

We Must March!

by The Editors

This is the sixth school year to open since the Supreme Court made its decision outlawing segregation in public schools. Still the number of Negro students expected to attend desegregated schools in the 11 states of the deep South is only 74. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and South Carolina do not yet permit any integration, token or otherwise.

Those involved in the fight for integration in the South face every imaginable legal barrier put up by Southern state legislators to maintain segregation. Court cases, appeals, special qualifications, and gerrymandering have to be fought to achieve even token integration. Negro students and those who support them face violence; once admitted to formerly all-white schools they face social ostracism. They must face these obstacles by themselves. The United States Government does not want to intervene to speed up the integration process. It is only willing to intervene when it fears publicity will spread throughout the colonial world and show up America's hypocrisy in its cry for "democracy." This was the case in Little Rock two years ago when nine Negro students enrolled in the city's Central High School and were faced with violent mobs.

We must not let the young Negroes stand alone. We must begin preparations now for another Youth March for Integrated Schools to Washington so that thousands of young people, Negro and white, can add the weight of their numbers to the courageous actions of the Jefferson Thomases of the South.

At the last March of April 18 Bayard Rustin expressed the feelings of the marchers when he said: "On October 25 we came here 10,000 strong and didn't see anybody. We said we would come again, and again, and again."

"We doubled the number and gained admittance. Come with 50,000 and Ike will be in Washington. When we come with 100,000 Congress will sit in special session. With 200,000 the Congress, the President and the Supreme Court will all be in Washington."

However no plans are being made at present by the leaders of the Youth March to carry out the mandate of the marchers as spelled out in Rustin's statement. A recent communication from the March Committee, written by Rustin, simply states "the autumn will bring the opening of schools and no doubt some friction and tension as the struggle for integration proceeds. We hope you will be prepared to do whatever our leaders feel is the most constructive step possible to continue the struggle for democratic education in our nation."

We must do more than wait for "our leaders" to instruct us as to what we should do. Those thousands and thousands of Negro and white young people who built the March have the right and the duty to tell our leaders, and tell them now, that we are ready to march and we want to march. Let us not wait to bring our pressure to bear on government when it is too late and the Dixiecrats have the upper hand. Let us strike now and give a mighty impulse to the struggle for integration in the South.

A March through the streets of Washington to the Capitol steps would show that youth all over the country have as much courage in their determination to achieve full integration as their brothers and sisters in the South when they walk up the steps to the schools that they have integrated.

STATE DEPT. PLANS FALL FLAT:

Vienna Youth Festival is Huge Success

by Shane and Judith Mage

VIENNA—The Seventh World Youth Festival got off to a loud and colorful start on Sunday afternoon, July 25, when 17,000 delegates marched into the Vienna stadium before a crowd of over 60,000. The Chinese stole the show with their huge, gyrating, paper dragon and soaring helium-filled balloons. The Russians made the most noise, exploding hundreds of firecrackers above the stadium so that they, and everyone who followed them, marched in under a thick pall of smoke. Miniature Russian parachutes floated down through the gloom and were fought for as violently as foul balls in the Yankee Stadium.

For the next nine days it was a kaleidoscopic whirl of concerts, discussions, sports, meetings, dances, parades, lectures, circuses. On August 1 a crowd spread over half the Heldenplatz (where Hitler in 1938 addressed a throng of 600,000) to hear Paul Robeson.

In contrast, the "Anti-Festival" fell rather flat, despite the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of good American dollars

and the dramatic arrival in Vienna of—the Dalai Lama's brother. And yet to counteract the Festival the State Dept. certainly didn't stint its means. Carefully prepared spokesmen for "democracy," chosen from the East-European Institutes of American universities, circulated among the delegates, gaining admission to the Festival grounds with mysteriously procured credentials.

Throughout the Festival three small planes flew over Vienna, trailing streamers that read (in German) "The Festival Without Us," "Remember Tibet," "Remember Hungary." A special daily newspaper, the "Vienna Daily News," was published in Russian, English, German, French, and other languages for free distribution to the delegates. Free movies; daily guided tours to see the "Iron Curtain;" jazz concerts (one, starring Ella Fitzgerald, timed to compete with Robeson); middle-aged ladies with big black satchels full of free copies of "The New Class," "Doctor Zhivago," "Our Europe," "Information Booths" all over Vienna, staffed

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Jefferson Thomas stands alone waiting for transportation home from Little Rock's Central High School. See below.

LITTLE ROCK DATELINE:

A Visit with Jefferson Thomas

by Earl Owens

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Nine blocks from the white pillared, red brick Georgian mansion of Gov. Faubus is a gray shingled bungalow. Faubus' black and chrome Lincoln, with the license plate that proclaims "Arkansas, Land of Opportunity," often passes this bungalow on the way to the state capitol. But Faubus will never go in. This is the home of Jefferson Thomas, the only Negro at Central High School.

The following is an interview I had with him and his father, Ellis Thomas, shortly after the school term had begun at Central High.

Q.—How are the other kids treating you at Central High?

A.—Jeff: Most of them are all right. A couple have come over and talked to me and been friendly. Of course, there's a few

of them. . . . But there's not been any real trouble.

A.—Mr. Thomas: If the parents would quit interfering there'd be no trouble. Adults keep agitating.

Q.—What do you think of Central High compared to the segregated high schools?

A.—Jeff: At Central High they give 26 more courses than at Horace Mann. You'd have to go for 33 years to take all the courses they give you.

A.—Mr. Thomas: In the Central district there are 300 boys who live in the area and should be going to Central High. Instead, they're sent to Horace Mann which is two miles away. The school board just sends you a postcard telling you in what school you're going to be. They didn't say even why they picked Jeff.

Q.—How did the troops last year affect the situation?

A.—Mr. Thomas: There's no question the troops helped. The local authorities weren't doing their job. We don't need the troops now as long as things are running as well as they are.

Q.—What do you think of Faubus?

A.—Mr. Thomas: I never met him. But he can't believe all this stuff himself. He thinks it'll forward his political career. I read some books on Hitler. The same thing. If it had been me, and not the governor doing all those things, they'd put me in the penitentiary. Faubus will quote Scripture, but all he believes in is himself.

Q.—Do you think the White Citizens Councils represent the sentiments of the majority of whites?

A.—Mr. Thomas: The people in Little Rock are pretty nice people. Probably not more than 25 per cent of the white people in Little Rock support Faubus and the Councils. Faubus gets his support out in the country towns.

A.—Jeff: This thing makes them feel like somebody. Most of them have nothing to brag about. But they can at least say they're white. They've got nothing else to cling to.

Q.—Have any of the white organizations helped out? The American Legion? The Lions? The Elks?

A.—Mr. Thomas: The American Legion or those other organizations . . . nothing. But there were two organizations—white people—that helped the cause: the Women's Emergency Committee To Open Our Schools and STOP, Committee To Stop This Outrageous Purge. STOP was formed when the School Board tried to fire 44 teachers, but the segregationists were defeated.

Q.—How about other kinds of discrimination besides the schools?

A.—Jeff: The theatres and eating establishments are segregated.

Q.—What's the adult NAACP doing about this?

A.—Mr. Thomas: The NAACP here is trying to cool people off. We've only got one good leader, Mrs. Bates. We have a lot of preachers and politicians. But they're all too wrapped up in themselves. So there was lots of talk, but no action. All these years they've done nothing. We have some very brilliant kids. It's a new generation. The kids just want a chance to prove themselves. The adults have the attitude of just going along . . . that'll do. It's just fear. They work for whites.

Q.—What about the NAACP Youth Council?

A.—Jeff: It isn't active.

Q.—Have there been any

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 3)

Barenblatt Probes Civil Liberties Retreat

an interview

(Below is an interview conducted by Martha Curti with Lloyd Barenblatt, a young psychologist who formerly taught at the University of Michigan and Vassar College. Barenblatt now faces a six-month prison term in a Federal penitentiary. The "crime"? Fighting for the constitutional right guaranteed to every citizen under the First Amendment, which states that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly or petition.)

Q.—Last June 8, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a conviction against you for contempt of Congress. What was the reason for this contempt conviction?

A.—When called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954, I refused to answer questions regarding my own political beliefs and associations and those of others.

Q.—How did this affect your academic career?

A.—I was teaching at Vassar at the time and my contract, which expired shortly thereafter, was simply not renewed. I have not been able to get an academic appointment since then.

Q.—Does the Court decision on your case mean that the Court has reversed the stand taken in the Watkins decision in 1957?

A.—The Watkins decision was a clear denunciation of the Un-American Committee. It refused to uphold a contempt sentence handed down by the Committee, on the ground that the Committee did not show pertinence to a valid legislative purpose in their questioning of Mr. Watkins. The decision held that the Committee should not punish people with dissenting views, and the use of the Committee for the purpose of exposure was clearly counter to the tradition of the Bill of Rights which is designed to protect minority political opinions.

In my case, however, the majority opinion had the effect of saying that this previous denunciation of the Committee was not legally binding. The only part of the Watkins decision which is now considered legally binding is that which says that the findings of the Committee can have force only if the witness is shown their relevance to legislation. In other words, the Watkins decision can not curb the investigations of the Committee.

Q.—Does this decision mean, then, that individuals are no longer guaranteed freedom of speech by the First Amendment?

A.—Yes. The amazing thing is that the Supreme Court frankly admits that this decision violates the constitutional rights of the individual. The majority opinion states that this violation is necessary to protect the nation from "internal and external threats of

political philosophy, that gave you the conviction and the courage to make this fight?

A.—The essence of it is this: the most radical, the most revolutionary political idea that men have ever devised is the simple notion that the people themselves have the right to decide their own destiny.

Q.—Do you think that the First Amendment embodies this concept?

A.—I believe so. You realize that the Bill of Rights was not included in the Constitution originally, but was insisted upon by the American radicals of the day as the only way they would accept the Federal power. They intended the Bill of Rights to ensure that the propertied aristocracy, a numerical minority, would not become the entrenched ruling power over the majority of people in the new republic.

Q.—The Supreme Court's decision against you was five to four. Do you think that with enough public pressure the decision could have been swung the other way?

A.—Yes. When the Bar Ass'n, and various members of Congress attacked the Court on the basis of the Watkins decision, no group—no student group, no group of professors, liberals, or lawyers—came to the defense of the Court until it was too late.

Q.—What is the reason, do you think, for the reversal in the trend of Supreme Court decisions? Is it related to the attacks on the court, and the various curb-the-court bills pending in Congress? Is it a notice that the witchhunt is not really over?

A.—That's right. The liberals, who never stuck their necks out to fight McCarthy, were dancing on his coffin. It was not the liberals, but the Army-Eisenhower group, with the help of Demon Rum, that squashed McCarthy. The witchhunt is definitely not over.

Q.—Can anything be done at this point?

A.—Certainly. We have not begun to fight—or to understand. Most people as yet are ignorant and apathetic about civil liberties, because they are scared.

Q.—Is there any possibility, at this point, that your sentence can be changed?

A.—The American Civil Liberties Union, which recently took on my case, and my own attorney, David Scribner, have filed a motion for a rehearing. The Court reconvenes in October and if it denies the motion, I will face a prison term at that time.

Q.—Has the fight been worth it?

A.—Let me say that I have no regrets. The minority opinion, written by Justice Hugo Black, is one of the most valuable documents of recent times. The majority opinion is also valuable, because it exposes so openly the extra-constitutional nature of its decision.

conspiracy," and that this necessity supercedes the constitutional rights of citizens. It is the first frank, openly stated extra-constitutional decision of the Supreme Court to my knowledge.

Q.—Haven't there been several other First Amendment cases? How does your case relate to these others as a test of the First Amendment?

A.—There have been several people who chose to fight the witchhunt on the basis of the First Amendment. But for one reason or another the only one of these to reach a test by the Supreme Court has been my own. The most well-known of the First Amendment cases, those of Corliss Lamont and Harvey O'Connor, were not real tests since the Lamont case never reached trial and the first O'Connor indictment was dismissed on a technicality.

The first cases involving the First Amendment were those of Dr. Barsky and Leon Josephson, and the Hollywood Ten in 1950. They were sent to jail after the Supreme Court refused to hear case. Right now there are 15 or 20 people who face jail terms because they refused to testify on the basis of the First Amendment.

Q.—Won't the Barenblatt decision affect these cases adversely?

A.—I'm afraid so. These cases are all pending in the lower courts, and as far as I know, the people involved all plan to take their cases up to the Supreme Court if possible.

Q.—How do they subpoena people to appear before the Committee?

A.—They choose all sorts of circumstances, and usually give no warning. They knocked at my door and served me with a subpoena while I was grading final exam papers. They do everything from serving "spot" subpoenas right in the hearing room to using a dragnet in an entire community.

Q.—Why did you choose to make your fight on the First Amendment rather than the Fifth?

A.—Many people misunderstand the motives which led me and others to use the First Amendment. It was certainly not because I wished to distinguish or differentiate myself from the "Red" charge levelled at users of the Fifth Amendment; I had already been branded as a "Red." My two major reasons for using the First Amendment were first, that it provided the opportunity for a test case, and second, that it afforded a direct line of opposition to the activities of the Un-American Committee.

Q.—In your opinion, what is the importance of opposing the Committee?

A.—Serious enough as is the damage done by the Committee to individuals—involving as it often does the loss of livelihood, social ostracism, etc.—the real damage done by the Committee is to pillory the notion of freedom of exchange of ideas by making visible demonstrations of punishment of individuals who belong to minority political groups or have dissenting political ideas. This removes from the whole American people their sovereign power to hear and debate all opinions and issues in making up their minds.

Q.—What is the core of your

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October, 1959

Our First Two Years

With this issue the YOUNG SOCIALIST begins its third year of publication. We began publication in October 1957, following a year—as our first editorial noted—"of crisis—a revolution in Hungary; an imperialist invasion in Suez; a struggle for national independence in Algeria; and a vigorous battle against second-class citizenship on the part of the Negro people in our own country."

"These events and many others," we stated, "have not passed unnoticed by the young people of this nation." The fall of 1957 and the spring of 1958 saw the birth and growth of socialist clubs in major cities and campuses across the land. These clubs, which were supported by the YOUNG SOCIALIST, and in many cases initiated by our supporters, were centers of ferment and discussion among youth.

Out of the discussion process a group of socialist youth who were committed to a genuine socialist program—a program which called for support to workers' democracy in all lands and opposition to American imperialism—was crystallized. In Detroit last December these socialists came together and organized a nationwide organization of YOUNG SOCIALIST supporter groups which forms the nucleus today for revolutionary socialist youth activity in this country. Since the Detroit Conference the local YS groups have grown.

We feel the last two years of publication of the YS and of activity of our supporters has justified the concept of an independent and militant socialist youth movement with which we began our work. Other socialists in this country have attempted to build youth organizations on other bases. The Young Socialist League (Shachtmanite youth) felt that by joining the right wing Young People's Socialist League they would miraculously solve all their problems and be able to build a sizeable youth organization. After only one year of activity as a united organization YPSL has been forced to suspend publication of its monthly paper, *Challenge*, leaving the YS as America's only socialist youth newspaper. The YPSL has also left unresolved its political nature. On the one hand it fears open political endorsement of the views of its parent organization, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, as this would be too much for the left-wingers in the organization. On the other hand it fears that if it expresses left wing views too openly its parent may well spank the child, or even worse, expel YPSL.

The Communist Party youth have been in crisis ever since the Khrushchev revelations and despite recurrent rumors that a new CP-backed youth group was in the offing nothing has been produced.

This coming year is a most promising one for the growth in this country of a socialist youth movement based on a genuine socialist program. We urge our readers to join with us and participate in building this movement.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

- BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703.
- BAY AREA: Young Socialist Alliance, 2431 Dwight Way Berkeley, E. V. Debs Club, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley. Young Socialist Alliance, 196-A Connecticut St., San Francisco.
- BOSTON: United Socialist Students of Greater Boston, Box 108, Cambridge 38, Mass.
- CHICAGO: Young Socialist Alliance, Hirsch 438 St. James Pl.
- DENVER: Young Socialist Club, Box 724.
- DETROIT: Young Socialist Committee, 3310 Cortland.
- EAST LANSING: Young Socialist Club, Michigan State University.
- LOS ANGELES: Young Socialist, Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.A. 54.
- MADISON, Wis.: Wisconsin Socialist Club, Landau, 1026 Clymer Pl.
- MILWAUKEE: Young Socialist Club, Myrtle Kastner 2951 N Frederick Ave., Apt. 1.
- MONTREAL: McGill University Socialist Society, McGill Student Union, 690 Sherbrooke St., W. Social Democratic Club, Sir George Williams College, 1435 Drummond.
- NEW YORK CITY: Young Socialist Alliance, 45 E. 7 St.
- OVERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College.
- PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, Phelps, Apt. 4b, 3506 Powelton Ave.
- PORTLAND, Ore.: Focus, Reed College.
- TWIN CITIES: Jean Bradford, 1822 La Salle Ave., Mpls.
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Iraqi Revolution Can't Stay Within Capitalist Bounds

by Fred Mazelis

Over a year ago, on July 14, 1958, the Iraqi regime headed by King Faisal II and Premier Nuri-as-Said, allied to the West through the Baghdad Pact, was overthrown. The Iraqi Revolution has since become the focal point of the world-wide colonial revolution.

The revolutions now occurring in the backward areas of the world have their peculiar national characteristics, but it is important to single out their similarities. These areas have not been industrialized; the standard of living of the masses of people is extremely low. They have barely reached the stage of capitalist development. In all cases these areas have served as areas of exploitation by surplus capital from the advanced capitalist nations.

In the past several decades, major sections of the national bourgeoisie in these underdeveloped nations were determined to drive the foreign exploiters out, or at any rate, to fight for a greater share in the wealth of the nation. The masses of workers and peasants have, in view of their impoverished state, joined in the struggle for national independence.

The backward countries are ousting the advanced capitalist nations and entering the capitalist era themselves in the period of the decline of capitalism. Is it possible for them to industrialize and raise the standard of living through capitalism? Actually, a backward country attempting to industrialize under capitalism will encounter enormous difficulties. It would take many years to accumulate enough capital for industrialization, at great cost to the standard of living. The national bourgeoisie in most instances does not even attempt full-scale industrialization, finding it much simpler to arrange deals with the imperialists for a greater share of the profits.

SOCIALIST ROAD

There is no doubt that a gigantic social effort, involving a nationalized economy and centralized planning, is necessary for industrialization. A comparison between India and China furnishes the necessary proof. A national bourgeois government, examples of which we now see in Iraq, Egypt, India, and Indonesia, faces ultimate popular discontent and revolutionary upheaval, since it is unable to appreciably raise the standard of living of the masses.

What has been the course of events in Iraq? There is no doubt that last summer's events were not a coup, but a genuine popular revolution. Several weeks after the revolution, the policy of the new government began to take shape. It withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and the Iraqi-Jordan Union, set up to protect Western interests. At the same time it assured the West that its oil interests would be respected. The Iraqi Finance Minister asserted that Iraq could industrialize more rapidly under free enterprise than under state planning.

CP SUPPORTS KASSEM

There has been much CP activity in Iraq. By last January the Communist Party had become the only serious mass political party. It led demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in Baghdad. The CP, however, did not attack Kassem, nor did it remain silent temporarily on the question; it proclaimed to the workers of Baghdad that Kassem was their glorious national savior.

Last January, just at the time the CP grew to massive propor-

tions, Kassem for the first time ordered the CP-led Peoples' Militia and Iraqi Students Union to limit their activity. Since then, he has repeatedly rebuked the CP.

Following the popular rising in the oil center of Kirkuk last July 17, Kassem blamed the CP, which responded with a condemnation of itself. On Aug. 3, the CP reaffirmed its complete support and subordination to the Kassem government.

If the CP has been so cooperative, and has refused to see further than the bourgeois stage of the revolution, why has it been the object of such criticism and persecution? The answer lies in the fact that a large section of the Iraqi bourgeoisie is becoming panicky over the increasing role of the masses in the CP. The longer the status quo is maintained, the greater will the discontent of the people become, and the more frightened will the bourgeoisie become over the very existence of the Communist Party. At this stage Kassem has already had to fight off two attempts to overthrow him on the part of reactionary feudal and military pro-Nasser elements, and he has used the aid of the Iraqi masses, organized through the Peoples' Militia.

Unless the CP changes its policy, the development in Iraq will almost certainly be the same as in China in the 1920's, Iran in 1953, and Burma in 1957. Kassem or a decisive section of the class he represents will viciously turn against the CP, as Chiang Kai-Shek did in 1927, as the Shah of Iran did when he ousted Mossadegh in 1953, and as General Ne Win of Burma did two years ago when he ousted U Nu. The Communist Party is faced with ultimate defeat and decimation unless it mobilizes support in its own name and makes clear to the masses the role of the Iraqi national bourgeoisie.

The events since World War II have tended to confirm the theory of the permanent revolution as the only real explanation for the unfolding of the colonial revolution. Specifically this theory predicts that the colonial revolution cannot be held within capitalist bounds. In order for such elementary tasks as national unification and industrialization to be achieved it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system and move in the direction of socialism.

The Communist movement, under the direction of the Kremlin, has opposed this theory, preferring to support "progressive" capitalists who it hopes, if nothing else, will at least be friendly to the U.S.S.R. The Chinese Communists, while loudly denouncing the theory of the permanent revolution, were forced to recognize it in their actions. In order to preserve their country when threatened by the imperialists at the time of the Korean War and in order to industrialize the country they were forced to overthrow capitalism.

There is, of course, a possibility that the Iraqi CP will follow the road of the Chinese and lead a revolution against the national bourgeoisie in order to preserve its mass base, even though such an action contradicts its basic theory and the U.S.S.R.'s international policies. It is, however, far more probable that the Iraqi Revolution will stagnate as was the case in Egypt until a new revolutionary socialist leadership can be created, possibly out of the solution to the problems of the ranks of the Iraqi CP itself, which will push for a socialist Iraqi masses.



Vienna Youth . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Official slogan quickly took a co-equal place—"peaceful co-existence." Officially the Festival was strictly non-partisan but independent, open to youth of all political views. In reality anyone could see by whom it was organized, financed, and controlled from beginning to end.

What did they get out of it? As in every youth festival, direct propaganda for the "peaceful co-existence" line, and a wide and receptive circulation for brochures painting an idyllic picture of the life of young people in Hungary, East Germany, etc. But, more important, by holding the Festival, for the first time, in a non-"Iron Curtain" country, the Stalinists were able to show the world the image of a strong, united, and self-confident bloc. The Moscow Festival of 1957 was held under the impact of the revolutionary wave of 1956. The Vienna Festival of 1959 expressed the consolidation of bureaucratic rule which followed the suppression of the Hungarian workers' revolution and the murder of Imre Nagy et. al.

Does all this signify that the Social-Democratic Youth of Austria and all other countries were justified in refusing to participate? Not in the least. By serving as an open tool for the U.S. State Department the International Union of Socialist Youth merely discredited socialism still further. Every reference to Hungary in the context of State Department propaganda helped the Stalinists to bury the memory still deeper.

Despite Stalinist control the festival presented to thousands of young people from all over the world an opportunity to meet and discuss in a relatively free atmosphere: and the large majority of these young people were motivated by the ideals of peace, socialism, national independence. This fact, for socialists, should be enough to justify participation in the festival now and at any future time. The presence of a strong contingent of revolutionary socialist youth would have made it far more difficult to suppress all organized discussion of the genuine issues before youth all over the world: the need for workers' democracy, for intellectual freedom, for a real struggle against world capitalism and its built-in drive to imperialist war.

CAPITALISTS, CP HOLD BACK MOVEMENT:

7,000,000 Fight H-Bomb in Japan

by K

(K is the penname of a Japanese girl who describes herself in the following way: "I am 26, live in Tokyo alone away from my family, a girl student at a university at night working in an office in the daytime." She is writing her thesis in American Literature on Richard Wright.)

TOKYO—From August 5 to 7 the Fifth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs will be held in Hiroshima, the world's first atom-bombed city.

In this year's "Peace March to Hiroshima," a record of about seven million people have already participated since the march began. According to a statement made public by the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs representatives of 25 countries have already written asking to be allowed to participate.

The anti-A-bomb movement began with a small gathering of housewives in Sugunami Ward, Tokyo, not long after the incident in which Japanese fishermen (Happy Dragon the fifth) were showered with "ashes of death" from a hydrogen bomb test at Bikini. Since then, its scale has been growing larger every year internationally as well as at home.

However the growth of the movement threatens to bring the Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs up against a serious crisis. One concrete manifestation of this is the decision made by the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly to refuse to subsidize the Conference, which is to be held in Hiroshima, and not to participate in the Congress.

The reason for this action is be-

lieved to be that since the Conference has as one of its declared aims the prevention of any revision of the U.S.-Japanese Security Pact, the Liberal-Democratic (the ruling bourgeois party) members of the Prefectural Assembly, who are bound by party loyalty to support the revision, find themselves unable to support the Conference.

Hiroshima's Governor Ohara said in his statement condemning the convention, there is no need to spend the taxpayers money in promoting a rally that will be exploited by political factions for ulterior motives. The Secretary General of the Liberal-Democratic Party echoed similar sentiments.

The Conference was attacked from another corner; a member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party issued a statement that the present campaign for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs is a "peace campaign in disguise" and revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty must be struggled against separately from the forthcoming Conference.

I disagree with both the views of the Liberal-Democrats and the Communists. It is, in my opinion, quite natural that the Conference which started as an anti-A-bomb movement should declare as one of its aims the prohibition of any revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty which would bring nuclear weapons to Japan. The struggle against the atomic bomb cannot therefore be separated from the struggle around the issue of this treaty. Both are part of the struggle against the crisis of war.

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by Wm. F. Warde

is featured in the Fall issue of

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PART I—SOCIAL ROOTS OF MODERN REFORMISM:

The Politics of Senility

by Tim Wohlforth

(This is the first in a series of articles on "The Politics of Senility." The series will constitute a revolutionary socialist critique of modern reformist social thought. Comments from our readers are welcomed.)

It was Karl Liebknecht who said "the future belongs to the youth" and he meant it in more than a biological way. He felt the establishment of socialism depended on the winning over of the younger generation, and conversely, the preservation of capitalism depended on the capitalist's ability to indoctrinate the youth through the church, the army, and even the boy scouts.

For this reason Liebknecht placed extraordinary importance on the development of a socialist youth movement and was himself instrumental in the establishment of the Young Socialist International in 1907. But even in his day he did not find unanimous agreement on support to the youth in the ranks of the socialist movement. The conservatively inclined leadership of the German Social Democratic Party and the trade unions feared the youth. Being unable to completely prevent a youth movement from developing they attempted to control it from above—to keep it "safe."

SENILE YOUTH

In this project they had the aid of a few professional "senile" youth. These were young people who had forsaken their idealism and taken up the cause of realpolitik. These "responsible" youth leaders attempted to tame the youth movement so that it would not directly threaten the capitalist system.

With World War I and its revolutionary aftermath, the Russian Revolution, the youth threw off their senile leaders and the majority of the Young Socialist International voted to affiliate with the Communist International. Guarded by armed young workers during the Spartacus events in 1918, they formed the Young Communist International.

Today, having learned nothing from history and therefore despising those who are concerned with history, the politically senile are again attempting to lead the youth. In the United States this takes the form of the Schachtmanite youth who have been metamorphosed into the Young People's Socialist League, youth affiliate of the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation.

Marxists view politics as more than a mere conflict in ideologies. They see ideological struggle as a reflection of social struggle and therefore seek to discover the social roots of every important ideological current. Just what are the social roots of modern reformism?

SOCIAL ROOTS

A reformist tendency within the working class is a reflection of the intermediate or petty bourgeois strata in society. These strata on the one hand are repelled by capitalism and have roots to one degree or another in the working class; on the other hand they benefit from the continued existence of the capitalist system. They attempt, therefore, to resist the capitalists and win concessions from them. At the same time they fear any head-on confrontation between the capitalists and the working class which might rock the boat or even lead to the capsizing of the boat.

Traditionally Marxists have emphasized the labor aristocracy—those highly skilled workers

who are able to maintain themselves at a high economic level due to an artificial prosperity bolstered in many cases by super-exploitation in colonial areas—as the social roots of reformism in capitalist society. The labor aristocracy organized itself into craft unions which devoted much of their energy to protecting their special privileges from the masses of unorganized and semi-skilled workers. This aristocracy had its expression politically in European countries in the social democratic parties and in this country in the opportunist support to the capitalist parties which came to be known as "Gomperism."

LABOR BUREAUCRACY

While these skilled workers are in some instances still social underpinnings to reformist ideology, the great industrial unions have tended to counteract their influence within the working class and a new, far more powerful social base has grown up to replace them in importance—the labor bureaucracy.

With the growth of mass industrial unions in the major capitalist countries and foremost of all in the United States, and with relative quiescence in class relations fostered by the war and the cold war-induced prosperity, a whole new stratum of union functionaries has been created. These bureaucrats depend for their living (and they live pretty well!) on the existence of the trade union movement and therefore they will on occasion lead a struggle against the capitalists in order to preserve their salaries. Thus today the union bureaucrats are forced to resist the big business onslaught against labor which has produced the current crop of anti-labor legislation and the steel strike.

However they do not seek any real showdown with big business. They try wherever possible to keep the struggle within bounds: to preserve a system under which they are allowed to live far better than the workers they represent and to exert power which rightfully belongs in the hands of the workers themselves.

For instance, when faced with the above mentioned anti-labor offensive, they prepared their own doom by first "cooperating" with the anti-labor McClellan Committee, then ganging up on Hoffa and expelling the Teamsters and finally actually sponsoring one of the "milder" anti-labor bills.

These bureaucrats utilize as their ideological and political representatives the liberal capitalist politicians. They have yet to reach even the level of the labor bureaucrats of England who utilize the right wing of the Labor Party rather than a section of a capitalist party. This is primarily due to the low level of consciousness of the American working class as a whole. There is little doubt that if Reuther were in England he would support the Labor Party, and an American Hugh Gaitskell would join the Democratic Party.

YPSL AND ILGWU

The reformist socialists, while as yet not the chosen ideological instrument of this social formation, aspire to become this instrument. They therefore represent, within the ranks of socialism in this country, the same interests as do the Hubert Hum-

phreys et al within the larger Democratic Party.

This can be seen graphically in an ad for the ILGWU Training School which the now defunct organ of the YPSL, "Challenge," printed a few months back. The ILGWU bureaucrats (and they are among the most ruthless in the way they run their "progressive" union) do not fear that YPSL members will be any threat to them—that they will attempt to lead the ranks in a struggle against the leadership for militant and democratic unionism.

This can also be seen in the very ideology of the reformist socialists. For instance, on the question of the anti-labor offensive, the new reformists—the Schachtmanites—found themselves in the same general camp as the AFL-CIO leadership. They applauded the expulsion of the Teamsters, viewing the struggle as one between "clean" and "corrupt" unions rather than as an attack by the capitalist government against the trade union movement as a whole utilizing its weakest link, the most corrupt unions. They generally cheered on in the pages of Labor Action (also now defunct) the McClellan Committee and even supported Reuther when he favored expelling unionists who utilized the Fifth Amendment in front of the McClellan Committee.

GOOD BOYS

Finally the reformist socialists oppose any confrontation between socialism and capitalism on the political arena. As Mike Harrington explains in his pamphlet "The New Left" (see YS, March, 1959 for review) socialists should not run candidates against "the candidates of the labor movement"—i.e. against those capitalist party candidates that the AFL-CIO endorses. It is quite clear that socialists who seek to represent the interests of the labor bureaucracy are not likely to get very far with these bureaucrats if they oppose the current ideological representatives of the bureaucracy. They must respectfully await their turn. When these bureaucrats need a left covering they will be called on—as long as they are good boys today.

Revolutionary socialists, on the contrary, represent ideologically the interests of the working class, not some intermediate formation. They prepare themselves for a future role as actual leaders of the working class by standing with the workers today and supporting these workers even when they come in conflict with the conservative trade union bureaucracy. We feel that a labor party will be built by just such a process—a process of struggle by the rank and file workers against the labor bureaucracy. We seek no handouts from the labor bureaucrats and receive no favors. We openly run socialist candidates against "labor" endorsed capitalist candidates as part of an educational process to show the most advanced workers the futility of supporting company unions in politics.

We do not seek, to paraphrase Debs, to advance from the ranks of the workers but rather to advance with the workers. We may have some tough sledding in a period like today but we have one consolation—we are freed from the senility of thought which inevitably accompanies those who forsake their principles for the easy road and the soft job. Finally, we know this is the only way a movement which can bring about socialism can be built.

Youth Notes

ON THE LEFT: While most of those who can afford to go on vacations or hibernate with the help of batteries of fans or air conditioners in the summer, Young Socialists seemed, if anything, to increase their activity. The Young Socialist Alliance of New York reports an active summer including a meeting on "Alienation in Modern Society" by Wm. F. Warde which drew 70 people, two class series and a number of parties which drew as many as 80 people each. In addition young friends of the Socialist Labor Party came in contact with the club. This encouraged the SLP organ, the "Weekly People" to launch an attack on the YSA for advocating the "reformist" demand that 18-year-olds should be allowed to vote . . . Philadelphia ran a class series through the summer months which contributed to a doubling of the Young Socialist Club during this period . . . The newly organized Young Socialist supporters group in the Twin Cities spent the summer in true Midwestern style by sponsoring a series of outings and picnics . . . Young Socialists in Los Angeles have been active in the campaign against the Un-American Activities Committee's projected investigation of California school teachers. The investigation was finally called off because of the mounting opposition to it . . . Young Socialists from New York travelled by motor scooter to the First Annual Newport Folk Festival to sell the YS. They met many old friends and supporters of the paper at the concerts . . . Chicago Young Socialists made an attempt to sell the YS during a mock U.S. Marine landing at one of the parks in the city. The sale went well until a group of ultra-patriots came to the conclusion that our supporters were "insulting the Marines" and the sale ended rather abruptly.

NEW YORK DATELINE: Violence among youth has been spreading in New York City during the hot muggy months of the summer. This is especially so as unemployment is high among teenagers in the state. The police report 10 deaths due to gang warfare this year. They claim there are 150 gangs with a total membership of 6,500. New York's only solution to the problems of youth is to assign 1,400 more police to hound young people in the city . . . The N. Y. TIMES reports that two young nurses, ages 22 and 23, who came to New York from a small town in New Jersey, have learned the hard way what New York is like and are planning to leave the city. They state, "We can't take it the way they push you around and lie to you and break promises. They talk about slum clearance on a lofty plane but they treat people like dirt." These nurses have experienced what hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers, young and old, have experienced as a result of Title I projects which force the poor out in order to build apartments for the rich . . . There are presently more Russian classes in the New York City area than there were previously in the whole country—sixteen. Once Americans learn to speak Russian the question still remains as to what they are going to say.

PEACE FRONT: Our Baltimore corresponding editor, Bob Kaufman, tells us that a local night club comedian has announced that he is writing a book entitled "What to do in Case of Peace." . . . President Eisenhower's eulogistic mutterings of the America he wished Khrushchev to see got a quick response from the NAACP. It seems the examples of suburban living he chose to show Mr. K. were the all-white Levittown Penna. settlement and the all-white suburban area of Washington . . . As many as 39 children who die annually from cancer may die due to the increased radiation caused by atomic fall-out, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists report . . . City Lights Books (261 Columbus Ave., San Francisco), which has generally specialized in publishing the literature of the beatniks, has just published a provocative political book: "What's Really Happening in China?" (Price \$1)

CIVIL LIBERTIES: The Beat Generation has been having its troubles with the police these days in various parts of the country. Attempts have been made in both New York and Philadelphia to close coffee houses. Luckily these have failed. Currently a beat hangout called the Gaslight in Venice, California is being pressured by "square" citizens who are trying to prevent it from getting a light entertainment license. A policeman in the North Beach area of San Francisco took it into his mind to rip down poems critical of the police. After the poets involved got the ACLU to look into the case the police backed down. It seems that even such relatively harmless dissent as symbolized by the beatniks has trouble in our conformist society . . . The New York State Supreme Court recently upheld the right of Herricks High School in Long Island to have the saying of a morning prayer. The decision however specifies that the prayer must not be compulsory. The New York American Civil Liberties Union is appealing the decision as it holds that such a morning prayer constitutes use of school buildings for religious purposes and is therefore unconstitutional under the First Amendment . . . Harold Zepelin, one of the Denver Smith Act Defendants, has written us requesting support from our readers for the Defendants. The Denver Defendants have gone through two lengthy trials during which, Mr. Zepelin notes, "the only evidence presented by the prosecution pertained to the communication of ideas. That, and nothing more." Send contributions to P.O. Box 7675, Denver 15, Col.

Jefferson Thomas . . .

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threats made against you or your family?

A.—Mr. Thomas: Every day there's letters and telephone calls. And I'm laid off now. The Harvester Company where I was working, said they thought it was best that I'd take off for a while and they'd call me. We don't have any union; the work's segregated. I had a run in with the state police, too. They charged me with carrying a concealed weapon. I always carry a pistol in my car on long distance trips. That was Mr. Faubus' police. It was a very good trap. And out in the coun-

try a lot of Negro people have lost their jobs and are starving. Not so much the sharecroppers, but the others.

The picture on the TV set changed and Eisenhower's face went on. As Ike began to say something about "A stronger nation, a stronger country . . ." Mr. Thomas remarked, "Whatever he's saying don't mean nothing." I agreed.

Outside, small white boy was pedaling a Negro girl around on his bike, not worrying or caring about Faubus, the White Citizens' Council and all the hate there is in the world.