

YOUNG SOCIALIST

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White Racist Mercenaries in the Congo

YOUNG SOCIALIST

News and Notes

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COVER: White mercenaries in the service of puppet Tshombe. On the left is Vic Oglethorpe of South Africa; on the right, Dougie Lord of England. Tshombe cannot find enough black Africans to fight for him, so he has hired a band of scum that includes Cuban counter-revolutionaries, former Nazis, French troops formerly in Algeria, and racists from South Africa.

ORAL ARGUMENTS IN THE BLOOMINGTON CASE will be heard by the Indiana Supreme Court on December 15. Leonard Boudin, General Counsel of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will argue for the defense that the Indiana Anti-Communism Act is unconstitutional. Three students at Indiana U. in Bloomington, Indiana, Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan were indicted under two counts of the witchhunt law in 1963 because of their YSA activities. At pre-trial hearings last spring, local Judge Nat U. Hill ruled the law unconstitutional, and threw out the indictments. Prosecutor Hoadley appealed to the Indiana Supreme Court... The next issue of the YS will carry the full story of the Court's ruling... The defense committee organized to fight the indictments and the unconstitutional law, the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, is in need of funds. For more information, write CABS, Box 205, New York 3, N.Y.

ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE TO NEW YOUNG SOCIALIST—The first issue of the new magazine-format YS sold like hot cakes. The first printing of 3,000 was sold out and we had to make a second run of 2,500... Letters have come in from around the country including the following blessing from the older generation: "You are putting out a good magazine. I like to know what the young folks are doing. More power to you lassies and lads from an old timer who has done his little bit for 70 years." Signed B.S., Vashon, Washington.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST GETS AROUND—YS salesmen toured East Coast and Midwest campuses this fall. The East Coast "trailblazers" hit 27 schools in 30 days. At Rutgers University they attracted a crowd of 1,000 students—when campus cops tried to remove them there were hisses and cries from the students in the crowd and the informal meeting continued... Young Socialist trailblazers were arrested while hawking the YS in Bowling Green, Ohio, under a local law forbidding the sale of political literature. One trailblazer was found guilty under the unconstitutional law—the case is being appealed by the ACLU.

(continued on page 24)

The Warhawks Emerge

The majority of Americans who voted for Johnson, and most of those confused young people who supported him in the election, did so in part out of fear of the nuclear sabre-rattling of Goldwater. Johnson was given his "mandate"—for peace, we were told. Johnson himself, however, evidently views his "mandate" as something quite different. Once elected, he almost immediately re-embarked upon his reckless course leading toward war and cynically trampled on the rights of peoples and countries in the process.

The U.S.-Belgium paratroop invasion of the Congo—a "humanitarian" venture only "coincidentally" timed to support the white mercenary attack on Stanleyville—was one of his more blatant moves. It was whitewashed with the most disgusting racism to dirty the pages of the U.S. press in recent years. The purpose of the invasion was to support the puppet government of Moise Tshombe (see page 5). The world-wide reaction to this imperialist attack was great and widespread. The rest of the world was not impressed with the lynch-atmosphere stories the U.S. government and press used to cover this foul action. The rest of the world knows of the slaughter of thousands of innocent Congolese by the mercenary white rabble Tshombe has paid to fight for him and for Western imperialist holdings in the Congo. That's why American embassies were attacked by African students in many countries and incidents like the burning of the Kennedy Memorial Library in Cairo occurred.

On the other side of the globe, in Vietnam, our President with his mandate for peace was considering extending the war into North Vietnam. The press was also cynically talking about attacking Laos and Cambodia—two small neutral countries. When General Taylor, Johnson's man in Saigon, came back to Washington to talk over extending the war into North Vietnam, the latest puppet government in South Vietnam reeled under the blows of high school and Buddhist demonstrators. This set back the timetable for Washington's plans to step up the war—it would be difficult for the U.N. to invade North Vietnam in the name of defending the government in South Vietnam—while that government was about to be overthrown by a popular uprising!



TERRIFIED VIETNAMESE WOMAN gathers her children as troops of U.S.-puppet regime break into her hut to "interrogate" her.

The danger of an extension of the war in either Vietnam or the Congo or some other place still is with us, and so is the possibility of nuclear escalation. But the worldwide reaction to the Congo attack and the demonstrations in Saigon held the warhawks in Washington back, at least temporarily. We should all learn a lesson from these facts. First, Johnson and the Democratic Party continue to be imperialists and continue to push the world in the direction of war. Johnson may be slicker than Goldwater, and speak with a softer voice, and cover his actions with talk about "humanitarianism," but that makes him no less dangerous. Second, the way to oppose the war makers who run this country, whether they be of the Republican or Democratic variety, is to fight against them, and not to support them.

Supporting the "more peaceful" Johnson did not bring peace. Fighting against him has stayed his hand. Real peace will be achieved when everyone here who opposes war stops supporting Johnson and the other Democrats and starts organizing to take the warmaking power out of their hands.

The Toledo Auto-Lite Strike of 1934

By Art Preis

(The following story of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike is taken from the book "Labor's Giant Step—Twenty Years of the CIO," by Art Preis, Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., \$7.50, 538 pp. Art Preis was a participant in many of the events he describes in this invaluable book, and followed labor events closely in his many years as labor reporter for the *Militant*. There is no other book in existence which gives the full history of the CIO, and it will be indispensable to those young people who seek to learn the real history of the American working class, for the purpose of using that knowledge to build a better world.

The Auto-Lite strike was one of three battles in 1934 which paved the way for the development of the CIO, the other two being San Francisco General Strike and the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes. As Art Preis says, " 'civil war' was going on in towns and cities from coast to coast and blood was being spilled in scores of other places besides Minneapolis, Toledo, and San Francisco. These latter cities were unique, however, in this: *they showed how the workers could fight and win. They gave heart and hope to labor everywhere for the climactic struggle that was to build the CIO.*"

* * *

The wave of strikes following the enactment of NRA in June 1933 was ending in a series of defeats. Where the union leaders themselves did not rush the workers back on the job without gains—not even union recognition, the strikes were smashed by court injunctions and armed violence. Behind the legal restraining orders and the shotguns, rifles and machine guns of police, deputies and National Guardsmen, the scabs and strikebreakers were being herded into struck plants almost at will.

It was at this stage, when strike after strike was being crushed, that the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite Company struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle. The American workers were to be given an unforgettable lesson in how to confront all the agencies of the capitalist government—courts, labor boards and armed troops—and win.

Toledo, Ohio, an industrial city of about 275,000 population in 1934, is a glass and auto parts center. In June 1931, four Toledo banks had closed their doors. Some of the big local companies, including several suppliers to the auto industry, had secretly transferred their bank accounts to one big bank. These companies did not get caught in the crash.

But thousands of workers and small businessmen did. They lost their lives' savings. One out of every three persons in Toledo was thrown on relief, standing in lines for food handouts at a central commissary. In 1933, the Unemployed League, led by the followers of A. J. Muste, head of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (later the American Workers Party), had organized militant mass actions of the unemployed and won cash relief. The League made it a policy to call for unity of the unemployed and employed workers; it mobilized the unemployed not to scab, but to aid all strikes.

On February 23, 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite workers, newly organized in AFL Federal Local 18384, went on strike. This was quickly ended by the AFL leaders with a truce agreement for negotiations through the Regional Labor Board of the National Labor Board, which had been set up under the NRA.

Refusing to be stalled further by the labor board or to submit to the special Auto Labor Board, which Roosevelt had set up in March to sidetrack pending auto strikes and which had upheld company unionism, the Auto-Lite workers went on the picket lines again on April 13.

The company followed the usual first gambit in such a contest. It went to a friendly judge and got him to issue an injunction limiting picketing. The strike had begun to die on its feet when a committee of Auto-Lite workers came to the Unemployed League and asked for aid. What happened then was described shortly thereafter by Louis F. Budenz, in the previously cited collection of articles, *Challenge to the New Deal*, edited by Alfred Bingham and Selden Rodman. This is the same Budenz who about a year later deserted to the Stalinists, served them for ten

years and finally wound up as an informer for the FBI against radicals.

However, at the time of the Auto-Lite strike, Budenz was still an outstanding fighter for labor's rights and civil liberties. He had edited *Labor Age* during the twenties and had led great battles against strikebreaking injunctions at Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Nazareth, Pennsylvania. It was he who suggested the tactic for breaking the injunction and he had addressed the thousands massed on the picket line after the injunction was smashed. While he was still uncorrupted, Budenz wrote about the Auto-Lite battle:

"The dynamic intervention of a revolutionary workers organization, the American Workers Party, seemed to have been required before that outcome [a union victory] could be achieved. The officials in the Federal Automobile Workers Union would have lost the strike if left to their own resources.

"The merit of this particular AFL union was that it did strike. The Electric Auto-Lite and its two affiliated companies, the Logan Gear and Bingham Stamping Co., were involved. But when the company resorted to the injunction, the union officers observed its terms. In less than three weeks, under protection of the court decree, the company had employed or otherwise secured 1800 strikebreakers in the Auto-Lite alone.

"That would have been the end, and another walkout of the workers would have gone into the wastebasket of labor history. The Lucas County Unemployed League also enjoined, refused however to let the fight go in that way. Two of its officers, Ted Selander and Sam Pollock, [and several auto local members] wrote [May 5, 1934] Judge R.R. Stuart, advising him that they would violate the injunction by encouraging mass picketing. They went out and did so. They were arrested, tried and released—the court warning them to picket no more. They answered by going directly from court, with all the strikers and unemployed league members who had been present, to the picket line. Through the mass trials, Selander and Pollock got out a message as to the nature of the capitalist courts. The picket line grew."

The unexplained letter sent by the local Unemployed League to Judge Stuart deserves to be preserved for posterity. It is an historic document that ranks in its way with the great declarations of human freedom more widely known and



Art Preis

acclaimed. The letter read:

May 5, 1934

His Honor Judge Stuart
County Court House
Toledo, Ohio

Honorable Judge Stuart:

On Monday morning May 7, at the Auto-Lite plant, the Lucas County Unemployed League, in protest of the injunction issued by your court, will deliberately and specifically violate the injunction enjoining us from sympathetically picketing peacefully in support of the striking Auto Workers Federal Union.

We sincerely believe that this court intervention, preventing us from picketing, is an abrogation of our democratic rights, contrary to our constitutional liberties and contravenes the



Art Preis

spirit and letter of Section 7a of the NRA.

Further, we believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary injunction is another specific example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers to organize, strike and picket effectively.

Therefore, with full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we openly and publicly violate an injunction which, in our opinion, is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers.

Sincerely yours,

Lucas County Unemployed League
Anti-Injunction Committee
Sam Pollock, Sec'y

By May 23, there were more than 10,000 on the picket lines. County deputies with tear gas guns were lined up on the plant roof. A strike picket, Miss Alma Hahn, had been struck on the head by a bolt hurled from a plant window and had been taken to the hospital. By the time 100 more cops arrived, the workers were tremendously incensed. Police began roughing up individual pickets pulled from the line. What happened when the cops tried to escort the scabs through the picket line at the shift-change was described by the Associated Press.

"Piles of bricks and stones were assembled at strategic places and a wagon load of bricks was trundled to a point near the factory to provide further ammunition for the strikers... Suddenly a barrage of tear gas bombs was hurled from upper factory windows. At the same time, company employees armed with iron bars and clubs dragged a fire hose into the street and played water on the crowd. The strike sympathizers replied with bricks, as they choked from gas fumes and fell back."

But they retreated only to reform their ranks. The police charged and swung their clubs trying to clear a path for the scabs. The workers held their ground and fought back. Choked by the tear gas fired from inside the plant, it was the police who finally gave up the battle. Then the thousands of pickets laid siege to the plant, determined to maintain their picket line.

The workers improvised giant slingshots from inner tubes. They hurled whole bricks through the plant windows. The plant soon was without lights. The scabs cowered in the dark. The frightened deputies set up machine guns inside every entranceway. It was not until the arrival of 900

National Guardsmen, 15 hours later, that the scabs were finally released, looking a "sorry sight," as the press reported it.

Then followed one of the most amazing battles in U.S. labor history. "The Marines had landed" in the form of the National Guard but the situation was not "well in hand." With their bare fists and rocks, the workers fought a six-day pitched battle with the National Guard. They fought from rooftops, from behind billboards and came through alleys to flank the guardsmen. "The men in the mob shouted vile epithets at the troopers," complained the Associated Press, "and the women jeered them with suggestions that they 'go home to mama and their paper dolls.'"

But the strikers and their thousands of sympathizers did more than shame the young National Guardsmen. They educated them and tried to win them over. Speakers stood on boxes in front of the troops and explained what the strike was about and the role the troops were playing as strikebreakers. World War I veterans put on their medals and spoke to the boys in uniform like "Dutch uncles." The women explained what the strike meant to their families. The press reported that some of the guardsmen just quit and went home. Others voiced sympathy with the workers. (A year later, when Toledo unionists went to Defiance, Ohio, to aid the Pressed Steel Company strike, they found that eight per cent of the strikers had been National Guardsmen serving in uniform in the Auto-Lite strike. That was where they learned the lesson of unionism.)

On May 24, the guardsmen fired point-blank into the Auto-Lite strikers ranks, killing two and wounding 25. But 6,000 workers returned at dusk to renew the battle. In the dark, they closed in on groups of guardsmen in the six-block martial law zone. The fury of the onslaught twice drove the troops back into the plant. At one stage, a group of troops threw their last tear gas and vomit gas bombs, then quickly picked up rocks to hurl at the strikers; the strikers recovered the last gas bombs thrown before they exploded, flinging them back at the troops.

On Friday, May 31, the troops were speedily withdrawn from the strike area when the company agreed to keep the plant closed. This had not been the usual one-way battle with the workers getting shot down and unable to defend themselves. Scores of guardsmen had been sent to the hospitals. They had become demoralized. By June 1, 98 out of 99 AFL local unions had

voted for a general strike.

A monster rally on the evening of June 1 mobilized some 40,000 workers in the Lucas County Courthouse Square. There, however, the AFL leaders, frightened by this tremendous popular uprising, were silent about the general strike and instead assured the workers that Roosevelt would aid them.

By June 4, with the whole community seething with anger, the company capitulated and signed a six-month contract, including a 5% wage increase with a 5% minimum above the auto in-

dustry code, naming Local 18384 as the exclusive bargaining agent in the struck plants. This was the first contract under the code that did not include "proportional representation" for company unions. The path was opened for organization of the entire automobile industry. With the Auto-Lite victory under their belts, the Toledo auto workers were to organize 19 plants before the year was out and, before another 12 months, were to lead the first successful strike in the GM plant, the real beginning of the conquest of General Motors.

Background to the Congo

By Dick Roberts

The Congo has been the scene of unceasing turbulence since June 30th, 1960, the day the Congolese gained formal independence from Belgium. Real independence, however, consisting of self-determination in all spheres of life, could not be obtained simply through a change in the political relationships between the Congo and Belgium. This change only set the stage for a new and deeper struggle, the struggle for *economic* independence.

Not only Belgium, but France, England, and particularly the United States had no intention of allowing their vast economic holdings in the Congo to be jeopardized by the new Republic. Increasingly, as the Congolese struggle became one for economic independence, these foreign powers and their agents within the Congo became formidable opponents of independence. The deepening struggle drove divisions into the Congolese peoples, widely separating those who fought for complete independence from those who desired to remain within the economic confines of world capitalist investment.

The partisans of independence were further divided on tactical questions: Could independence be obtained peacefully, through parliamentary means? Or was it necessary to engage in armed struggle against the imperialist powers and their Congolese puppets?

A few years is a very short time for a revolutionary movement to learn the answers to these questions. Their opponents, the imperialist nations, have developed the political instruments

of economic exploitation over decades. In the Congo, they employed a variety of tactics in their overall strategy of holding Congolese mineral wealth to the world capitalist market.

Foreign Investment in the Congo

The major foreign economic holdings in the Congo are in the vast mineral enterprises of the province of Katanga, which in 1960 realized about 60% of the total Congo revenues. Most of Katanga's mineral reserves are owned and mined by a giant U.S.-British-Belgian controlled corporation, the *Union Miniere du Haut Katanga*, (UMHK). In 1960, with annual sales of \$200 million, UMHK produced 60% of the uranium in the West, 73% of the cobalt, and 10% of the copper, and had in the Congo 24 affiliates including hydroelectric plants, chemical factories and railways.

The Cold War and nuclear arms race had been very profitable for Congolese enterprises. Besides mineral industries, many other factories had been built by foreign capitalists. Belgium invested over \$3 billion in the Congo, and the U.S. about \$1/2 billion—much of it coming from the Rockefeller family who purchased everything from pineapple plantations to car companies.

At first sight, it would appear that the U.S. and Belgium had common interest in preserving the Congolese market, and in the last analysis this is true. But in the initial period of independence, U.S. investors attempted to take advantage



AFRICAN MARTYR, Patrice Lumumba (right) with aides, just before they were murdered.

of the fact that Belgium would lose her political reins on the Congo. Just prior to 1960, U.S. capitalists greatly increased their Congo holdings, and they continued to do so through last year. David Rockefeller, for example, bought the bauxite industry, Bauxicongo, in 1959; and the Rockefellers have increased their share of UMHK as well as other large enterprises.

Other American corporations have put their fingers in the Congo grab-bag, including American Metal Climax (Arthur Dean, U.S. delegate to the Geneva conference on disarmament was a vice-president) and the Tempelman and Son

(Adlai Stevenson was president). From 1961 to 1963, U.S. investments doubled to \$1.2 billion—nearly the amount presently invested by the U.S. in Brazil.

But the United States interests in the Congo are not uniform. In the crucial copper industry, there has been a world over-production of copper, amounting to about 10% of the world produce, the same amount as is produced in Katanga. Thus giant copper industries in this country, like Kenecott and Anaconda, which get most of their copper from Chile, would just as soon see the Katanga copper industry destroyed, as fall



AFRICAN MARTYR, Patrice Lumumba (right) with aides, just before they were murdered.

into the hands of a competitor like Rockefeller.

Swedish capitalists also have large holdings in competitive copper enterprises. Bo Hammar-skjold, elder brother of the late UN Secretary General, was on the board of directors of the Swedish controlled Liberian Iron Ore, Ltd., a corporation which found American allies in the desire to diminish Katangese competition.

With such an investment pattern, it is easy to see why the imperialist nations were interested in ensuring their control of Congolese mineral wealth; but it is also easy to see why the tactics of maintaining this control might differ between nations, and within the nations, themselves.

Congo Independence and U.N. Intervention

Upon achieving political independence, the Congolese held a general election to determine the membership of their democratic parliament. The majority of seats were won by the largest independence force, the Congolese National Movement, headed by the revered leader of the independence struggle, Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was named Prime Minister.

However, no sooner had Lumumba been elected, than Belgium began to take steps to weaken his government. The Belgians had forced the Congolese to allow them to maintain an army and air bases in the Congo, ostensibly for "mutual cooperation." A week after independence, when Congolese soldiers demonstrated against their Belgian officers with a demand for pay and rank raises, Belgian troops fired on the demonstrators. Lumumba, in turn, removed the Belgian officers, and appointed Josef Kasavubu commander-in-chief.

The Belgians quickly exploited the situation they had provoked. Claiming that Lumumba was inspiring "racial hatred" and couldn't be trusted to govern the Congo, they rushed in new troops, and separated Katanga from the Congo Republic—using Moise Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner and businessman as their Katanga front-man.

In this crisis, Lumumba correctly accused the Belgians of having "carefully prepared the secession of Katanga," and asked for the immediate help of the United Nations...a fatal error, as Lumumba himself learned, all too soon. The United States completely dominated the UN.

Seizing the opportunity to extend foreign military control in the Congo, the U.S. pushed the UN to meet Lumumba's request, and the UN

sped troops to the Congo July 14. They had no intentions of driving Belgium out of the Congo. Temporary commander of UN forces, Alexander, flatly stated, "friendly relations would...be established" with the Belgians.

It was almost immediately apparent to Lumumba that the UN was double dealing, and he requested outside support from the Soviet Union, to intervene "should the Western camp not stop its aggression."

By July 30 the Belgians had built up a force of over 10,000 troops, and the UN army had refused to enter Katanga. On August 2nd, Antoine Gizenga, Lumumba's right hand man and delegate to the UN, told Hammar-skjold:

"We do not understand that we, victims of aggression, who are at home here, are being systematically disarmed [by the UN force] while the aggressors, the Belgians, who are the conquerors here, are permitted to keep their weapons and their means of inflicting death."

In Katanga, Belgian troops crushed uprisings of Congolese soldiers and miners, and protected Tshombe's efforts to suppress opposition from minority leaders in the Katanga parliament. The UN closed broadcasting stations in Leopoldville and commanded Lumumba not to meddle in Katanga.

According to Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche, the UN's mission was to "pacify and then to administer the Congo..." From the very outset, it was clear that the UN did not recognize the duly elected government of Lumumba, and intended to restore a pro-Belgian, pro-U.S. government.

Influence of World Pressure

However, world pressure, not only from the Soviet bloc, but from newly independent African nations which threatened to draw their armies out of the UN force, demanded that the UN live up to Lumumba's request. At this point, the tactics of U.S. and Belgian imperialism temporarily diverged.

The United States recognized the necessity of a temporary maneuver to avoid international criticism. World opinion had a particularly significant effect because the September 1960 opening of the UN was scheduled to be addressed by Nasser, Tito and Nehru, the leaders of the neutral nations; by Khrushchev; by Toure of Guinea and Nkrumah of Ghana; and by Fidel Castro.

This array of world leaders could have had an unusually damaging effect on the U.S. public

image—protector of the free world; and this image could only be protected to a limited extent by restricting Khrushchev and Castro to a confined area of New York, and preventing them from appearing on TV.

Consequently, the United States pressured the UN to end Belgian occupation. On August 21, Hammarskjold told the Security Council: "The Belgian chapter in the history of the Congo in its earlier forms is ended. The UN...is in charge of order and security."

Lumumba's Murder

By this time the Congo crisis had had a second important divisive effect, this time on the Congolese themselves. Elements of the next largest political party after the Congolese National Movement, the Abako Party, led by Kasavubu, threw their cards in with United States interests.

Kasavubu, who had been powerless in the original government, now took sides against Lumumba, demanding that he be ousted, and sending a separate delegation to the UN. This gave the UN a considerably stronger hand in the Congo, even though many UN members, led by Nkrumah, held that Lumumba was the head of the only



CONFRONTATION between Swedish UN guard and member of Baluba tribe. UN put Baluba members into concentration camp. UN guard is attempting to disarm Balubas of simple weapons they made in night.

legitimate Congo government.

Castro, who delivered his famous UN speech indicting the U.S. for support of Batista throughout the Cuban revolution, charged that Col. Mobutu, Kasavubu's military aide, had been advised and encouraged by U.S. officials.

Unfortunately, Lumumba continued to rely on appeals to the UN, undoubtedly supported in this futile effort by the Soviet Union. Khrushchev held the ill-advised position that "Dag, not the UN," was responsible. Instead of exposing the UN as a pawn in the hands of the State Department, and building an independent military force in the Congo to protect the legitimate government, Lumumba and his Soviet allies played into the hands of the imperialists and Kasavubu.

On September 5, Lumumba was summarily removed from office, Soviet representatives were ordered out of the country, and a military dictatorship was established under Col. Mobutu. In the UN, the independent nations strongly opposed these moves, blaming them on Belgium, and demanding the restoration of Lumumba—all to little avail. Overridden by the U.S. and her UN lackeys, their motion to restore Lumumba was defeated November 22 by a vote of 53-to-24.

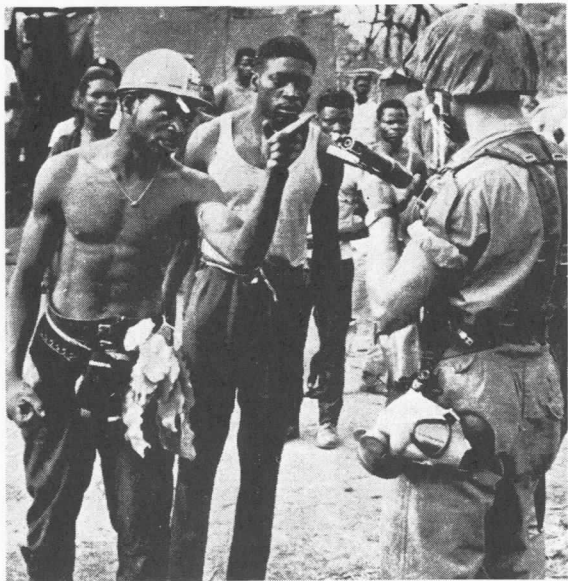
Again Lumumba temporized, this time fatally. Remaining in Leopoldville until the end of November, his belated effort to escape was doomed to fail. On December 1st, Lumumba was seized, publicly mauled in a truck before U.S. TV cameras and imprisoned in Leopoldville; this while UN forces stood by.

On January 18, Kasavubu, in return for a "round-table conference" with Tshombe, handed prisoner Lumumba over to the Belgian stooge. A January 18 AP dispatch reported that on Lumumba's arrival at the Katanga airport, Swedish-UN soldiers watched while "Lumumba and the other two were dragged off the plane...They were clubbed, hit in the face with rifle butts, kicked and pummeled."

And, as it became clear upon UN investigation months later, Lumumba and his two aides were subsequently murdered. Their deaths were reported by Tshombe, February 12.

Tshombe and Katanga

During these few months, the lessons of United Nations intervention were slowly being assimilated by Congolese revolutionaries. Gizenga established the legitimate government's head-



CONFRONTATION between Swedish UN guard and member of Baluba tribe. UN put Baluba members into concentration camp. UN guard is attempting to disarm Balubas of simple weapons they made in night.

quarters in Stanleyville, and more and more Congolese joined in open rebellion. It was obvious that the provisional government of Kasavubu would not last without reconciliation with Katanga, and the U.S. pressed for a federated Congo government which would include Katanga.

The U.S. publicly broke with Belgium and forced the UN to demand an end of Katanga secession, which the Security Council adopted February 21st, 1961,—eight months after their intervention to “defend” the Congo Republic.

But Belgium, and those U.S. interests which composed the Katanga lobby, refused to go along with this maneuver. Here, a movement cropped up calling itself the “Committee to Aid the Katanga Freedom Fighters,” and Tshombe, who had been bolstered by Belgium troops until their forced removal, set about to build an army which could resist the UN, financed by Belgium. With no support from the Congolese, however, Tshombe recruited his “freedom fighters” from rightist white rabble throughout the world. A February 5, 1961, AP dispatch described them:

“These ‘mercenaries’ are being joined everyday by new soldier-adventurers. Lured by high pay, they have come from the United States [Cuban exiles], Britain, France [ex-Foreign Legionaires], West Germany [ex-SS men], . . . South Africa [fascists], Rhodesia—and, of course, Belgium. Some of the better types become officers, but the others are undisciplined, untidy, rowdy and ruthless . . .

“One Frenchman confided in a melancholy moment: ‘People don’t like us. We get good pay for killing women and children.’”

The battle in Katanga, which lasted until January 1963, had other sordid aspects which were exposed by the Belgian and English press. The UN, for example, used 1000 pound blockbusters on Katangese industrial centers, civilians, and hospitals—military weapons well suited to destroying large industry (competitors), members of the House of Commons pointed out, but hardly applicable to the battle against Tshombe’s small mercenary forces. Such goings on had little press coverage in this country.

Revolutionary Defeats: 1962

What is obvious in retrospect, that the apparent break of Tshombe from the Kasavubu government, and subsequent “round-table conferences” between them, were maneuvers by the imperialist powers to crush the revolutionaries,

was not apparent to many of the Lumumbists.

In February of 1961, Kasavubu ended the Mobutu dictatorship and appointed Joseph Ileo and Cyrille Adoula heads of a new government, patterned after the U.S. federation plan. Tshombe and Kasavubu met in March, 1961, at Tananarive, Malagasy Republic, and invited Gizenga to attend to join a federation.

Although Gizenga, already in control of large portions of the Congo, refused to go to the Tananarive conference, he later attempted to make peace with Kasavubu. In mid-1962, while the UN was fighting Tshombe, Gizenga achieved a detente with Kasavubu.

Again the Lumumbists had incorrectly appraised the real intentions of the imperialist controlled Kasavubu regime, and they suffered a new set-back. Kasavubu turned round and arrested Gizenga, threw him in prison, and disarmed the Stanleyville forces. Gizenga remained in prison until June, 1964.

End of UN Occupation

By January, 1963, after nearly two years of battle in Katanga, the United Nations forces had gained virtual control of the province. Attempts to reinstate Tshombe in the Kasavubu-Adoula government, which would have satisfied both Belgium and the United States, proved unsuccessful, and Tshombe was “forced” into exile. His mercenary army was temporarily shelved in the neighboring Portuguese colony of Angola.

With Gizenga in jail, the Adoula government attempted to build a stable base for neocolonialist investment. Three years of struggle had decimated the Congolese economy—inflation was rampant in Leopoldville, and thousands of refugees from the countryside poured into the city looking for work.

At the same time, however, the Congolese people remained staunch Lumumbists, and guerilla struggles emerged in several different areas. In the Leopoldville shantytown, where thousands of jobless refugees were huddled together, virtually every hut bore portraits of Lumumba, and it was impossible for Adoula’s police to enter the area in uniform.

It was clear that Adoula’s attempts to attract foreign capital (see his January 28, 1964, advertisement in the *New York Times*, “Private Enterprise in the Congo”) were not alone sufficient to hold up the faltering government. But it was also impossible, given the world pressure on the

UN, to turn the "anti-Katangese" UN army into a direct "anti-Lumumbist" force. Standing by while Lumumba was murdered and Gizenga was imprisoned was one thing; openly fighting the Lumumbists on three fronts, quite another.

For these reasons, the United States was forced, once again, to alter its Congo policy: the United Nations army would be replaced by... Tshombe's mercenaries.

Tshombe's Return

In his brief "exile" from the Congo, Tshombe was well groomed for a new role in Congo politics. Over the summer of 1963, Tshombe conferred in Brussels with Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak and the U.S. Ambassador. Harri-man was sent to address Spaak and the Belgian trust *La Société Générale*, the largest shareholder in UMHK; and the U.S. and Belgium agreed to merge forces. A new maneuver was at hand.

On June 30, 1964, United Nations forces were pulled out of the Congo, and Tshombe returned—as the "saviour" of Congolese independence. He replaced Adoula, and proclaimed that the "National Congolese Army" would be able to handle the "rebels." As evidence of his sincerity, Tshombe released Gizenga.

Two days later he brought his mercenary hooligans out of hiding and called upon the U.S. for military assistance.

The Congo Revolution Today

A literally complete press blackout of Congolese guerilla efforts, between the fall of Gizenga in mid-1962, and early 1964, makes it impossible to trace in detail the revolutionary struggle during the latter period of UN occupation.

It was evident by last February that there was extensive fighting in Kwilu, headed by Pierre Mulele, who had been minister of education in the Lumumba government. By early June, the liberation struggle had opened up two other fronts: Gaston Soumialot fought in the eastern province of Kivu, and occupied Uvira May 19; and a third force fought in Northern Katanga, gained control of the whole shore of Lake Tanganyika and captured Albertville and Baudouinville in late June.

Obviously, Mobutu's army was in continual retreat. There have been many reports that his Congolese soldiers refuse to fight their brothers, and give up without effort. By early July,

Stanleyville had been recaptured by the Lumumbists, and a new government established, headed by Christophe Gbenye. Exactly how much control Gbenye's government has over all the guerilla fighters is unclear.

Although the United States did not admit military support of the mercenaries until October, first reports of U.S. military assistance appeared in June. According to the *New York Times*, 2 T-28's, flown by Cuban exiles, were being used by Mobutu's army, June 13. Mobutu was reported to be battling guerilla forces numbering 5,000 to 7,000, average age, about 20!

Since that time, the U.S. has supplied Tshombe with a paratroop contingent, army counter-insurgency "experts" and 33 known additional aircraft, including B-26 bombers. Against even such minimal modern weapons, the guerillas, without any anti-aircraft guns whatsoever, and using the most crude weapons—spears and bows and arrows—have been reported to be retreating.

Conclusion

To a certain extent, we can see that the story of the Vietnamese war is being repeated in the Congo: after a series of maneuvers to maintain "friendly" quasi-democratic governments in the Congo, the U.S. has ended up in a position of open support for another hated dictator—and in this case, one who cannot get his own people to fight the oppressive war. As in Vietnam, U.S. support includes guns, dollars, and... "advisers."

To date, it is by no means apparent that the Lumumbists have organizational and programmatic unity, capable of opposing the overwhelming odds of the U.S. military intervention. There is no guarantee that there will not be new compromises between certain Lumumbist leaders and the puppet regime. The great loss of Patrice Lumumba has not been salvaged by the appearance of a new nationally recognized leader.

But it is also clear that throughout the course of the struggle, there have been groups of revolutionaries who refuse to submit to the rule of imperialist controlled governments. These fighters maintained unrelenting struggle against the Kasavubu regime, and they continue to oppose the Tshombe regime. It is from their cadres that a viable and organized revolutionary movement can emerge, capable of ending once and for all imperialist subjugation of the Congo.

§ § §

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956

by Barry Sheppard

Eight years ago one of the most heroic and misunderstood events of our times took place. The press in the Western capitalist countries portrayed the Hungarian Revolution as a fight for capitalist "democracy" against Communist totalitarianism. For their own reasons, the Communist Parties of the world echoed this appraisal, attacking the Hungarian freedom fighters as "fascists" determined to return Hungary to capitalism. Both of these views ignore the aspirations of the Hungarian revolutionaries, and the aims of the revolution itself.

The Hungarian Revolution was part of a series of struggles in East Europe and the Soviet Union,

which are a part of the continuing conflict between the workers in those countries and the privileged bureaucratic layer which administers over them.

On June 16, 1953, construction workers in East Germany demonstrated against new work norms the bureaucracy attempted to introduce, raising production quotas by 10 per cent with no increase in pay. The success of the demonstration in forcing the government to revoke the order increasing production resulted in larger demonstrations the next day, converging upon the government buildings, this time with political demands, including "free elections," "Withdraw



HUGE STATUE OF STALIN was pulled down by Hungarians on Oct. 24, 1956. The giant symbol of bureaucratic rule was dragged through the streets of Budapest by tractor.



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the Soviet occupation forces," and "Down with the government." The workers launched a general strike that hit every industry in the country, and fighting between workers and police broke out. Several hundred thousand workers participated in fighting demonstrations in key cities, attacking government buildings, opening jails, and disarming the police. Two million workers participated in the uprising—one of the largest workers' demonstrations in European history. Soviet troops were used by the East German puppet government to smash the strike, but news of it spread. Strikes occurred inside the Soviet Union. The most important one was at the slave labor camp at Vorkuta where 250,000 slave laborers downed tools. These two events, the East German uprising and the Vorkuta strike, frightened the Kremlin.

The result was the Kremlin decision to grant concessions. The slave labor camps were disbanded. The unequal trade relations between the Soviet Union and East Europe were made more nearly equal, and the standard of living in East Europe rose (it was the extremely bad living conditions which provoked the East German strike in the first place). A policy of easing the police terror was introduced. In Hungary, Imre Nagy became Premier, and his regime was associated with liberalization. And then in February, 1956, at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin himself was sacrificed, and a partial list of his many crimes was exposed.

Under the pressure of the growing militancy of the workers, the bureaucracy granted concessions. They tried to ride the wave of worker dissatisfaction by opposing themselves to the most hated bureaucrat of all, Stalin, who was safely dead. But liberalization and concessions only spurred the workers to demand more. The speech by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress blasted the Stalin cult, but it also undermined the position of the whole bureaucracy. At the end of June in 1956, workers in Poznan, Poland sent a delegation to Warsaw to demand a 15 per cent wage increase. When the delegation returned to Poznan, it was arrested, and this touched off a general strike and demonstrations by the workers at the huge Poznan industrial center. The Poznan strike was crushed with tanks and the Poznan workers were called "fascist" by the government. But the strike severely shook the bureaucracy. At the trial of workers who had

participated in the uprising, the workers' side and their grievances came into the open. The bureaucrats were forced to give light sentences. On October 21, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party deposed the Kremlin's man, Rokossovsky, and replaced him with Gomulka. Gomulka had spent long years in jail for "Titoism," and favored the policy of granting concessions to the workers. The Kremlin had put pressure on the Polish CP leaders to keep Rokossovsky, and threatened invasion. As Soviet troops moved toward the Polish border, Gomulka responded by mobilizing the workers and keeping them informed of hour-to-hour developments on the border. Minor clashes occurred between Soviet and Polish troops, but then great events in Hungary cut across any invasion plans by the Kremlin.

In sympathy with the Polish masses, students in Budapest staged demonstrations on October 22. They demanded the restoration of Imre Nagy to the premiership—Nagy was removed in 1955—and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The next day, October 23, parades began. Demonstrators appeared at the radio station to ask that their demands be broadcast. The demonstrators sent a delegation into the station and the delegation was arrested. The crowd surged forward in protest, and police opened fire on them. This incident sparked the mass uprising that was the beginning of the Hungarian Revolution. The government combined repression with concession. It installed Nagy as Premier and at the same time called in Soviet troops to smash the uprising. Nagy called upon the people to disperse, but as Soviet tanks moved into Budapest October 24, the masses took up arms in self-defense, spearheading the armed insurrection. The Hungarian army went over to the side of the people, and Soviet troops began to manifest sympathy with their cause. On October 25, the workers launched a general strike. The bureaucracy collapsed in the face of the armed people.

Only one course could save the situation for the Kremlin bureaucrats. On November 4, Soviet troops invaded Hungary, spearheaded by 5,000 tanks. The bloodbath began as the country was occupied. The Nagy government was arrested and Kadar installed as Premier by the invading troops. But the resistance of the workers did not crumble. During the armed uprising the workers had elected Workers' Councils in their factories as their organs of struggle. The Work-

ers' Councils continued strikes in defiance of Soviet occupation and the Kadar puppet government for months before they were finally crushed. They continued to organize meetings, distribute leaflets and repeat their demands that Soviet troops be withdrawn, socialist democracy be introduced, and that the Workers' Councils assume sole authority in the management of industry. During the strike and continued resistance by the workers, the peasants displayed their sympathy and solidarity with the workers by bringing them food.

The Russian word for "council" is "soviet." The Hungarian Workers' Councils were the same kind of organs as the soviets the Russian workers organized during the Russian Revolution almost 40 years earlier. The Soviet Union was founded when the soviets—the workers councils—established themselves as the government in Russia in 1917, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The soviets were the democratic, elected executive and legislative organs of the first successful workers republic. When the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union usurped power, it crushed democracy in the soviets, so that all that remains of them is the word "soviet" in "Soviet Union." When the workers in Hungary fought against the bureaucracy, soviets became their organs of struggle.

During the period of battle between the workers and the invading Soviet troops, it became clear that there were only two powers in the country, the Workers' Councils and the Soviet army. The *New York Times* of December 2 accurately described the situation as follows: "The struggle in Hungary took on the aspects of a siege in which two main forces were opposed. On the one side was the Soviet government, represented by its army and its chief of state security, General Ivan A. Serov. On the other side were the workers, represented by the Budapest Workers' Council which emerged as the only authority that the people of Hungary seemed willing to obey. The workers' councils came into being in almost every community in the early days of the rebellion as workers seized the factories and fortified them as strong points against Soviet tanks. The Budapest Council became the principal spokesman for the workers' demands."

Stalinists of all stripes, including the Maoists, slandered the East German, the Polish and the Hungarian revolutionary workers as "fascists" and accused them of being pro-capitalist. This

slander persists to this day, because these revolutionary workers struck at the heart of the bureaucracy in their demand for democracy. Democracy, control by the workers from below, would mean an end to the privileges the bureaucrats enjoy. In all their demands the Workers Councils re-affirmed that they defended the nationalized economy, and did not want to return to the situation where an individual or small group would own the factories and other means of production. The workers wanted to control the factories themselves. On November 12 the Workers Council of the 11th District of Budapest, in a resolution typical of other Workers Councils, issued an eight-point statement that stated, in part, "We wish to emphasize that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land the property of the working people... we demand that a date be set for free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that the means of production belong to society." On December 11, Sandor Racz, Chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council was arrested. (He was subsequently shot.) Racz, a 23 year old electrical worker, was the delegate to the Central Workers Council from the Council of the 11th District.

On October 28, the National Council of Trade Unions Broadcast these demands over Radio Győr: "Worker's councils should be formed everywhere!... The tasks of the worker's council: it decides upon every question related to production, management and the care of the plant. In order to direct production the worker's council will elect five to 15 persons as a managing board to assist the permanent director of the plant... It is responsible to the whole body of workers... It must defend—with the help of all workers—their common livelihood, the factories..."

The following was the reply made November 7 to the Soviet ultimatum to the Hungarian army garrison in Dunapentele, broadcast over Radio Rackoczi: "Dunapentele is the foremost Socialist town in Hungary. The majority of the residents are workers, and power is in their hands. The population of the town is armed... The workers will defend the town from Fascist excesses... but also from Soviet troops..." On the same day the following appeal was broadcast to the Soviet troops: "Soldiers! Your state was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have

freedom. Today is the 39th anniversary of that revolution. Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917." And a November 1 broadcast from Radio Miskolc: "We do not want the capitalists and the large landowners to return. We do not want the former Hungary of the gentry. We want to live a life of equal rights..."

The London *Daily Worker*, organ of the British Communist Party, had its correspondent, Peter Fryer, in Budapest during the uprising. Fryer wrote dispatches about what he saw—but the *Daily Worker* refused to print them. In a statement November 16, 1956, Fryer said, "I am convinced that Soviet intervention was both criminal and unnecessary. The danger of counter revolution did exist. Austrian Communists told me that before November 4th some two thousand emigres, trained and armed by the Americans, had crossed into Western Hungary to fight and agitate. But power was in the hands of the armed people, and they were fully aware of the danger of counter revolution and were themselves capable of smashing it.

"The great mass of the Hungarian people have no desire to return to capitalism and want to retain all the positive social achievements of the past twelve years. Nor did the Soviet troops which entered Budapest on November 4th fight fascists; they fought workers, soldiers, and students and they could find no Hungarians to fight alongside of them.

"These were the conclusions I reached after hundreds of interviews. No honest Communist can now ignore the truth about Hungary. The Hungarian people were the victims of tyranny and oppression masquerading as socialism. A corrupted Communist Party, swollen by the influx of careerists; a highly paid secret police (officers received ten times the national average wage, men three times) which jailed, tortured and murdered dissenters; a state machine warped by bureaucracy: these were the means by which the worst features of Soviet bureaucracy were imposed on Hungary. Yet the whole police regime was so rotten and so universally detested that it collapsed like a house of cards the instant the people rose to their feet. Most of the revolutionaries—Communists and non-Communists—

hoped to win an independent, democratic and genuinely socialist Hungary. But their hopes were crushed by Soviet intervention."

There were elements who favored the restoration of capitalism. The Nagy government, refusing to rely on the people, was a mass of confusion, turning from appeals to the Kremlin to reliance on pro-capitalist elements and the West, and back to appeals to the Kremlin. But this shadow government, and the restorationists, were not the power in the Hungarian Revolution. It was the working class itself, organized in councils (soviets) which was the real power, as was demonstrated by the general strike and by the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the people.

As one Hungarian student put it in an interview with *Reporter* magazine, "It was the workers who started the actual insurrection. They called us cowards and opportunists because we hesitated at first before joining them on the barricades. But it was our moral duty to reflect on whether we really had the right to use violence. As educated men we must be sure we are guided by reason and not simply emotion. When we satisfied ourselves that reason and justice were on the side of the revolution, we got arms and joined with the workers. They fought magnificently, but I think we students did all right, too."

The demands of the Hungarian workers for democracy and equality are profoundly *socialist* demands. They echo the aspirations and feelings of the workers in the Soviet Union itself. They are demands that were predicated upon the positive achievements of the overturn in property relations that occurred in 1948. Those positive achievements were the nationalized and planned economy, which took the factories out of the hands of a few profiteers and made them the property of society. The huge incomes and other special privileges that the bureaucrats in Hungary enjoy cannot be described as socialist. The lack of democracy in Hungary is not socialist. The Hungarian workers fought to strengthen the social ownership of the means of production by introducing democratic control over them. They sought to strengthen the development toward socialism by introducing the principle of equality instead of privilege. In doing this, in fighting for these things, they were fighting for the ideals of the Russian Revolution, and of the great leaders of the Russian Revolution and the early republic of soviets.

What Happened to the "Backlash" Vote?

by Robert Vernon

In all presidential election campaigns since 1948, civil rights has been one of the prominent minor issues—a football for the two major parties to kick around, with a spate of promises for the gullible. The 1964 campaign was exceptional in more than one respect. One of the parties dropped all pretenses and spat contemptuously in the face of what is called the "switchblade vote." This left Negroes dependent upon "good" white politicians with nowhere else to go but to the Democratic plantation. Far from the issue being which capitalist party would play a sharper con-game on its "support for civil rights," the Negro and pro-civil rights vote was stamped into LBJ's corral as the only refuge from the terrors of bogey-man Goldwater and the creeping White Backlash.

Test primary votes in several Northern cities early in 1964 had run up high figures for the racist Governor Wallace of Alabama, in steelworkers town Gary, Indiana, in Milwaukee and Baltimore. The hostility of white parents in Northern cities to any meddling with their all-white neighborhood schools, the irritation of skilled white workers guarding their jobs against their unemployed or underemployed Negro "brothers," and a general uneasiness on the part of a people divorced from any feelings of brotherhood or solidarity with other peoples and accordingly unable to understand or sympathize with a struggle for freedom inside their own country ("those Negroes are going too far!...what do those people *want?* ..."), encouraged vote-hungry

Republican politicians to go backlash-fishing.

Anti-police outbursts in Northern ghettos stirred revulsion in whites who claimed to sympathize with the Negro revolt provided it stayed far away, someplace in Mississippi or Alabama, and who relish news of revolts, rioting, looting, or any other breach of law and order if it occurs in Budapest, Prague, or East Berlin.

Some of the "backlashers" bared their souls in some interesting interviews in the Saturday Evening Post (Oct. 17, 1964):

"...I voted for John Kennedy, God bless his soul, but these race riots have got to stop. Somebody's got to clamp down on these damn civil rights so that the white man will have a chance. But the way I vote is my business..." (Milwaukee)

"That Goldwater, he's a wild man. He'd try to push things back and nobody can do that. It's too late now. We had no trouble under Roosevelt or Truman. It was Eisenhower who started all the colored trouble when he goofed in Arkansas. After that the colored radicals took over and since then it's been push, push, push. It's bad enough as it is. If Goldwater tried to turn things back this country would just explode. Johnson at least can talk to these colored leaders. And Johnson is getting tired of their pushing. I can tell from his speeches. If this Goldwater took over, boy, the streets of this country would really be jumping." (Gary, Indiana)

"...But what are you going to do? If Senator Goldwater was elected maybe we'd have war be-

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tween the colored and the white because things have gone too far to turn back. Now they're mixed, and if Senator Goldwater tried to separate them there'd be civil war. I'd vote for Goldwater if I thought he could separate them without a civil war, but I'm afraid he'd only make things worse." (Baltimore housewife)

"I'm for Johnson. He understands these things... Maybe he'll know how to handle the colored..."

These utterances are typical of the "I'm no racist, but..." mentality. Why Johnson won the backlash vote rather than Goldwater is more than apparent from the tenor of the remarks. A similar response occurred with the common attitude among reactionary Americans: "We could clean up that mess in Viet Nam in no time. We should stop pussyfooting around with Red China. Somebody ought to just drop a bomb on those yellow, slant-eyed *\$%#**." The average reactionary voter will talk that way, but he is too chicken to trust a candidate for President who talks that way, especially when he finds out the Chinese developed something they could drop on *him*.

The run-of-the-mill reactionary, wavering between LBJ and BG, liked Barry's silly bluster about "ordering a victory" in Viet Nam, but at the same time had to realize, somewhere in his shallow consciousness, that the day is long past when America can "order" victories as one orders a ham on rye at a lunch counter. He knew, deep in his racist heart, that blustering Barry was "right," but at the same time in his guts he knew the guy was nuts. Similarly, he likes to toy with the notion of "somebody" putting a stop to "Negro expansionism," but then frightens before the realization that black people might not be scared of him; his "somebody," or somebody's brother. Black people are not about to give up the struggle for equality and a decent life simply because some dull-witted newly elected Plantation Boss "orders" them to cease and desist.

It would be a foolish mistake to think the anti-Negro attitudes congealed in "backlash" vanished simply because Goldwater didn't get all the "backlash" votes. Aside from the 27 million votes for what is essentially something new in American capitalist politics, the "backlash" scored significantly in California by decisively rejecting the Rumford Fair Housing Act in a referendum vote. 3,716,712 Californians (65%) voted YES on Proposition 14 for Jim Crow real

estate practices, against a mere 1,893,942 NO votes, all the while giving 59% of their vote all the way to LBJ. In New York, both "liberal" candidates, Kennedy and Keating, took "liberal" stands against bussing of children to end de facto segregation in the public schools.

Moreover, the "backlashers" have a far better claim to LBJ's attention than the Negro vote which Goldwater stampeded into LBJ's pocket. The "backlashers" have somewhere else to go. If Johnson doesn't "handle the colored" or other matters to their satisfaction, they can still lash back to the Republicans, liberalized or conservative as the case may be, in future elections. Negroes have no other plantation to go to.

It is a sad state of affairs when people engaged in a struggle are reduced to a "choice" between a Dixiecrat who does some sweet-talking and soft-soaping, and a reactionary who leaves no doubt as to his racism. This leaves the initiative in the hands of the enemy. There are, however, black people who have perspectives other than hanging onto the coattails of some Great White Father in the White House.

The "leaders" and "radicals" who clung to Johnson's coattails and ran under Johnson's legs for protection in fright before the terrifying and fearsome paper tiger called Goldwater would have cringed and fawned over Goldwater if the election had swung that way. These "leaders" and "radicals" stand in awe before anything that gets elected President, finding virtues they never before suspected in his person the instant the investiture of high office begins. This is the way they behaved with Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy, all of whom were objectionable *before* they were elevated to the olympian heights of the Plantation Boss. After a little necessary preliminary softening, the appointment of a Negro ambassador to Malawi, or the invitation of some Uncle Tom to the White House for tea, they would discover that Goldwater wasn't all that bad either, and would begin to purr and lick his hand.

One advantage in the post-election situation is that, for the time being, the bogey-man has been shoved to the political sidelines, and the majority of Negroes and white "allies" will be forced to deal with the Johnson administration for what it really is, and not the image painted up in the rosy colors of the landslide "victory" euphoria.

Election votes serve as a barometer on politi-

cal trends and shifts in the masses. But it is not the job of radicals, white or black, to provide free pimp service hustling votes for the lesser-evil big capitalist party. The size, quality, vigor, and level of consciousness of the most advanced elements are factors a thousand times more important than barometric readings. Advantages can be drawn from the election of a given liberal or reactionary, and the ensuing political climate, only when the oppressed masses have the degree of organization, leadership and consciousness required to exploit the situation to the limit.

Otherwise, they will be placed in the unenviable position of cringing before every new appeal to a real or imagined backlash.

No task can have greater priority than that of building a solid base of independent political power in the black communities, a power machine to elbow Democrats and Republicans out of the picture locally and nationally. This is the great merit of the independent campaigns conducted for the revolutionary socialist program, and for the all-black independent Freedom Now Party in Michigan and other local areas.

Farm Struggle in the Midwest

By Doug Jones

Minneapolis—On September 9, two farmers, Melvin Cummins and Howard Falk, were crushed under the wheels of a truck at the Equity Livestock Yards in Bonduel, Wisconsin. The murdered men were part of a 500-man picket line of farmers attempting to stop "scab" trucks from entering the stockyard to sell beef. The driver, a part-time deputy sheriff, pulled a pistol out immediately after the men were killed and aimed it at the crowd of infuriated farmers and was whisked to safety by the police.

The violent struggle was part of an effort by small farmers in twenty-three Midwestern states to withhold their beef from the market in an attempt to force the chain stores to give them better prices.

The "holding action," as the farmers call it, was organized by the National Farmers Organization (NFO). It involved thousands of farmers, most particularly in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. A similar action was called two years ago, when dairy farmers dumped gallons of milk to prevent it from reaching the market.

The beef "holding action," which began on August 19, was the result of tremendous pressure from the ranks of the NFO. The small farmer faces the triple squeeze of high costs, low prices for his produce and competition from the big "industrial farms." It's a fact of life that unless beef and dairy farmers receive a favorable return for their produce they are driven into bankruptcy and off their farms. In the last twenty years the farm population has declined from 18.5% to 8.1% of the total population.

Large corporation farmers are the bulwark of American agriculture, and the small farmer, formerly the "backbone of American society," is a vanishing breed. However, he does not willingly leave his land (which is probably mortgaged) and the only way of living he knows, to go into the cities to seek low paid and unskilled jobs, or to join the unemployed lines.

The farmers in the NFO feel that they have a right to make a living, and have banded together to fight in an organized fashion to preserve that right. Their goal in the holding action was to get the major chain stores to bargain with the NFO on the price of beef. It is something like factory workers organizing a union to bargain collectively rather than as separate individuals for a pay raise.

In order for such an action to be successful, it must have widespread support among the farmers concerned. In many areas the holding action was almost one-hundred per cent effective—however, in others there was not complete agreement and some farmers tried to market their beef in defiance of the NFO. In order to combat this, the NFO set up "checking stations" along the highways and picketed entrances to stock yards.

If rational discussion did not turn the "scab" trucks around, nails, scythe blades, and bullets were used to blow out tires and stop the trucks. Barricades of trucks were also used to turn the scab trucks back.

In many areas men and women were injured in picket action. Farm wives were as active and

certainly as militant as their husbands at the checkpoints.

The forces of "law and order" were soon brought into the struggle—against the farmers. In Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin firehoses were turned on 400 pickets and police with dogs guarded the stockyards in Sioux City, Iowa. County sheriffs appealed to the governors of Minnesota and Wisconsin to use the National Guard, although the Guard was never actually called out. It was reminiscent of the 1930's when a similar action by the Farm-Holiday movement was met by martial law in seven counties of Iowa.

Many of the younger farmers are asking questions about the Farm-Holiday movement and the Farmer-Labor party that were so powerful in

this area, asking the older people to dig out their books on these movements. Since neither the Democrats nor Republicans supported the holding action, interest in independent political action was generated. The Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here received a number of requests from young people in rural areas for information.

Despite the militancy of the farmers and the startling success they had in preventing beef from getting to market, the NFO leadership, over rank-and-file opposition, called off the action in October. No real victory has been scored by the farmers, but the conditions which gave rise to the fight still exist, and we can expect new struggles in the future.

From the Marxist Bookshelf

On the Revolutionary Intellectuals

(The following article was an open letter to V.F. Calverton, editor of *The Modern Monthly*, who had sent Trotsky a pamphlet for his comments. Trotsky's reply was written in 1932, while the Trotskyist Left Opposition, although expelled from the Communist parties of the world, still considered itself a part of the Communist International.)

After the defeat in Germany and the rise of fascism to power without a struggle by the Communist Party, the Trotskyists saw that the degeneration of the Communist parties had reached the point where a new revolutionary organization had to be projected.)

Dear Comrade Calverton—

I have received your pamphlet, "For Revolution," and read it with interest as well as advantage to myself. Your arguments against the American "knights of pure reform" are very convincing, certain of them are really splendid. But, so far as I understand your inquiry, what you wanted from me was, not literary compliments, but a political evaluation. I shall be all the more willing to grant your request since the problems of American Marxism have acquired at the present time an extraordinary importance.

By its character and structure, your pamphlet was most appropriate for the thinking representatives of the academic youth. To ignore this group would, in any case, be out of the question: on the contrary, it is necessary to know it and talk to it in its language. However, you yourself have frequently emphasized in this study those thoughts which are elementary to a Marxist: that the overthrow of capitalism can be effected only by the proletariat. The revolutionary education of its vanguard, you rightly proclaim as the chief task. But in your pamphlet, I do not find the bridge to that task, nor any indication of the direction in which it must be sought.

Is this a reproach on my part? Both yes and no. In its essence your little book represents an answer to that kind of petty bourgeois radical (in America they seem to be wearing out the threadbare name of liberals) who is ready to accept the boldest *social conclusions* on condition that they involve no political obligation. Socialism? Communism? Anarchism? All very good but in no other way than that of reform. To transform from top to bottom society, morality, the family? Splendid! but by all means with the permission



Leon Trotsky

of the White House and of Tammany. Against these pretentious and fruitless tendencies you develop, as said before, a victorious argumentation. But this dispute thereby inevitably takes on the character of a domestic debate in an intellectual club where there is a reformist and a Marxist wing. So thirty and forty years ago in Petersburg and Moscow the academic Marxist disputed with academic Populist: must Russia pass through the stage of capitalism or not? How much water has flowed over the dam since that time! The very necessity of taking the question as you do in your pamphlet throws a glaring light on the political backwardness of the United States, technologically the most advanced country in the world. Insofar as you neither can nor have the right to tear yourself out of the American background, there is no reproach in my words.

Yet at the same time there is a reproach, since, beside pamphlets and clubs where academic discussion for and against revolution are carried on, in the ranks of the American proletariat, with all the backwardness of its movement, there are different political, and among them, revolu-

tionary groupings. You say nothing about them. Your pamphlet does not mention a word about the so-called Socialist party, nor the Communists, nor the transitional formations, not to speak of the struggling factions within Communism. This means that you are talking to nobody in particular and calling them to nowhere in particular. You explain the inevitability of the revolution, but the intellectual who is convinced by you can quietly smoke his cigarette to the end and go on to the order of the day. Insofar there is in my words an element of reproach.

I would not raise this circumstance in the first place if it did not seem to me that your political position as I conceive it from your articles is typical of a quite numerous and theoretically very valuable stratum of left intelligentsia in the United States.

To talk of the Hillquit-Thomas Socialist party as a tool of the proletarian revolution is evidently out of the question. Without having achieved in the slightest degree the power of European reformism, American Social-Democracy has appropriated all its vices, and barely passed childhood, has already fallen into what the Russians call "dog-senility." I hope that you will agree with this evaluation and perhaps explain these considerations on many future occasions. But in the pamphlet "For Revolution" you did not speak a word about Social-Democracy. Why? It seems to me because, after speaking of Social-Democracy, you would have had to give an evaluation of the Communist party too and this is not only a delicate but also an exceedingly responsible question, which imposes obligations and leads to consequences. Perhaps I may be mistaken in thinking so with respect to you personally but many American Marxists obviously and ostentatiously avoid fixing their position with respect to the Party. They consider themselves friends of the Soviet Union, sympathize with Communism, write articles about Hegel and the inevitability of the revolution and that is all. Still that is not enough, since the instrument of the revolution is the party, is it not?

I would not like to be misunderstood. Under the tendency to avoid the practical consequences of a clear position, I am far from understanding the concern for personal well-being. Admittedly, there are many quasi-Marxists whom the Communist party repels by its aim of bringing the revolution out of the discussion club into the street. But to dispute about a revolutionary party



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with such snobs is a waste of time. What we are talking about are the other, more serious Marxists, who are in no way inclined to be scared by revolutionary action, but whom the present Communist party disquiets by its low theoretical level, bureaucratism and lack of genuine revolutionary initiative. At the same time, they say to themselves, that is the party which stands furthest to the Left, which is bound up with the Soviet Union and which represents it in a certain sense. Is it right to attack it? Is it permissible to criticize it?

The opportunist and adventurist vices of the present leadership of the Communist International and of its American section are too evident to require emphasis. In any case, it is impossible and useless to repeat within the framework of this letter what is said on this theme in a series of independent works. All questions of theory, strategy, tactics and organization end by becoming the object of deep divergences within Communism. Three fundamental factions have been formed, which have succeeded in demonstrating their character in the course of the great events and problems of recent years. The struggles among them have taken on all the sharper character since in the Soviet Union every difference with the current ruling group leads to immediate expulsion from the party and to State repressions. The Marxist intelligentsia in the United States as well as in other countries is placed before an alternative: either tacitly and obediently to support the Communist International as it is, or to be included in the camp of the counter revolution and the "social-Fascists." A part of the intelligentsia chooses the first way; with closed or half-closed eyes, it follows the official Party. Another part wanders without a party home, defends where it can the Soviet Union from slander, and occupies itself with abstract sermons in favor of the revolution without indicating through which gate they can go to meet it. The difference between these two groups, however is not so great. On both sides it is an abdication from the creation of an independent opinion and from the courageous struggle for it, which is precisely where the revolutionary begins. On both sides we have a type of fellow-traveler and not an active builder of the proletarian party. Certainly, a fellow-traveler is better than an enemy. But a Marxist cannot be a fellow-traveler of the revolution, and besides, the experience of history bears witness that in the most decisive

moments the storm of the struggle hurls the majority of the intellectual fellow-travelers into the enemy's camp. If they still return, it is only after the victory has been consolidated. Maxim Gorky is the most colorful but not the only example. In the present Soviet apparatus, incidentally, clear up to the top a very important percentage of people stood fifteen years ago openly on the other side of the barricades.

It is necessary to remember that Marxism both interprets the world and teaches how to change it. The will is the moving element in the domain of knowledge, too. If Marxism loses its will to transform political reality, it loses the ability to understand it. The Marxist who, for one secondary consideration or another, does not carry his conclusion to the end, betrays Marxism. To overlook the different Communist factions, so as not to engage and compromise oneself, signifies to ignore the activity which through all its contradictions, forms the vanguard of the class, it signifies to cover oneself with the abstraction of the revolution, as with a shield, from the blows and bruises of the real revolutionary process.

When the Left bourgeois journalists summarily defend the Soviet Republic as it is, they accomplish a progressive and praiseworthy work. For a Marxist revolutionary, it is absolutely insufficient. The task of the October revolution, do not forget, has not yet been accomplished. Only a parrot can find satisfaction in the repetition of the words, "the victory is assured." No, it is not assured! The victory is a problem of strategy. There is no book which indicates in advance the correct orbit for the first workers' state. The head does not and cannot exist which can contain the complete formula for Socialist society. The roads of economy and politics must still be determined through experience and created collectively, that is, in permanent conflicts of ideas. A Marxist who limits himself to a summary sympathy, without taking part in the struggle on questions of collectivization, industrialization, the regime of the Party, etc., stands no higher than the progressive bourgeois of the type of Duranty, Louis Fischer, etc., but on the contrary, lower because he misuses the name of revolutionary.

To avoid direct answers, to play blind man's bluff with great problems, to remain diplomatically silent and wait, or still worse, to quiet oneself with the thought that the present struggle within Bolshevism is a question of personal am-

bitions, means to protect mental laziness, to yield to the worst Philistine prejudice, and to be doomed to demoralization. On this subject, I hope we shall not have any differences with you.

The policy of the proletariat has a great theoretical tradition and that is one of the sources of its power. A trained Marxist studies the differences between Engels and Lassalle with regard to the European war of 1859. It is necessary to do so. But if he is not a pedant of Marxist historiography, not a book worm but a proletarian revolutionary, it is a thousand times more important and urgent for him to elaborate for himself an independent opinion about the revolutionary strategy in China from 1925 to 1932. It was precisely on that question that the struggle within Bolshevism first reached the state of an explosion. Impossible to be a Marxist without taking a position in a question on which depends the fate of the Chinese revolution and of the Indian, too, that is, the future of almost half of humanity!

It is very useful to study, let us say, the old differences among Russian Marxists on the character of the future Russian revolution; naturally, according to first hand authorities, and not the ignorant and disloyal compilations of the epigones. But incommensurably more important is it to elaborate for oneself a clear understanding of the theory and practice of the Anglo-Russian committee, of the "third period," of "social-Fascism," of the "democratic dictatorship" in Spain, and the policy of the united front. The study of the past is in the last analysis justified by the fact that it helps one to orientate himself in the present.

Impermissible for a Marxist theoretician to pass by the congresses of the First International. But a thousand times more urgent is the study of the living differences concerning the Amsterdam anti-war congress of 1932. What is the value, in effect, of the sincerest and warmest sympathy for the Soviet Union if it is accompanied by indifference to the methods of its defense?

Is there now a theme more important for a revolutionary, more gripping, more burning, than the struggle and the fate of the German proletariat? Is it possible, on the other hand, to fix one's relations to the problems of the German revolution while passing by the differences in the camp of German and international Communism? A revolutionary who has no opinion on the policies of Stalin-Thaelmann is not a

Marxist. A Marxist who has an opinion but remains silent is not a revolutionary.

It is not enough to preach the utility of technology; it is necessary to build bridges. What would be thought of a young doctor who, instead of working in the operating room, would satisfy himself with reading the biographies of great surgeons of the past? What would Marx have said about a theory which, instead of deepening revolutionary practice, would serve to separate one from it? Most probably he would repeat his sarcastic sentence, "No, I am not a Marxist."

All the evidence is that the present crisis will be a great milestone in the political road of the United States. The self-sufficient American provincialism is in any case nearing its end. Those commonplaces which invariably nourished American political thought in all its ramifications are completely worn out. All classes need a new orientation. A radical renewal, not only of the circulating but also of the fixed capital of political ideology, is imminent. If the Americans persist in their backwardness in the domain of Socialist theory, it does not mean that they will remain backward always. It is possible to venture without much risk a contrary prophecy: the longer the Yankees are satisfied with the ideological old clothes of the past, the more powerful will be the impetus of their revolutionary thought when its hour will strike. And it is near. The elevation of revolutionary theory to new heights can be looked for in the next few decades from two sources: the Asiatic East and America.

The proletarian movement has displaced in the course of the last hundred-odd years its national center of gravity several times. England, France, Germany, Russia—this was the historical sequence of the home of Socialism and Marxism. The present revolutionary hegemony of Russia can least of all claim a durable character. The fact itself of the existence of a Soviet Union, especially before the proletarian victory in one of the advanced States, has naturally an immeasurable importance for the workers' movement of all countries. But the immediate influence of the Moscow ruling faction upon the Communist International has already become a brake on the development of the world proletariat. The fertilizing ideology of Bolshevism has been replaced by the stifling pressure of the apparatus. It is not necessary to prove the disastrous con-

sequences of this regime: it suffices to point to the leadership of the American Communist Party. The liberation from the witless bureaucratic command has become a question of life and death for the revolution and for Marxism.

You are totally right: the vanguard of the American proletariat must come to base itself on the revolutionary traditions of its own country too. In a certain sense we can admit the slogan, "Americanize Marxism!" It does not mean, certainly, to submit its foundations and methods to revision. The attempt of Max Eastman to throw overboard the materialistic dialectic in the interests of the "engineering art of revolution" represents an obviously hopeless and, in its possible consequences, retrograde adventure. The system of Marxism has completely passed the test of history. Especially now, in the epoch of capitalist decline—of wars and revolutions, storms and shocks—the materialistic dialectic fully reveals its indestructible force. To Americanize Marxism signifies to root it in American soil, to verify it against the events of American history, to explore by its methods the problems of American economy and politics, to assimilate the world revolutionary experience under the

viewpoint of the tasks of the American revolution. A great work! It is time to approach it with the shirt-sleeves rolled up.

On the occasion of strikes in the United States, where the decomposing center of the First International was transferred, Marx wrote, on July 25, 1877 to Engels: "The porridge is beginning to boil, and the transfer of the center of the International to the United States will yet be justified finally." Several days later, Engels answered him: "only twelve years after the abolition of bond slavery, and the movement has already achieved such acuteness!" They both, Marx and Engels, were wrong. But as in the other cases, they were wrong as to tempo, but not as to direction. The great porridge from the other side of the ocean begins to boil; the turn in the development of American capitalism will inevitably provoke a blossoming of critical and generalizing thought, and perhaps in not so long a time as from the transfer of the theoretical center of the International to New York.

Before the American Marxist open virtually grandiose, breath-taking perspectives!

With sincere greetings,
Prinkipo, Nov. 4, 1932.

L. Trotsky.

MEET YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN YOUR AREA

ANN ARBOR: Howard Solita, 428 Cross Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND: Mary Alice Styron, 1793 Oxford Street, Berkeley

BOSTON: Judy Perez, 494 Mass. Avenue, Cambridge

CHICAGO: YSA, Debs Hall, 302 South Canal Street

CLEVELAND: YSA, E.V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Avenue, Room 25

DENVER: Perdue, 1860 Race, Apt. 1

DETROIT: YSA, 3737 Woodward

KENT (OHIO): Ron Wittmaack, 134 East Oak Street

LOS ANGELES: YSA, 1702 East 4th Street

MADISON (WISC.): Walter Lippman, 204

Marion Street

MINNEAPOLIS: YSA, 704 Hennepin Avenue, Room 240

NEW YORK: DOWNTOWN, YSA, 116 University Place,

UPTOWN: phone WA. 6-2180

PHILADELPHIA: Ted Fagin, 437 South 43rd

SAN DIEGO: Lud Carter, 2837 M. Avenue, National City, California

SAN FRANCISCO: Corrie Harer, 1767 Page Street

SEATTLE: Ron Ginther, c/o Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Avenue, N.E.

YELLOW SPRINGS (OHIO): YSA, c/o Community Government, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs

for FREE PAMPHLET about the Young Socialist Alliance write:

YSA, BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Review:

Art in Cuba

Writing for the professional audience of *Art News*, Tana de Gamez describes the state of art in revolutionary Cuba, which she visited last summer. Her report is certainly good news to those revolted by the sickly sweet products of bureaucratic command euphemistically labeled "Socialist Realism" which have marred the Soviet Union since the advent of Stalin. She discovered a powerful dynamic in Cuba's approach to art and the artist which is an example to both the "free West" and the "socialist bloc."

Tana de Gamez begins her article by contrasting the energy and breath of the Cuban artists with the effects of the U.S. embargo: "Yet the emergency has spurred the Cuban pride and inventiveness and rallied artists to a renewed *esprit de corps*." The embargo has caused shortages of brushes, black paint and other artists materials, but "At the cost of precious gasoline a fine brush is sent traveling from one end of town to another for several artists to share. Experiments are made with mashed roots, lime and garden soil to extract pigment and bases." Also things are being relieved by increased trade with Western Europe.

De Gamez can't help but feel that the tremendous advances she experienced in the Revolution's art are "despite government sponsorship." But because of her honesty, she relates not only the freedom enjoyed by Cuba's artists, but also the tremendous role the Cuban government plays

THE POSITION OF THE ARTIST IN CUBA TODAY,
by Tana de Gomez. *ART NEWS*, September, 1964

in helping to develop art and promote an understanding of it.

We in the United States are taught, both in school and through practical experience, that freedom and creativity are in opposition to government support. The results of Stalin's imposition of complete bureaucratic control of art have tended to bear out our original teachings.

But when a social revolution moves forward, attempting to meet the needs of its people at all levels, freedom of expression can only help to



Drawing by Rene Portocarrero, Cuban artist who recently won a prize at the Sao Paulo Biennial.

strengthen it. Such is the case in Cuba. Because of the entirely free artistic atmosphere nurtured by revolutionary Cuba, the Revolution has won the enthusiastic support of most of its artistic population. Tana de Gamez emphasizes this point by citing the case of Luis Martinez Pedro, ex-owner of pre-revolutionary "Cuba's top advertising agency," who remains faithful to the revolution despite the nationalization of his property and business. In fact, she reports that government support means only "moral and financial support." She describes artistic development in Cuba as "a movement rich in contradictory tendencies."

Beyond the support of current Cuban artists, the revolutionary government is seeking to develop new generations who will continue these traditions. Scheduled for formal inauguration next Christmas, the new Cubanacan Arts Center is described as "Cuba's most daring step in architecture—and in cultural education." Designed by Ricardo Porro, it has received international acclaim, but the most impressive thing about

it is that it will house fifteen hundred scholarship art students, ranging in age from nine to eighteen. De Gamez's article is full of the Revolution's attempt to integrate the artist and his art into Cuban society, which explains the enthusiasm the artist displays for his country and his own work. She recounts everything from the Cubanacan Arts Center and its scholarships to the use of modern Cuban sculpture and painting in government buildings, to government support to religious art and to the appointing of artists to diplomatic posts.

Tana de Gamez sets out to objectively describe the state of art on the Cuban island and the facts speak for themselves. Socialist revolution has been able to defend and protect artistic freedom.

It has attempted to raise the level of culture by supporting art and by bringing to the masses of people throughout the island the product of this artistic freedom where they live and work. It has also undertaken, perhaps for the first time in modern history, to integrate the artist into the mainstream of society. The sum result of artistic endeavor in revolutionary Cuba "is a staggering rate of production, a considerable over-all quality and an unexpected freedom of expression." Or as one artist, quoted by de Gamez, put it, "I prefer this innumerable variety of forms with One Love to the contrary that happens elsewhere: artists striving to say different things and producing pictures that are all the same."

Robin David

(continued from inside front cover)

WHY THEY WON'T LOWER the voting age—DeBerry got 161 votes in the mock election at the U of Wisconsin at Madison.

NOV. 9, 1964—Ten thousand Japanese students marched on government buildings in Tokyo. They were protesting U.S. show-of-force "visit" by nuclear-armed submarines.

STUDENTS FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS at Berkeley—An attempt by the U of California administration to clamp down on campus political activity has sparked demonstrations involving thousands of students. The protest is against a ruling handed down by the administration which prohibits campus political groups from recruiting, soliciting funds, or advocating off-campus political action.

When the school term opened, campus clubs defied the new rule with a "table in" at an area traditionally used by student groups for literature tables. When university authorities had police arrest Jack Weinberg who was manning the CORE table, masses of students surrounded the cop car Weinberg was held in, and immobilized it. A continuous mass meeting was addressed by students who spoke from the top of the cop car! In addition to the arrest, eight students were suspended for manning the tables.

The same day 500 students occupied the administration building and the next day the cop car was still surrounded by students—who held the

car for 31 hours! A tense situation developed when 1,000 police were brought in to surround the demonstrators. At this point the administration and students came to an agreement to negotiate, and the administration agreed to drop charges against Weinberg. An uneasy truce lasted through October.

Demonstrations and more table-ins broke out again in early November, after the administration did nothing to lift the suspensions or the repressive ruling... The demonstrations were organized by the Free Speech Movement (FSM) which grew out of the protest.

YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERVIEW with FSM leaders—

QUESTION: What brought you into FSM?

Dusty Miller, leader of the independents in FSM: "It was the University regulation. Before this decree came down I was attending an exciting university with democracy in action. I enjoyed having the right to hear all ideas and possibly being convinced by radical ideas."

Mario Savio, head of FSM: "I was in Friends of SNCC last year and this summer I worked for SNCC in Mississippi. The new regulation directly affected Friends of SNCC so I naturally became involved."

Elizabeth Stapleton, YSAer, one of eight suspended: "The direct incident for me was being

suspended for sitting at a literature table in violation of the new rule. As a socialist, my motivation rests on the fact that democratic rights are a vital part of the broad socialist program."

QUESTION: What brought FSM into existence?

Jack Weinberg, CORE: "The struggle is inconceivable without the civil-rights activity in the Bay Area during the last year. In these actions thousands of students have been developing a new philosophy of direct action and social change. The power structure has had to find new ways of stopping them and has further exposed itself in the process."

Mario Savio: "This action was initiated by a united front of campus political groups and very soon large numbers of independents joined. They solidarized with the students who were being axed and they themselves felt their alienation and impotence in the face of the arbitrariness and paternalism of the administration."

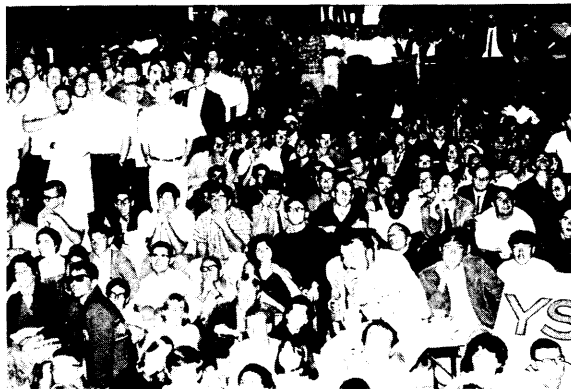
QUESTION: What is the role of socialists in the FSM?

Jack Weinberg: "Too many socialists are intellectuals and not activists. They will storm any barricade in history but not some today. They look at things in too long a perspective and don't realize the implications of day-to-day events. Socialists must play a leading role in the struggles that are taking place today."

Elizabeth Stapleton: "A number of socialists have participated effectively in the struggle including the Young Socialist Alliance. Possibly we can do more. Besides being committed to this struggle and active in it, I feel we can and should introduce the students involved to the ideas of socialism."

QUESTION: What is the future of FSM?

Mario Savio: "It started as a fight against a restrictive regulation and has developed into a basic disagreement with the way the University is run. Because we are up against the State of California we cannot win a substantial victory but we may get significant concessions. Beyond this, I think there will be a growing interest in politics."



BERKELEY students demonstrate for their rights.

SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN FOR SWP candidates was waged by Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw spoke at a combined total of 90 meetings on their national tours, mostly at colleges and high schools during the six weeks before the election. They also fit into their busy schedules 75 radio and TV appearances.... The culmination of their tours came when they spoke at three **CONFERENCES ON INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION** on the West Coast, Midwest and East Coast. Close to 800 young people attended these conferences which featured debates, panels, lectures and election rallies. Highpoints of the conferences were panels where SWP and Freedom Now Party candidates took on Democratic Party politicians, a debate on Vietnam between Youth for Johnson, Youth for Goldwater, and Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. Spirited election rallies featured the SWP candidates, Freedom Now Party candidate for Governor of Michigan Rev. Albert Cleage, James Shabazz of the Muslim Mosque, Dr. Otto Nathan, and others who supported the campaign.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT is seeking to deport Joe Johnson, born in the U.S.A., who is the Minneapolis organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. To learn more about this important case and the efforts to defend Joe Johnson, write: **COMMITTEE TO OPPOSE THE DEPORTATION OF JOSEPH JOHNSON**, P.O. Box 8731, Northstar Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55402.



BERKELEY students demonstrate for their rights.

Winter, 1965 issue:

International Socialist Review

—A Theoretical Marxist Quarterly Magazine

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