



INSPIRATION: The freshness of the Cuban Revolution, expressed by these young school teachers, has inspired young people throughout the United States, as well as Latin America to take up the cause of socialism. The Young Socialist Alliance is proud to count itself in the ranks of those who support the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

YSA Conference Plans For Action

by Barry Sheppard
National Chairman,
the Young Socialist Alliance

The Second Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance was held in Chicago over the New Year weekend. Following three months of pre-convention discussion of the political and organizational problems facing the YSA, each branch elected its delegates. The Conference—the highest body of the YSA—through three days of intense discussion and deliberation, democratically established the YSA's position on the nature

ports included treatment of the YSA's defense of the Cuban Revolution. The YSA will continue to strengthen its defense of Cuba against the U.S. imperialists, who are committed to the destruction of the first socialist revolution in the Americas. The Conference called on all youth who defend the Cuban Revolution to unite for that defense in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Particularly interesting was the report and discussion around the civil rights movement. The report was presented by Leroy McRae. New forces and organizations are emerging in the ever more militant struggle by U.S. Negroes for equality. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, and CORE have advanced the struggle beyond the legalistic framework of the NAACP to direct pacifist action.

SNCC LEADS

As an advance from these pacifist organizations, more militant movements are developing. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, composed of Southern Negro students, became the leadership of the Freedom Rides when they got too hot for CORE. The SNCC holds non-violence as a tactic, not as a principle. Robert Williams' movement in Monroe, North Carolina, which practices the tactic of self-defense from racist attack, was recently brought to the public's eye by framed kidnapping charges against Williams, some Freedom Riders, and associates of Williams. The charges followed a police inspired racist attack upon Freedom Riders demonstrating in Monroe. Williams narrowly escaped a shoot-on-sight manhunt by the FBI and police by fleeing to Cuba. The YSA is supporting the defense of the Mon-

Yevtushenko On Cuba

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of the Cuban state and outlined its tasks and perspectives for the coming period.

The Conference considered national and branch organization reports, work in the Negro struggle, the nature of the Cuban Revolution and state, the general tasks and perspectives facing the YSA, and elected a new National Committee.

NOTES GROWTH

The national organization report found the YSA firmly established throughout the country. The number and size of its branches have increased substantially since the April 1960 Founding Conference. A new branch in Indiana was greeted by the Conference. The YSA is involved in civil rights, civil liberties, and anti-war struggles, and is engaged in active socialist education.

The national organization re-

Why the YSA Supports Cuba — Page 4

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 5, No. 4 (43)

February, 1962

STUDENT ELECTIONS:

Right-Wing Wins at CCNY; Left Considers a New Party

by Fred Mazelis

NEW YORK—The results of the semi-annual elections at CCNY held last December startled most sections of the campus. The past few years have seen an increased intensity of student activity around some key issues now confronting the world. During the spring of 1960 the Student Government at CCNY was among the first to sponsor picket lines in front of Woolworths in support of Southern sit-in demonstrations. Civil Defense drills met with several hundred student protesters on the campus who refused to cooperate. Just this past semester the CCNY Student Government reacted as a body to the ban on Communist speakers imposed by the Administration. The student leadership sponsored protest rallies, a picket line and a boycott of classes, until the ban was lifted.

RIGHT-WING TWIST

Yet in the recent Student Government elections, the top posts were won by a slate of avowedly conservative, fraternity and engineering school backed candidates. The new president, Fred Bren, had consistently opposed all the militant actions of the previous Student Government. His

"Reform Slate" was centered on a program of "reforming" Student Government so that in the future it would keep its mouth shut on the key issues affecting students today.

Bren stated during the campaign and after the elections that he would seek to defeat all motions made in the new council which would give support to Southern Freedom Rides, oppose the House Un-American Activities Committee, and in other ways take a stand on "off-campus" issues. Among his supporters were

Young Americans for Freedom

members.

NOT THE CHOICE

That a right-wing slate was not what the students wanted was shown by the fact that Bren's ticket won without a majority of the votes. He was opposed by two slates of "liberal" students, both of whose leaders had taken a stand against the speaker ban at the college. The differences between the two slates were negligible and they split the majority of the votes between them, al-

(Continued on Page 3)

Freedom Takes A Walk

The Negro students in the South, who have been so militantly struggling for civil rights, now face a fight well known among all students—the fight for academic freedom. Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., the largest Negro college in the nation, closed down following student protests at the expulsion of seven CORE activists from the college. President Felton G. Clark then reopened the college, excluding over forty five "troublemakers." The seven were among seventy-three arrested in December, following a demonstration by 1,500 Southern University students against lunchcounter segregation and job discrimination.

In Albany, Georgia, forty Albany State College students were indefinitely suspended for their participation in anti-segregation demonstrations. These students were from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The suspended students and hundreds of Albany Negroes had been arrested for taking part in mass civil rights demonstrations following the arrest of eleven Freedom Riders outside the Albany train terminal.

The expulsions are doubly vicious as an attack on those courageous young people, who have been in the forefront of the struggle for a better world. These Negro students have repeatedly laid their lives on the line for the right of all people to live, eat and work together as equals. First among the demands of the new generation of Southern Negroes was the demand for a decent education for themselves and their children.

Students across the country have fought attempts by campus administrations to destroy academic freedom—against speaker bans, tuition increases, and infringements on the student press. The Southern action, the most wholesale violation of academic freedom, is a direct blow to the rights of all students.

Every student who has ever considered academic freedom his fundamental right, should raise his voice in protest now. As an Albany, Ga., SNCC leader said in a telegram protesting the city's refusals to let Negroes use the main library, "Freedom to learn is one of the most precious rights in the world."

Monroe Defense Needs Support

The frame-up trial of Monroe, N.C. four civil rights fighters on charges of kidnapping is scheduled to begin on Feb. 19th. The defendants are Richard Crowder, 19; Harold Reape, 17; John Lowry, 19; and Mrs. Mae Mallory. All except Lowry, a white freedom rider from New York, are Negroes from Monroe. Robert Williams, militant leader of the local NAACP, has been forced to take asylum in Cuba to avoid prosecution on the same false charges.

The case was cooked up by the Klan-inspired police in order to smash the Negro movement and to silence Williams and his supporters whose outspokenness on the use of self-defense and on the Cuban Revolution is a threat to the continuation of the status quo in the South. The press added to the crime by enforcing a total blackout of news from Monroe. The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has taken up the fight to defend the victims of the racist attack.

It is important that student attention be focused on the trial. If a nation-wide protest is mounted against this attack on the civil rights movement, it is more likely that justice will be secured for the defendants. In order to carry forward the campaign to free the four victims a minimum of \$5,000 is needed to cover legal expenses and publicize the case. The CAMD's address is: 141 Broadway, New York City.

(Continued on Page 3)

Yevtushenko Sings of Cuba

by Kit Chorny

Yevgenii Yevtushenko, a 28-year old of Siberian birth, is one of Soviet youth's most popular poets. His public readings are attended in droves and his sparse editions sell out at once. It should be of special interest to see how this spokesman of a generation has reacted to the Cuban Revolution. He spent several months in Cuba in summer 1961 as a "special correspondent" for *Pravda*. The verse dispatches he sent back were filled with enthusiasm for the revolution. In early November he returned to Cuba to write the verse scenario of a movie on the Revolution being made by a Soviet company.

The critical attitude expressed in his poems of the past five years toward certain conditions at home in the Soviet Union has won Yevtushenko much attention in the West. But as yet few, if any, Western commentators have taken note of his tremendous positive reaction to the Cuban Revolution.

MUSIC OF REVOLUTION

His most recent poem on Cuba (apparently written since his return), called "The Mozarts of Revolution," is typical of his Cuban poetry, where the creativity, the mass participation, and the spirit of the revolution are described with emphatic approval. But it also contains certain subtle elements of criticism on issues closer to home.

To understand these one must be familiar with the figures of Mozart and Salieri, whose antagonism is the central theme of the poem. Salieri was an Italian composer, a contemporary of Mozart, who achieved success in the courtly capital of eighteenth century Vienna. He was a bitter enemy of Mozart and was rumored to have poisoned the young genius out of professional envy.

The great Russian poet Pushkin popularized this rumor in a dramatic sketch called "Mozart and Salieri." Yevtushenko in using these names is not referring to the historical personages. Rather, he is calling to the mind of his Russian audience the figures of Pushkin's sketch, whose characters and qualities they know well.

BASIC ANTAGONISM

Pushkin played up the basic antagonism between the official court composer, the hack Salieri, and the independently creative, "true artist," Mozart. Pushkin's Mozart was one who could stop by a common pub and enjoy a blind fiddler playing from *Don Juan*, while his Salieri is shocked and disgusted by this folk musician's debasement of fine art. Pushkin's Salieri poisons the genius because, in his words, "If he lives on, then all of us will per-

The Mozarts of Revolution

by Yevgenii Yevtushenko

"... with all your heart, with all your consciousness—listen to the revolution!"—A. Blok

I heed the roar of the street with radiance, with trepidation. The music of revolution is like music of the ocean. All is in music's power.

Music — is audacity. And, like Mozart, inspired, on the crest of the music is Castro.

The music raises on high its waves infuriate. 'Obreros' and 'campesinos' are the best sons of the nation. All of them are composers, Mozarts of revolution. The Mozarts of revolution, have always their own Salieri, but the Mozarts — prove themselves stronger.

Music — is for flight. In music There's nothing profane. If someone plays it falsely, the music is not to blame. Berets of olive-color, Sombberos made of straw — this is no operetta but the era's oratorio!

The music of revolution makes the blood of many run cold. Chandeliers overseas somewhere clink nervously in the halls. What then? are you none too pleased by the thunder above your heads? You can not deal with the music? It will deal with you instead! I do not wish for applause, nor glory, that passes so quickly, I wish to remain to posterity, if but as a single phrase, part of the music that's sighting the foe, of the stern, of the incorruptible of the very greatest music — the music of revolution! And maybe successors will say that, trusting in that music wholly, I have been of its Mozarts and not of its Salieri.

Havana, Cuba
(Printed in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Dec. 19, 1961)

ish—High priests and servants of the art of music."

Yevtushenko sees the Cuban Revolution as the product of genuine artists, with Fidel "like Mozart" in the forefront. But for every Mozart there's a Salieri. In Cuba's case this would seem to mean formal imitators who aren't attuned to the creative substance of the revolution.

FORM AND ESSENCE

Mozart's very existence exposed the inadequacy and threatened the position of those technical craftsmen who claimed authority in their field on the basis of mere formal proficiency. Likewise, the Cuban Revolution exposes the inadequacies of "high priests" and "servants of the people" everywhere, who with fine words lacking in substance claim authority to arbitrate the fate of mankind.

This Mozart-Salieri contrast that Yevtushenko sees in the modern world applies not only to the imperialists who feel they must destroy the genius of the Cuban Revolution. It applies just as well to "high priests" elsewhere, as in the Kremlin, who may follow the

WHO'S TO BLAME?

Perhaps the most provocative lines in the poem read, "If someone is playing it false! The music is not to blame." Since the poem uses music as a synonym for revolution, this can only mean that, while Yevtushenko recognizes that both "true composers" and "falsifiers" can exist within the revolution, the presence of the latter does not detract from the validity of the revolution itself!

We can assume he speaks for the majority of Soviet youth when in closing he takes sides with the genuine stream of the revolution. He refers indirectly to his own popularity, over which literary officialdom has shown much concern of late. But unlike Salieri, ambitious and jealous of position, he asserts he does not want fame or applause, but only to be a part of that greatest music: the revolution. And to judge by his career in the past he will stick by the "true music" not only in Cuba but, reinforced by the Cuban example, at home in the Soviet Union as well.

(Note on translation: I've tried to preserve the format and the "imprecise rhyming" technique that Yevtushenko uses in the original. Also I've tried to reproduce rhythm while keeping the more important idea content as literal as possible.) —KC

Young Socialist

Nora Roberts, Editor
Barry Stevens Business Manager

"A World to Win!"

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A Peaceful Unity

Four national student organizations have united to call a nationwide peace demonstration in Washington, D.C., Feb. 16-17. Student Sane, the Student Peace Union, Students for a Democratic Society and the youth section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation dropped any programmatic differences they had with each other to organize this one, massive demonstration on a broad program of mutual agreement.

Arising from the growing number of student demonstrations protesting against the war drive, the coordinated committee, Turn Toward Peace, expects a turn-out big enough to convince Kennedy to give up the arms race. Independently organized demonstrations from Cornell, Earlham College in Indiana, from Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston and other university centers have been initiated since last fall. These protests, as well as the projected coordinated action, indicate the sincere feelings of today's young people—their real hatred and fear of nuclear war and their willingness to defy campus administrations, police and the advice of their elders to express their sentiments.

These demonstrations were, for the most part, independently organized, over the heads of the existing "peace" organizations. Student Sane, SPU, and the others are now trying to channel this spirit under their one banner.

Before this could be accomplished, one banner had to be established. Their joint program embodies many of the demands of the student anti-war movement in some specific areas. But its underlying concept is that the way to end war is to convince the Kennedy Administration that a "Peace Race" is the more efficient way to defeat Communism. The program announces its intentions "to meet squarely the danger presented to democratic values by Soviet ideology and Communist expansionism." This ideology is from the conservatives in the anti-war movement generally. The more left-wing proposals, as for example, from the Student Peace Union, have been trimmed off in order to attain the broadest "unity." The result is a program ineffectual in the face of the real danger to world peace—American imperialism.

Two activists in the anti-war movement, Frances Witlin and Saul Gottlieb, have proposed an alternative program to end war—a world peace-labor congress. They propose that, to make its desires for peace felt, a "Peace-Labor International" should run candidates "for national and local public office wherever practicable," as an independent political party, in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

If the student peace movements were to throw their energies into a campaign for such an alternative to the two cold war parties, their goals could be within reach. The demonstrations against the war drive are a step in the right direction. At the same time, to quote from the joint student program, "It is difficult to turn toward peace as long as we are deluded as to the real nature of war."

When Progress Hurts

President Kennedy and his "new frontiersman" Arthur Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, have reconciled themselves to the fact that over four million American workers must remain jobless to make room for "progress." With ever expanding advances in industrial technology, the jobless roll in this country is higher than the total work force of Cuba or Venezuela. But even these high figures are not complete. Over two million young people graduate from high schools and colleges every year only to find that there is no work available for them.

The AFL-CIO Convention which met in Florida in December took note of the demands of rank and file workers and called for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. This proposal would make it possible for available work to be spread among the greatest number of workers, while at the same time ensuring a decent standard of living for all workers. A thorough-going program of this nature would make jobs available for young people so that they could start off their lives facing job security instead of unemployment offices.

At this convention, however, the union leadership developed the program in only the most cursory fashion. Responding only to the strongest unions, it placed its shorter work week proposal mainly on a long-term basis. Only a few unions will be authorized to fight for a contract along these lines, even if their local leaderships don't back down. Thousands of unemployed, especially among the youth, are still left out in the cold.

If these youth wait for the Meanys and Reuthers to take up their demands, they'll still be sitting in employment offices when their peach fuzz turns grey. Some union officials have talked about organizing the unemployed, but it seems they lack the youthful initiative to go ahead with any real programs. A group of young unemployed auto workers began a drive to organize themselves to put pressure on the union to include them in their contract considerations. But the organization of the unemployed is still sporadic and not yet effective. If the youth and unemployed in general were to organize themselves into unemployed councils on a national scale, they would be a force the officialdom would have to reckon with. Such organizations, with the vigor of youth militantly fighting for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay, would give strength to the demands of the entire union movement, forcing the bosses as well as the AFL-CIO leadership, to stand up and take notice.



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PROVIDENCE STUDENTS:

Cuba Films Will Be Seen!

by Paul Lee

PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island—In the face of continued repressions by police here, the Brown University Fair Play for Cuba Committee called a protest meeting for Jan. 11, protesting the suppression of films on Cuba.

On Oct. 26 the Providence Police Department suppressed a film program sponsored by the local Young Socialist Alliance. The films portrayed the April 17 invasion of Cuba and living conditions in Venezuela. In prohibiting the program, the Police invoked an obscure city ordinance requiring a permit for public film showings. Police appeared at the last moment, after a sizable crowd had gathered.

Dec. 24 marked the second attempt to show the truth about Cuba in Providence—this time by the Brown FPCC, on the Brown campus where city ordinances do not apply. The Police claimed that since the meeting was open to the public, city ordinances applied and closed the meeting. Even though the cancellation was announced, 75 people were turned away. The Brown Administration failed to protest this invasion of its enclave of academic freedom. That night, the apartment of Roger Sheppard,

who obtained the films for the Brown FPCC, was illegally entered and the films stolen. One film was later returned, but the other two are still missing.

The Brown students, undaunted, then scheduled their protest meeting at which Richard Gibson, Acting National Executive Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, spoke, and a film program was presented.

"What is in these films that provoked such suppression?" the Brown students asked in their protest leaflet. "Is it the scenes of the damage done in the April 17th invasion? Is it the shots of the U.S. Army equipment of the mercenary 'liberators'? Would the film of the conditions of working people in Venezuela be too harsh or upsetting? Would the pictures of the armed Cuban people conflict with the propaganda of the American Press. Or, do the films contain the TRUTH?"

The films are now scheduled for showing at the Rhode Island School of Design here. The showing will be open to the public, permit or no permit. The American Civil Liberties Union has stated it is ready to take court action if the films are suppressed

**DOING THEIR BEST**

"With a [Communist] party membership of 22,663, and at least 10 times that number of sympathizers, it would take a secret police or close to a million to maintain a constant surveillance of this group. This is utterly contrary to our democratic traditions and would mean the setting up of an enormous American Gestapo or MVD. Within the limits of its resources, the FBI is, of course, doing a magnificent job." (From a government publication, "The Communist Party of the United States of America: What It Is, How It Works.")

that will express their desires on campus.

In the past, student activists at CCNY have not given much thought to their own party. Student parties are organized each semester for the elections, but, primarily based on personalities and not on politics, they are eventually ignored and soon forgotten. With the increased activity of the Young Republicans and YAF'ers, and the recent victory of a right-wing student slate, the idea of a liberal student party is beginning to generate more interest. It is clear now that such an organized party of action-minded students could easily win the elections. But, more important, this kind of party would provide real leadership in the fight for student rights and for the students' interests in the world as a whole.

FIGHT THE RIGHT

After a noisy and well-publicized demonstration by right-wingers at the meeting celebrating the victory over the speaker ban, this writer sent a letter to *The Campus* student newspaper which stated:

"What we need at CCNY is a party like SLATE at Berkeley. If we have such a party, democratically controlled, we will really be equipped to meet the right-wingers in political combat and win. And if we organize and discuss and decide in democratic fashion our policy and program, and campaign for this policy and program vigorously, our chances of leading a majority of the student body are excellent."

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TO ESCAPE JIM CROW:**Negro Girl Learns Russian**

by Peter Camejo

Huldah Clark 14, of Newark, N.J., hit the headlines last fall when it was announced that she was going to the Soviet Union to finish high school in an atmosphere free of Jim Crow. Huldah was home for the Christmas holidays, and I spent an interesting evening talking to her and her father, William Clark, who had arranged for her to go to the Soviet Union.

Although Huldah is quite shy, she spoke with enthusiasm about her experiences in the Soviet Union. She said the educational standards are so much higher there than here that she had to start out a full year behind her grade here. But she isn't discouraged by this, considering it a real challenge. Right now she's concentrating on learning Russian fluently so she can take full advantage of the unusual educational opportunity opened to her.

RIDES UP FRONT

Her father, a working man, explained why he had arranged for Huldah to go to school in the U.S.S.R. He is concerned that his children shouldn't suffer the kind of discrimination he's had to live with all his life. In the Soviet Union, he said, Huldah "won't find signs saying 'no colored here,' or have to ride in the back of a bus, or be denied service in a restaurant, or be kept out of public places, or any of the thousand and one things that add up to Jim Crow."

Mr. Clark's grandfather was lynched in Florida. "And lynchings still go on today," he said. "I don't want my daughter to be educated in a country where a man can be killed for his color. Or where lynchers like the men who murdered young Emmet Till can be acquitted and then publicly brag about their killing and still go scot free."

Mr. Clark said he had thought about the fact that cultural exchanges between the U.S. and

'Let's Play Bomb'

A memo to schools by the Civil Defense Division of New York State Department of Education:

"We advise that children aged two to eight make at least weekly trips to the shelter... In the case of children aged five through eight, this trip can be made part of dramatic play... In the case of children five and under in some schools or school system, each might be asked to bring a woolly toy from home. It would be very comforting for him to hold in his arm if he stays in the shelter for a time... children, eight years old and under, can... dramatize these practices outdoors with 'airplane spotters' and 'air-raid warnings' and using boxes, barrels and play equipment as hiding places."

U.S.S.R. usually included artists and intellectuals in many fields, but rarely did you hear of working people on such exchange programs. Yet they're the majority of the people.

He met Soviet Premier Khrushchev when he was here a year ago and talked to him about the idea of exchange students from working class and Negro families. This conversation led to the awarding of the scholarship to Huldah.

Mr. Clark is a militant fighter for equal rights, and Huldah seems to share his fighting outlook.

YSA Plans . . .

(Continued from Page 1)
roe Negro community and of the defendants.

INTEGRATION GUIDE

McRae pointed out that the U.S. has much to learn from the Cuban Revolution about the elimination of discrimination. In three years the Cuban Revolution has done what the U.S. couldn't do in the last 100 years. In taking power from those who profit from racism, the capitalist class, the Cuban workers and peasants found that they could live and live better as equals in harmony with each other. It is the lesson of Cuba that the YSA brings to the Negro struggle as it fights together with all those who are acting for civil rights.

Cuba was hailed as a workers state by the Conference. (See the resolution on page 4.)

STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

The general Tasks and Perspectives Resolution was reported on by Barry Sheppard, the new National Chairman. The Conference took note of a general increase in political thinking and action among students, in all areas and not just in the fight for integration.

These students are reacting with demonstrations, by the formation of new organizations, and are seeking the solution to these evils of modern society. The YSA will continue to deepen its collaboration with the student militants in the common fight for democracy and peace, bringing to them the concepts of revolution socialism.

The fundamental task of the YSA is to continue to build the revolutionary socialist movement, recruiting and educating students and young workers in Marxist theory and practice. The political level demonstrated at the convention by the general membership proved that the YSA was well on its way in carrying out this task. This growth in political level made it possible for many younger comrades, who have been active as YSA'ers in high school and college, to be elected to the new National Committee, and, therefore, many of the older founders of the YSA were able to move out of the arena of youth work, including the outgoing National Chairman, Tim Wohlforth, and the outgoing National Secretary, Sherry Finer. The Conference expressed appreciation for all that these comrades had done for the YSA.

At the meeting of the National Committee following the convention, Barry Sheppard was elected National Chairman; Peter Camejo, National Secretary; Leroy McRae, National Organizational Secretary; and Nora Roberts was appointed Editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

CCNY Left Consider a Party . . .

(Continued from Page 1)
lowing the right-wingers to take the top posts.

Another indication of the sentiments of the student body was the fact that a resolution in favor of the speaker ban was defeated in a referendum by 70 per cent of the students. The students voted almost unanimously against tuition at the City University. In addition, student activists who were running won many of the seats in the Student Council. The result is a Student Government in which the supposed leaders are opposed by most of the members of the council as a whole.

TUITION FIGHT

The right-wing victory means a severe setback for all student activists and for the student body in general at CCNY. The question of tuition at the college has been raised by Governor Rockefeller and will require solidly organized student protest to maintain the college's tuition-free status, one of the founding principles of the institution. Governor Rockefeller has made clear that he favors charging tuition at New York's city colleges. The granting of university status to the colleges, while in general a good step, was seen by him as laying a basis for charging tuition. The local Administration has been weak-kneed in its opposition.

STUDENT PARTY

The CCNY students are going to have to prepare now to establish a leadership which will act in their interests. Many student militants, those who are active in campus politics not because of career plans but because they want a better world, are beginning to grasp the need for a militant student political party like SLATE at Berkeley. These several hundred students, most of them owing no allegiance to any of the organized radical organizations, are the same students who have been picketing, protesting and organizing for the defense of the Cuban Revolution, against Civil Defense drills, for racial equality, and against the speaker ban. They are beginning to feel the need for a political leadership

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YSA RESOLUTION:

Why We Back the Cuban Revolution

(Following is the resolution on the Cuban Revolution adopted by the Second National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.)

The Cuban Revolution constitutes one of the most significant events of our generation, being the opening of the socialist revolution in our hemisphere. Taking place in our time, against our own enemy, the revolution in Cuba has profound implications and opens new responsibilities for revolutionary socialist youth in the United States. A proper understanding of that revolution, and a mastering of its lessons, is an essential task for American youth today.

The 26th of July Movement, which led the Cuban Revolution, began as a radical petty-bourgeois tendency with a program largely bourgeois-democratic in character. However, it distinguished itself by its adherence to the principle of armed revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Finding a base among the *guajiros* and the agricultural workers, forces which in turn conditioned and developed the outlook of the young revolutionary leaders, it came to power through a popular revolution in January of 1959.

A coalition government with leading bourgeois-democratic figures was established which reflected the bourgeois-democratic aims to which the revolution at first appeared limited. However, the Castro leadership demonstrated its revolutionary character by destroying in the process a significant segment of the old state apparatus—the Batista army and police force.

The government immediately embarked upon a series of reforms, leading up to a thoroughgoing agrarian reform. Despite the fact that these measures were, in essence, of a bourgeois-democratic character, Cuba's position in relation to North American imperialism did not permit their being carried out within bourgeois-democratic bounds, as later developments were to demonstrate. The agrarian reform especially drew the wrath of the United States imperialists, whose holdings it required.

DECISIVE TURN

The impossibility of reconciling the program of the Castro forces with the counterrevolutionary interests of U.S. imperialism and its Cuban allies led to a split in the Cuban government in the fall of 1959. The Castro leadership took a decided turn to the left, the bourgeois-democratic elements were forced out of the government, and the 26th of July Movement assumed complete leadership of the revolution.

At this point the revolutionary and democratic character of the leadership was demonstrated once more by the establishment of a popular militia, an armed people, to defend the revolution and insure its progress in the face of increasing imperialist attack.

Thereafter, the interacting process between U.S. imperialism and the Cuban Revolution rapidly deepened; each step by the Castro leadership was met by increasingly more severe attack by the forces of imperialism, which in turn compelled more radical measures on the part of the Cuban government. In the process, opposing forces became more and more sharply defined, the state structure cleansed by the defection of unreliable elements, and the social and economic conquests more firmly entrenched.

A WORKERS STATE

The Cuban Revolution continued to deepen in a more or less empirical fashion until in the fall of 1960 it became clear that a qualitatively new stage had been reached. A monopoly of foreign trade had been established, capitalist holdings in the key sectors of Cuban industry expropriated, and national economic planning begun.

The content of these measures was the complete overturn of property relations in Cuba; with the abolition of capitalist property relations and the establishment of a nationalized, planned economy, Cuba entered the phase of transition from capitalism to socialism—that of a workers state, although one as yet lacking the forms of democratic proletarian rule.

The state structure, which had undergone decisive changes during the process of the revolution, became an instrument committed to the defense of the new working class property relations. Capitalism can now be restored in Cuba only by means of a bloody civil war in the form of a counterrevolutionary invasion.

The establishment of the Cuban workers state was, in the last analysis, a continuation of the world revolution begun in Russia in 1917, and constitutes the opening of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. The revolution in Cuba has gained widespread popular support throughout Latin America, spreading new hope and confidence among the masses, inspiring them to take up the struggle against imperialist oppression.

The Cuban government found much needed allies for the defense of its gains in the Soviet bloc countries. The material support given Cuba by both the U.S.S.R. and China was a life-giving aid in strengthening and solidifying the revolution.

In turn, Cuba's new property relations make feasible, in principle, the integration of its economy with



A REVOLUTIONIST: Fidel Castro stands out as the leader of the only workers state in the world not controlled by a privileged bureaucracy.

those of the Soviet bloc, thus strengthening the planned economies of Europe and Asia.

The rapid successes of the Cuban Revolution and its ability to draw widespread popular support made it exceedingly dangerous to United States imperialism, whose government in April of 1961 mounted an invasion by mercenary thugs and gangsters in order to destroy the new property relations and restore imperialist domination of Cuba. This invasion was swiftly crushed by the rebel army and the popular militia, the armed people of Cuba, who rallied to defend their revolution.

The most important result of the invasion within Cuba was a qualitative change in consciousness—for the first time the socialist character of the revolution was proclaimed and the class nature of the conflict clearly defined.

NEW CONFIDENCE

The result in Latin America was a further polarization of classes and political forces . . . Cuba's victory gave confidence to the forces struggling against imperialist domination and added to the fear among Latin American stooges of imperialism.

The invasion and subsequent revelations concerning the role of the United States government revealed the true nature of Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress," and any illusions about the character or plans of the new Democratic administration were rapidly dispelled.

American youth bear a great responsibility to defend the Cuban Revolution against the counterrevolutionary attacks of U.S. imperialism and its agents. The Cuban people have a right to their own property relations and form of government, free from intervention and pressure.

The same forces who are seeking to crush the Cuban Revolution are at the same time carrying out an attack on the American trade union movement which they have long sought to strangle and destroy. They are the ones who foster discrimination against Afro-Americans and other minority groups, who are carrying out a witch-hunt against dissident political tendencies, and who are burdening American youth with militarism and preparations for war. The enemies of the Cuban Revolution are our enemies; our own interest demands that we rally to the defense of that revolution.

In turn, the Cuban Revolution has opened up new tasks for revolutionary socialist youth in the United States. Especially on the campus, young people have been drawn to support and defend the revolution. Its successful course has given new confidence in the goal of socialism, and in demonstrating that Stalinism is not inevitable, it has broken through the disillusionment and despair that have characterized many circles of youth for some time. Developments in Cuba, especially since the invasion, have served in some cases to dispel illusions about the United States government and the "liberals" in the Democratic Party.

DEMOCRATIC FORMS

The Cuban Revolution has not as yet developed full forms of democratic proletarian rule such as soviets or workers and peasants councils. The appearance of such forms would greatly enhance the future development of the revolution by strengthening its political defense and helping to guard against possible degeneration. It would also, by example, speed revolutionary developments in

the imperialist countries and their colonial areas and give added impetus to the struggles for workers democracy within the countries of the Soviet bloc.

With these factors in mind, we support the earliest possible establishment of a government on the basis of workers and peasants councils, or some equivalent organizational forms suited to Cuban conditions. Within these councils full freedom of expression and association would be guaranteed to all tendencies supporting the revolution.

The basically democratic tendency of the Cuban Revolution has been evidenced throughout its development. There is little doubt that if the revolution were permitted to develop without hindrance, this tendency would quickly lead to the establishment of such democratic forms of proletarian rule. In the final analysis, the best assurance that such developments will take place is a vigorous defense of the revolution and its extension into other countries of Latin America.

In order to best carry out the expressed socialist aims of the Cuban Revolution, there is need for a mass revolutionary party which can draw upon the most politically conscious and active elements, fusing them into an instrument of revolutionary policy. The leadership of this party in its formative stages naturally belongs to those revolutionary fighters who have earned the trust and support of the masses through their past role in leading, extending, and defending the revolution. We feel that Trotskyists should take their place, alongside all other tendencies supporting the revolution, within this new revolutionary party in order to best advance the traditions of revolutionary socialism which they represent.

ESSENTIALLY NON-STALINIST

An aspect of the Cuban Revolution with profound international implications is the fact that it was led by a new grouping, the 26th of July Movement, completely bypassing the Stalinists. This demonstrated to the world the falsity of the Stalinist myth that revolutionary victories can be won only through the Stalinist parties. This demonstration in practice helps pave the way for the building of mass revolutionary socialist parties in other countries.

The process of the Cuban Revolution has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate with each new advance or fresh counterrevolutionary attack the fundamental falsity of the Stalinist ideology of "socialism in one country," "peaceful coexistence," popular frontism, etc. The practice of the Cuban Revolution will have its effects within many of the Communist parties as well as upon the radical movement as a whole, giving new impetus to the tendencies striving to break through the weight of Stalinist bureaucracy. In turn, it makes difficult any simple imposition of the ideology of Stalinism upon the Cuban Revolution.

The Cuban Communist party especially is not exempt from the impact of the revolutionary events shaking Cuba today. It can be expected that the Cuban CP will undergo considerable transformation as a result of the revolution; the outlook of significant segments of its membership has undoubtedly been affected, and the reported influx of new, revolutionary elements into its ranks can be expected to have its effect.

The Cuban Communist party supports the Revolution, and it is likely that a decisive section of that party would remain with the revolution even in the event of a rift with Moscow.

A Stalinist-type bureaucracy can establish hegemony over the Cuban Revolution only as the result of conditions of backwardness, weakness, and isolation similar to those which brought about the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Thus, the primary thrust of the struggle against bureaucratization is identical with the struggle for the defense, strengthening, and extending of the Cuban Revolution. While the development of such a bureaucracy is not entirely excluded, there are powerful forces working against such an outcome.

FUTURE IS STILL BRIGHT

The outlook for the defense and extension of the Cuban Revolution is promising. The revolution draws strength from the massive colonial uprisings of our time, which are beyond the ability of the imperialist forces to contain. It takes place within the context of the rising power of the Soviet bloc countries whose interests coincide with the defense of the Cuban Revolution. It enjoys widespread support among the workers and peasants of Latin America, and is strengthened by the developing revolutionary trends in many Latin American countries.

In turn, the Cuban Revolution reacts back upon these forces, giving new strength to the colonial revolution, especially in Latin America, strengthening the defense of the Soviet countries against imperialism (a factor which in the long run objectively weakens the Stalinist bureaucracy relative to its base), and giving new impetus to the worldwide struggle for socialism.