The CP’s Two Wings: What Divides Them?

Dissecting the Theory
Of the Subversive-List System

What Happened at Kfar Kassem?

Plekhanov’s 100th Anniversary

Eisenhower Plans
Operation Overlord
To Rule in Mideast

By PHILIP COHEN

On the first day of the bright new year, congressional leaders emerged from a White House conference with President Eisenhower “shaken but perturbed” — “with troubled faces and in all but low spirits.” The President had discussed “a presidential request of perhaps the greatest solemnity since the end of the Korean war . . . this new and admittedly risky policy . . . far-reaching proposals of grave implication.”

Quite openly it was made clear that there was “every normal expectation of congressional support” had been fixed up of this de facto war which is to be held in the columns of the N.Y. Times.

The administration is getting ready to adopt a “Mau-Mau Doctrine” for the Middle East by whose terms the United States will become the overlord of the area, policeman of the world. Eisenhower wants complete power from Congress “for his employment of U.S. military forces in whatever way and whenever he might deem it necessary,” plus new resources in economic aid and political intervention.

The paper was declared to be “Communist aggression in the Middle East.”

At the end of “moving into the position” created in the region by the recent Egyptian influence. To be sure, there can be no doubt that Moscow where Kruschev is telling his friends that “the American srkists under the leadership of all Blasists” when it comes to modern fight “similairism”—would be happy to support any country which thought that it could get away with it. There is, in other words, reason to question whether the Russian danger is the only one involved.

But even this “Russian” basis for the new risky and far-reaching proposal exists only because the Western powers are still paying the bill for the assault on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel. It exists because the Western statesmen conceived the “Russian danger” de-

cisively in terms of military invasion such as they themselves pulled off in Suez. But since the main Russian danger is political, and since the Western capitals aids and abet this danger by their own policies, one can well ask how they propose to counter this danger by preparing to turn the Middle East into another Suez.

But it is not altogether clear that even if Eisenhower’s views the real expecta-
tion is an attack by Russian troops flown in by their airplanes. (Through the Dardanelles via Cape Horn?) In accompanying press

The proposal itself would not be put for-
teward, stories, there are echoes of more tangible expectations.

In an article on U.S.-O.

men Grin on Mideast Plans,” a Times dispatch from Beirut says that Aramco’s tycoon’s “have been worried by matters in Arab circles about expropriating oil properties in the way that Pres. Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt took over the Universal Sioux Canal Company.”

Is this to be considered “Communist aggression,” according to Washington’s planned Operation Overlord?

In a few months we may be watching matches we read not about any real fears that Res-

seemances could turn somewhere south of the 60th Parallel, but rather that this or that government in Ab-

nations none that the country has “gone Communist.” Would be that “Com-

seemances to Operation Overlord?”

James Reston, discussing the plans, says what Dulles is afraid of is “Commu-

nism domination . . . even of one or two countries.” We went out in the care of Guatemala what Mr. Dulles considers “Communist domination” and how this gets equated with “Russian aggression.”

Is this the danger envisioned by Opera-

tion Overlord?

We further find in Reston’s discussion that the "best danger, in the minds of many observers here [Washington], that war may break out is in Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq may try to par-

tition that state; then Israel might try to seize part of it for herself. He as-

serts that the Eisenhower plan does not go beyond this, but that is not at all

quite certain and not altogether credible.

In short, while awaiting the heralded “Russian aggression” is Operation Overlord, Washington’s plan to bomb everybody else in the Middle East, we can only think of the American line, with merciless offshoots to persuade the recalcitrant or stubborn.

Poznan Triggered the Upheaval

But by then it was too late. On June 28 the uprising in Poznan, Poland, showed that the process which had forced the Russian leaders to seek to save themselves by blackmailing just one man, Stalin, and by boring the filler in a new "liberated" direction, had gone beyond their ability to control it.

This process was nothing new nor less than a rising tide of rebellion against the most oppressive, totalitarian aspects of the system imposed on Russia and her satellites by the second world war's claims, and beyond the limits of all except the class rule as such. The Kruschev leadership in Russia, Gomulka in Poland, and others in the other satellites, in all their different ways, were seeking to stem the tide by remaking the unions, and thus some of the most important of social and economic aspects of the old regime. They sought to assure a rule of laws rather than of arbit-

ary force, and so to save what they could of the order of the masses. In accompanying press

The Inter-Socialist Forum on Socialist Regroupment

Another Inter-socialist discussion forum is scheduled in New York City later this week. On Friday, June 18, 1957, when Member of the International Committee of the USL and three other speakers will take up the question of "Can the USL Unify? A Symposium on Socialist Re-

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nstage. The subject, which has been widely discussed in many quarters, is sure to evolve a lively discussion. Place of the meeting will be the LaGuardia Center, 811 West 57th Street; contributions $1.
**The Kfar Kassem Massacre: What Really Happened There?**

**By AL FINDELY**

Before December 12, when David Ben-Gurion made his Knesset statement on the Kfar Kassem incident, it was clear that something terrible had taken place in the “Little Triangle,” area inhabited by Israeli Arabs, near what no one knew. The press had all the details but had no possibility to report them. Finkel, writing in the New York Jewish Daily of December 19, the censor did not permit it.

In a trial in the Haifa papers—Al-Hassan (Hametz), Haaretz (liberal), Latzbe Naisa, Lebous- faz, and others—denounced the incident as a crime and demanded that the government disclose the particulars. The government pleaded various reasons for suppressing the facts until it was forced to publish a public notice to make its declaration and apology. Finkel writes: “This silence was a mass land mine planted by the state. It was a quiet. The Communists from one side and Arab propagandists from the other side were not silent.”

On December 12 Premier Ben-Gurion made an official declaration in the Knesset.

The premier said that on Oct. 29, when Israel launched her attack on the Arab sector, a curfew was proclaimed in a chain of Arab vil- lages in the Haifa district. Villagers were asked to remain indoors after 6 p.m. Villagers who returned from the fields after 5 p.m. would be shot without the order of the local authorities. The Knesset was informed of the death toll. Villagers who went out were shot. The premier said that 200-300 Arabs were killed that day. Over 3,000 were wounded. On December 13, the Knesset was informed that 88 persons had been killed.

Finkel writes that this, however, does not mean the true death toll, whatever that may be. The govern- ment’s figures are not accurate and cannot be trusted, and some political parties are calling for a public trial of the guilty.

**DEMAND MORE DETAILS**

David Finkel has received the report of the 48 figure for the number killed, Finkel writes. “It is to be regretted that he [Ben-Gurion] did not report how many people were killed and how many were wounded.” The dispatch to the N. Y. Herald Tribune by Monroe Elston also said: “the Premier’s statement has not entirely satisfied the Israeli- lians. Some press reports today say the number of dead released for publica- tion is 88. Finkel also refers to “villagers” in the plural. A statement of the Israeli Council of Elders at Kfar Kassem said: “22 Arab villages of Kfar Kassem, Wadi Ara and other places.”

Finkel concludes that the CP “will still have the opportunity (as a result of the Knesset silence) to release the Kfar Kassem tragedy for their own purposes.”

**Harlow Durkee's releasing his Knesset statement, likewise notes that the government did not report the total number of those killed.**

**The Kfar Kassem massacre is clearly a crime.**

Within Israel itself, last month, strong condemnation was expressed by the Jewish Labor Board’s monthly Lebous-faza: “It is clear that the reports that we are dealing—especially with the pogrom which the National Guard carried out against in-

ancient Arabs. It is important to emphasize that there were no operations but that the crime was on the ground. There were no operations, but not for Fatah-Tah- maz, the oldest Jewish collaborationists (in the West Bank). Who could ever imagine that we would be talking about a massacre in the Jewish State? What a shame, what moral degradation and decline for Jews.”

The only detailed report of the event reaching this country is in a printed brochure issued by N. Y. Seiger’s “Third Force” group in Israel. This broadside contains the facts and statements of the witnesses. According to Seiger, in the only published account; no paper, not even the Haaretz papers, gave the details. The following is what the broadside says:

**The crime was committed in the three villages in the Kfar Kassem Triangle.**

Kfar Kassem is the largest with a popula- tion of 3,500 Arabs, workers in the neig- hborhood steel, quarry and orange groves. All the Israeli newspapers describe the village as peaceful. But in Kfar Kassem, even a branch of the mayor’s office has been awarded to Ben- Gurnion. Although these Arabs did not leave Israel during the 1948 flight, they are no different from the others who have been considered as security risks and have been under a police and intelligence administration for 20 years. They cannot move without a permit, their festivities even in a church service and they must live under a curfew. This broadside relates the events of October 29 as follows:

**ONE ACCOUNT**

"An officer and two men of the Security Guard (border police) arrived in Tira in a jeep with two tanks following. The officer climbed into the jeep and gave him an order to tell all the people in kfar Kassem to come out. He was ordered to stay at the house. The curfew (where the Arabs had been allowed to return) had been changed. The curfew was 11 p.m. to 5 p.m. Whosoever would be met on the streets after 5 p.m. would be shot, and they were shot at his hands and said: ‘It is now 15 minutes before 11.’ He did not have a gun. He had been ordered to stay at the house. It is possible to find all inhabitants of the village in the event of the change in the curfew, the officer said: ‘Shoot your month.’"

"The order went into force, some 600 mundial over the next couple of days. Advertising yearly, and this expenditure is a bleeding out on media and newspapers. Blitting the hand that feeds is not an outstanding characteristic of the media.

Furthermore, as the press has learned, the auto industry lies to be taken seri- ously, and its leaders expect all the at- tention that comes with success, Ameri- can style. Increasingly, as a result, the pronouncements of the auto tycoons assume the halo of the gospel truth, especial- ly in the field of economic prognosticat- ions.

Harlow Curtice, General Motors presi- dient, said that car sales in 1957 will be- come from the 1956 figure of 6 million to at least 6.5 million and perhaps 7 million. A press that has been won, dined, and made fat by GM ad- vertises, gives in page-one play, Henry Ford II does almost as well, while L. L. Bedell, a player couple, comes in third, as the biggest of the Big Three.

In November and December of this year, the auto industry went through a series of events: the first again: predictions of green prospects, razzle-dazzle advertising, and a premier for the 1957 models that brought the year’s show’s slowest. An ad- vertisement. The auto show cost $10,000,000, but was only $7,000,000, as planned, made in its first 20 years.

It just won’tsnow by newspapers that the auto in the last six the auto industry was building 25,000 more cars than it was building last season, in spite of the publicity and claims for the 1957 models. If you read the average new car is a 992,000 car in the 1957 models. You will find that the average new car is a 992,000 car in the 1957 models.
The Fight Over the Draft Program:  

**THE CP'S TWO WINGS: WHAT DIVIDES THEM?**  

By H. W. BENSON  

As the American Communist Party has wrestled with the impact of the 1954 elections, the CP's two wings have been embroiled in a debate over the scope of the drive in the USA to end the Korean War and the Truman administration. By the time this movement had reached its peak, the CP had split into two distinct camps: the left wing, which favored a military victory, and the right wing, which advocated for a diplomatic settlement. The conflict between these two wings has been a constant feature of CP politics, and it has periodically erupted into bitter public debate.

The debate over the draft program, which was one of the key issues of the split, pitted the left wing against the right wing of the CP. The left wing, led by the Young Communist League (YCL), argued for an active role in mobilizing the working class to oppose the draft. The right wing, led by the CP USA, argued for a passive role and a focus on internal reform within the party. The split had profound implications for the CP's ability to influence the American political landscape and its capacity to mobilize the working class.

By the time of the split, the CP had become a major force in American politics, and its influence over the working class was significant. The split, however, divided the CP and weakened its ability to act as a cohesive force. The left wing, which had effectively mobilized the working class to oppose the draft, was seen as the more radical and effective wing of the CP, while the right wing was seen as more moderate and focused on internal party reforms.

The split had a significant impact on the CP's relationship with the American working class. The left wing, which had effectively mobilized the working class to oppose the draft, was seen as the more radical and effective wing of the CP, while the right wing was seen as more moderate and focused on internal party reforms.

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No Boom for Auto —

(Continued from page 2)

The over-production of the summer and December, while the 100,000 seniority workers refusal of the management to lift wages got lost as a statistic in the auto field.

For a more cheerful over-all outlook, a number of auto trade magazines, Labor Action may reach a sales peak in 1956. A recent survey conducted in Canada, as a basis of the automobile industry in the United States. It showed that in 1956, a number of companies, including Chrysler, Ford, General Motors, and American Motors, had increased their production and sales in comparison to 1955.

Due to the tremendous model changes, the auto industry is expected to have a fantastic Spring, and they averaged some 4 to 5 million cars sold, according to the recent report. The industry is expected to recover from the past losses and to make a profit of $2 billion in 1956.

As for retail credit, it is absolutely true that people continue to buy on credit, even though unemployed; they buy cars, homes, etc., including the Credit Unions, financed thousands of loans. Now the industry is expected to recover from the past losses and to make a profit of $2 billion in 1956.

Even this over-all picture doesn’t percay the employers of the auto industry, who have experienced the so-called period of prosperity. What about the plants which shut down permanently, and put 46,000 seniority workers out in the streets with little hope of jobs because of their age? Where does that come to the statistic?

Since the continued process of new plants opening, old plants shutting down, and consequent process that is evident now and will accelerate in 1957. Will the steady erosion of employment as automation continues?

The autoworkers must fight to hold on to their jobs, and fight against the employers’ plans to cutback.

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By J.S.

The long period of extreme apathy among students at Brooklyn College may finally be coming to an end. This semester a series of acts on the part of the Gideonean administration have aroused widespread resentment in the student body and led to some actions by the students to express their feelings about the repressive authoritarian atmosphere at the school.

The administration’s actions have hurt a vital institution of the student body who has long been a sharp critic of the undemocratic student government at Brooklyn. The school’s censorship of the school literary magazine, threats against the student newspaper Kingsman, and a series of annoying, bureaucratic acts in regard to eating arrangements in the school cafeteria and enforcement of the no-smoking regulations.

At the heart of all of these problems lies the absence of genuine student government at Brooklyn College. The student’s recent administration control of matters which should be under the jurisdiction of a student council, or in some cases, of evenly-balanced student-faculty committees. In short, the essence of the situation, for there is no student council at this school.

Instead there exists a farcical “club government” system, which does not even fairly represent the members of the various clubs. In addition, student votes do not count on the so-called “faculty-student committees” which do exist.

The case is not simply that insufficient power lies in the student government: the students not only have no control over their affairs; they lack any democratic or personal rights which they can even express.

“BIG SISTERS”

Student Council was first aroused this term by two administrative actions: changes introduced into the cafeteria and the smoking regulations.

The administration, through some unknown inspiration, since it had no way of knowing what the students desired and since it had no one to consult them, replaced the large tables which the cafeteria has contained for many years with smaller ones. This significantly reduced the seating capacity of the already pitifully inadequate cafeteria.

This was no problem to the administration, however. Newfangled cafeteria personnel, such as “hostesses” but sarcastically referred to by the students as “Big Sisters” were imported to chase students out of the cafeteria the moment they had swallowed their last mouthful of food.

These hostesses, moreover, have been appointed to be the guardians of the manners and morals of Brooklyn College students while they are engaged in eating their lunches in the cafeteria. They roam around the cafeteria, looking over their food, to eliminate the “thieves,” the “public-disorder” which students are known to engage in during their lunch hours, and in general act to “preserve decorum.”

This “hostess” innovation is regarded by the students as annoying harassment, especially when it has been coupled with the rush-rush atmosphere now existing in the cafeteria. In view of the inadequate food served by the school, the cafeteria has been used in the past as a place for socializing, spending time between classes, etc.

The students feel that the latest cafeteria innovations are the actions of an administration which is petty and bureaucratic, and which has the attitude that it knows what is best for the students, that there is no need to consult them.

A majority of the students might well have preferred the cafeteria system even if the tables did not look as nice, in view of the advantages it presented. Naturally, they were not asked their opinions, given this administration at Brooklyn College and the atmosphere it created.

The current cafeteria regulations add to the general repugnance of the school, one reminiscent of a barracks atmosphere.

BARRACKS ATMOSPHERE

Simultaneously, the administration began to utilize a new series of techniques for enforcing the no-smoking regulations, clamping down on students who were smoking on campus.

Restriction of smoking is of course a legitimate concern of all members of the college community. Many students wish to smoke; others are annoyed by it; in some places it is a hazard. Under reasonably democratic conditions, the students, faculty, and administration could have worked out a solution to the problem.

At Brooklyn, however, Dean of Students life Cotlton decided that the college was going to enforce the regulations strictly as they now exist, and enforce them, moreover, by the constant repetition over the college public-address system against smoking.

Thus it is that every hour, between classes, the “announcer” system blares out in thundering tones obviously worded warnings against smoking. The announcements by “Big Brother” — as Brooklyn students dub the administration — are extremely annoying and irritating. They add to the “barracks” atmosphere of the school.

DER FUOR

These two situations combined to produce widespread antagonism by the students. A group of students anonymously issued a mimeographed newspaper called “Mein Kampf” whose aim was to satirize life at Brooklyn College.

“Mein Kampf” comes full of the organ of the “National Student Authoritarian Party” and poke fun at the latest actions of the administration by claiming that they did not go far enough. The following is a sample of the technique used, taken from its first issue:

“Students in Brooklyn College have been putting the heaviest of their attentions on their friends and MORALITY. They have been SMOKING in the corridors. They have been DAWNING over cups of coffee. They have been FRATERNIZING in the cafeteria.”

“In spite of the corrective efforts of the MINISTRY OF STUDENT LIFE and these illusory efforts, the students have persisted in their belligerent attitude.”

Vangelis, editor of the newspaper, has taken stern measures. But they have not gone far enough.

“We cannot tolerate DEMOCRATIC FILTH on campus. The administration must be more active in stamping out the vestiges of HUMANISTIC DECAY.”

The above is silly, but perhaps was effective in portraying the atmosphere at BC. “Mein Kampf” created a big stir at the time, being, as it did, violently appreciated by the students. For the students realize that these two cases of repression only manifestations of the over-all reality of the Administration’s control over the entire campus.

The “Mein Kampf” campaign was to be climaxd with a protest student boycott of the cafeteria. The boys’ newspaper announced: “Protest administration rule of Catholics as a result of the portrayal rights and student government”; a fine summary of what is needed at BC.

Due to lack of organization, the boycott was unsuccessful. But the entire campus had a general eliminating effect on the student body, so much so that more effective action may be taken over the more recent developments which have taken place just before the current Christmas holidays.

DON’T BE SORDID

Two of these concern the student literary magazine Landscapes and the school’s only student newspaper, Kingsman.

Landscapes was published last semester, Spring 1956, it contained two cartoons which offended the ever-irritated Dean Cotlton. These cartoons were not obscene. Nevertheless the administration promptly impounded the entire issue of the magazine and refused to allow it to circulate on campus. He was kind enough, however, to allow the magazine to be republished without the two cartoons and at student expense.

This term the dean and President Gideon announced that a result of last term’s events, and since in their opinion one of the stories was offensive to the students, they were eliminating the whole magazine. The students, however, have not given up on the magazine and say that it will be republished.

The whole case points up the lack of the most elementary safeguards for the student’s political rights and personal freedom. It is an additional area in which democracy is non-existent at Brooklyn College.

Following his perusal of the material, the dean ordered publication held up. He objected to the “hate” of the material, although there is apparently nothing obscene, scandalous or otherwise enveloping in it. He says that the material included the “hate” indicated that “the students were greatly interested in disease, sex and moral matters.”

In short, the good dean has set himself up as a moralistic censor and powers usually denied the normal run-of-the-mill censorship—the power to prevent publication.

The dean is clearly an opponent of realism in literature. What is needed in his opinion is a magazine check-full of stories that portray the grandeur of Brooklyn College and its wondrous world. To the uncoined it might seem that the reasonable solution is for the dean to publish his own literary magazine and to let the foolish, “sordid” students who wish to express themselves in their own.

KINGSMANN CHECKMATE

Moralistic acts of moves have been undertaken in regard to the student newspaper Kingsman. The latest blow to the censorship of the administration was suspended and replaced by Kingsman, which for a long period of time acted as an administration house Organ. Since then, it has freed itself from its status and become a genuine student newspaper which is frequently critical of the acts of the Gideon administration and has defended student rights.

The last couple of weeks, various liberal members of the Kingsman staff have been called to confer with college officials and "rebooked" for anti-administration material in the paper. Simultaneously, the administration has been accused of harassment to administrative students from Executive Council (the former student government), and again petitioned for another newspaper to be called Kingsman. Now the outcome of this situation will be clearly to be seen.

STEIER EXPELLED

The final incident in the recent series concerns Arthur Steier, a leader in the fight for student rights and genuine student government at Brooklyn College. (See Challenge for October 12 for previous details on this case.)

After his second full-term suspension from college, Steier was given a brief, inadequate closed interview before the Faculty Committee on Orientation and Guidance. He got no bill of particulars and no opportunity to cross-examine his accusers. This interview, with the committee report on it, was used, without advance notice, as the basis for his expulsion from college at the December meeting of the Faculty Committee. The college, of course, has given no opportunity to appear before the group or to present his case in court—no charges, nor any other requisite of democratic process.

He has now been thrown out of school on the basis of his ‘antics,’ his “use of abusive language in letters addressed to college officials” and his alleged violation of a suspension that was unwarrented by the board.

The whole case points up the lack of the most elementary safeguards for the student’s political rights and personal freedom. It is an additional area in which democracy is non-existent at Brooklyn College.
The crime of being "socially dangerous." An offense against the State, is designated—unto the law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Power is law, and no one is safe from the power of the State, even if they are innocent. Government lawyers seem free to present any and all the allegations they can think of to make their case, and all the crime is related to the good of the public.

They are restricted by none of the ordinary rules of evidence or proof; they can, as it were, throw all the mud they have against the defendant and his accusers, because the Mad Russian proverb says that "if the mud is not thick it is not enough for a conviction." The accused must present their defense without knowing whether there are any criteria for proving the case, and the criminal condemnation of whatever they did. No such standards will be prescribed in advance of those who are in charge.

The organizations feel that they are in the position of rich defendants, faced by processors who are in the position of the poor. The organizations do not know what standards for judgment will be exercised in this proceeding. They are not permitted to make any oppositional entries by the organizations, the Government has deliberately reframed from informing the organizations of either the composition, or the name of the "subversive list," and "seeking to overthrow the form of Government of the United States by force and violence," as they will be applied in the ultimate judgment as to whether these organizations were properly defined or could reasonably and fairly be permitted to remain on the "subversive list."

"Because no standards have been defined, continue the Statement, it is impossible to know what may be relevant or admissible for the purpose of the procedure of the Government," therefore we do not waive any rights to raise at any time those questions which may arise. Furthermore, the hearing procedure, the Examiner's bias, etc. subjected the procedures to ultimate judgment. It makes it impossible for anyone to determine what is relevant and what other evidentiary rules apply. This is the ultimate judgment.

The rules of this game were not even made up while it was being played; the rules will be announced, if ever, along with the result.

In such an administrative proceeding, the Government can even explain that the hearing has a different purpose and scope from what is genuinely involved; the Government's results can be confused and inconsistent in the direction of its proofs; and the Government can proceed, under the most fallacious and unjust presumptions.

SUMMARY COURT VS. THE LIST

The "purpose and scope of these proceedings, It was to suppress, "outrage that the Supreme Court of the United States has to the Supreme Court, the Attorney General to appeal his sensitivity, to due process. The fact is that this proceeding is not a criminal proceeding, as the Attorney General stated in his application for leave to proceed, but is a subject which is "highly relevant to a proceeding involving a question of public interest." So the Attorney General's application is "omitted" to a showing of whether or not the List, by government as well as private individuals.

The fact is that this List is one of many different ways by many different government agencies and private individuals. The United States Department of Justice, the Attorney General, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Department of Justice, as well as private individuals, are all involved in the creation and enforcement of the List.

HOW THE LIST IS USED

The list is a tool for keeping track of people who are considered to be dangerous. It is used by the government to prevent them from entering the United States, to control their movement within the country, and to monitor their activities. The list is used by law enforcement agencies to identify and investigate potential threats to national security. It is also used by the government to deny citizenship and other legal rights to individuals who are on the list.

First, because it is involved in the leader of these very organizations, the Government has the right in the context of this report, to be excluded by the Courts. Blackstone v. Dulles.

This is a second point which has been reversed by the Courts. Roberts v. United States, 338 U.S. 504, 518 (1949), 518 (1949). The government has the right to exclude from its jurisdiction any person the courts have refused to certify that they did not belong to any organizations on the List.

All evidence obtained thereunder was reversed in Rudder v. United States, 335 U.S. 342, 346 (1948).

A third use which has been reversed by the Courts has been to require an applicant in connection with the Naturalization Act to divulge the names of all the organizations he has belonged to, and the list has been reversed. In re Adoption of a Minor.

For these reasons, the LIST should be used by the Government to reflect against a defendant in a criminal trial, and this List should have been reversed by the Courts. United States v. Brignoni-Paz.

The List has been used also by the Defense Department, in denying employment in private industries with access to classified information. It has been used by State Governments, in dealing with their own employees. It has been used by Congress, in addition to the legislation noted above, forbidding the Veterans Administration from extending the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights to schools on the List.

In short, the List is a weapon which, if allowed to be shown, would show, that in formal proceedings there is the very burdensome module of harassment to which individuals are subjected who have belonged to listed organizations. Members of these very organizations, for example, have been subjected to personal harassment and abuse, well on even an even more serious consequences. The list is a weapon which, if allowed to be shown, would show, that in formal proceedings there is the very burdensome module of harassment to which individuals are subjected who have belonged to listed organizations. Members of these very organizations, for example, have been subjected to personal harassment and abuse.

These extreme seriousness consequences indeed. But these are only partial consequences. The government's position that freedom of speech and expression may well be an even more serious consequences.

The impact on free speech should not be assumed, even though there may be little point in discussing it at all, the stage. The results flowing from listing are certainly penalties for the use of speech. Those views cannot possibly gain for themselves the protection that is guaranteed by the Government, in the "true fable of ideas . . . the essence of the freedom of speech protection of the Amendments."

By his selections for the List the Attorney General directly affects the range and type of opinions which will be held by the American people and the public. It may or may not be necessary or justifiable; but the impact of the List on free speech is a fact; and it is a fact which is contrary to basic principles of American constitutional democracy.

WEAK CASE

An invalidation and Inconsistency of Government Positions. While the Trial Examiner and the Government have often recognized and stated in open court the extent of saying that evidence could not be received merely for the purpose of showing that the organizations were not dangerous, the Government declared that the evidence was the essence of the free speech protection of the Amendments. A violation of this type, and the government's inconsistent treatment of the evidence, concerned with nothing more than the Government's 'criticisms of the United States Government.

All that the Government introduced from the organization the list is not just "as a constitutional" but as a constitutional. The Government has never had the opportunity to demonstrate its positions under the closest scrutiny. These examples could be multiplied, almost to infinity. One final illustration may help to spotlight the central issue. In this case.

The List is not a good deal of its good to socialize; its history, content, theory and practice. But the List is a good deal of its good to socialize; its history, content, theory and practice. But the List is a good deal of its good to socialize; its history, content, theory and practice.
On Plekhanov's 100th Anniversary

FATHER OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

By TONY CLIFF

A hundred years ago, on December 11, 1856, George Valentinevich Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism and progenitor of the Russian workers' movement, was born.

The greatness of his historical contribution can be gauged only when set against the background of the anti-tsarist literary movement as it existed prior to his work.

For decades already, the heroic acts of individuals dissident against the autocratic state and his brethren by the Populists (Narodniki) had captured the imagination of Western socialists. Herein, one of the fore-runners of Populism, stated the belief of these fighters:

"The man of the future in Russia is the peasant, just as in France it is the workers."

The Populists, among the Populists, could pass straight into socialism without passing through the stage of capitalism, by basing themselves on their Russian village community. Under this system the land of the village, except for that on which the peasants' houses stood and the small plots which surrounded them, was the property of the whole village. Part was used as common pasture and the rest was divided into strips, a certain number of which were allotted to each family according to its size. From time to time the land was redivided among the peasants.

In truth, the populists visualized the peasants as the standard-bearers of the future.

However, history mapped its path out differently. Before long it became clear that capitalism was developing in Russia, that a new class of wage-workers was coming into being, and that the mir was disintegrating.

As early as the end of 1878 and the beginning of 1879, large-scale workers' strikes and disturbances broke out in the centers of Russian industry, and Plekhanov, at the time a Populist-in-training, had the idea of recognizing that the working class, born of this developing capitalism, would play a part in the coming Russian revolution.

In a leading article in a Narodnik paper, Zemlya i Volia, on February 20, 1879, he candidly wrote: "The agitation of the factory workers which has continuously grown in strength and now occupies everybody's attention, compels us to deal earlier than we had calculated with the role which the town worker should play in this organization (the revolutionary battle organization of the people). The question of the urban worker is one which life itself, independently, pushes forward and raises to an appropriate plane despite all the a-priori theoretical resolutions of the revolutionary activity."

Plekhanov still believed that the revolution would be brought about by the peasants, but he thought that the workers would help them by initiating revolts in the towns and agitating in the villages. He was only a step from recognizing the decisive role that the working class would inevitably play in the revolution, and this he had been treated as it was in large factories and living in big towns, compared with the subsidiary role played by the peasants, dispersed as they were in small villages and using individual methods of production.

TURNING-POINT IN RUSSIA

In Socialism and the Political Struggle (1883) he exposed the main failings of the Populists and countered their ideas to the principles of Marxism. The importance of its new ideas prompted Lenin to compare this pamphlet with the Communist Manifesto for its effect on the Russian working-class movement.

The next year, in replying to the attack of the Populists, Plekhanov published another outflanking essay entitled Our Differences, which Engels called a turning-point in the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

In these works and others that followed, Plekhanov applied the Marxist method to an analysis of Russian reality. Although he was not the creator of the theory of dialectical materialism or historical materialism and had not actually enriched them with new discoveries, he nevertheless carried out the important task of introducing them into Russian life, doing so in a series of brilliant works.

With great strength of expression, prediction, and analysis of factual and brilliant beauty, this new style, called Plekhanovian Marxism in Russia. His works on philosophy and the cultural-historical discipline of the Fourth International's alone would have earned him a permanent and prominent place among the socialist classics.

Of Plekhanov's philosophical essays Lenin wrote: "It is impossible to become a real Communist without studying—really studying—all that Plekhanov has written on philosophy, as this is the best of the whole international literature of Marxism..."

ON THE PROLETARIAT'S SHOULDERS

But above all, the importance of Plekhanov's work for future history, the conviction that the key role in the struggle against tsarism would belong to the young Russian working class.

As he said in a resolution of the Congress of the Socialists International (1889): "The proletariat created through the disintegration of the village community will overthrow the autocracy... The Russian Revolution can only conquer a revolutionary working-class and there is no other possibility, nor can there be any."

Inspired by the same thoughts, Plekhanov's disciple, on founding the Russian Social-Democratic workers' Party (1898), declared: "The struggle is not coming to a close, new workers and the most advanced element from the new generation will enter the ranks of the proletariat. On its shoulders the Russian working class must bear and bear the task of the political revolution..."

"The only path leading out of this blind alley was, pontificating and organizing an exploited exploited class."

The only path leading out of this blind alley was, pontificating and organizing an exploited class.

Plekhanov clearly saw the dilemma of a socialist government in a backward country: either stagnation based on equality, or a new division of society into an exploiting and exploited class.

On the right path out of this blind alley, the workers of social democracy, both Russian and Marxists. They sought a solution through the spread of revolution to more advanced countries.

"The Russian Revolution will constitute a new beginning for us and a new beginning for the whole of our cause..."

"PEASANTS AND REVOLUTION"

Breathing with the Populists, Plekhanov did not have any of their illusions about the socialist nature of the peasant. He knew that the peasant was a small capitalist attached to private property and individual production.

He wrote in 1901: "The peasant and the peasantism are political appendages of the historical role of the proletariat, because the peasantism is conservative. The peasantry has been the support of oriental despotism for thousands of years. In a comparatively short space of time, the proletariat will turn the peasantry into the most democratic social class."

While Plekhanov was right in emphasizing the need for the socialist nature of the peasantry, he was wrong, as he had showed, to point out the revolutionary, anti-tsarist and anti-feudal potential of this class.

During the Russian revolution of 1917 the peasantry showed its progressive historical face, sweeping feudalism from the countryside in the wave of the new social revolution. Having accomplished this, it then showed its historical face, wrapping itself round with conservatism and opportunism to be the bulwark of the new 'peasants' despotism.'

It was by relying on the backward agricultural countryside, on the sloboda against the worker, that the Stalinist bureaucracy rose to independence of workers' democratic control, and developed into an absolute autocracy.

WARNING FOR THE FUTURE

Considering the youthfulness and small size of the Russian working class and the backwardness of the country's productive forces, Plekhanov time and again warned that the revolution might lead to a setback of power by socialists, who wanted to suppress economic inequality, before the material conditions necessary for social equality—wealth and abundance—were present.

Where the productive forces are meager, economic inequality is impossible except through the exploitation of the minority by a majority: equality will be the equality of poverty and ignorance. He wrote in 1883:

"The prevailing social division of power, the revolutionary socialist government must organize nation-wide production. It will then have (possibly... to seek an issue in the deal for the schools and other social institutions, by modernizing it only to the extent that the socialized milieu will be controlled by a 'socialist' state. In stead of the 'Empire of the Sun' and their fundamental..."

"...and ever so slightly further, would never succeed in initiating the Russian people into socialism. On the contrary, it would cause them to fell upon the sloboda with the same economic inequality, the suppression of religion which has been the bulwark of Russian autocracy, and to the revolutionary government. And we say nothing of the play of international complications..."

(Socialism and the Political Struggle.)

Thus Plekhanov clearly saw the dilemma of a socialist government in a backward country: either stagnation based on equality, or a new division of society into an exploiting and exploited class.

The only path leading out of this blind alley was, pontificating on the rights of the peasant and other Russian Marxists. They sought a solution through the spread of revolution to more advanced countries.

"The Russian Revolution will constitute a new beginning for us and a new beginning for the whole of our cause..."

"FROM THE SPARK..."

Plekhanov suffered from one great weakness. Being a proponent of the actual Russian labor movement, he scarcely had the opportunity of addressing the masses of the workers, organizing them and leading their struggle. He thus lacked experience of the true capacities of a revolutionary new proletariat."

This weakness, added to a number of elements in Plekhanov's theory (his emphasis on the backwardness of the proletariat, his support of its class enemy and other Russian Marxists. They sought a solution through the spread of revolution to more advanced countries."

The course of history did not contradict Plekhanov's formulation of the alternatives facing a revolutionary. The revolutionary Marxism has already, once lit the flame of socialist revolution, isolated by the defeat of the German, Austrian and Hungarian revolutions, led to the rise of a new type of authority, an authoritative, authoritarian bureaucracy.

A basic pamphlet—

"SOCIALISM:
THE HOPE OF HUMANITY"

by Max Shachtman

Read it! 10 cents
Labor Action Book Service
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.
Crime of Being Socially Dangerous

They fought as a united nation. Workers, Councils, which had sprung up on a local level in the early days, took on strength and began to develop a national organization.

Even after mass organization had been crushed in Budapest in a battle with the bourgeoisie, the city, the country, and the larger party organizations were still alive. That, however, is not the whole story. The Kadjar puppet regime, despite all pleas and promises, remained as helpless and inefficient as ever. It was then that the British and French, after the gradual starvation of the population were the Russians able to dampen the revolutionary movement.

Throughout the world, the Communist movement was thrown into crisis and disarray. The political protest and action never died down after the Khrushchev revelations became public in June.

By the middle of November there were mass public resignations from the Communist party and the Russian leaders who had until December been a part of the Russian leadership were unable to maintain their hold at the party congress and to come out in support of the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution, it was clear that the trade-union base of the party was in peril.

The world will never be the same...

The biggest single factor which helped the Russians to get through... the tension of the European war was the demand for trade-union unity. In Britain and France on Egypt...

Even before the war had ended, the British had already begun to realize that they could not... in Eastern Europe and... in the Soviet Union. They understood that...

But that is all temporary and in the future. After what has happened in Poland and above all in Hungary, the world will never look the same again as it did before. The struggle is not over. A great victory for the basic freedom and confidence in Russia as the leading leader of "socialism" shook the world.

The whole world has been shown that the Russian system, like its counterparts in the East, rests on force and force alone. They are all on the verge of doom, for democracy, in the advanced countries the working class remains the social class which alone is capable of leading the struggle for it.

PEOPLE FROM WITHOUT FAINTING

Crime of Being Socially Dangerous

We certainly believe that the leadership of the Socialist Party would be... it is just an exercise in the struggle for the majority of people in the country.

If clear standards were upheld, this would become a much easier proposition, even in the battle with the Third International's handling of Bolshevik leaders.

The workers' movement had been something significantly different from the Socialists.

The main theme and the purpose of the South American countries'... to the United States. They are, however, that the Russian leaders were able to maintain their hold at the party congress.

For the workers, the struggle is not over. A great victory for the basic freedoms and confidence in Russia as the leading leader of "socialism" shook the world.

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