

Japanese Students Loosen U. S. Grip In Anti-War Drive

by Tim Wohlforth

A few thousand Japanese students snake-dancing arm in arm through the streets of Tokyo chanting and singing the Internationale have forced a major defeat upon the world's most powerful H-bomb wielding capitalist power. The cancellation of Eisenhower's trip to Japan because of the mass agitation of the Japanese students and trade unionists is an event that will go down in the history of this tumultuous period as of far greater significance than the collapse of the summit talks (See article on page 8).

The whole episode is extremely revealing in its exposure of the real nature of American foreign policy and of the type of forces and methods of struggle which can slow up and eventually halt altogether the war drives of the American government.

The revised U.S.-Japanese Treaty has met with widespread opposition in almost every strata of the Japanese population because it will mean the continued occupation of Japan by U. S. troops through arrangements for

Kishi has refused, despite massive demonstrations throughout Japan involving literally millions of people and the opposition of the three and a half million strong Sohyo trade union federation, to hold new elections prior to the ratification of the treaty to see if the Japanese people really want this treaty. This refusal is itself enough evidence that the majority of the Japanese people oppose the treaty and that the U.S. through its puppet Kishi is forcing it down their throats.

In the forefront of virtually every demonstration against the Treaty has been the Zengakuren. This organization of more than 100,000 members represents the student bodies of all leading Japanese universities. The Japanese students, as verified by John D. Rockefeller IV (Life, June 20) are almost to a man, socialists and opposed to the domination of their country by American imperialism. **ZENGAKUREN'S LEADERSHIP**

Before the Zengakuren could take the lead of the movement against the treaty it had to go through an important political process. Its leadership was originally made up of members of the Communist Party of Japan. However, time and time again these young militants who were striving to be real Leninists came in conflict with the line of the CP leadership—a line of sacrificing the militant struggle of the workers and students of Japan in the vain hope of a deal between Russia and the capitalist countries. These young people broke from the Communist Party, attacking its policy of "peaceful coexistence" as class collaborationist and

(Continued on Page 3)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 3, No. 9

Summer, 1960



—Jack Arnold

CIVIL DEFENSE: Protesters jam New York's City Hall Park in the biggest demonstration during the nation-wide drill. 26 of these students were arrested, sentenced and sent to jail. (See story Page 7)

YSA Demonstrates Against Treaty

The Young Socialist Alliance has been the only organization in the U.S. to demonstrate in solidarity with the Zengakuren against the U.S.-Japan Treaty. YSAers from NYC, Philly and Baltimore picketed the White House in Washington, D.C. on Mon. June 20. Previously, Boston YSAers picketed the Japanese embassy there.

military bases, the stationing of bombers armed with nuclear weapons on Japanese soil and the involvement of Japan in the bellicose policies of the U.S. State Department for another ten years. This treaty was passed by Parliament at a time when all opposition parties were absent and in a way labeled as unconstitutional by the opposition. The main organizer of this move is Premier Kishi, a former politician of the Hirohito regime, who is considered by the Japanese people as a discredited puppet of the U.S.

Portrait of the New Campus Radical

by Peter Allan

Thousands of college and high school students all over the United States have inaugurated what appears to be a new era of mass action, by marching and rallying to protest segregated lunch counters, to defy the ghastly rigmarole of civil defense drills, to demonstrate against witch-hunting committees, against capital punishment, against ROTC, and to demand peace and disarmament. Unwilling to remain restricted by traditional and "legalistic" forms of protest, the students often pass beyond the timid limitations urged by "respectable" advisors who desire to contain the movement. Undaunted by cops, jails, beatings, and mob violence, the students picket, resist official attacks, undergo suspensions, imprisonment, and opprobrium—but they are not just demonstrating for show, they mean to win!

Beginning with the fearless and dramatic sit-in campaigns of the Southern Negro students this year, unusually large numbers of American youth have shown an amazing readiness to abandon side-line-squatting apathy and take joint, concerted action against the prevailing evils whose existence, far from being denied by the governing powers, is often cynically justified and defended by them as necessary in our society. In this turn to action, the young people in this country have no doubt been strongly influenced by a new

consciousness of their own potential effect upon national affairs, derived from the stirring examples of heroic student intervention in South Africa, South Korea, and Turkey.

In San Francisco, many of the youth who picketed the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings were also the ones who had walked on the picket lines against Woolworth's and against capital punishment. The last day of the hearings saw not only the largest demonstration in front of

City Hall since the 'thirties, but also a record turnout for the Woolworth picket line and the annual Peace March, with hundreds marching first on one line, then another, taking turns to make sure their feelings were registered in support of each cause.

FAMILIAR FACES

The young men and women who have been seeing one another in these protest actions are noting, first, that the same faces appear again and again in all the different battles and, second, that another set of familiar faces are always seen together on the opposite side as their bitter and ruthless antagonists. For the same reasons that the student activities of today find themselves waging so many major campaigns, they find ranged against them all the representatives, as it were, of the evils they seek to remove.

The racists are supported by the witch-hunters. These in turn are given loyal backing by the FBI and the Pentagon brass hats, who

(Continued on Page 5)

Democrat, Republican Candidates Rally to the Status Quo

by Nora Roberts

National Co-ordinator, Students for Dobbs and Weiss

The sound of music lilts through the air as the election campaign merry-go-round warms up for its 1960 whirl. The Democrats, Republicans, and liberals are singing the same old songs and combine with the backdrop of worn-out banners and flags to complete the old familiar carousel. Neither party has come up with anything new, but rather, they both seem to have shed a few coats of gloss and are even more crass in their campaigning this year than ever before.

The Republicans, going whole hog in their conservatism, are solidly pushing Vice-President Richard Nixon, the symbol of McCarthyism, the Cold War, and the intervention of big business in American politics. The only dissenting voice in that field seems to be that of New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller; no sym-

bol he, but big business itself.

The Democrats too, seem to have slipped over one notch in their range of Presidential hopefuls. Prospective candidates run from Dixiecrat Senators Symington and Johnson on the one hand to yesterday's "candidate of moderation" now posing as the most liberal, Adlai E. Stevenson on the other, with Senator John F. Kennedy, of Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin anti-labor fame, scampering about in the middle.

The left liberals, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party have already jumped on the Stevenson bandwagon. Not even waiting for the customary period of grace and holding on to a few principles before diving into the swamp of Democratic Party machine politics, they are now up to their ears in the muck. Well groomed in the art of supporting Stevenson, these forces jumped as soon as reveille was sounded.

The career of Stevenson as a Presidential candidate and the strange history of his support throughout the past eight years, which his constant supporters have all but forgotten, points up the unusualness of his liberal pose this year.

SAME CIRCLE

Both his 1952 and 1956 pre-convention cycles followed the same pattern. Both began with the most important step for an ambitious candidate, the fireside chats with the Dixiecrat machine bosses. Not until he had assured these holders of the Southern vote of his moderation on the question of civil rights, could Stevenson begin making the rounds of the Northern labor and liberal leaders. With the firm support of Sam Rayburn, the Governor of Mississippi, and the racist agitator Herman Talmadge in his back pocket, the Governor of Illinois returned home. Sporting a smile

for every voter, he went out to demonstrate his qualities as a candidate.

The one quality that Stevenson has demonstrated clearly over the years is his flexibility. At least one is rather amazed by the putty-like character of his public face and the facility with which he talks out of two sides of his over-exercised mouth at the same time.

For the liberals he displayed his learned airs and university tones and they became hypnotized by the odor of old law books and stale philosophy like a clot of alley cats following the scent of last week's sturgeon.

The Presidential hopeful then received rousing cheers in the circles of labor when he declared he would propose drastic changes in the Taft-Hartley bill. He came out with a clear stand four-square in favor of prosperity and better living conditions for all of man-

kind and for the good things in American life. And George Meany, John L. Lewis, and Walter Reuther queued up for seats on the bandwagon.

The next week he spoke to the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotarians, and the Democratic Business Men's Association where he expressed his puzzlement at "labor's enthusiasm for my candidacy." He quickly explained to the coupon clippers that while he was for drastic changes in the Taft-Hartley Bill, what he really meant was that these changes should be along anti-labor lines. He spoke for a "tighter wage freeze" and ended the sterling oratory with a rousing "No labor bosses are ever going to boss me."

Thus, the "man of moderation," "friend of labor," "safeguard of the cause of business," "man of peace," "firm fighter against Communism," "strong force with

(Continued on Page 6)

PUERTO RICAN STUDENT REPORTS:

Independence Group Defeats ROTC

by John Langrod

(John Langrod is an honor student at the University of Puerto Rico and an Executive Committee member of the Federation of University Students for Independence. He is a Representative of the Social Science Student Council.)

The latest struggle among the Puerto Rican students has centered around the question of compulsory ROTC which has been forced upon our students for many years. This has been more aggravating to Puerto Rican students than it is to American students because ROTC classes are conducted in English, a foreign language to Puerto Ricans.

The campaign to make ROTC voluntary was spearheaded by the FUPI (Federation of University Students for Independence), the organization that has always led the students in their struggles against colonial oppression. FUPI is a non partisan organization whose only requirement for membership is university attendance and belief in independence for Puerto Rico. FUPI's political orientation is progressive and anti-imperialist much like Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement. Individual views of the members range from Catholic Liberal to Socialist.

Our first step in the ROTC campaign was to distribute a leaflet which contained a quotation from The New York Times in which the Under Secretary of Defense says

that a land grant college, in order to receive federal funds, has to offer ROTC, but the decision of whether it be compulsory lies with the university authorities. Our leaflet ended with a call to the students to mobilize and fight for voluntary ROTC. This was followed up with a picket line and a petition campaign in which 5000 signatures were obtained with about 80 per cent of the ROTC cadets signing. At this stage the ROTC officials got worried and started to red bait the participants and try to prevent the cadets from signing. In this they were helped by the reactionary AUPE (University Statehood Society), which is a front for the Republican Party. All this was to no avail because the campaign snowballed and became completely non political.

During drills the students who wanted ROTC to be voluntary demonstrated in front of the Rector and the ROTC bigwigs with slogans such as "BOOKS, not ARMS," and they sang the Puerto Rican National Anthem, thus forcing the ROTC band to play it. In order to avoid these demonstrations all drills were suspended for the remainder of the semester. Some of the students, myself included, who were considered leaders in this campaign were called in by the Dean and given a dressing down. Another student, Juan Angel Silen, editor of the University newspaper UNIVERSIDAD, was asked to give the names of those participating in the cam-

paign, which he refused to do. He was also threatened with expulsion probably in reprisal for the strong line that his paper took against compulsory ROTC.

STUDENTS WIN

In our campaign we also had the support of the Student Council of the School of Social Science which approved unanimously a resolution backing voluntary ROTC. Finally after seeing this display of student courage and the impossibility of intimidating the participants, the Rector said that as of next year ROTC will be voluntary subject to the approval of the Academic Senate. The Rector added that he has always been planning to make ROTC voluntary and that his action was not due to student pressure.

The Puerto Rican youth and independence movement is far from dead, in fact, it is a real thorn in the side of the oppressors. It is essential that Americans of democratic spirit express their support of Puerto Rico's Independence. We must demand the immediate liberation of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, who is to Puerto Rico what George Washington is to the U.S., and of all the other political prisoners now held in Federal and Puerto Rican jails. Those who wish to make a monetary contribution for the aid of political prisoners may send it to Miss Juanita Ojeda, Calle Brumbaugh 1053, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

books and ideas:

The Capitalist Myth Explodes

by Sherry Finer

(William F. Warde, "The Long View of History," New York: Pioneer Publishers—Pioneer Pocket Library No. 8—1960, 64 pp., 35 cents.)

William F. Warde's pamphlet, "The Long View of History," offers a highly controversial and bold approach to history, past and future. It begins from the thesis that both in a biological and social sense, it is very necessary for us to understand from whence we came in order to appreciate where we are now and why. This is necessary so that we may have a scientific insight into the future and thus our role; how we may intervene in the social and economic forces which shape our destiny.

This pamphlet, written by a noted Marxist author and lecturer, is composed of two lectures originally delivered by Warde in 1955.

The lectures are entitled "How Humanity Climbed to Civilization" and "The Main Course of American History and its Next Stage." The author states his purpose in the lectures as follows: "I propose first to trace the main line of human development from our remote animal ancestors to the present when mankind has become lord of the earth but not yet master of his own creations, above all of his own social system. After that I will deal with the central course of evolution in that specific segment of society which occupies the bulk of North America and represents the most developed form of capitalist society." An ambitious task, Warde minces no words in completing it.

EXPLODES MYTH

All of us have been carefully taught that capitalism is the epitome of man's social development. It is this myth which Warde explodes. While we learn that man has passed through various economic forms which have resulted in capitalism, we are merely given the facts and not the reasons. Warde's main theme is an attack on the prevalent, carefully cultivated concept, that capitalism is the highest form of socio-economic development. This is a very necessary myth to the capitalist class because its preservation is dependent upon it.

Warde, in tracing the history of mankind, shows that man's development was one of collective activity rather than separatism. It is this very collective activity—that is, man acting as a social unit—which has enabled man to develop his productive forces. The Marxist concept is that while man's ability to act as a social-economic unit so distinctly separates him from animals, his social advance and development is dependent on and determined by the form of his productive relations.

"The mainspring of this progress comes from the improvement of the powers of production acquired along the way, and expanded in accordance with man's growing needs. By discovering and utilizing the diverse properties and resources of the world around him, man has gradually added to his abilities of producing the means of life. As these have developed, all his other social powers, the power of speech, of thought, of art and of science, have been enhanced."

The lectures point out that man has progressed biologically from the fish through an evolutionary process. As regards man's social development, using examples from American history, Warde notes: "What these crucial episodes in American history (notably the Revolutionary and Civil Wars) demonstrate is that, under conditions of class society, periods of gradual social evolution prepare the elements and forces for the revolutionary solution of the accumulated and unfinished problems of peoples and nations. Then this revolutionary clean-up in turn creates the basic premises for a new and higher stage of evolutionary progress. This alternation is demonstrated with exceptional clarity by American history in the 18th and 19th Centuries... Our national revolutions stemmed directly out of native conditions of development."

NEW FORCE

This brings us back to our initial point regarding the myth that capitalism is here to stay. In order for capitalism to have developed, to fulfill its purpose—the creation of surplus value and profit—it had to create a new social force. That force is the working class, a class of propertyless men and women who are completely alienated from the means of production. In creating the working class, capitalism developed a consequent set of social relations which operate to the detriment of the working class, detrimental to the point where the working class in its own interests—social, economic and political—perforce must react and revolt against its own creator. The working class is forced to replace this same capitalist system which not too long ago was a mighty leap forward as regards the social and productive relations of feudalism.

In the limited space of this review we can only outline the contents of this valuable pamphlet and deal briefly with a few of the author's points. In most heartily recommending it, we point out to our readers that in this election year, many people are contemplating whether there is any purpose in protesting. The instructive lessons in this pamphlet and ideas it calls forth will be especially timely.

Young Socialist

Martha Curti, Editor

Nora Roberts, Associate Editor

Sherry Finer, Business Manager

"A World to Win!"



SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year, \$5.50 for six months. BUNDLE rates: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone GR 5-9441. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

Official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance

Vol. 4, No. 9 (30)

401

May, 1960

Truth and Cuba

The current anti-Castro campaign of vilification in the press has had its effect. A large section of public opinion which was originally favorable to the Cuban Revolution has been won away to, if not outright opposition, then certainly skepticism towards the Cuban revolution.

The theme of the never-ending press barrage against Castro has centered around the charge that Castro has betrayed the original fine ideals of the revolution, that he is just another dictator and that in addition he is a puppet of the "International Communist Conspiracy."

If there existed in this country any vehicle for reaching a sizeable section of the population with an honest view of the Cuban developments these charges could be exposed for the hypocritical lies that they are. Many of us forget that America is in a rather strange position to criticize Castro for betraying the ideals of the Cuban Revolution. The U.S. never supported this Revolution in the first place. In fact the U.S. State Department and U.S. business interests in Cuba were a main prop to the old discredited Batista regime which the revolution overthrew.

If oppositional views were granted for a real hearing in this country people might also query the State Department's sensitivity to what it calls "dictatorship" in Cuba while it supports uncritically the dictatorial regimes of Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Franco in Spain, Salazar in Portugal, Chiang in Formosa and until they were dumped by the people, Rhee in South Korea and Menderes in Turkey.

Castro exposed this charge of the State Department with an interesting challenge. He pointed out that his regime had armed the workers, peasants, and students of Cuba because it had nothing to fear from the people. He challenged the U.S.-backed regime in the but such capitalistic democracies as Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela, Dominican Republic to arm the people there.

In this very concrete way Castro illustrated the real extent of democracy in Cuba. Only a government which feels that the working people and peasantry support its policies can afford to issue the people arms and to train them how to use them. In this real sense we can say that the Cuban government is far more representative of the people, and therefore more democratic, than not only Trujillo's regime, but such capitalistic democracies as Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela.

In fact one does not have to look very deep into the Cuban events before doubts occur as to whether America's attacks on Cuba are motivated by purely idealistic considerations. Castro's insistence that Cuba free itself from the economic and political domination of the U.S. State Department and U.S. business could have something to do with the U.S. Government's opposition to Castro which is echoed so faithfully by the press.

The charge of Communism against Castro is of course absurd. The Communist party of Cuba is a very small party completely discredited among the masses by its previous support to the Batista Government. In truth the Castro regime has outflanked the C.P. from the left. But Communism has become synonymous in the language of our government and its press with progress, and the control by the people of their country and its resources. Of this the Cuban Revolution is guilty as are one and one-half billion other people throughout the world who are moving towards economic and social betterment.

We do not wish to suggest that the Cuban Revolution is above criticism. As honest supporters of the Revolution, we socialists point out that Cuba, while making great strides forward, has just begun the process of social transformation. Before this process can be completed the present government will have to give way to the organization into democratic councils of the armed workers, peasants, and students who are the real base of the Revolution. As a step in this direction, the right to strike must be preserved, and the control of the workers militia must be clearly in the hands of the workers themselves. Such a workers and peasants government would carry still further the nationalization of industry and the spread of cooperative and collective ownership of the land by the peasantry. Such a development, rather than weakening the Cuban Revolution, would strengthen it still further and make Cuba the beacon light for the workers and peasants of all Latin American countries.

As American young socialists our immediate task is to defend the Cuban Revolution against the attack being leveled against it by our own government. We realize that the real purpose of the press barrage against Cuba is not to make the Cuban Revolution more effective but rather to prepare the public for its destruction through an American supported and financed counter-revolution such as that which overthrew the Arbenz government in Guatemala.

American youth must let the State Department know that they will not allow this to happen and will oppose any such imperialist move as determined as the Japanese youth have fought the attempts of their government to involve them in America's war policies.

Wisc. Students On Rights Day

by Saul Landau

MADISON — On May 17 more than 600 students marched, silently, single-file down State St. to the steps of the Capitol in commemoration of the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. The marchers assembled in front of the Capitol and were addressed by Governor Gaylord Nelson, Lt. Governor Phileo Nash, the president of the university and other political leaders. In addition telegrams of support were received from Ike, Nixon and all the Democratic hopefuls, save Lyndon Johnson.

The students carried signs demanding total integration NOW. They vowed to keep picketing Woolworth and other chain stores until lunch counters were integrated. The Human Relations Committee, which led the demonstration, will function through the summer school session and has made plans for the next academic year.

In addition to the support for the Southern Negroes the committee will begin a campaign against discrimination in Madison, especially in housing and employment.



MAY 17: New York Youth Committee for Integration officers present 10,000 boycott pledges to the chain's national headquarters on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's ruling. Student demonstrations occurred in several Northern cities, including Boston, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and even Toronto.

INTEGRATION ROUND-UP:

Protests Open Southern Lunch Counters

by Ruth Aaron

As a result of the militant campaigns of Negro students in the South joined by supporting movements in the North, many gains have been won in the fight against lunch-counter discrimination. However, the struggle against Jim Crow is far from over either in the North or in the South.

The major downtown stores of Nashville, Tenn., Winston-Salem and Salisbury, N.C., Dallas, San Antonio, Austin, Corpus Christi and Galveston, Texas and Baltimore, Md., opened their lunch counters with no loss of business reported. Some stores in other major Southern cities claim they are "working out an equitable arrangement." Those chains which closed their lunch counters during the beginning of the four-month old demonstrations, occasionally attempt to reopen them on a segregated basis but are met with the same kind of militant demonstrations.

Supporting movements in the North, while not at last winter's high level, still continue to picket Woolworth and other segregationist stores. New York City actors, taking a break from their fight with producers during Broadway's recent blackout, joined vacationing Southern students in a demonstration at the city's 44th Street store. Among them was Alabama's 1951 winner of the Miss America contest, Yolande Betbeze Fox.

BATTLE CONTINUES

Reports from Boston, Seattle, Berkeley, Milwaukee, and Toronto indicate college and high school youth in those areas are continuing regular picketing of local Woolworth stores. Other cities report that picketing is more sporadic than before, but is continuing none the less.

The Woolworth Co., meanwhile indicated it would maintain its "hands off" policy at its annual stockholders meeting in Watertown, N.Y. on May 19. The policy was clarified by president Robert C. Kirkwood in reply to Florida A. & M. coed Barbara Bruxton, who had served 48 days in a Florida jail for participating in a lunch counter demonstration. Miss Bruxton was allowed to make a two-minute plea to the 125 stockholders but was told, "It is hardly realistic to suppose that any one

company is influential enough suddenly to change the thinking in the South of people who have such deep-rooted convictions on segregation."

MARK ANNIVERSARY

This statement from the Woolworth president came just two days after the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. This anniversary was marked by students throughout the country in city-wide protests and Demonstration. The New York Youth Committee for Integration presented some 10,000 signatures to Woolworth's national headquarters at 233 Broadway on the anniversary. Some 65 Howard University students picketed the White House while Georgia highway patrolmen and Atlanta city police stopped 1,500 Negro students from staging an anti-segregation protest at the state Capitol. While police threatened the students with violence if they persisted in demonstrating their demands that the Supreme Court decision be upheld, E. L. Edwards, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., looked on.

Recognizing the danger that the victories won thus far in the lunch counter desegregation drive may slip away, such as happened after the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956, Southern student leaders have prepared plans for consolidation over the summer. As each student who was expelled from his university or arrested or who participated and gave leadership to the demonstrations last semester goes back to his home town, he becomes a teacher and organizer in the methods of fighting race hatred.

Only one incident marred the event. This was when certain de facto agents of the Witch Hunt in the form of YPSLs attacked a member of the YSA who was distributing leaflets nearby, forcing him to stop. In line with such censorship was the blatant refusal of the Chicago papers to carry one line on the demonstration, although all were informed and many had reporters present.

300 Chicagoans Stage May 17 Woolworth Picket

by Tom Dengler

CHICAGO — Tuesday, May 17 saw, according to adult observers, the finest youth demonstration which Chicago has seen in 20 years—if not in the absolute number of demonstrators, surely in the degree of their enthusiasm. Some 300 young people gathered for the rally and picketing, organized by the Chicago Youth Committee for Civil Rights.

The crowd was addressed by Rudolph Guy, a leader of the mass withdrawal at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La. and Frank London Brown, author of the novel, "Trumbull Park." At 5:00 the meeting adjourned with the singing of "John Brown's Body" and the bulk of the crowd fell into double file for a march around the loop to a mass picket of a downtown Woolworth's.

It was a sight to see—a procession stretching double file for three blocks, chanting and singing with signs held high. It made an impression which nobody could ignore.

In front of Woolworth's, we covered the sidewalk four abreast and the police had to make a cordon in front of the store to let pedestrians pass in single file. There was continual chanting and singing which rose above the noise of the traffic.

The members of the YSA who participated in organizing this demonstration are determined to do all in their power to make such demonstrations the norm in Chicago instead of the exception.

Japan . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

charging that the USSR was attempting to subordinate the interests of the world working class to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

This ex-CP group, known as the Communist League, is presently the main influence in Zengakuren. In addition, another group in the Zengakuren leadership, the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League, has declared itself in favor of Trotskyism and has solidarized itself with the Socialist Labour League in England and the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. This group, made up originally entirely of students, is now seeking to build revolutionary socialist forces in the trade union movement as well as in the student movement so as to link these two forces into a party capable of bringing socialism to Japan.

MOSCOW GOLD?

Incidentally, this brief description of the real political nature of the Zengakuren puts the lie to the charges in the U.S. press that the demonstrations were organized from the Kremlin and paid for with Moscow gold. Even the staid New York Times repeated this lie. Keep this in mind the next time you read your daily paper.

The Zengakuren did not carry on the struggle alone. Its effectiveness was immeasurably increased by the involvement of hundreds of thousands of workers without whose support the students would have been isolated. Unity was forged in action between these two groups—the most revolutionary in modern society.

By shaking America's grip on Japan as a base for launching nuclear war on Russia and China these Japanese students and workers did far more to stave off war than Summit Conference talk shops could have done. The Japanese socialists have showed us the way to fight against war. Above all, the growth of a real Marxist leadership in the most advanced capitalist country of all Asia is among the most significant advances of the world workers movement since World War II.

CORRECTION

Ron and Alice Radosh are not supporters of Students for Dobbs and Weiss, as reported in the May YS.

Seattle Sees Sudden Picket Line Growth

by Jody Collins

SEATTLE, Wash. — Militant picketing of Seattle's Woolworth stores continues to grow. The Seattle Youth Committee for Integration has held eight picket lines on successive Saturdays starting April 16. On May 17, the sixth anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court integration decision, the Youth Committee held a picket line in front of the downtown Woolworth store between noon and 5:30 p.m. That same evening the committee participated in a mass rally sponsored by the Baptist Ministers Conference.

At the evening rally the Youth Committee received praise for its organizing and picketing action against the discriminatory Jim Crow practices of Woolworth's.

The Committee has over 125 members, 95 per cent of whom picket. The line averages about 40 at one time, but up to 80 at others. The committee consists of Negro and white, University of Washington students, working youth, students from Garfield, Ballard and Franklin high schools, and adult supporters.

After the May 17 rally the youth committee held a meeting at which the question was discussed of continuing as an independent organization or dissolving the



SEATTLE: Univ. of Wash. students picket a downtown Woolworth.

committee and merging with the NAACP. Arlon Tussing of the Young Peoples Socialist League presented the main arguments in favor of the latter proposal. John Severn of the Young Socialist Alliance presented the resolution in favor of the independent organization. In the final vote on this question the independence position received no opposition, with Arlon Tussing abstaining as he

knew he'd lost. The motion as passed by the body contained the following statement: "These two qualities: militancy and organizational independence, are the best features of our organization; and they are interdependent. As long as we remain independent, we can continue to attract those youth who want an organization in which they can stand up and defend fundamental human rights."

British Mob Trafalgar Sq.; Form Youth Group in BLP

British youth are not to be outdone by their counterparts in other lands. In recent months they have participated in the Third Aldermaston March, the largest demonstration in England since V-E Day in 1945; the strike of 60,000 apprentices in Glasgow; and the demonstrations against racial oppression in South Africa.

As a result of these struggles, the socialist youth movement is growing. For the first time since 1955, the British Labor Party has established a national youth organization, known as the Young Socialists. The previous BLP youth group, known as the Labor League of Youth, was dissolved by the party in 1955. This group, having maintained a position somewhat to the left of the party, proved too much of a hindrance to the swift rightward flight of the conservative BLP bureaucrats; this was the real reason why it was dissolved and youth activity relegated to the local branches.

Control by the party is built into the structure of the present Young Socialists. Its National Executive Committee is chosen, not by a national conference, but by regional groups. The party will have its representatives on all local, regional and national bodies of the organization.

Keep Left, a newspaper for left-wing Labor Party youth, has the following to say: "Keep Left welcomes the new national Young Socialist movement. We believe that there are many working youth who will see the need for such a movement as they become involved in struggles with the employers. It is up to the active members of the new movement to see that the promises of Transport House are kept; that socialist propaganda is made by the movement and that as in the past the youth of the Labor Party introduces socialist politics into the discussions of the Labor movement as a whole."

Almost as if to underline this statement, the same issue of Keep Left carries on its front page the following headline: "WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM . . . Gaitskell Retreats." The article that follows launches an attack on Gaitskell, leader of the BLP, for liberal instead of socialist politics. "Mr. Gaitskell's determination to remove from the constitution the clause relating to the 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange' (known as Clause Four) has at last brought into the open the real politics of the right wing."

ALDERMASTON MARCH

While the Labor bureaucrats of the BLP right wing continue to move right the opposite trend can be observed on the part of British youth. For example, the Aldermaston March against nuclear tests culminated Easter Sunday in a rally of 100,000 in Trafalgar Square. Setting the tone for this march were young people—students from Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, Young Socialist branches and students from many foreign universities including the University of California.

Despite the mammoth demonstration, however, the number of deadly missiles has not decreased. KEEP LEFT points out that the type of activity conducted by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which organized the Aldermaston March, is not sufficient to stop the threat of war. CND concentrates on futile attempts to convince the capitalist statesmen to abandon the bomb. Rather, it should "encourage its members



ALDERMASTON: Nearly 100,000 Britishers protest nuclear weapons in their march to London. British Labor Party Young Socialists, some bearing 'Keep Left' banners, form a sizeable section of the march.

and supporters to fight for socialism in Great Britain," KEEP LEFT comments. The workers and colonial people are the really effective forces for peace, for in struggling for their own demands they weaken the ability of the capitalist class to wage war.

Young Britishers are active also in the trade union field. Unlike the United States, where the apprentice system is almost extinct, England's industries organize young workers by the thousands as apprentices. On February 24 of this year 6,000 Glasgow apprentices staged a half-day token strike in support of their demands for higher wages. On April 20 the apprentices held another token work stoppage. After the employers suspended the apprentices who had participated in the stop-

page, the strike spread rapidly to neighboring areas, involving in all 60,000 engineering and shipyard apprentices and journeymen. After a month on strike, the apprentices were forced to return to work because the adult union refused to back the strike officially.

WITCHHUNT OF THE LEFT

Perhaps the most important struggle that the militant youth around Keep Left are conducting today is the job of removing the present Labor Party bureaucrats and replacing them with principled fighting leaders who will struggle for the socialist principles on which the BLP was founded. It is the principled fight which infuriates the Labor Party bureaucrats, the conservative trade union officials, the employers and the commercial press. The Social-

ist Labor League, formed in 1959 from the Trotskyist movement and a section of dissident Communist, has for several months been the victim, along with Keep Left, of a vicious witchhunt from all these sources. Membership in the SLL has been made grounds for expulsion from the Labor Party. A number of Young Socialist branches have come out against all bans and proscriptions against militant sections of the labor movement.

At its founding conference in April, 1960, the Young Socialist Alliance sent greetings to the Socialist Labor League and KEEP LEFT, expressing firm support of their struggles for a more militant Labor Party and a socialist Britain.

BAY AREA REPORT:

'This is the Year for Youth Demonstrations'

by Jim Petras

BERKELEY, Calif. — A new period is opening up in the Bay Area. Almost every day plans are being made, almost every week a demonstration takes place with sometimes scores of young people, sometimes hundreds—sometimes thousands. No one goes about, now, wailing that all the good causes were used up in the thirties.

The past few months have seen thousands of students and youth engaged in one cause after another; peace marches, the Chessman demonstrations against capital punishment, sit-in support picketing for weeks on end, and finally that profound and deep-felt Un-American Activities protest demonstration. It is easy to list these activities, but it is difficult to convey in words the new feeling of militancy which has got hold of a whole generation of students—students who previously were not "political."

Even last year, students were getting restless. There were protests against compulsory ROTC and the election of an anti-fraternity student body president at the University of Cal. at Berkeley. Then this fall the President of the University, Clark Kerr, issued his now infamous directives, prohibiting the Student Government from taking any stands on so-called "off-campus" issues. This was a direct attack against students interested in any community, national or international issues. Immediately hundreds of students from all the Cal campuses protested: some picketed the administration buildings, others

gathered petitions. The idea of an independent, anti-frat student political party such as Slate spread to Los Angeles, San Jose and other schools. Simultaneously students organized themselves to fight compulsory ROTC. Thousands of signatures were collected and one student went on a protest hunger strike. The President, the Regents, the Governor decided to "re-study" the issue.

The response of the students to the Kerr directives and ROTC was immediate anger and frustration; they were being cheated of their rights to self government (and being lied to in pompous euphemistic language), and they could not find an effective means of countering these dictatorial edicts. What the Kerr directives did in the last analysis was shut off another avenue of student expression. As one student put it, "They talk about student apathy, and when you try to do something they ram 'apathy' back down your throat!"

KERR FAILS TEST

Finally, the Executive Committee of the student government decided to put the Kerr directives to a test by deliberately violating them. On May 2, the committee took a stand on an "off-campus" issue—academic freedom. Its resolution condemned the University of Illinois action in dismissing Leo F. Koch, a professor who had advocated premarital sexual relations. Immediately an Administration official declared the resolution a "direct violation" of the Directives, and Chancellor Seaborg and President Kerr then voided the resolution.

Soon after this, the Regents of the University of California passed a resolution which will probably result in Student Government becoming a "voluntary membership" association. The administration thereby hopes to put Student Government in the hands of the fraternity group.

At the same time came the historic sit-in movement in the south. Students from San Francisco State and City Colleges and other Bay Area colleges met and organized a demonstration in which over 400 people participated. In Oakland, students, mostly Negroes from the high schools and Oakland City College, picketed. At the U of Cal at Berkeley, students were able to form a committee to raise money for scholarships for Negroes penalized in the southern sit-ins. Students interested in picketing were then urged to participate in the picket lines organized by an "off-campus" CORE group. The picketing in the Bay Area and much more important, the struggle of the Negro students in the South had a far-reaching impact on the previously uncommitted students. An unusually large crowd jammed a Berkeley campus hall to hear one of the leading southern Negro students speak.

Shortly after picketing of Woolworth's and Kress' began, students from San Francisco State and City Colleges and the U of Cal started collecting petitions to save Caryl Chessman. "Save Chessman and End Capital Punishment" became the rallying cry for hundreds of students. On Sunday, May 1, one day before Chessman's execution, 100 students from six campuses

and 30 students from high schools marched over 15 miles to San Quentin. At San Quentin thousands of people participated in the protest for a whole day. Students were picketing the Governor's mansion in Sacramento. At 11 o'clock at night, the line of 200 had dwindled considerably. A call for help was made at San Quentin. Dozens of students got up and drove 80 miles. The picket line grew to over 80 people. This picket line which kept on throughout the night, was made up almost entirely of students. Many had made the march from San Francisco to San Quentin, yet they were ready to picket all night.

At 10 o'clock Monday morning, Chessman was to die. At 10 minutes to 10, students stood before the prison gates horrified and frustrated; they could do nothing to stop this murder by the State. A press car drove up the driveway; the press had lied incessantly in its coverage of the Chessman case and of the demonstrators. The students lay on the ground in front of the car. Police came and dragged the students across the street, heads bouncing on the pavement. Chessman was murdered, but the bitter memories and experiences remained with the students.

BUTCHER'S BANQUET

General deGaulle came to San Francisco and the State Department rolled out the red carpet for the butcher of Algiers. Over 60 Afro-Asian students and Young Socialists protested his arrival and a subsequent banquet held in his honor.

Picketing and issuing a leaflet, African students and Bay area youth carried a coffin symbolizing

a funeral march to the English consulate to protest the massacre of Negroes in South Africa. The police stood by, watching.

Then the Un-American Activities Committee came to town. (See story page 7.)

While 5,000 people, mostly students, protested the Un-American Activities Committee, 1,500 people joined a Little Summit Peace March climaxing in a rally at San Francisco's Union Square where 3,000 gathered to hear speakers for peace.

Meanwhile, students still protest outside San Quentin with each new execution and young people continue to picket Woolworth and Kress stores in sympathy with the Southern Negro struggles.

It is not so much the number of actions, but the number of people who have participated and the militant spirit they have shown which suggests that the 1960's will be a decade of mass action. On the other hand, the authorities, i.e. the school administrations, the Police, the Un-American Activities committees, etc. show signs of trying to crack down on any and all attempts by young people for free expression. A certain "polarization" is taking place; one is either for or against the Un-American Activities committee, one either pickets Woolworth's or crosses the picket line. More and more newly awakened students are joining the various actions and pushing the old student leaders into more militant positions.

As one girl picketing at the Chessman demonstration put it, "This is going to be put down as the Year for Youth Demonstrations!"

FRISCO HUAC RIOTS:

Cops Bash Students in City Hall Anti-Witch Hunt Fight

by Suzanne Murray

SAN FRANCISCO — Two cops dragged a girl by her ankles over broken glass. She lost consciousness.

A student, blood and water streaming from his face, braced himself against the force of a high-powered fire hose, shielding the girls on the floor behind him.

Two motorcycle cops, in crash helmets, black leather jackets, and boots, held a young man while a third cop clubbed him on the head and spine with a night-stick. Determinedly, the boy kept his hands in his pockets.

This was San Francisco's City Hall on Friday, the 13th of May. While scores of students picketed the Un-American Activities Committee outside the building, over 200 other young people, seeking admittance to the hearings on the second floor, were brutally attacked with fire hoses and clubs by the police. The assault was made without provocation or warning.

Weeks before the committee arrived in San Francisco, Bay Area students and professors made plans to protest the hearings. On Tuesday, May 10, a full-page statement against the Committee signed by 165 faculty members appeared in the *Golden Gate*, the San Francisco State College newspaper. On Thursday, the opening day of the hearings, Civil Liberties Committees at San Francisco State College and the University of California sponsored a public rally in Union Square. An estimated 1,000 students attended and were addressed by two state assemblymen and an Episcopalian Canon, as well as students from U. of Cal. After the rally students marched to the City Hall and set up picket lines.

Inside the building a large number of students had been waiting, some since 8 a.m., to enter the hearings. They soon found the committee had given passes to the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion and similar groups who conveniently appeared. Committee Investigator Wheeler explained the procedure was "... to keep the Commies from stacking the meeting. We wanted some decent people in here." Only a few students were admitted. When the rest were denied admittance some of those inside yelled, "Open the doors and let them in." The cry was taken up by those outside the doors.

Rep. Willis, chairman of the committee, directed the police to remove over a dozen spectators and subpoenaed witnesses who were chanting and singing. The helmeted police bodily dragged them from the room. One middle-aged woman, a subpoenaed witness, was handled so roughly she suffered a heart attack.

BROKEN PROMISE

The next morning Sheriff Carberry promised the students they would be admitted that afternoon on a first-come, first-served basis. When the hearings resumed around 1:15 and the students were told there was only room for 10 or 15 of them, mutters of dissatisfaction swept the crowd. "No, no, no," they shouted. The group beneath the rotunda began to sing. Some one yelled "Sit down!" and they sat on the floor. Suddenly the cops brought out hoses and as the students were singing "Just like a tree standing by the water, we shall not be moved," a cop yelled, "Water? You want water?" The hoses were turned on the students with full force. The major press said the hoses were on "fine spray" but their own newspaper pictures, besides hundreds of witnesses, besides the fact that it took six cops to man a hose, all point out that this was a lie. A small group of students stood directly in front of the policemen

holding the hose, trying to shield the rest of the group.

The crowd withdrew or was driven to a landing seven steps down. There, it made its stand. Nearly 100 people huddled together in the face of two heavy streams of water. They sang the National Anthem. The water was turned off and the students believed they had won. Then a line of helmeted motorcycle cops in black leather jackets and boots began to climb the stairs. The hoses were turned on again. The crowd continued to sing. "We shall not be moved."

Behind the line of policemen, one of the Un-American staff pointed to various people in the crowd and said, "That one's a Commie," or, "That one's a witness."

The students pushed their hands in their pockets. Many were drag-

ged down the stairs with their hands still in their pockets, their heads banging on each of the 36 marble steps. One girl was pushed from the top of the steps, tumbled all the way down and landed in a heap at the bottom. Many were literally thrown down the stairs by the cops.

One reporter (*Chronicle*) said: "I saw one slightly built lad being carried by two husky officers. One held the boy's shirt, the other had him by the feet. He was struggling but he was no match for the two bigger men. Then from nowhere appeared a third officer. He ran up to the slender boy held firmly by the other two officers and clubbed him three times on the head. You could hear the hollow smack of the club striking. The boy went limp and was carried out."

A student reporter (*Daily Californian*) told of the following

scene: "One girl who had been drenched by the hoses, rushed after a policeman who was dragging her boyfriend. She clouted him with her purse. Another policeman grabbed her, nearly pulling her dress down to her bosom, and carried her out. A murmur of disgust arose from the bystanders witnessing the scene."

Over 60 of the demonstrators, nearly all students, were arrested. They were charged with inciting a riot, resisting arrest, and disturbing the peace.

DELIBERATE MAULING

The police and newspapers said the riot had started when one student grabbed a cop's club and hit him with it. This was refuted at a meeting that evening when eye-witness after eye-witness firmly established the fact that the assault by the police was pre-meditated and carried out without

warning. The standing-room-only meeting of over 500 students was held at a co-op at the University of California. The crowd eagerly sought to fill a waste paper basket with money for a defense fund. The students were called upon by William Mandel, the star unfriendly witness of the day, to go back the next day and bring as many of their friends as possible.

The next morning over 5,000 protesters jammed the area around City Hall. A double picket line of more than 1,000 students surrounded the building. Thousands more congregated around a loud speaker which was broadcasting the hearings. The statements of "unfriendly witnesses" were roundly cheered; while "friendly witnesses" and Committee members were booed. During the recess large groups of listeners and pickets flocked around the entrance to City Hall.

Whenever a committee member or a cop appeared on the balcony, the crowd would boo, hiss, chant, sing, or yell "Sieg Heil" and give the Nazi salute. The crowd chanted, "The police started the riot." Fifteen mounted policemen were on hand, in addition to hundreds of other cops, to intimidate the crowd. That was a more difficult job than they expected. Three more demonstrators were arrested, and the number would have been four if the crowd had not acted quickly at one point. A young man made a remark about the cops and was grabbed by one. The crowd saw what was happening and pushed forward. Angry shouts rose and the boy was released.

The last act of the exciting three days was reported in the *Daily Californian* as follows: "The pickets were gone; the three-day hearing had ended. Outside City Hall half a dozen youngsters had gathered talking. None of them looked over 18; one was a Negro.

"Along came a carload of policemen who ordered them to move along. When the boys objected that they were not doing anything the police shoved them. The police picked out the Negro boy, pushing him and shouting at him to move along before he got hurt. Finally the boys began to move away, complaining about the treatment by the police.

"A police sergeant followed them a few steps and shouted at the Negro boy. His badge number was 1382.

"We'd like to hake it a lot worse," he said. "I'd like to split your head wide open."

Letter: YPSL, Police Dept. Socialists

Dear Editor:

During the course of events surrounding the San Francisco hearings of the HUAC, many students displayed personal bravery and courage while "under fire." Their actions, while under different specific circumstances, matched the actions of the Hungarian, Korean, Turkish, and Southern Negro students. What is more, they are proud of their deeds which merit our support and applause.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to commend certain leaders, members, and sympathizers of the SP-SDF and YPSL for the role they played in these events. These people who call themselves "radicals" were appointed to responsible posts as monitors on the picket line. Overwhelmed by their responsibility, they helped enforce rules which were more strict than city or state laws, or the rules of procedure agreed upon by a section of the student leadership and Mayor George Christopher. In other words, they out-policed the police.

They supported a policy of conduct that led to the removal of picket signs protesting police brutality. One student was told to quit whistling on the line. No pickets were allowed to chant or sing, although the Mayor stated that such behavior was allowable. These policies were enforced by the student leadership because they feared a riot which might lead to many physical

injuries. While in my opinion these fears were exaggerated, they are understandable; for the cops were mean and ugly.

When the riot did not occur however, the police-department-socialists started whispering that the "Trotskyites" (meaning members of the Young Socialist Alliance) were trying to provoke a riot. This slander was designed, in my opinion, to justify the restrictions placed upon the pickets; and at the same time to bolster their stock with the student leadership.

And of course, the inevitable followed: some monitors turned in their arm-bands and joined the "rank and file." Many picketers grew disgusted with the super-policing; and there were some who left the line.

Despite the sectarian actions of these so-called socialists, the demonstrations were an overwhelming success. The HUAC has never received such a reception in all its reactionary history. Local newspapers draw comparisons between these events and the San Francisco general strike of the 1930's.

These student protest demonstrations are without a doubt a manifestation of the beginning of a new leftward political movement on the American campus.

Bob Mattingly,
San Francisco

Portrait of the New Campus Radical . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

in their turns are given tumultuous applause by practically every Democratic and Republican politician, in or out of office. The demands of the brass for greater military appropriations receive an especially grateful response from the "liberal" Democratic congressmen, who berate the Eisenhower regime for neglecting "defense." And what elements floridly praise the Democratic "liberals" for their great "understanding of local custom," their earnest concern for Party unity, their "moderation" and "staunch anti-Communism"—why, the racist Southern Democrats with whom we started this closed circle!

In back of everybody stand the big corporations who monopolize not only the home market but also the swollen defense contracts, headed by Big Businessmen who control the mass communications media, the major party machinery, and the stooges their money sends to Congress. This fine crew, which joins together up on deck every time the chips are down, may not be homogeneous in its composition, but it is sailing the same pirate ship. Regardless of superficial differences of opinions, they are all committed to the defense of private property and profit, to the capitalist system and the aggressive military program which protects it, and to the other abom-

inations that flow from it.

The student demonstrations against compulsory ROTC, civil defense drills, the draft, and H-bomb tests reflect their conviction that they, along with other sections of the American people, must intervene if peace is to be achieved. They have been impelled into the fight for peace not only by the awful perspective of hydrogen incineration but also by the dynamic of their struggles against the other evils of Things As They Are. Their self-confidence and new-found belief in their effectiveness, their determination and courage, and their increasing understanding of (the profound scope and inter-connections of their various campaigns is derived from their experiences in the field of mass action.

The current mass actions emanating from the American campuses tend to lead inexorably from originally limited objectives to a challenge of the most fundamental characteristics of our economic, political, and social structure. This challenge, implicit from the very beginning in these actions, is vehemently opposed by those who cherish and benefit most from the capitalist system.

The imperative logic of the new student movement, which can only grow under present conditions,

will lead to a careful investigation by the serious students of effective political action and program. Already some participants in these struggles see clearly that the object of their battles is the capitalist system as a whole, that segregation, capital punishment, militarism, conformity, and so forth are so many patches sewn together to form the single quilt of our class-divided social structure.

One of the first conclusions they will come to is that the policy of jockeying with so-called "liberals" of either the Democratic or Republican parties must be rejected as worthless if any progress towards peace, civil rights and civil liberties is expected. Instead of banking on the liberal politicians who cannot fulfill promises so long as they defend the capitalist system which spawns war, race hate and political persecution, these student activists will press for a strong labor party based on the unions to represent the interests of workers, students, small farmers, and others. They will work for a revolutionary program to replace the insane capitalist system by a planned socialist economy democratically controlled by the American working people who would have no trouble in concluding world peace based upon international cooperation and friendship.

N.Y. Times Lies

The N.Y. Times, universally considered an unimpeachable source for accurate reporting, was caught red-handed. It printed an AP dispatch, probably picked up all over the country, which reported the third day of demonstrations (Sat., May 14) as follows: "Today 200 placard-carrying demonstrators marched outside the City Hall."

The San Francisco *Chronicle* of Sunday, May 15, reporting the same day's demonstration, headed the story: "5000 Gather at City Hall for Red Hearing Protest." The S. F. News-Call Bulletin, Sat., May 14, wrote: "Police locked the doors of City Hall this afternoon as about 3000 persons surged across Polk St. in a powder keg situation. They were part of a throng of 5000 that massed in Civic Center . . ."

POLITICS AND BASEBALL:

CP Forms New Youth Group — An Advance?

by Fred Mazelis

Several months ago a new youth organization, Advance, was formed in New York City. The formation of this organization has followed a recent levelling off of the long decline in membership and influence of the American Communist Party following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. The new CP-oriented youth group and other similar organizations in several other parts of the country are modeled after the CP-dominated Labor Youth League, which was dissolved in 1956. These organizations are as yet only scattered in several cities and not nearly national in scope, but they do give an accurate description of the Communist Party viewpoint on youth.

Advance recently released a statement of principles which was published in the May 22nd Worker. The statement confirms the impressions given by the new organization in the first few months of its existence. It is characterized by an extremely low level of political education and an over-emphasis on non-political activities. Advance has held very few publicized open forums or meetings. It has held several picnics and parties, and it has some educational activity on an internal level.

The statement of principles explains the policy: "As a youth organization we view political education, athletic, cultural and social activities as inseparable and essential to our program. We are one group with many aspects welcoming all young people who want to join in any program or participate in any of our activities." Thus, for anyone who does not yet understand, Advance explains that one need not be a socialist or even have an interest in socialism to join the organization. Although the organization calls itself socialist, its political program is brought down to a meaninglessly low level. To quote again from the statement of principles: "Hope!—that is what the future means. Fulfillment—that is what it offers. We must guard the future to protect our dreams." This meaningless statement as a statement of purpose could just as well have come from the Young Republicans or the YMCA.

Advance proclaims itself as, at most, a group in which those interested in socialism may engage in some study, and not as a group of organized socialists. "We are an independent socialist youth organization asking no commitment from anyone either to socialism or any particular political party." However, basic democratic rights and genuine independence from the Communist Party are not much in evidence. Despite the fact that its politics are proclaimed "broad," Trotskyism is grounds for expulsion, although most Advance members don't know anything about Trotskyism except what they hear from the Communist Party.

ADVANCE ADLAI

The top "Marxist" leaders of Advance proudly sport their Stevenson-for-President buttons, continuing the long-time class-collaborationist policy of supporting the "lesser evil." In the civil liberties struggle against the House Un-American Activities Committee the young supporters of the Communist Party have done little to mobilize the broadest forces of young people as was done in San Francisco last May. Instead, extraneous issues such as "peaceful coexistence" have intruded into the campaign against the House Committee and have limited the participation of the

broadest numbers of students.

In the civil rights movement, the Communist Party's reformist policy is carried out by the youth in the form of abject submission to redbaiting. The policy of Advance in the NYC student movement in sympathy with the sit-ins was characterized by both sectarianism and opportunism at the same time. In sectarian fashion, Advance held small picket lines in their own name at a time when the picketing of the New York Youth Committee for Integration was the focus of attention. When the redbaiting began, Advance opportunistically advocated dissolution of the independent student movement and subordination to the conservative leadership of A. Philip Randolph and the NAACP. The great majority of student pickets decided against this policy and those who advocated dissolution found themselves isolated from the student movement.

The political heritage of Advance goes back for more than a generation. The CP-dominated youth organizations since the 1930's have consistently promised normal democratic rights and meaningful independence, and have consistently called themselves socialist, but this is not the way it has worked out. Ever since the rise and consolidation of bureaucratic control in the Soviet Union in the 1920's, the American Communist Party has, like all other Communist Parties throughout the world, not been deciding its program and policies in relation to its own conditions, but in relation to the foreign policy aims of the Soviet bureaucracy, whether it is headed by Stalin or Khrushchev. It has not arrived at its decisions by democratic discussion but by orders from above. And it has inevitably transmitted this monolithic organizational setup to its youth movements, which have continuously followed the re-

formist policies of the Communist Party.

Just as the Communist Party, the youth movements have lacked internal democracy, above all, the freedom to elaborate political differences and form factions. The rigid control of the Labor Youth League, for example, was necessary from the Communist Party point of view because internal democracy would obviously have led to unanswerable questions concerning the Soviet regime long before Khrushchev decided to answer some of them at the 20th Congress. And Khrushchev, while answering some questions, raised many more for CP members, both young and old. If the LYL had not been dissolved in the political

confusion following the Khrushchev revelations, who knows how many more young Communist Party members and sympathizers might not have been won over to revolutionary socialism.

The recently formed (April 1960) national Young Socialist Alliance does not claim the broadness which Advance claims falsely. It has a revolutionary socialist political program which it itself is in the process of working out and adding to. It has full internal discussion and democratic rights, and a high level of political education. These in brief are the enormous advantages for socialist-minded students and young workers of the YSA over the CP-influenced youth organizations.

As the first leg of the Socialist Workers Party's Presidential election campaign winds up, candidates Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss report increasing student support. Under the auspices of the Students for Dobbs and Weiss, the two spoke at various campuses around the country including Rutgers, CCNY, Boston University, Harvard, UCLA, Caltech, and San Francisco State. Keynoting this year's socialist campaign, the Students for Dobbs and Weiss staged a street meeting outside of New York's Bronx High School of Science. (See picture p. 7). Street meetings were also held in other parts of town. Having already given a push to the New Jersey and Pennsylvania campaigns to get the SWP candidates on the ballot, the student group has pledged to participate fully in the coming state petition drives.

Now Stevenson Dons Phony Liberal Pose . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

the background of intelligence so necessary in these trying times," and "lover of little children throughout the free world" spoke to the American voters.

CIVIL WRONGS

But all was not so easy. The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell stormed through Harlem declaring that the Negro people can give no support to a man with such a rotten record on civil rights as Adlai E. Stevenson, running on a program which would do nothing for the cause of the Negroes. The people of Harlem cheered. Powell was referring to the Democratic convention which featured a brief debate on the question of civil rights. After the ten-minute debate, the party came up with a plank more reactionary than that of the Republicans. Stevenson was asleep in his hotel room at the time of the discussion.

Stevenson campaigned in the South with his 1952 running mate, Alabama Senator Sparkman. The two appeared on the ballot as the ticket of WHITE SUPREMACY. In 1956, Stevenson and team mate Estes Kefauver drove through Clinton, Tenn. while nine Negro children fought their way through racist mobs every time they went to school. The Democratic candidates drove quickly through the town. They were in a rush to get to Nashville to meet with Southern Dixiecrat leaders. And back in Harlem, just in the nick of time, Rev. Powell looked the other way, changed his mind and asked his people to cast their votes for the "liberal Democratic Party presidential ticket."

The Left also followed Powell's path. In both election campaigns,

the Communist Party waited until the last minute before supporting Stevenson. In 1956, the party was behind Kefauver for President as the more liberal of the candidates. In their press, they compared Kefauver to Stevenson in almost the exact terms as today they compare Stevenson to Kennedy. The Michigan Worker commented on the Democratic Party's 1956 convention as follows:

- 1. The Democratic civil rights plank is "bad politically and even worse morally . . . This is a Johnson-Rayburn plank."
2. The foreign policy plank "bristles with belligerent proposals more in keeping with the cold war of the Truman era than with the new possibilities and trends toward world peace . . ."
3. "One great gap in the Democratic platform is the issue of civil liberties."

Admitting all of this, the Communist Party then demanded the Democrats and especially Stevenson renounce the program they just agreed upon. But just in case the Democrats were not going to do this the CP announced its support in advance for the "lesser of two evils." The CP was "sadly for Adlai," but it was for Adlai.

The Socialist Party ran Darlington Hoopes. Darlington was out giving the old-timers in the SP a chance to perform the one traditional act left, the vote for a socialist. At the same time, Norman Thomas let it be known to the less traditional social democrats that deep down inside, the official leadership favored a pro-Stevenson policy.

Thus, Stevenson took his place on the merry-go-round with the variegated choir of Sam Rayburn, Lyndon Johnson, Harry S. Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, George Meany, Walter Reuther, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Norman Thomas, and William Z. Foster joining together to sing out the background music.

PREPARE SWITCH

Today, many liberal, labor, Negro, Communist, and Social Democratic leaders, well-founded in the 1952 and 1956 campaigns have come out early for Steven-

son. But each has already prepared to accept Kennedy if need be, just as in the past they supported other "liberals," preparing themselves to support Stevenson.

And what has happened to liberal, pro-labor, pro-Negro, and left wing politics as a result of support by these elements to the Democratic Party? The results are shown by the fact that for the past 20 years, during both Democratic and Republican regimes, since the origin of organized support to the Democratic Party by working class and student elements, the exact same slogans are still being raised. Still, after 20 years, there is no real peace, nor any reason to expect peace from either party. There is no government support to the Negroes in the South who are striving for integration. The Democratic Party's answer to labor's support was the Kennedy-Landrum - Griffin Bill. Student support was answered with loyalty oaths and the continuance of conscription.

The forces for peace, for better living conditions, for integra-

tion are clearly those students who have been demonstrating throughout the year and the workers who have gone on strike for their demands, independent of either political party. The conclusions one can draw from this year's student protests on the one hand and the vast support that has gone to the Democratic Party on the other, are clearly that time spent in the Democratic Party is wasted time and a vote for either party is a wasted vote. If the young people of this country want to vote for peace, for academic freedom, for civil rights, for civil liberties, and for better living conditions, they are wasting that vote by throwing it to the Stevensons and Kennedys, who are for the cold war, the witch-hunt and a do-nothing policy in the South.

The only meaningful vote is a vote for the candidates who support your goals. If these are the goals which this generation has been fighting for—the candidates are the Socialist Workers Party's candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss.



—Art Phelps
MYRA WEISS: The SWP Vice-Presidential candidate answers questions from New York Hunter College students at an open air meeting.

SIGN UP NOW!

You may list my name as a sponsor of Students for Dobbs and Weiss.

Name

Address

Campus City and State

Contribution

Clip and mail to: Students for Dobbs and Weiss

45 E. 7th St.
New York 3, N.Y.



—Maury Englander
STREET RALLY: YSA National Secretary Jim Lambrecht speaks to high school students on the elections.

NYC CIVIL DEFENSE:

Student Anti-War Struggle Hits New High

by Jack Arnold

The past school year has seen a significant increase in the number of students participating in anti-war actions. Most outstanding is the protest demonstration in New York's City Hall Park against the annual Civil Defense drill on May 3. In previous years, only a handful of pacifists refused to take shelter. This year about two thousand people throughout the city defied the drill.

It was obvious that this year's anti-war demonstration was far broader than a pacifist one. To quote from the horse's mouth, the pacifist publication *The Peacemaker* wrote May 28: "This demonstration, although 'anti-war,' was not organized on a pacifist basis."

As the alert sirens sounded, policemen made a few weak attempts to get the crowd of 1000 protesters in New York's City Hall Park to take shelter. When it became obvious that this was not the intention of the demonstrators, a police official mounted a bench. In an appealing tone he begged everyone to "Please obey the law." There were good-natured chuckles from the crowd. In a more desperate tone he asked, "Are you Americans?" Loud laughter filled the park and some shouted "You bet," and "That's why we're here." With an all inclusive sweeping gesture he then intoned, "I place you all under arrest for not obeying the law."

The attitude of many of the demonstrators was summed up by one who said, "The whole idea of defense against nuclear weapons is unrealistic and in practice it means resigning oneself to war."

PARK ARRESTS

Picking at random, the police began making their arrests in the park, as promised. It was not an easy task. The first girl they chose refused to go along peacefully.

Three cops were forced to carry her bodily to a police van. Another girl refused to "come along" with the arresting officer. As he insisted for a second time, she kicked him in the shins. In pain and surprise he loosened his hold on her arm and she vanished into the crowd.

In all the police made only 26 arrests out of the more than 500 people who remained in the park once the arrests had begun. Having underestimated the probable turnout, the cops were forced to release others for lack of space in the three paddy wagons on hand.

The 26 arrested were taken immediately to the criminal courts building where they appeared before Judge Ciazzo.

The judge stated that the defendants "had knowingly flouted the law and in so doing were undermining the democratic processes of our nation."

One of the defendants stated that what they had done today "was just what the people in Turkey and Korea were doing." Pounding his fist on the bench the judge exclaimed "That's just what I'm against." He went on to state, "The way to change things is through the ballot box." To this one of the young women retorted that she had never been given a chance to vote on the civil defense law.

On Friday of that week the 26

were sentenced to five days in prison. The following day, Saturday, several hundred protesters gathered and marched in front of the Womens House of Detention where part of the group was confined.

CAMPUS PROTESTS

During the drill 300 students at City College gathered on the lawn and refused to take shelter. The administration representatives threatened them with penalties including expulsion. About 20 students gave in to the threat. The others stood their ground and answered with the song "We Shall Not Be Moved."

At Brooklyn College over 200 students participated in the demonstrations against the drill. There, as at City College, threats were made and school identification cards taken up by the authorities. Letters were sent out to the students promising them that if they would sign statements that they were only bystanders the cards would be returned and no action taken.

The decisive tactic met with little if any response. At City College it prompted a large number of additional students to turn in their cards saying that they too were demonstrators. The City College administration finally decided its disciplinary action would be to enter a notation in red ink on the students' record cards. At Brooklyn 55 of the participating students were suspended for four days.

This harsh action was met with student protests in the form of mass meetings and picket lines. Yielding to this pressure from the students, the administration relented and instructed the faculty not to count the suspension time toward overcuts. But for this many of the students would have automatically failed in their courses and many would not have graduated.

Also at Brooklyn College Lillian Feldman, editor of the campus paper *Kingsman*, resigned her post when Dean Stroup forbade the publication of a picture of the Civil Defense protest on campus. Her resignation attacking censorship was published on the front page of *Kingsman* in the space that had been reserved for the picture. This censorship was another factor that contributed to the anger of the Brooklyn students.

At other schools in the East students also refused to take shelter—two Princeton students were arrested; six Drew University students defied the take-shelter signal; also about 35 students at Harpur College; and a number of New York City high school students,

Youth Notes

WORLD YOUTH: The fear of "government by students" hounds Western officials, according to a UPI dispatch from London. British students have provided the main forces for demonstrations against nuclear bomb policies, racial segregation in Africa. "Britain also has been plagued by student rioters in Cyprus and Malta," the dispatch continues. . . . In South Korea students demonstrated demanding the resignation of acting President Huh Chung, attacking the provisional government as the "remnant of a dictatorial regime." . . . A letter from a young Chinese housewife to the magazine *China Youth* which expressed impatience with the heavy demands for sacrifice made by the regime, and a desire to enjoy some of the material benefits of the revolution now, received a flood of replies, pro and con. . . . The Leeds University Labour Society voted 45-1 to demand Gaitskell's resignation.

STUDENTS VS. WAR: In Teaneck, N. J., Ellen Shapiro was denied election to the National Honor Society for her refusal to participate in a civil defense drill. The 54 other students who had signed petitions against the drill charged that they were "ridiculed and threatened with expulsion." . . . Fifty Canadian students from the Universities of Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto traveled 250 miles to picket the Bomarc missile site at North Bay. To the tune of the "Caissons Go Rolling Along" they sang: "Hear the cry, hear the plea, rise from all Humanity: Give us peace and to hell with the Bomb." . . . A congress of the National Union of French Students, which includes half the college students of France, demanded negotiations with the FLN and guarantees of self-determination for Algeria. The editor of *l'Express* (Paris) wrote: "We are arriving at the point . . . when groups of youth will consider collectively refusing to fight with the army in Algeria, no matter what price they may have to pay for their disobedience."

CIVIL LIBERTIES: A growing number of New York City high school seniors refused to sign the loyalty oath required by the city for a diploma. Antioch College, the Univ. of Wisconsin, and CCNY have admitted some of these diploma-less students on the basis of their grades. Susan Friedman, of Flushing, Queens, H.S., was barred from taking part in the senior show in retaliation for her stand against the oath. A citywide petition drive of high school students against the oath resulted. . . . A Long Island student spoke up before 1,000 classmates, teachers and parents to refuse an American Legion award. "I refuse to accept an award from an organization whose policies I can't respect," he stated. He has received hundreds of letters of support. . . . Six defendants of the First Amendment had their sentences upheld by the United States Court of Appeals. The six, Robert Shelton, William A. Price, Herman Liveright, John T. Gojack, Norton Anthony Russell, and Bernard Deutch, have received sentences of three to nine months imprisonment and from \$100 to \$500 in fines. Most of the cases, however, will be appealed to the Supreme Court. . . . Dr. Willard Uphaus, 69-year-old pacifist serving a jail sentence for contempt of court, had his plea for freedom denied by the N.H. Supreme Court. Picketers have demanded his freedom in front of the prison and before the New England Tourist Bureau in New York. . . . "Behind the Bars for the First Amendment," a 34-page pamphlet issued in March, 1960, tells the stories of 36 people who have defied the Un-American Committee on the basis of the First Amendment. Write to: Committee of First Amendment Defendants, Box 564, Radio City Sta., New York 19, N.Y. Contributions are welcome.

DOMESTIC POLICY: The vast majority of married students say their experience has been good, according to a survey made by a University of Michigan sociologist. "The most satisfied wives are those who have a shared-equal type of marriage," reports Dr. Robert O. Blood. . . . Most boys can look forward to bending over a hot stove after marriage, according to a survey conducted by the Youth Research Institute. Only one boy in five has a chance to escape household drudgery. A 16-year-old Chicago girl remarked, "Only a lazy lout would sit around watching his wife work." 92 per cent of the girls think that husbands should help with the dishes; Evidently the 39 per cent of the boys who agree they should help out stand a better chance of getting married. . . . On campus, the idea of a "fallen woman" no longer carries much weight. Few college students say they would refuse to marry someone who had pre-marital sex relations, according to a study by Cornell University sociologists.

Pressure Forces ROTC Retreat

A rash of student protests against compulsory ROTC this year forced some concessions. At the University of Wisconsin, compulsory ROTC was discontinued on a two-year trial basis. Students at the Univ. of Puerto Rico won a victory (see story p. 2). The Army, while still strongly favoring compulsory ROTC, has declared some modifications in its training program. Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates was reported as being "prepared to say out loud that no military requirement exists for compulsory ROTC."

ROTC is compulsory at 154 American institutions. Dozens of these schools saw anti-ROTC protests. At Michigan State, the faculty senate voted 400 to 248 to abolish compulsory ROTC. The University of California at Berkeley was the scene of a freshman hunger strike and thousands of signatures supporting this action (see December, 1959 YS). At Arizona State University, 750 signatures were collected on petitions, and at the Univ. of Arizona, 1,500 signatures.

At Lehigh U. in Bethlehem, Pa., some 300 students staged three anti-ROTC demonstrations. Shouting "We hate ROTC," they marched to the homes of the President and the Dean. They also circulated a petition.

Scenes of further protest were Dartmouth, where students picketed an ROTC parade on the village green; Cornell, where freshman students voted against compulsory ROTC; UCLA, Eastern Michigan University, and the University of Washington.

Special Bonus Offer

Sell 3 subs to the YOUNG SOCIALIST and get, free, one of the following YS Educational Bulletins: No. 1—The Hungarian Revolution, by Shane Mage—35c; No. 2—Which Road for Socialist Youth: Reformism or Revolutionary Socialism?—50c; No. 3—History of the International Socialist Youth Movement—50c; No. 4—The Fight Against War—Shane Mage—20c.

- Enclosed are the names and addresses and \$..... for 3 subs. Please send me bulletin No.
- I want to subscribe (1 year, \$1.00; 6 months, 50c)
- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

(Name—please print)

(Address)

YS, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y.C. 3

WHAT THE U-2 REVEALS:

Ike, K. Sulk as Mao Mouths Lenin

by Shane Mage

The months of April and May 1960 will be remembered, not for the dazzling fireworks of the summit conference blow-up, but for the infinitely more important explosion of revolutionary discontent in South Africa, South Korea, Turkey and Japan; the deepening of the Cuban revolution, with its impact on all Latin America; and the dramatic entrance of the youth in the North and South of the United States onto the stage of social and political struggle.

The failure of the "Big Four" to meet is only a shadow of the reality; the reality is the struggle of the student and working masses against U.S.-backed regimes, against racism, capitalism and imperialism.

If we bear in mind that these mass movements have fundamentally strengthened the struggle against World War III by striking against U.S. imperialism in its most advanced military bastions and in Japan, the decisive industrial power in Asia, it will be fruitful to consider the causes of the summit collapse and some of the explanations that have been offered for this sudden turn of affairs.

ADENAUER'S CHARGE

Spokesmen for the Western imperialist bloc, of course, accuse Khrushchev of wrecking the Summit. West German Chancellor Adenauer, for example, says that Khrushchev went to Paris "with the preconceived plan to sabotage the conference." This is one of those sly half-truths which often makes the best lie. It is like accusing a man of law breaking because he crossed the street against a red light—"forgetting" to mention that he was being pursued by a madman with an axe.

Despite the fact that this charge is repeated every day in this country by Democrats and Republicans alike and by most of the capitalist press, radio and TV, it is so incongruous and so out of accord with the facts that a number of highly authoritative observers, whose loyalty to the interests of capitalism is unquestioned, have been compelled to refute it. The conservative columnist, Walter Lippman, for one, wrote in the New York Herald Tribune May 17, a day before the blow-up:

"When the plane was captured, Mr. Khrushchev opened the door to the President for a diplomatic exit from his quandary: He did not believe, said Mr. K., that Mr. Eisenhower was responsible for ordering the flight. . . . Mr. Eisenhower replied that he was responsible, that such flights were necessary, and then he let the world think even if he did not say so in exact words that the flights would continue. This locked the door which Mr. Khrushchev had opened. It transformed the embarrassment of being caught in a spying operation into a direct challenge to the sovereignty of the Soviet Union. . . . This avowal. . . was a fatal mistake. For it made it impossible for Mr. Khrushchev to bypass the affair. Had he done that he would have been in the position of acknowledging to the world. . . that he had surrendered to the United States the right to violate Soviet territory. No statesman can live in any country after making such an admission."

The Democrats have indicated that they intend to make a campaign issue of the U-2 incident. But this will be strictly within the limits of bipartisan solidarity on the basic cold-war foreign policy. The charge of the Democrats that Eisenhower bungled and floundered is, if you stop to think of it, simply a claim that they are better liars and more adroit cold



JAPANESE STUDENTS: Their struggle against U.S.-Japan treaty increases prospects for peace.

warriors than the Republicans. We will admit that there is considerable evidence to support this claim.

But let us turn to the explanation given by Khrushchev. In substance, Khrushchev's explanation amounts to this: Eisenhower for a time was, and in fact still is, genuinely in favor of peace. Although he (Khrushchev) suspected there was something fishy about the President's friendly intentions, he nevertheless continued to hope that the American imperialists had come to their senses and were ready to talk peace in a serious way. This, however, was not to be. Eisenhower suddenly reversed his course and began to renege on previous agreements. And then came the spy-plane incident and Eisenhower showed his true colors as an aggressive warmonger.

Such demonology is beyond refutation; but what about the somewhat more plausible explanation that Khrushchev was forced to call off the Summit because the U-2 incident exposed the real intentions of the U.S.?

On the surface this seems like a singular coincidence—the Course of History changed by the decision of one man not to kill himself and destroy his plane. But how does it square with the fact, admitted by Khrushchev that his Paris press conference, that the Soviet government has known for years that U.S. planes were flying over its territory virtually at will?

U-2 BLOWUP PRETEXT

Pass over the implied confession that Khrushchev has cynically been deceiving the people of the Soviet Union and the world as to the character and actions of the U.S. government. What remains (even granting the dubious proposition that the U-2 captured on May 1 was the first to be shot down over Soviet territory) is the certainty that the U-2 affair was merely the pretext, not the cause, of the Summit blowup. But what then are the real causes?

According to Charles Bohlen, the State Department's "Russian expert," Khrushchev's behavior stemmed from considerations internal to the Soviet bloc. Bohlen contends that Khrushchev was forced to yield to "left" critics within the Soviet Communist Party and to the leadership of the Chinese CP who have been clamoring for a return to the "hard"

line of Stalin and are charging Khrushchev with "softness" towards capitalism.

As we will see, this analysis catches an important part of the reality—but only a part. What it leaves out is what Walter Lippman saw so clearly: that the U.S. government acted in the way best calculated to force Khrushchev to walk out of the conference. If Khrushchev were under pressure from within the Soviet bloc, the U.S. government did everything in its power to increase that pressure by its provocations. The responsibility of the U.S. can by no means be dodged by references to internal pressures on Khrushchev.

What, then, actually happened at Paris? This question is incorrectly posed, since nothing happened there. The question is, what failed to happen at the Summit?

The propaganda picture of a summit conference as a sincere effort of statesmen to settle their differences in a peaceful way through negotiations has, of course, only the faintest resemblance to reality. The purpose of a conference like the one which did not meet in Paris is basically to sign, with a great flourish, or secretly as the case may be, agreements already thoroughly prepared by "normal" diplomatic processes. In the case of the abortive Paris conference these agreements were to be a formal ban on nuclear tests and a "first step" disarmament plan. When Khrushchev postponed the summit conference "six or eight months," he in effect postponed the ratification of these accords.

What were the factors on the two sides which led to the postponement? Here no categorical statements are possible, since the proceedings of the State Department are as secret as those of the Kremlin. But it is well known that within the Pentagon there is a powerful opposition to the general foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration; an opposition reflecting the contradiction between the basic war drives of U.S. imperialism and its present economic and political need for a stabilization of the international situation. The pressure for the Pentagon apparently caused the State Department, shortly before the U-2 incident, to reverse its previous acceptance of a disarmament plan proposed by de Gaulle and which Khrushchev had

agreed to in Paris last March.

Is this a sufficient explanation for Khrushchev's sharp reversal? Not in itself: but in conjunction with the official reaction to the U-2 affair it interacted with the "internal" Soviet situation to produce the blowup.

INSIDE FACTION

Inside the Soviet bureaucratic caste Khrushchev has had to contend with a faction opposed to his limited liberalization measures and to his risky economic promises in the face of working class demands for concessions, a faction favoring sterner repressions of working class and intellectual ferment and willing to use, as Stalin often did, a tense international situation to justify austerity and repressive measures.

But this "Old Stalinist Guard," even reinforced by the sections of the Officers Corps directly threatened by Khrushchev's reorganization plans, is not itself able to mount a serious threat to Khrushchev's power. Its political strength is based on support by East European bureaucracies (for obvious reasons) and, above all, by the Chinese CP.

The Chinese Communist Party leaders have been attacking Khrushchev's policy (without naming him) particularly since his visit to the U.S. In this attack Lenin's real views on peaceful coexistence, his basic analysis of the incapacity of imperialism to alter its organic nature and therefore its continuous drive towards war, have been given a great deal of public notice. This is all to the good. The Chinese leaders have been saying many of the things we have said for years. But we cannot overlook the important fact that these criticisms of the Kremlin's foreign policy bear an extremely superficial resemblance to Leninism. Not merely because the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence is not specifically named and analyzed, but more importantly because there has been no hint that the Chinese CP is altering its own domestic or foreign policy.

The superficially "revolutionary" Chinese criticisms of Khrushchev are in fact designed to justify a policy entirely based on the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." The program of the "great leap forward" proposes to the Chinese people a forced march of 40 years duration, under the

harsh military discipline and in conditions of international isolation, at the end of which they will supposedly have a socialist society.

The combination of verbal ultra-leftism with a perspective based on Socialism in One Country is neither novel nor unusual for Stalinism. In 1930, Leon Trotsky was compelled to write: "The official leadership of the Communist International conducts its policy as though we were on the eve of the insurrection of the European proletariat. At the same time the economic plan for the ten-fifteen years is constructed with the aim of 'outdistancing' the whole capitalist world by means of an isolated workers state."

When today leaders of the Chinese CP state that they expect the result of a Third World War to be the worldwide victory of socialism they express a disregard and contempt for the working class of the advanced countries that can only serve to aid imperialist war preparations. The "leftist" Peking line is just as Stalinist as the "rightist" Moscow line.

WHY RIFT?

What then are the real reasons for the split between Moscow and Peking? In addition to the bureaucratic reluctance to abandon an international climate which tends to justify the sacrifices demanded of the Chinese people, one powerful motive is immediately evident. The main goal of the Summit Conference was the conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear tests explosions: this involves nothing less than the permanent exclusion of Peking from the "Atomic Club."

The "quid pro quo" to China for adherence to a test ban treaty would have to be a form of "back door recognition" by the U.S., to be followed in the course of subsequent summit conferences by a fuller normalization of Sino-American relations, increased East-West trade, and expanded economic aid to "underdeveloped countries" including China. The advantages to the people of China and the world from such an evolution are manifest: but for the bureaucrats to whom defense against eventual imperialist attack is a matter of military preparedness and not of international revolution, the blessings are at best very mixed.

The Paris fiasco does not signify a fundamental change in the international situation: the agenda of "peaceful coexistence" has merely been postponed for a year or so. Nor will it in itself clear away any of the illusions that have become so rife in past years. What it has done is provide a sudden illumination for some of the salient facts of modern reality: cruelly exposed is the basic and permanent character of the aggressive military and espionage policies of U.S. imperialism, the cynical mendacity of the leaders of the U.S. Even in this country the acceptance of cold-war policies has been violently shaken, and by that fact the prospects of the struggle for peace and socialism have been improved.

THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

—How to Win It
by Shane Mage

20c

Young Socialist Forum
Box 471, Cooper Station
New York 3, N.Y.