

House Committee Probes Festivals; Youth Fight Back

by Nora Roberts

House Un-American Activities Committee Chairman Francis Walter got his \$327,000 appropriation approved by Congress in a sneak play and put it to its first use—against young people—within five days. The witch-hunting committee subpoenaed five young New Yorkers to testify before it Feb. 2-5 in reference to their participation in World Youth Festivals.

In his first major attempt to launch a direct attack against youth, Walter had to cope with the very youthful vigor and enthusiasm for civil liberties he is trying to stifle. On February 3, the first day the subpoenaed youth were to testify, 150 young people came down from New York to picket the White House and announced their intentions of attending the hearings. The threat of 150 young people packing the hearing room and the responses of the witnesses apparently upset Walter so he cancelled the scheduled afternoon session of the hearings. A delegation from Oberlin College joined the New Yorkers in the picket line as well as several individuals from Philadelphia, Swarthmore College, and Baltimore.

CHARGE NAZI

The subpoenaed youth, Joanne Grant, Fred Jerome, Alan McGowan, Paul Robeson, Jr., and Jake Rosen, were faced with more than the usual "friendly witnesses." In addition to Herbert Philbrick and several others, the House Committee trotted out Andrew Ilyinsky, who was accused by the young people of being a former Nazi, an accusation not denied. These hearings proved to be unsuccessful for Walter as all five of the witnesses refused to give any information. The self-appointed "censor of American thought," however, has not stopped. He has already subpoenaed more young people and will conduct more inquisition-like hearings.

An ad hoc committee of Youth Against the Un-American Activities Committee was established in conjunction with the first hearings. It was this committee which organized the demonstration in Washington. This committee also, with the co-sponsorship of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Religious Freedom Committee, conducted a rally in New York January 31, attended by

approximately 300 young people. The group has shown its capacity to rally several hundred New York youth to take part in various activities.

Even wider support could have been rallied behind the Committee if the Committee had restricted its campaign to the defense of the witnesses and opposition to the Walter Committee. There exists a strong sentiment of opposition to encroachments on civil liberties among American students that could be brought to bear on the Un-American Committee through such a case which directly involves young people.

PEACE POINT

The Committee, however, chose to make peace its main point. On the picket line there were more posters with peace slogans than posters with slogans of opposition to Walter. While it is clear to socialists that the antics of the Un-American Activities Committee are aimed at those who oppose the State Department's cold war policies (see YS letter on page 2) this may not be so clear to non-socialist students. These students, however, can be mobilized in an all-out campaign on a strictly civil liberties basis.

It is the job of socialists to participate in such a campaign with liberal students without attempting to impose our views on other issues on the campaign. We, of course, reserve the right to express publicly our fuller analysis of the relation of this particular campaign to the broader struggle against American imperialism and hope that in the course of the action some of the liberal students can be won over to such a view. But to stamp a Youth Committee Against the Un-American Committee with such views at the beginning is to isolate the Committee from the very forces it should be mobilizing and thus hinder the

(Continued on Page 2)

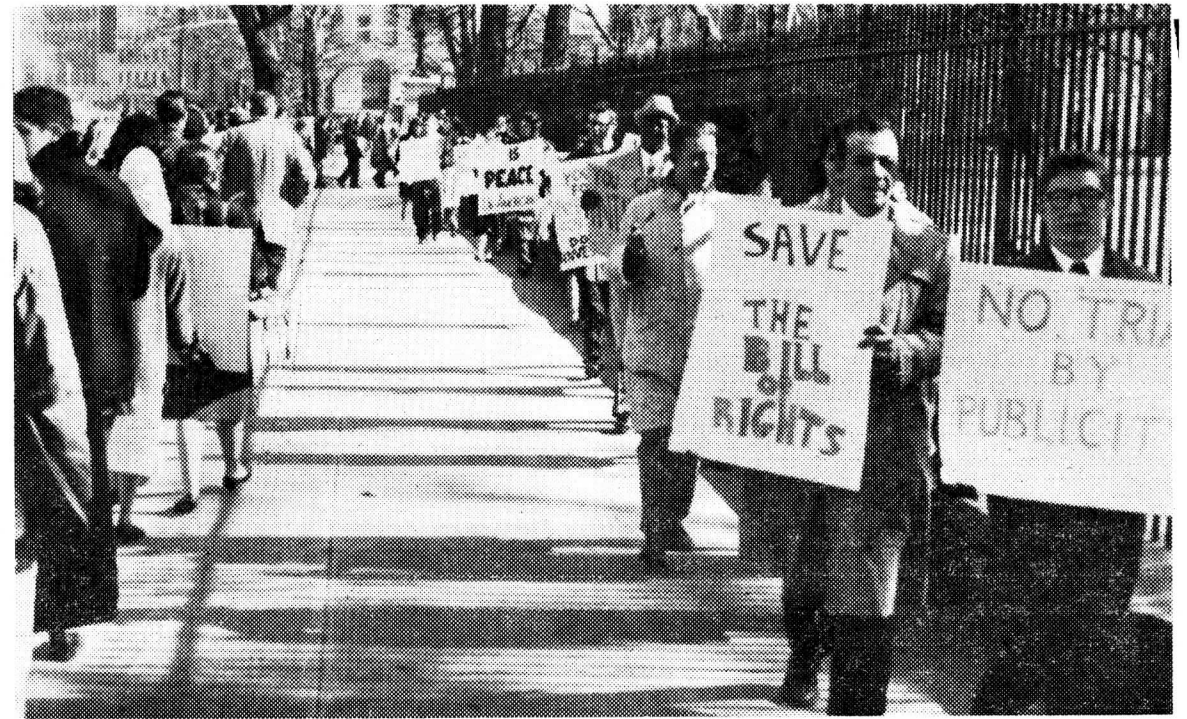
THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 3, No. 6

March, 1960



—Jack Arnold

AGAINST THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE: Over 150 young people demonstrated in front of the White House Feb. 3 in opposition to Rep. Walter's hearings on the World Youth Festivals. (See story left).

FRAT BOYS DUMP CANDIDATE:

Anti-Semitism Flares at U. of Wash.

by Dave Harris

LATE FLASH—As the YS goes to press, student pressure has brought victory in the Osterman case on two counts: 1) The Student Board of Control voted 7-1 with nine abstentions to seat Bruce Osterman as Freshman President, overruling the previous Judiciary Committee Decision.

2) President Odegard reported that the University had censured the fraternity whose pledges were responsible for the appearance of a swastika flag during the election parade.

SEATTLE—For the first time in the current anti-Semitic wave, an open organized attack on Jews has appeared on an American campus. With all the vigor of a Nazi squadron, University of Washington frat boys conducted a heated campaign against 18-year-old Bruce Osterman, a Jew running for freshman president.

Osterman was elected despite the brash anti-Semitic campaign of U. of W. Greeks. Immediately after the elections, the candidate was ousted, charged with "making an obscene gesture at the frat crowd, unbecoming a student officer."

The day before elections, Osterman was riding the back of his

electioneering truck, as is the University practice. When he reached fraternity row, a few people started hanging to the sides of his truck, making obscene gestures and remarks to him, but he kept his head. As he approached the Pi Phi house a segment of the crowd gathered there began to scream, "Eat it, Jew." Along with this chorus, a car bearing the Nazi swastika emblem swung into the parade in front of his truck. At about the same time someone threw a handful of fire-crackers at him with the cry, "Catch this, Jew." Then a swastika was smeared on the side of his truck.

It was then that Osterman made what was termed an "obscene gesture" of defiance in the direction of the hecklers.

FRATS FORGOT

At his hearing before the student judiciary committee, all the complaining witnesses remembered the gesture and all were concerned because it had been made in the presence of sorority girls. Somehow none of these fraternity boys could remember hearing any of the filthy racist comments hurled at the Freshman candidate.

Osterman was not running on an anti-fraternity platform, though he was the only non-frat member among the ten candidates. However, the mere fact that he is Jewish and not a frat candidate was enough to spark the vicious attack against him. This also

apparently influenced the student judiciary committee which suspended him and turned down his appeal for a new trial.

U. of Wash. President Charles E. Odegard issued a statement in which he said he would take no action in the case. As if from some ivory tower, the head of the University said in his statement: "I am encouraged by considerable testimony from many quarters that this campus actually has not experienced any serious development of anti-Semitic feeling. The University of Washington and its student body have seemed to be remarkably free of religious or racial intolerance."

STUDENTS OUTRAGED

The action of the fraternities and of the student judiciary committee has met with vigorous protest from a majority of the students on campus. A large scale petition drive was started. Some of the student groups hope to stage a mass rally. The University of Washington Daily expressed the feelings of these students in the editorial quoted below:

With what self righteousness do the patron saints of the Student Union Building have to decide what constitutes the basis for removal from office? And if they have the ability to make such a judgment then how could they reach such a decision without any apparent consideration for due provocation? How can they smear a young man for being human and completely ignore the narrow-minded street-screamers who yelled from out of the gutter—both literally and figuratively?

The student newspaper noted that from the scores of letters from students it received, only one supported the position of the frats. That letter was unsigned so the journal refused to print it.

The protests of Washington students can help stop the neo-Nazi disease spreading throughout the world before it infects more universities and colleges with the fever of anti-Semitism.

NEGROES FACE VIOLENCE:

Student Sit-ins Spread in South, NYC

Support is beginning to grow in the North for the Negro student sit-in movement that has been sweeping the South. The Student Council of CCNY in New York has led the way by laying plans for organizing mass student action in support of the Southern students' struggle. The Student Council action was in response to a petition signed by leading students of all political persuasions which was circulated by CCNY Sophomore Fred Mazelis.

As we go to press students on several other campuses throughout the North are considering similar actions.

In addition to the student action, four Woolworth stores have been picketed in New York and plans are being laid for further picketing in New York and in other cities. There seems to be a widespread sentiment that the

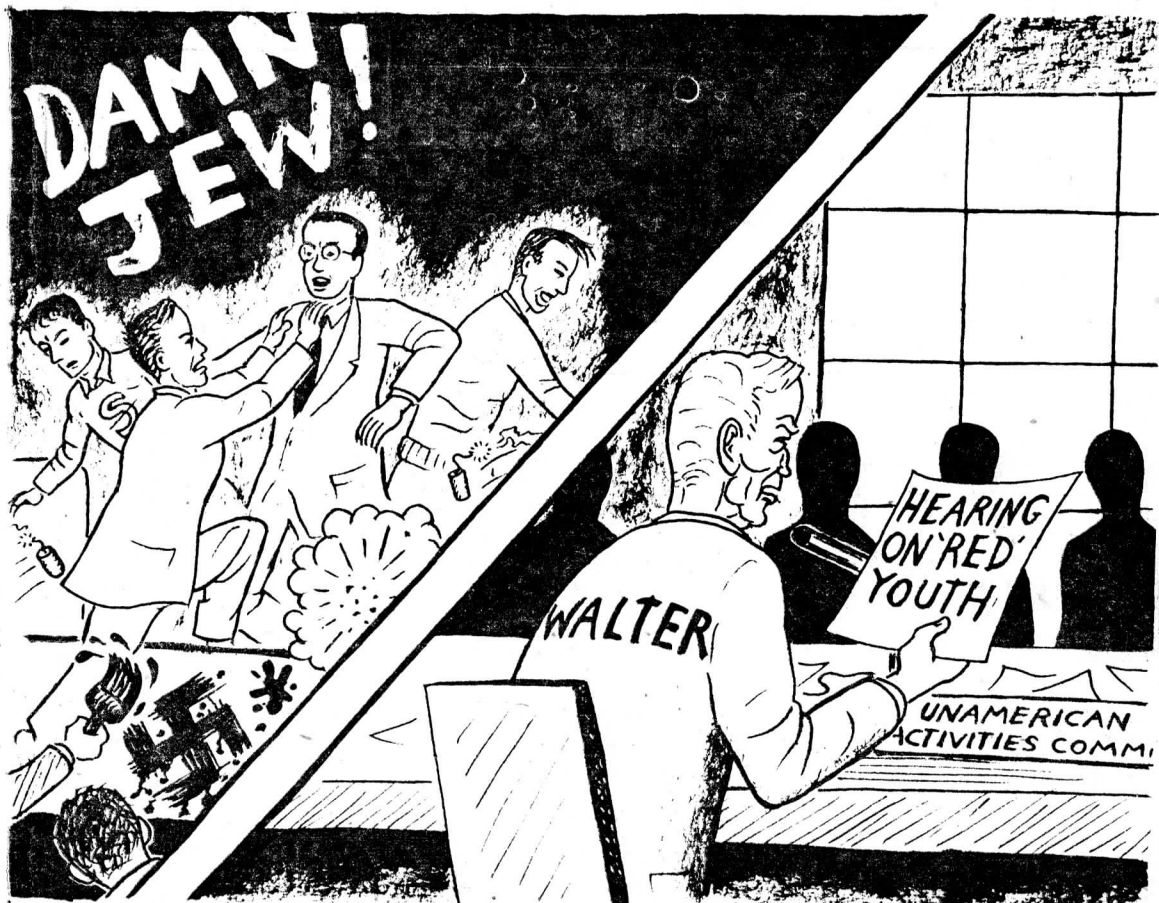
Negro students in the South should not be allowed to fight alone for integration in public eating places.

Negro student protest demonstrations against segregated lunch counters started in Greensboro, North Carolina, Feb. 2, and have spread through the South and into New York City. Negro college and high school students have been picketing and "sitting in" at lunch counters of two national chain stores, S. H. Kress and F. W. Woolworth, in nine cities in North Carolina, several towns in solid segregationist South Carolina, two in Virginia, one in Florida, and Nashville, Tenn. They have not yet been served.

Local stores in the South closed down the lunch counter sections to avoid serving the Negroes sitting there. Whites in some areas

have thrown eggs, beaten demonstrators, and threatened to hurl bombs in the stores if Negroes were served. The attitude of Southern officials in the face of these attacks can be summed up by the statement of Raleigh, N.C.'s Mayor William G. Enloe: "It is regrettable that some of our young Negro students would risk endangering Raleigh's friendly and cooperative race relations by seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but destined to fail."

If the students in the South are to win this fight against Jim Crow, they will need more support in the North. If Northern students can be mobilized to demonstrate their support for their Southern counterparts, another major battle in the struggle for racial equality will be well on its way to victory.



SEATTLE, WASHINGTON AND WASHINGTON, D. C.
"Making America Safe for Americans."

—George Payne

YS OPEN LETTER:

Walter, You Are the Real Subversive!

The following letter was sent to Francis Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, in protest of its current "investigation" of youth. Walter did not grant the "elementary democratic right" mentioned below.

We understand that you have subpoenaed a number of young people who have attended various World Youth Festivals to appear before your Committee on February 3. We formally request that this statement be read at this session and that it be entered into the Congressional Record. Since the alleged purpose of your Committee is to preserve democracy, we are sure you will grant this elementary democratic right.

We protest your action in subpoenaing these young people. We consider this action to be an unwarranted interference into the civil liberties of American youth. Its obvious aim is to intimidate young people so that they will fear to explore any ideas except those you consider to be "orthodox." We defend the rights of young people to explore all ideas, orthodox or unorthodox, to visit all countries and to attend any international gathering. Those who fear such freedoms are only admitting that they feel their own ideas cannot stand up in competition with other ideas.

Young people learn from their elders—and it is not always good things that they learn. Currently the world has seen an outbreak of anti-Semitic and fascist hooliganism unparalleled in recent times. Our country has been no exception to this trend—in fact, more incidents have occurred here than in any foreign land including Germany. The existence of such widespread anti-democratic sentiments among young people can be attributed largely to the legitimizing of anti-democratic procedures in the very heights of our government. The activities of your Committee in suppressing the civil liberties of those who hold radical views can be held at least partially responsible for the swastika painters, Jew haters, racists and others, who like yourself, wrap themselves in the American flag only to defile the principles upon which our country was formed. These monstrosities are your creation—a creation so heinous that we are sure you do not wish to claim parenthood. Luckily not all young people pattern themselves after you. To many American youth your Committee is anathema. They, like ourselves, wish for the speedy abolition of your Committee and all other tools of thought control that have sprung up in this country over the last ten years.

As young socialists we are quite well aware of

what your Committee really fears. Your Committee, its Senate counterpart, and men like the late Senator McCarthy, came into prominence in this country at a time when the United States was attempting to consolidate its power over the world—the time of the cold war. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who have no use for American domination, finding it no better than the domination of the old imperialist powers, have been struggling against the United States for the last ten years. This is the meaning of the Chinese Revolution, the Indochina war, the Korean "police action" the Algerian struggle for independence, and today the heroic battle of the Cuban people against American domination in Latin America. This is the meaning of the State Department's support of the dictators Franco, Trujillo, Chiang Kai Shek and scores of others throughout the world.

You will probably claim that all this has been necessary to "defend democracy" from the threat of authoritarian Russia. In truth it is U.S. bases that surround the Soviet bloc—not the other way around. As for your criticism of the lack of democracy in the Soviet countries, you are in no position to make such criticisms when you attempt on your own part to install thought control and subvert democratic rights here. Only those who defend democratic rights in the U.S. and oppose the United States' anti-democratic foreign policy can criticize the lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and be listened to as anything but hypocrites.

The truth of the reactionary role of the United States in the world had to be prevented from reaching the American people. This is why the witch-hunt began—and it began at precisely the moment the Cold War was initiated.

We are sure you will find the above unorthodox (that is, in this country—throughout the world it is your ideas that are unorthodox) and maybe even "subversive," but this opinion couldn't concern us less. We will continue expressing these views as long as we are able, for we believe in them. But, unlike yourself, we will also defend the rights of others who may hold different views to express them without fear of public pillory by the likes of you. May your Committee have a short life so that this can be the last letter we will ever have to write you. It has already lived far too long!

Editorial Board
YOUNG SOCIALIST

Youth Fight Un-Am. Probe of Festivals . . .

(Continued from Page 1)
civil liberties struggle.

A permanent youth committee, with a decision-making board responsible to the supporters, and with the aim of conducting a straight-forward civil liberties campaign, could gain the support of many liberal student groups as well as student governments.

There is a need to organize youth support for such cases as Pete Seeger's, who goes on trial in New York on March 21, for Lloyd Bar-enblatt, who will be released from Federal prison on April 16, as well as for those whom the Un-American Committee has recently subpoenaed. A permanent youth committee could organize such support

and stage demonstrations, rallies, or send petitions. The fact that the House Committee has just subpoenaed another young person, Marvin Markman, of City College, is a sign that the witch-hunters are going to continue. Therefore, they should have to confront the continuing organized resistance of youth.

Young Socialist

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March, 1960

The 1960 Elections

This Memorandum on the 1960 Elections is being introduced by the Editorial Board of the YS for consideration at the coming April conference of YOUNG SOCIALIST supporters (see Feb. YS). Basing themselves on the ideas in this memorandum, YSA's hope to send off an electioneering Trailblazing tour later in the year, to call for student participation in the coming elections, and to participate in the coming petition drives for socialist candidates.

American experience, past and present, has confirmed that, as in all other countries, political parties are organizations of economic classes and, in fact, are totally incomprehensible unless viewed primarily from this standpoint. Our principled opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties is based on their character as class parties of capitalism. This is demonstrated by the historic origins of these parties, the unflinching consistency of their policies in defense of the interests of the capitalist class, and the composition of their leading circles.

The pattern of history has shown that at one stage or another the working class feels impelled to organize itself into its own party. That this has not yet been the case in America only indicates that this step is still on the agenda of unfinished tasks. Disillusionment in the capitalist parties is already evident in significant sectors of the working class who see the "politicians" as the opponent on the picket line and in the government bodies. This growing disaffection plus the now accepted theory that labor must be in politics indicates that the historical trend in America likewise is toward an independent party of labor.

The first national conference of the supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST translated these general conceptions into the proposition that the duty of socialists to help the labor movement make its inevitable break with the Democratic Party by propagandizing for a Labor Party. Therefore, the conference rejected the policy of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation of supporting the Democratic Party. The conference saw as one of the most effective means for such education the support of independent socialist candidates in the elections against the capitalist politicians. The founding conference of the Young Socialist Alliance re-endorses this point of view.

Apart from these general considerations the 1960 elections have a special import to us.

Recent events (the steel strike, Griffin-Landrum-Kennedy bill) have disclosed that a significant break in class relations has taken place in this country. For over a decade the American capitalist class has been in a position to offer sufficient concessions to the American workers to forestall the independent political development of labor. The post war period, in the main, has been characterized by the spirit of class collaboration between the capitalists and the official leaders of the labor movement. It is now evident that the capitalist class feels that this situation cannot be maintained in the 1960's. The capitalists correctly surmise that they are facing such economic ills that there is no alternative except to attempt to cut their labor costs, i.e., the standard of living. This break in policy will undoubtedly result in a rising curve of class struggle in the decade to come.

While this new situation in American politics has not yet produced a mass break with the Democratic Party it has already prepared a more receptive audience for socialist education especially among the youth.

The 1960 elections thus provide a magnificent opportunity for socialists to reach, educate and prepare militant youth to play an indispensable role in the coming decade of class struggle. The Young Socialist Alliance is determined to participate in the 1960 elections to the full.

We commend the Socialist Workers Party for all of its efforts to encourage the broadest socialist intervention in the coming elections. We appreciate the boldness of their venture to field a presidential ticket against the candidates of capital. Theirs will be the only ticket for a Labor Party. We recognize that their campaign will provide us with an attractive mechanism to increase our influence on the American campus.

Therefore, we offer our support to the candidates of the SWP and pledge ourselves to work actively for the largest possible vote for socialism this November.

ZENGAKUREN AND THE LEFT:

Japanese Students Push Anti-War Action

by Toichi Kurihara

TOKYO—The anti-war campaign in which millions of Japanese people have taken part has made headlines throughout the world. Less well known is the nature of the movement which has led this campaign, and the opposition which the campaign engendered.

Rallies, demonstrations, strikes, and slowdowns occurred throughout the country on Nov. 27, 1959, with some 3,500,000 participating. These actions were aimed against the proposed U.S.-Japan mutual security pact, which was signed Jan. 19. The most publicized action of Nov. 27 was the demonstration in Tokyo.

About 50,000 demonstrators gathered around the Diet to present a petition against revision of the treaty. A heavy police cordon surrounded the Diet building in an attempt to prevent the demonstrators from presenting their petition to the legislators. At one point the surging crowd forced a break in the cordon, and about 20,000 unionists and students yelling anti-Kishi and anti-American slogans invaded the hallowed grounds of the Diet, reserved only for the august tread of the Emperor.

On the day that Premier Kishi was scheduled to leave for the U.S. to sign the treaty, Jan. 15, some 1,000 students were mobilized in an attempt to block his departure. About 10,000 police were required to disperse the crowd and arrest 78 student leaders. An expected demonstration upon the Premier's return did not occur.

THE LEADERS

Leading these demonstrations was a student movement, Zengakuren (National Federation of Students Self-Government Associations). Zengakuren has 300,000 members with as much as 10 per cent being mobilized in the various political campaigns. About half of Japan's college and university students are members.

Zengakuren, after a period of quiescence, has since 1956 exper-

enced a revival of militant activity. At first, it was led by the CP. In December 1958, most of the Communist students broke away from the CP and formed the "Communist League." This group, composed mainly of students, seems to have several hundred members and is in the leadership of the Zengakuren.

According to the New York Times of Jan. 17, "Japanese political analysts have described the ruling forces in the student organization as Trotskyist." Takeo Hayama, a Zengakuren leader, attacked the Japanese CP as having "no aspiration at all for revolution." He declared that Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence theory is wrong and we negate it. He is suppressing rising class struggles in Asia and Africa in the name of peaceful coexistence."—Ed.

The Government, the Liberal Democrats, the bourgeois press have greeted the demonstrators with torrents of abuse. The Minister of Education has urged the expulsion of students participating in the airport demonstrations. Bourgeois forces have raised the charge that the demonstrations were led by a "handful of fanatics" who did not have any support. The broad participation in the actions, especially the nationwide protest on Dec. 27, is enough of an answer to this charge.

Conservative forces have denounced the "illegality" of the action of the students who broke into the Diet grounds, disregarding the illegal and undemocratic action of the Government itself, which pushed through the Treaty in the face of widespread popular opposition and the criticisms of a

large minority (one-third) of the Diet. The Liberal-Democratic Kishi government attempted to prevent, by a huge police mobilization, a group of citizens from peacefully petitioning the Diet. Furthermore, Kishi has feared public opinion so greatly that he has never submitted the treaty to a popular vote.

USE LEFT SPLIT

Unfortunately, the disunity of the Left has been used as a strong point by the press to discredit the Zengakuren and the whole anti-war campaign. On the invasion of the Diet, SP and CP leaders, afraid of a clash between demonstrators and police, ordered demonstrators to disperse immediately; but in spite of this, 3,000 students remained about an hour. This caused the CP to join the bourgeois hue and cry, perhaps aggravated by the fact that several rank and file CPers disregarded their leaders' orders. The CP concentrated its efforts, not in attack of the government, but to attack and isolate the Zengakuren. It seems that "Trotskyism" has become the main enemy of the CP.

The SP, which helped to plan the demonstration, did not openly attack the Zengakuren; in fact, part of the SP supports it.

The later demonstration at the airport had been planned by the SP in December. The Zengakuren took this plan seriously and prepared. The CP, however, began a strong campaign against the plan. The SP, under pressure from the CP and through fear of clash, gave up this demonstration. Finally the only official sponsors of the demonstration were the Youth League of the SP and the Japanese Committee of the Fourth International, but many other people supported the action as individuals. The CP attacked it with all its means; the SP said that, while it did not agree with the action, it defended the right of the students involved.

Zengakuren is, it seems, Enemy Number One of the bourgeoisie, the CP, and the right-wing socialists. However, the left wing of the SP, and especially its Youth League, are sympathetic to it.

This means that in Japan a real proletarian anti-war struggle is quite possible. If this happens, the Socialist Party will play a major role. Because of the likelihood of various "local wars" in Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam, the Japanese people will be mobilized again and again in the campaign against war. The present process is only a beginning.

NEED LEADERSHIP

The fact that revolutionary socialists are so prominent in the anti-war campaign is no accident. Popular sentiment seems to be for carrying the campaign to its logical conclusion: a militant, mass working-class struggle against the capitalist rulers of Japan, who treat the workers and students as pawns in the deadly game of war. Although the Socialist and Communist Parties still command the allegiance of the majority of the Japanese working class, they are unable to give real leadership to the anti-war movement. As each necessary step in the struggle is taken, they either oppose it or vacillate. They fear that head-on conflict with the capitalist class which a successful struggle against war necessitates. Thus only a revolutionary party, which has no such fear, is capable of leading the struggle to a successful conclusion.

Protecting Your Loved Ones

Helpful Hints

by J. H. McGill

A gust of wind tore the scrap of paper from my hand and blew it down the street. A young man who'd been handing out leaflets on the corner set out in pursuit, and half a block away managed to trap the paper. When I caught up with him he handed me one of his pamphlets. "Facts about FALLOUT" I read, before hastily stuffing it in my pocket. "Very good," I smiled encouragingly. "I'm for you!"

What a dedicated person, I was thinking, as I took the pamphlet out to read in the subway. Standing out there in a stinging wet snowstorm to warn people of the dangers of nuclear bomb testing. Then I re-read the title of the pamphlet: "Facts About Fallout Protection." So I turned to the back page. Put out by the U.S. Government Printing Office, written by the Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization. Well, always good to know what the government is saying. I opened the pamphlet.

On the first page was a definition of Fallout: "Tiny pieces of dust and debris, which are made radioactive by nuclear explosions." On the third page the pamphlet explains that although the whole world is normally radioactive, only "large amounts" of radioactivity create a danger. "Hydrogen bomb explosions create large amounts of radioactive fallout," they point out, to those who may not yet be aware of this fact.

DRAMATIC WARNING

On page four comes the dramatic warning: though you are unlikely to ever feel or see the radioactive fall-out, "IT COULD KILL YOU!"

So what shall we do? Destroy all nuclear bombs and ban any further production? Take the power to begin a nuclear war out of the hands of the tiny group of men who actually have that power? Put an end to the social system which has permitted this insane state of affairs in which a handful of people can murder the vast majority of the human race?

Don't be silly—who do you think wrote this pamphlet, anyway?

The only step required of you to meet this danger is . . . protect yourself, and, of course, your loved ones. How? "A mass of material between you and the [radioactive] particles is needed for protection."

Ideally, you should build yourself (and your loved ones) an underground shelter, "with at least three feet of earth or sand above it." Two feet of concrete will do just as well. Plus an air filter, of course. But realist that it is, the Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization understands that not everybody possesses the means, and property, to build himself an underground shelter. "An ordinary house without basement probably would cut the radiation in half . . ." Pictured is a neat little frame house with semi-detached garage and lovely green lawn. Where is it located? Hope it's not in that four mile radius from where the bomb hit that constitutes the zone of total destruction according to some old and probably outmoded statistics. And how long will it take to die with only a 50 per cent dose of the "outdoor" radiation?

It's much better if you have a basement. Then you can build yourself (and your loved ones) a little nook out of sandbags and stock it with a two weeks' supply of water, precooked foods, fruit juices, battery operated light and radio, first aid kit, blankets, bedding and beds, stove for heat and cooking, containers for garbage

and human waste (that doesn't mean a wasted human or two who may arrive at your shelter too late) and of course a can opener and bottle opener. "Your family's favorite canned foods can be a morale lifter," the pamphlet advises. What wonderful possibilities for an advertising campaign. "Safeguard your family's mental stability . . . Fight low morale with Mother Cheerup's Boysenberry Syrups!"

BOOKS TO THE RESCUE

In case you have been so imprudent and irresponsible as to neglect to stock up on sandbags, and the need arises to put some "dense material between yourself and the fallout," you can, "in a pinch," use "stacks of books, magazines newspapers, or filing cabinets." However, the Office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization has no suggestions for just what literary matter should be put between yourself and the fallout.

But suppose you're out in the country when the nuclear attack comes. Don't worry, you haven't been forgotten. "A culvert that can be blocked off at the ends will furnish protection." Brightening the page is a little sketch of a woman kneeling at the opening of a culvert (in this case a family-sized tunnel passing under a roadway) and a man, presumably her husband because we don't want any immorality here, holding up a blanket which he will somehow hang over the entrance. (They must've been on a picnic). Of course, it may be a little damp in the culvert, but it's better than nothing, isn't it?

If you can't even find a culvert there is still hope. "A trench or ditch will protect you if it can be covered quickly with three feet of earth or other heavy materials."

Now wait a minute. If the ditch is covered with all this earth and stuff you won't be protected. What is necessary is that you be covered by three feet of earth or other heavy materials (stones will do if there's mud to fill the chinks). In other words, you must lie down in the ditch (with a two week supply of canned goods and fruit juice, not forgetting the can opener and your loved ones) and ask a passing samaritan to cover you over. Three feet of earth, please, not six. And roses to deaden the clods as they fall.

500 Frisco Marchers Protest Bomb Tests

by Ed Osaka

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 500 persons on Jan. 10 demonstrated their protests against continued testing of atomic weapons by marching double file through downtown San Francisco past the French Consulate and into Union Square.

The March was a general protest against the resumption of nuclear testing and a specific protest against 1) the bomb tests in North Africa, planned (and later carried out) by the French government, and 2) Eisenhower's rejection of the ban on atomic testing.

Although this demonstration was sponsored by a Unitarian group, many socialists and independent radicals participated, including Young Socialists.

While the political coloration of the March was pacifist—the preachers preached love and kindness and the U.N. song was sung—the increased participation of students and young workers indicated that youth is beginning to stir. Last year's rally drew 100 people; this year, 500; next year—maybe thousands.

B'klyn College Editor Loses Post After Attack on Administration

by Fred Mazelis

Once again the Brooklyn College administration has, by its attitudes and actions toward the student body, created a small storm of protest and publicity. President Gideonse and the other authorities have demonstrated their basic distrust of the students and their firm belief that the "Iron Fist" can solve any problems they are faced with in the running of their "political machine."

"Political machine" was one of the terms used by Harvey Fisher, a graduating senior at Brooklyn and an editorial board member of the Brooklyn Kingsman, in his description of how the College was run. Fisher devoted his "thirty" column to a scathing attack on the present state of affairs at Brooklyn. He wrote: ". . . fear runs through the bone marrow of our faculty." In explaining why many students might not understand his statements, he said: "You have not been threatened with suspension for writing a news story. You have not been told: 'I have my B.A.; you may never get yours.'" For his interest in student affairs, for his outspoken declaration of his opinions, the authorities willingly substantiated Fisher's charges—he was suspended from the editorial board of Kingsman.

After the suspension, Fisher stood by his column. However,

when Lucille Feldman, editor of Kingsman, was reprimanded for allowing the article to be published, she issued a sincere but pitiful apology. She gave a value judgment of Fisher's article (it was "unfair journalism") as sufficient reason for the action of the authorities. In an interview, Fisher told this reporter that he felt she was honest but he strongly disagreed with her.

Several letters to the N.Y. Post in the week following the suspension represent student opinion which was not formed by a reprimand. All of the students ask that their names be withheld. One writes: "Mr. Fisher's sentiments ARE representative of the opinions of those students aware of the situation." Another writer says: "I believe that a general investigation is necessary, one which would begin by examining the President's policies toward publications and the appointment of department chairmen. I have been taught concepts of freedom and ethics but I have found these are empty words. Indifference, ignorance and fear will continue at Brooklyn College."

The conclusion to be drawn from this entire incident is that the administration is relatively indifferent to adverse publicity and definitely hostile to free inquiry and student expression where it is not complimentary to the status quo.

A MODERN FARCE:

Has De Gaulle Saved France from Fascist Rebellion?

by Shane Mage

On May 13, 1958, a combination of Army officers and right-wing European residents seized control of Algeria. The insurrection of May 13 led directly to the overthrow of the Fourth French Republic. Charles de Gaulle took power as the "savior" of France.

On January 20, 1960, history seemed to be repeating itself. Newspaper headlines screamed of an "uprising" in Algiers, with the French Army units stationed there acting in complicity with the rioting armed civilians. But this time there was no Sixth Republic in the offing: the fearsome "colons" soon surrendered ignominiously. What had made the difference—de Gaulle's "personality," or something more serious, more fundamental?

The underlying context of the present tumultuous developments of French politics is that of the effort of the Fifth Republic to liquidate the crushing heritage left to it by its predecessor. The Fourth Republic collapsed because of its inability to end the Algerian war; the coup de grace was administered to it by a conspiracy of a disreputable combination of fascists, gangsters, army officers, and ambitious politicians (many of the conspirators fitting into several or all of these categories).

The de Gaulle regime from its very inception has been faced with the continuation of the Algerian war and a built-in conspiracy within itself. The "men of May 13," the representatives of the French "colons" who rule Algeria, have until now held positions of power on all levels of the state.

MUST END WAR

But the Fifth Republic must end the Algerian war, which costs France almost \$2 billion a year, blocking the further modernization of the French economy and military establishments, tying down the bulk of the French army, killing over 2,000 Frenchmen a year, and discrediting the de Gaulle regime in international politics. And it is equally clear that there is no military solution to be hoped for: the war can be ended only through negotiations with those in control of the armed struggle, the leaders of the "National Liberation Front" (FLN) who have formed the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" (GPRA).

De Gaulle, though he used the Algerian colons and their fascist friends to come to power, is not in the least bound to them. Under cover of "personal" rule, the Fifth Republic is the direct representative of the decisive sections of French capitalism. The Fourth Republic was ruled by a parliament made up of representatives of all the special interests within French capitalism—from the sugar-beet growers and moonshiners to the Algerian colons—who were very adept at rolling all

necessary logs to protect every special interest, no matter how backward or detrimental to the system as a whole.

De Gaulle, who has long been closely linked to the house of Rothschild, has formed an authoritarian and "technocratic" government in which the interests of the big banks and industrial corporations count for much more than the interests of small businessmen (whose representative, Antoine Pinay, was forced out of the government at the end of last year).

DE GAULLE AND THE COLONIES

De Gaulle's colonial policy, too, has been that of the "modern" sections of French capitalism. Well before his return to power, de Gaulle had openly advocated a "liberal" colonial policy. Today the great imperialist countries—England, France, Belgium, the U.S.—have understood that colonialism is an outlived, obsolete and dangerous political form, giving rise to revolutionary movements. They have fully grasped the fact that in the long run the Western powers can hold on to their present dependencies only in partnership with a native ruling class similarly interested in the preservation of capitalism. This partnership, of course, requires the political form of national independence: De Gaulle, since 1958, has laid the basis for the independence of France's entire African empire, from Mauretania to Madagascar. De Gaulle's Algeria policy can be understood only as an integral part of his general colonial policy.

But before this policy could be implemented de Gaulle had to get Algiers under control. The softening up process went through several stages. Immediately after taking power de Gaulle made a triumphal trip through Algeria, assured the "colons" that he had understood them ("Je vous ai compris"), echoed the slogan "Algerie Francaise," then staged the completely falsified "referendum" of Sept. 28 in which nearly 100



—L'Observateur (Paris)

"I do not see, for my part, any objection in principle to what the negotiations address themselves . . ."

per cent of the Algerian Moslems supposedly voted "Oui" to the French Constitution.

In November, 1958, having made major gestures to appease the Europeans of Algeria, de Gaulle turned to the FLN with an offer to negotiate "the peace of the brave." At that stage de Gaulle was not in sure enough command or under enough pressure to offer anything more definite, and although undercover negotiations took place (GPRA "Premier" Ferhat Abbas met French Foreign Minister Couvre de Murville in Lausanne, Switzerland) there was no end to the war.

FLN MANEUVER

Then on Sept. 16, 1959, de Gaulle made his key political move—the famous offer of "self-determination" to Algeria, followed on Nov. 10 by an appeal to the FLN leaders to come to Paris and negotiate the application of the self-determination. The response of the FLN was an acceptance "in principle" combined with a seeming rebuff—a negotiating committee was named consisting exclusively of prisoners in French jails! In reality, this response had no other objective than to give de Gaulle more time to get full control of the French administration in Algiers, for under no conceivable circumstances could the FLN name a genuine negotiating mission excluding its political leader Ferhat Abbas and its military chieftan Krim Belkacem.

In December two further developments fully set the stage for the denouement in Algeria. In a speech at St. Louis de Senegal, de Gaulle consecrated the independence of the federation of Mali, the former "French West Africa." Only 15 months had passed since Mali had gone from colonial

status to "internal autonomy"—and now it was to be independent! How long could anyone expect Algeria to lag behind the far more backward countries of tropical Africa? At the same time, in Tripoli, the FLN, after a three week meeting, reorganized its top leadership. Dropped were the leaders oriented toward Cairo or Peking—in full control remained the "Paris" and "Washington" factions.

MASSU THE IDIOT

De Gaulle could now move to the inevitable test of strength with Algiers. The decisive point was the semi-Fascist General Massu, military commander in Algiers, darling of the local "ultras"—and well known political idiot. It was not hard to organize Massu's downfall; de Gaulle's representatives in Algeria, Commander in Chief Challe and Special Delegate Delouvrier, told the correspondent of a German newspaper that Massu might have some interesting things to say that would be worth publishing. Massu, all unsuspecting, spoke his "mind," and soon the "Suddeutsche Zeitung" appeared quoting Massu as denouncing de Gaulle's self-determination policy and predicting that the Army would oppose any attempt to implement it. Before he knew what had hit him, Massu found himself under temporary arrest and whisked back to Paris.

The "uprising" that followed Massu's removal was no surprise to those members of de Gaulle's inner circle, who in the previous weeks, had been cited in the press as commenting on the desirability of "trouble" in Algiers in order to let de Gaulle take special powers (though he already had almost dictatorial powers) and put parli-

ament to sleep for a year (though it could not have been said to be very awake in the first place). No doubt by pure coincidence, this was exactly what de Gaulle did once the "uprising" had been squelched.

It is scarcely necessary to detail the events of Jan. 25-30. Though the paratroops of Algiers were openly sympathetic to the barricaded rioters and their fascist leaders, their sympathy remained passive, never approaching the level of a military coup. To heighten the theatrical effect, de Gaulle waited five days without taking any action. Then he ordered reliable troops into Algiers to replace the paratroop garrison, and the comedy was finished. After swearing to die to the last man for "Algerie Francaise," the "insurgents" surrendered meekly and ungloriously.

In a quick follow up some of the most notorious army fascists, notably colonels Begeard and Godard, were removed from their posts and French fascist leader Jacques Soustelle was fired from his cabinet job. Overall responsibility for Algeria was given to the new Minister of Armed Forces Pierre Messmer, who as High Commissioner in West Africa, had just proved his qualifications for the Algeria job by his preparation of the independence of Mali.

In sum, if May 13 represented at least a partial victory for the "ultras" of Algeria, on Jan. 20 they never had a chance—it was designed solely to consecrate their defeat. A N.Y. Times correspondent on Feb. 7 summed up the attitude of the Europeans of Algeria: "As far as self-determination was concerned they were sure they were already beaten."

At present there is a perspective of peace negotiations between de Gaulle and the FLN in the near future, most likely before the summit conference this spring. But this should be no cause for rejoicing, for the handshake will take place on the back of the working class forces of both France and Algeria. The "independence" gained by Ferhat Abbas cannot satisfy the Algerian masses, while the land and resources of their country remain in French hands. In France, the de Gaulle regime is likely to become even more authoritarian, to move still further to the right. Revolutionary socialists cannot give an iota of political support to de Gaulle or to the leaders of the FLN. The path to socialism in France lies in struggle against the authoritarian, corporatist, "strong state" of de Gaulle.

(Adequate documentary material on French politics is unfortunately not available in English. The above essay is largely based on facts exposed during the past several years in the periodicals La Verite, L'express, Le canard, Enchaîne, and France-Observateur).

YS Tops Fund Goal: Plans East, Midwest Tours

by Sherry Finer

Thanks to our numerous supporter clubs and subscribers the YOUNG SOCIALIST has concluded its winter fund drive successfully—and then some. While our goal was \$1,200 we crossed over the great divide and received \$1,355.23. The bulk of the \$1,200 was raised by our supporter clubs across the country with many additional contributions coming in from our subscribers. The response from our readers, more than double the previous figure, reflects graphically the growing interest in and support of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

As this paper reaches you, two YS speakers will be touring the country. Jim Roberston, a member of the Editorial Board of the YS, will be touring the East Coast, speaking on "The Genesis of Stalinism." This tour, his first through the East, will include Trinity College, Yale, Harvard, Brandeis, Boston University, Rutgers, Princeton, Swarthmore College, Brown University, St. John's College, and several engagements in Baltimore.

During March another Editorial Board member and the Acting National Secretary of the YS, Jim Lambrecht, will make a tour of various cities and colleges in the Midwest speaking on "Marxism and Human Freedom" and "The Impact of the Cold War on the American Campus."

Our comradely thanks to all those who joined with us in the successful completion of our fund drives, helping to make possible all these vitally necessary activities. With you, we look to the future with confidence.

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