

U. S. Court Rules On College Student Gideonse Ousted

by Fred Mazelis

(The writer of the following story is a student at the City College of New York)

The efforts of a former Brooklyn College student, Arthur Steier, to win a victory for academic freedom recently resulted in a court decision that has focused attention on student affairs in all the New York City municipal colleges.

Steier was originally suspended from Brooklyn College in March, 1955. He had written several letters to Dr. Gideonse, Brooklyn College President, protesting the suppression of student government and the influence of the administration in student organizations. Gideonse, a notorious "cold-war liberal," obviously didn't consider the letters complimentary and suspended Steier.

After apologizing to the President, Steier was permitted to register for the fall semester on the condition that he withdraw from all student activities. In the following spring semester, Steier wrote a factual account of the policy of the Administration with regard to himself in the college newspaper, *The Kingsman*. He referred to his exclusion from campus activities as a "vindictive and

posedly only a state matter. The dissenting opinion of Chief Judge Charles Clark, however, was a vigorous defense of academic freedom. Clark said: "Surely the city's public education system has failed in its purpose when for its own assumed self-protection it must deny all its benefits to one whose only apparent transgression is a persistent and even irritating spirit of independence"

He went on to contend that the Federal Government must, where necessary, take responsibility for protecting the students not only from racial and religious discrimination, but also from all forms of discriminatory and vindictive policies against non-conformists.

Steier told the YS that he "has not yet received substantial support from any liberal organization." So far the important case has, with one major exception, been largely ignored by the campus press although it was given wide coverage by the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*. *Observation Post*, one of CCNY's two day session student newspapers, has also publicized the case and has supported Steier editorially. The newspaper called for the reactivation of the now dormant Student Government at the City College before it is abolished, as was the case with Student Council at Brooklyn College. A letter to the editor of *Observation Post* demonstrates the feelings of many municipal college students. The writer attacks the Brooklyn College administration and asserts that if there are any complaints about the CCNY administration, we can only pity the fate of Brooklyn students interested in campus activity.

Steier indicated in an interview with this reporter that he definitely intends to file his case with the Supreme Court. "If Justice Clark's opinion is upheld by the Supreme Court," he stated, "it will be a landmark for student academic freedom." We agree, and think it necessary that all students interested in safeguarding their rights rally to his cause.

JD Scare Hits New York City

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discriminatory" policy. As a result of this article, Steier was dismissed from the College in December, 1956, in his senior year. He stated that he was never given the opportunity to answer the charges presented against him.

Steier took his case into court, arguing that due process of law under the 14th Amendment had been denied him. The Federal District Court refused to hear the case. He then went on to argue his own case before the second highest court in the nation. On September 23, 1959, the Second Circuit of the U. S. Court of Appeals handed down a decision. Although the 2-1 split decision was against Steier, he has since received much favorable publicity.

The majority decision of the Court threw out the case on the technical claim that it was outside its jurisdiction, being sup-

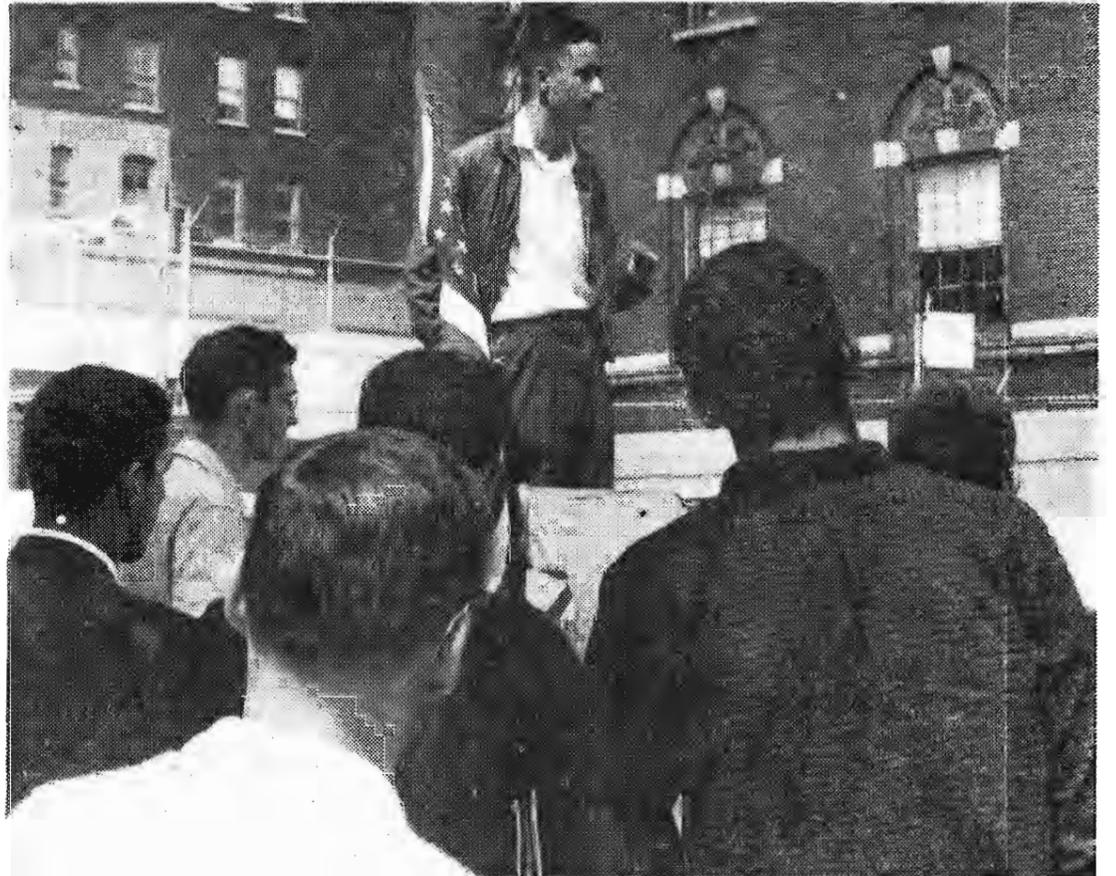
THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

VOL. 3, NO. 2

November, 1959



The fall semester opens as usual with students rushing to classes. Here CCNY students take a break to discuss, and listen to Young Socialist Alliance speakers presenting ideas not heard in the classroom.

INTERVIEW WITH BAYARD RUSTIN:

'Leaders' Still Sit on Youth March

by Nora Roberts

Bayard Rustin, chairman of the two Youth Marches for Integration, reports that the question of whether or not there will be another march in the near future is now being decided by a group of "officials" of the American Negro movement, including A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and the Rev. Martin Luther King of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott. Mr. Rustin stated that within the next six weeks the group would decide how the American youth could demonstrate their urgent desires for democracy and whether or not it would be advisable to do so. Many ideas are being considered

he indicated; another march and the continuation of the strong organization which grew up from the last one and included active groups in 37 states, is just one of these ideas. Petition campaigns and minor protests are also being discussed.

There was no doubt in the minds of the marchers that there would be another march this year which would be doubled again in size if full equality were not guaranteed every American citizen. This was vigorously put forward at the march by Mr. Rustin.

Throughout the ages youth have been the most vociferous in the struggle for human freedom and progress. They bring their enthusiasm into the fight for a more just world, impeded only by the

misgivings of their elders. This enthusiastic desire for equality for all is demonstrated in the courageous campaign of Negro youth in the South to go to school where they please. They carry out this campaign despite terror and racist mobs of whites much older than themselves. This enthusiasm was matched in the Youth March for Integration.

This school year there are still less than 200 Negro children going to integrated schools in the South. In six Southern states there is no breakdown of segregation whatsoever. Yet, where is the voice of the American youth which rang out so eloquently in protest in the past? When is this year's demonstration going to be

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500,000 Workers Face Injunction — In Whose Interests is Ike Acting?

by George Fennel

As we go to press, the Federal Government has imposed an injunction on the Longshoremen and is preparing a similar fate for the Steelworkers.

The injunction was imposed, not under the new Landrum-Griffin Bill, but under the older Taft-Hartley Law. This law empowers the Federal Government to impose an 80-day "cooling-off period" on the union after going through the formality of setting up a fact finding board. During this period, while the men are back at work, the members of the union may be polled as to whether or not they will accept the last offer made by management.

Is this measure anti-labor as the trade union movement claims

or is it necessary for the public good as business claims? On the surface of it the bill seems to be a reasonable one needed to protect the public from strikes that could paralyze the economy or even threaten the health of the community. It is on this basis that many well-intentioned people, who may be pro-labor in other respects, are willing to go along with such measures.

ANTI-UNION BIAS

A closer analysis of this provision of the Taft-Hartley Law shows its basic anti-union bias. In order to achieve its praiseworthy end of protecting the public at large it penalizes only one side of the conflict—labor. For instance, when the workers are forced to go back to work they

must go back under the provisions of the old contract—that is under the provisions that they went on strike to change. Why not have the workers go back to work under the provisions of the last offer labor made to management?

Further, once back at work the union members are polled to see if they accept management's last offer. Why not poll them to see if they accept labor's last offer?

The 80-day "cooling off" period has another effect which is harmful to labor. It is calculated to soften up the workers by sending them back to work in a demoralizing manner and laying them open to all sorts of anti-union "scissor-bill" pressure. If a strike

is really hindering management to the point where it would be forced to settle on union terms then such an injunction may come just in time to prevent a pro-union settlement and bolster up business. Thus an injunction may in the long run actually prolong a strike rather than prevent one.

WHY NOT NATIONALIZE?

There is an alternative to the injunction in a situation where a prolonged strike is causing hardships for others. If the owners of the industry in question will not give the workers decent working conditions then they should no longer be allowed to run the industry. For the welfare of the people as a whole the industry should be nationalized.

It should be clear by now that

the Taft-Hartley Law is a piece of class legislation—that is it represents the interests of one class, the owners of industry, and hurts another class, the workers. The T-H Law is just one way in which the state is utilized, not in the interests of the "public," but in the interests of that small stratum of the population that owns and runs American industry.

Not only is the T-H Law class legislation but the Government by the way it is utilizing the law shows it is a class government. The Government has purposely allowed the steel strike to drag on to disipate the strength of the union and to use up the stock piles of steel that were on hand. They

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ON LOVE, ALIENATION AND SOCIALISM:

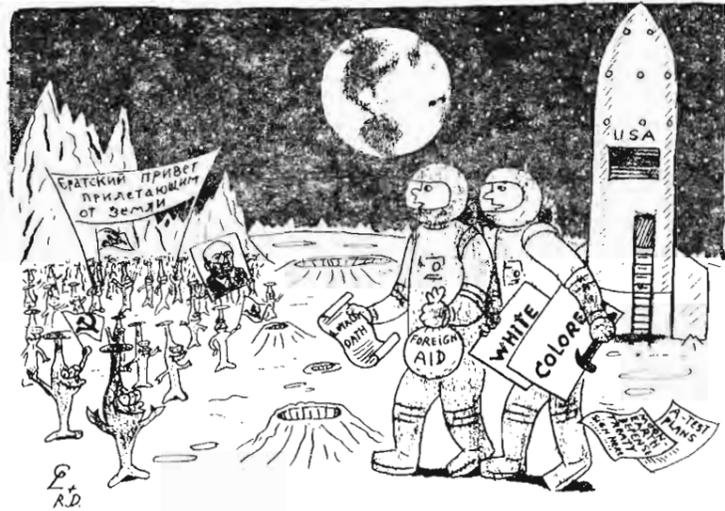
'It's Easy to Love a Man With Money'

by Carol Lawrence

"Why do you want to be a socialist? Socialists are all economic and emotional failures." This is the first thing my aunt said to me when I saw her recently for the first time in years. "Find yourself a nice young man who can support you comfortably and you can be happy the rest of your life," she continued. "It's just as easy to love a man with money." Once I got over my natural revulsion to such an idea, I thought to myself, "I probably could live better if I wanted, so why am I a socialist?"

I decided that the main reason I joined this movement is that I am an individualist and I want to see a world in which I and everyone else can express ourselves without worrying about financial insecurity or the danger of another war. One of the obvious ways in which modern life is lacking is that most people are deprived of any chance for individuality and are therefore really emotional failures. The slogan tacitly is conform or bust. My aunt honestly suggested that I alienate my emotions in a search for a rich husband just as we are all unconsciously urged to evaluate people in monetary terms.

Human understanding and individual talent play a very small role in America today except when they can be sold. Science used to be a field of the discovery of the world around us and the advancement of civilization. Now scientists are successful when they find better, more effective means of destroying mankind. Writers used to write to express themselves and to express the feelings of many people. Now they write to sell to Hollywood to make money and win fame, even Jack Kerouac. Women marry for



money and men marry for prestige, in many cases. These are the standards set for us by Madison Avenue and those who make money out of an inhuman world.

When you think about it, you can see that we have practically no control over our own lives. Our very grasp on the means of subsistence is dependent on the financial acumen of our employers. If they make a mistake or if the economy contracts, we may easily be laid off.

The conditions of work themselves are humiliating. First, to get a job, you have to dress, act and say as you think your prospective employer wants and not as you want. Once hired, you are working for someone else's benefit and usually under close supervision. In the work-a-day scramble it is very hard to escape forfeiting some of your feeling of pride and dignity, not to mention self-fulfillment. A doctor who makes money prescribing placebos to rich women, no less than a factory worker who has to take a dressing down from a bad-

tempered straw boss, is a victim of this society.

Along with finding themselves alienated from their labor, many people feel an extreme alienation in their lack of political control. It doesn't matter whom you vote for, the cold war is still carried on and anti-labor legislation passed.

I am a socialist because I refuse to be passive. In an immediate sense, I have no more control over my life than anyone else has. But I am fighting back. I am trying to build a world in which, collectively, we will all have control over our destinies—the only kind of world in which people generally can be emotionally and economically successful.

There is only way in which I feel I can be creative today and so only one way I can live fully because I am working for my own ends. This way is to join in the only struggle that now has meaning—the struggle for a socialist future—which in this atom-crazy world may well mean the struggle that we may have any future at all.

BOOKS AND IDEAS:

YS Publishes History of Socialist Youth

by Fred Mazelis

"Which Road for Socialist Youth (Reformism or Revolutionary Socialism)?" Editor, Tim Wohlforth; Shirley Waller: "History of the International Socialist Youth Movement to 1929." New York, N.Y.: Young Socialist, Box 471, Cooper Station, 1959. Price 50 cents each.

Two new bulletins have been added to the YOUNG SOCIALIST educational bulletin service which should be of lasting value and interest to young people interested in socialism. The "History of the International Socialist Youth Movement" is a vivid and detailed account of the revolutionary youth movements which developed and degenerated in the Social-Democracy and Communist Party. The second bulletin includes articles written by the Left Wing which split from the Young Socialist League two years ago repelled by that organization's mad dash to right-wing "respectable" politics. This bulletin gives the final chapter to the history of the degeneration of the revolutionary youth movement of the Second International discussed in the first bulletin.

Major sections of the history bulletin were originally prepared in 1946 and published by the Provisional Committee for a Socialist Youth League. These cover the development of social-democratic youth movements throughout Europe and the U.S. from their formation in the late 19th Century through the formation of the International Union of Socialist Youth in 1907, the role of revolutionary youth in World War I and finally in the formation of the Third International, now the

Communist Party. Tim Wohlforth, editor of the YS, summarizes the lessons of the period.

Covered in the second section of the bulletin is the first ten years of the Young Communist International (1919-1929).

The YCI was organized in 1919 as the new revolutionary youth movement following the collapse of the Second International and the formation of the Third International. The bulletin details the first years of the YCI and the organization of the Young Communist League in the United States. The history ends with an account of the degeneration of

the YCI when it began to be used as a factional tool by the adult Communist Party.

Many lessons can be drawn from the experience of the young communists in the 1920's. Readers of the bulletin will see the importance of political solidarity between the youth and the adult organization but at the same time, the need for youth independence organizationally. This is demonstrated by the revitalizing effect on the movement of the healthy organization of the YCI and later by the degeneration of the YCI as a result of poor party-youth relations and the loss of organizational independence.

All who are interested in socialism will want to add these unique documents, published only by the YOUNG SOCIALIST, to their libraries

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November, 1959

We're Glad K Came

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev came to the United States, saw, and in certain respects conquered.

Tens of millions of Americans got a first hand view, either in person or over TV, of the official representative of the first workers state. He shook up the imagination of an American public which had previously been smothered by the cynical propaganda of the cold war.

A rocket landed on the moon, Khrushchev landed in the U.S. and things will never be quite the same again.

For fourteen years the leaders of this country have been waging an unceasing cold war to make the world safe for capital investment. However, the onslaught of the colonial revolution and the phenomenal manifest growth of Soviet economy have inflicted a walloping setback to this madman diplomacy. While our cold war navigators are forced to veer and tack to find a new mooring for the cold war, the American people have an opportunity to see a clearer picture of the world than has been possible for a long time.

In the light of this, Khrushchev's total disarmament proposal has had an explosive impact. Whatever the views one might take of the proposition, the light is dawning in the minds of most Americans that the Soviet economy is crying for an end to the heavy armaments budget. It is in the interest of the Soviet Union to struggle for peace. The cold war lie that the Soviet Union is arming in order to conquer the world by force is no longer seriously considered.

But what about the U.S. economy? Can it stand peace? What would happen in Wall Street if the arms budget were slashed? While such a slash in the Soviet Union would most likely mean an almost immediate increase in the standard of living of the Russian people, the same act in the U.S. would result in a disastrous depression.

Through the looking-glass of the war budget the American people will glimpse the respective merits of capitalism and socialism.

Khrushchev had his greatest effect when he could speak in the name of the progressive Soviet economy. How much greater would have been his impact had he likewise been able to speak in the name of a flourishing workers democracy?

Moreover, we do not appreciate his painting of Eisenhower as one who is earnestly seeking peace. We have lived too long with our capitalist rulers to accept that. We have seen them organize the cold war abroad and the brain washing witch-hunt at home. We don't think they are undergoing a change of heart, only a change of strategy.

It is better to speak the truth, for such diplomacy only prepares a future defeat. The anti-capitalist forces in the world have forced the American imperialists into a stalemate. The invitation to Khrushchev was a concession to those forces that are earnestly seeking peace. Thus Khrushchev's visit is a symbol of a defeat for imperialism. That's why we're glad that he came.

Ten Years of New China

This fall the Chinese people celebrate the first ten years of their revolution. From the first land reforms to the rural people's communes it has developed as the most revolutionary and revolutionizing force in the colonial world.

However erratic its progress and capricious its leadership, the Chinese Revolution has drawn the support of socialists and anti-imperialist fighters of all countries. The assault on this revolution—the Korean War, diplomatic non-recognition, exclusion from the United Nations—is part of the greater war led by American capitalism against every progressive struggle in the world today.

One of the profound lessons of China's ten-year development from a weak and backward land to a world power is that socialistic property forms are not only suitable but vitally necessary for progress in backward countries as well as in modern industrial nations.

The Korean War forced the Mao regime to nationalize the means of production and operate them according to a plan. Foreign holdings were expropriated and a five-year plan was begun. Nationalized industry has finally taken over those sections of private industry that were fostered by the government in the early days.

In the countryside as well, capitalist methods have been junked for collective ones. The land was taken from innumerable brutal landlords by an elemental peasant revolution. While this freed the energies of the people, division of relatively scarce land amongst a large rural population proved incapable of both feeding the nation and providing for necessary capital accumulation. This became possible only with the mergers into cooperatives and then collectives of increasingly larger size. The rural people's communes are the latest stage of this development.

The future development of the Chinese Revolution—its speed and scope and very existence under the threat of imperialist war—depends upon the continued application of the creative energy of its working and farming classes. The struggle for workers democracy has already begun in the workers states. The Polish and Hungarian workers struggles indicate this. The advancement of workers democracy is the only safeguard of the gains made by the Chinese Revolution.

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U.S. Senate Fails to Strike Oath From 'Education' Bill

A measure toward academic freedom narrowly escaped support from the United States Senate, as its session neared closing, after a two-day debate. The Senate, however, upheld its previous stand that in order to gain financial help from the Government to study under the National Defense Education Act, a student must sign the non-Communist affidavit attached to it.

There was no debate among the legislators as to whether or not the education in this country means anything more than an investment in the Cold War against the Russians. Nor was there any question of raising the general educational level in America to abolish all illiteracy.

The majority of the objectors did not question the provision because of any strong sentiments for academic freedom, nor did they doubt the necessity of the other stipulation of the Act that all recipients must sign an oath pledging allegiance to the government and to the Constitution. They felt that the affidavit was ineffective and therefore, "unnecessary."

Protests to the bill and the non-Communist oath have been registered from almost every corner of American academic life since it was passed in 1958. The

protest began with the American Association of University Professors with 40,000 members. It was joined by faculty and student organizations on most major campuses in the country. The National Student Association then chimed in with Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Fleming in disclaiming the provision as unenforceable as they feel real "subversives" will sign it anyway.

After this storm of protests, the Senators decided to reconsider the question. Senator Jacob K. Javits (Rep. N.Y.) sponsored a motion to drop out the "loyalty" clause and leave the Act with only the oath of allegiance tacked onto it. This motion was originally approved by a vote of 46-45. The second vote resulted in sending the bill back to committee. Dale Long (Dem. La.) made the next motion to uphold the affidavit and this was carried by a vote of 49-42.

A few of the liberal Senators, who are supposed to have the largest representation in the body in twenty years, had some sincere liberal sentiments on the question. John Sherman Cooper (Rep. Ky.) wondered if the loyalty oath wasn't the result of a fundamental distrust of "the search for ideas and the search for truth."



Seamen march in New York City's Labor Day Parade of over 120,000 participants. This is the spirit Eisenhower is trying to crush with the Taft-Hartley injunction.

Labor . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

are now preparing to use the injunction just at the time when the steel companies want it used.

The New York TIMES, on Oct. 9 quotes one worker who certainly understood the way in which the government planned to act in the steel strike to aid the companies. Noting that the 80-day "cooling off period" would probably end around Christmas he states, "Coming at that time, I'm afraid we might have enough weak people who would vote even for this last company offer, but in a way who could blame them? When you have enough hungry children and these children also want a Christmas present, there's no telling what you might do."

It is not just the Eisenhower Administration that acts in this way as the servant of the big business interests in the country. The first president to use the T-H injunction provisions was "Labor's Friend" Harry S. Truman against a steel strike in 1947.

Earlier, FDR used an injunction backed up by a whopper of a fine against John L. Lewis during the war.

BUSINESS OFFENSIVE

This last year has seen a growing offensive on the part of business against labor. On August 29, for instance, the AFL-CIO News printed a long article under a five column banner head proclaiming "Class War Being Forced on U.S. Workers." We have been this in the rushing through Congress of the first anti-labor bill since the Taft-Hartley Act. We are now seeing it clearly in the showdown fight launched by business against the Steel Workers and against the Longshoremen.

A counter-offensive by labor must take into account the role played in the present struggle by the state. It is no longer possible to fight simply on the economic level. One must also struggle to replace a big business government with a labor government. It is only possible to wrest this power from business if labor organizes politically in its own name rather

than supporting candidates who then vote through anti-labor legislation.

In the meantime any successful labor struggle in the current period must have a leadership militant enough to defy the government injunction which aims at enslaving free labor in this country.

Our present labor leaders have grown soft during the period of prosperity and "labor-management peace." They represent the interests of a conservative bureaucracy which runs the unions and rest comfortably on the backs of the workers. They want to have nothing of class struggle and are truly shocked to find that their partners—big business—"are working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right" as Walter Reuther puts it.

We need a new militant leadership in the trade unions which can break with the "partners" who are now treading on labor and openly struggle against the state which is now so blatantly the tool of big business.

Trailblazing the U.S. for Socialism

by Daniel Freeman

BOSTON, Mass.—Did you realize that socialist literature is edible? Neither did anyone else, until two young socialists, possessing only a car and a stock of radical publications and books, started out on an experiment heretofore unattempted in the U.S.

Calling ourselves the Socialist Trailblazers, Jim Robertson and I are traveling from town to town throughout the East, relying for our sustenance solely on money from the literature we sell. After two weeks of pioneer trailblazing in New England we are still going strong, and hope to cover New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Ohio before the snow flies.

Except for the use of a car and the emphasis on the campus as a place of activity, the Trailblazers' tour reminds one of the days of Debs and Big Bill Haywood, when itinerant socialists would tour the country with a soapbox (for agitating) and literature (for

funds). The Trailblazers are selling subscriptions to the YOUNG SOCIALIST, the International Socialist Review, a theoretical Marxist quarterly, and the weekly newspaper, the Militant.

The first stop of the tour was New Haven, Conn. At Yale University, a few days of selling revealed that amidst the massive Gothic stonework and beneath the surface of Ivy League gentility, there is a lively intellectual curiosity and a number of radical-minded students.

A brief foray to Trinity College in Hartford brought seven subs, a big sale of some serious Marxist books, and much conversation with student socialists.

At Harvard the response to the tour has been likewise encouraging. With a lot of work still ahead in the Greater Boston area, the Trailblazers have sold 70 subscriptions, innumerable single copies of the publications, and a number of books and pamphlets.

Youth March . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

organized? How is the solidarity of youth in the North with Southern students in their struggle for full civil rights to be expressed? Where are the protests against the injustice and backwardness of American society in its suppression of the Negro?

In an interview with the YOUNG SOCIALIST, Mr. Rustin put forward the idea of a conference of all young people who would want to participate to decide for themselves what kind of action they might want to take. Such a conference would certainly be welcomed by all young people striving for progress in America. We urge Mr. Rustin and the body now debating the nature of the struggle for integration to bring this matter before the American youth who are to participate in it.

Such a conference demands preparation and organization as does a march itself. No such preparation has yet been made by the remaining Youth March Committee or any other body. No ap-

peal has been made for any help in the organization of any demonstration of youth. In short, the policy of the leaders of the fight against segregation is, "Wait for us to decide what you should do, but don't hold your breath waiting."

Can it be that these leaders are paling at the thought of any independent action in the midst of the forthcoming presidential election campaign? Are they perhaps fearful of treading on the toes of their "friends" in the two parties?

The only way to gain equal rights and status is to, carry through a serious, consistent struggle. Impetus and inspiration for this struggle lie with the youth with the Jefferson Thomases of Little Rock and the South, and with the youth marchers of the North and West. To give up the role of the youth in this movement is to give up the active ally Southern Negroes have in the North, risk dampening the spirit of those in the South who are continuing the struggle, and take the movement toward human progress back a long step.

LONDON LETTER:

A Young Worker Learns About the Labor Party

by Martin Thomas

LONDON—As a young worker, fresh from school with vague and immature ideas about socialism, I joined the local Labour Party Youth Section. I intended to ask questions about and discuss the various aspects of that party's program with as many people as possible.

The answers I received and the conclusions drawn from these discussions set me on a path which has given me a clearer understanding of what is.

Although to the ordinary observer, the British Labour Party may seem to stand for socialist ideals, a closer look will show that the opposite is in fact the case. The answers to my questions amazed and confused me. I found that the very leaders of the Labour Party are indeed champions of deceit and hypocrisy with a slovenly worship of comfortable seats in Westminster.

Countless numbers of petty careerists of middle-class origin and many small-minded trade union bureaucrats have absolutely riddled and poisoned this huge working-class organization. Their fear of socialism and workers' struggle has led them to a position where they have distorted and disgraced the teachings and history of the British Labour movement.

They pose as democratic socialists to hide the fact that they

loathe democracy and freedom of discussion and criticism in the Party. It is an undeniable fact that there are more knights and lords on the General Council of the British T.U.C. than in any other institution in the country. However, this parliamentary cretinism and collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its agents is having a profound and revolutionary effect on a broad stratum of the working class and especially with the youth. Movements around the opposition to H-bomb production and nuclear war, to the employers' growing attacks on trade union organization and against racist and fascist tendencies are carrying the fight into the Labour Party.

Many young members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have joined the Labour Party youth sections all over the country and are combining with young workers in calling on the leadership to show a lead in preventing nuclear suicide. The only response they received from the bureaucrats was a witch-hunt against socialists in the party who call for the application of many of the traditional points of the political program of the working class. The youth have suffered most from this red-baiting campaign because of their natural opposition from the left.

The Labour League of Youth, organized nationally, was disbanded in 1951 because of "con-

munist infiltration." This was especially a farce as the Communist Party in Britain does not join the Labour Party as a national policy. Despite this mass expulsion, youth sections have sprung up and are proceeding to merge and establish contact with each other even though this is forbidden by the official constitution. They publish a monthly newspaper, *Keep Left*, which expresses the ideas, discussions and differences of the vast majority of young people in the labour movement. Its readers hold discussions, educational classes, and demonstrations.

There is a rising tide of hope and militancy in the British Labour Party which if given correct leadership, can overcome all the problems and difficulties of the coming struggle for socialism in this country and which will surely prove to be the beginning of the world-wide realization of that single goal which humanity has moved towards since its dawn—a free and just society.

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POLITICS OF SENILITY—PART II:

Myth of the All-Inclusive Socialist Party

by Tim Wohlforth

(This is the second in a series of articles on "The Politics of Senility." The first article, which appeared in the October, 1959 YS, dealt with the social roots of modern reformism. The series as a whole will constitute a revolutionary socialist critique of modern reformist social thought.)

Man can control his destiny and in this manner survive only if he first comprehends the real world around him, including his own creation—society. For the first time in history modern man, who has made such great strides in understanding and controlling nature, has within his grasp the ability to understand his own society.

However, in a world still dominated by a decadent social system, which in its attempt to hold back the clock has hurled us into war again and again, there are many powerful pressures working against an objective understanding of society. These lead to the creation of mythology—myths which are as uncritically accepted as were the Grecian tales of Zeus and which contain about as much truth.

For instance let's take the popular myth of the "Free World" believed in as Gospel by most Americans whether liberal or conservative in inclination. This "Free World" which is valiantly struggling for "democracy" includes such tyrants as Chiang Kai Chek, Hitler's friend, Franco, our "good neighbor" Trujillo, and such recent creations of the U.S. State Department as South Korea and South Vietnam.

MYTHS OF RADICALS

American radicals, also, are not free from mythology. Those radicals who have made an accommodation with the status quo and who are not really interested in its overturn usually still cling to an ideology which calls for the overturn of capitalist society. They therefore resort to mythology to cover up this contradiction.

This use of mythology is seen most clearly in that area of socialist activity where ideas take form in action—that is the formation of a socialist organization in order to make possible the realization of socialist ideas concretely in the real world. In reference to socialist organization the modern American reformists, such as those who run the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), resort to the myths. On the one hand they create the Myth of the All-Inclusive Party as a cover for the real political nature of their own organization. On the other hand they conjure up the Ogre of the Vanguard Party in an attempt to frighten people away from those to the left of them.

ALL-INCLUSIVE MYTHOLOGY

The Myth of the All-Inclusive Party is simply an attempt to have your cake and eat it too. It works this way: the reformist seeks respectability: This he gains from membership in an organization run by truly respectable elements, who are acceptable to the powers that be because they do not threaten these powers.

However, many reformists who still cling to some sort of radical ideology are unable to openly and frankly support the status quo.

They therefore join a reformist party, allow the truly respectable elements to run it, continue to hold political positions that diverge from those officially adopted by the party and rationalize it all by stating that their party is all-inclusive.

The politically sophisticated reformist realizes that this conflict between his personal politics and those of the organization he belongs to can only be contained if no actions flow from his politics. As long as he does not struggle for his political line within the organization or carry on any action publicly which could threaten the respectability of the organization he will be tolerated.

IDEOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

However, the individual "left winger" within the social democratic party can not for long keep his own ideas even if he is willing to sacrifice putting these ideas into action. An idea which is not transformed into action or which is held by a person engaged in action which runs counter to the idea cannot remain unchanged for long. Slowly the rationalization process of the human mind gets to work and transforms the idea so that it conforms with the real actions of the individual. This process is known as ideological adaptation—in this case to the social democracy.

This is precisely what happened to the Shachtman group when they entered the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and its youth organization the YPSL. This has produced the present ludicrous situation where the "all-inclusive" youth group of the SP-SDF contains, by the admission of

all — only one tendency — the Shachtmanites; but as the Shachtmanites follow a policy of subordination to the SP-SDF leadership their politics are not expressed publicly by the YPSL.

The Shachtmanites have not only subordinated their politics to those of the right wing of the SP-SDF. They have also changed their politics so that they are more in conformity with the right wing social democratic politics. This is seen most vividly in their views on the electoral question. It was not too long ago that Shachtman's now-defunct organ, *Labor Action*, attacked the Socialist Party for giving up running candidates in elections. It pointed out that such a policy was part of an adaptation to work within the capitalist Democratic Party and a further sign of the political degeneration of the SP. Today Shachtman and his followers within the SP-SDF are the most vocal exponents of work within the Democratic Party and in fact carry the ball for the right wing in the fight against left-wingers on this question.

Thus our so-called all-inclusive party is really a one-tendency party, that of the right-wing reformists that control it. However, it is willing to tolerate others as long as they do not take their politics seriously by fighting for their ideas within the organization or expressing them strongly outside. Should they do either they will be expelled.

THE SP OF YORE

The reformists prop up their myth of the all-inclusive party by historical mythology much as did the Greeks (but nearly not as po-

etically). They conceive their new reformist sect as a reincarnation of the "Broad Debsian Party" of yore. It is true that in the very early days of the American Socialist Movement a rather broad spectrum of political views were included in the Socialist Party. However, no sooner did the organization begin to mature than the political differentiations became more severe.

The left wing became intolerable to the right wing and in 1912 the left wingers were expelled as "criminal syndicalists." With the expulsion of the left wing the organization began to decline so that by 1916 it had lost 35,000 members. The split in 1919, in which a right wing minority expelled the re-rallied left wing majority which then formed the Communist Party, was just the culmination of a process which was inevitable. Since that time the American Socialist Party has never been significant and has remained a reformist sect.

DEBS' CROWN

Thus the "Broad Debsian Party" was "broad" only during its earliest period of birth; once the political differentiation occurred it never recaptured this broadness. Further, it was "Debsian" in only a superficial way. Debs, who for all his weaknesses was a true revolutionist, was a figurehead. The real power in the organization was in the hands of the machine-type "sewer socialists."

For all those who claim to be "Debsians" in the SP-SDF and YPSL let them read his speech on the October revolution called "The Day of the People." He states: "Lenin and Trotsky were the men of the hour and under their fearless, incorruptible and uncompromising leadership the Russian proletariat had held the fort against the combined assaults of all ruling class powers of earth. It was a magnificent spectacle. It stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist and it challenges the admiration of all the world." He ends his ringing oratory with a statement that would be blasphemy in the SP-SDF of today: "From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am a Bolshevik, and proud of it."

There is, however, an even more fundamental and revealing way to look at the question of the all-inclusive party—and that is to look at the theory upon which it stands. Theoretically the all-inclusive party is the neutral party—that is a party which can contain within itself: the labor bureaucrat and the rank and file worker who fights the labor bureaucracy; the supporters of the U.S. State Department and the supporters of the working people and colonial peoples; those who serve the ruling class and the ruled. Not only is the neutral party a myth, i.e. it hasn't existed in history and cannot exist today, but should it exist it would be paralyzed from acting in the interests of the working people.

We need a party that is "partisan." We need a party that supports the rank and file trade unionist in his battle against the conservative union bureaucracy; that supports the working people and colonial peoples and clearly attacks the U.S. State Department; that, in summary, stands with the working class in their struggles against all their enemies and clearly exposes those who will betray them.

(Next Month: "The Ogre of the Vanguard Party")

WHERE WILL THEY PUT THEM?

NYC Police Round-up 400 Youths in J-D Scare

by Barbara Doritty

New York is faced with the problem—where to send its youthful misfits.

In a recent issue of the New York *World-Telegram and Sun* an article was headlined, "Ellis Island, on Our Doorstep, Called Good Site for Delinquents." It wasn't very long ago that this notorious island was used as a processing station for immigrants. Actually, the island is close to nowhere and if it is used for these young people it will not be a convenient workshop for young "delinquents," a few minutes by ferry from the Battery, but a teenage concentration camp, like Alcatraz—in the middle of the bay. Instead of working out elaborate plans for work camps and better job arrangements, it costs less and is much easier to send all of the "delinquents" to Ellis Island.

Sanity and money seem to be in the shortest supply while there is a surplus of rookie cops, statistics on "juvenile crime," mass arrests of teenagers, and too many statements that they're "punks, throw the book at them."

The latest furor about teenagers began on August 23 when a 15-year-old girl and a 14-year-old boy were killed in a gang battle on New York's Lower East Side. This was followed by another killing in a playground in "Hell's Kitchen." Recently in the Bronx a teenager was killed by a rival gang in a territorial dispute.

The "round-up" started and all teenagers suspected of being delinquents were picked up and booked as "undesirables." As re-

ported in the New York Times, "more than 400 youths have been arrested in the drive since September 1." The report continues, "The city's delinquency problem involves some 60,000 youths between the ages of 6 (!) through 20." There are about 150 street gangs with fighting potential in this city, according to the records.

Young people in every neighborhood of this city have been arrested (some convicted), talked at, told off, and some released.

SCAPE-GOATS

Authorities may not agree on what to do about delinquency, but they have agreed to put the major blame on Puerto Ricans. Any new immigrant minority makes a good scape-goat for the ills of the society, and in New York Puerto Ricans are used in this capacity to the utmost. In any case of doubt, the Puerto Rican youth is arrested. Just to be of

this minority is grounds for suspicion. Judge Liebowitz has even called for special restrictive legislation against Puerto Ricans.

State and city officials believe all lower income youth and especially Puerto Ricans to be hoodlums. A Catholic priest believes they have "murder in their hearts, or at least mayhem in their minds." They understand only force and "we must build more jails to house them if there are not enough."

What are these authorities planning to do about these problems? Recently the Mayor announced that the problem "is out of the hands of the social workers and in the lap of the police."

Governor Rockefeller has come up with some proposals: more work camps, increase job apprenticeships for teenagers, revision of the laws governing part-time work for teenagers. Unfortu-

nately, the greater part of his plans involve large sums of money and a few years before his proposals can be put into effect.

Even if all this were done, there would still be the problem of overcrowded schools. The problem is worse in the poorer areas of the city where students can only attend school for part of the day and these schools do not provide any activities for these students in their free time. Where will they go?

SOCIAL CONDITIONS?

What about the social conditions which form the breeding ground for juvenile delinquency; the landlords who reap huge profits from fire-trap tenements or the segregated neighborhoods and schools which are the physical properties and standard equipment of second-class citizenship?

If those officials who spend so much time agitating about "disorderly youth" spend a little time educating themselves on their own social order and correcting some of its mistakes and flaws, they would find that curbing juvenile crime would become much easier.

It is not enough as young socialists that we are struggling for a social order in which juvenile delinquency will be obliterated but that we give organized support in the fight for the basic rights that belong to young people—to be given a fair chance to grow up healthily. Parallel to this is the struggle against the barbarous methods used by the police, the capitalist press that convicts before a trial is held, and the authorities that deliberately withhold facts.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

We print the following club list as an aid for those interested in organized socialist activity:

BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, A Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd., LA 3-3703.
BERKELEY-OAKLAND: E. V. Debs Club, Young Socialist Alliance, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley.
BOSTON: Young Socialist Alliance, 1318 Commonwealth Ave., Apt. 7, Boston, 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.
NEW HAVEN: George Orwell Forum, Yale 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 2851 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.
OBERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College.
PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, Phelps, Apt. 4b, 3506 Powelton Ave.
PORTLAND, Ore.: Focus, Reed College.
SAN FRANCISCO: Young Socialist Alliance, 196-A Connecticut St., San Francisco.
TWIN CITIES: Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Leonard, 517 Ridgewood, MLPS, FE 6-4423.
TORONTO: Young Socialist Alliance, LE 6-8536.
TROY, Maine: John R. Paton, Troy, Me.
YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio: Socialist Discussion Club, Antioch College.