increase more than twice the best U.S. rate and also above the historic Soviet rate, is by no means easily achieved." This should read "The projected increase in the per-hour productivity of industrial labor, more than twice the best U.S. rate and also above the historic Soviet rate . . ."

(3) The final sentence should read: "It stands as evidence that the Leninist system of workers' democracy will not be restored by reforms from on top but only through political revolution, only through the overthrow of the bureaucratic caste symbolized by Stalin and now represented by Khrushchev."