

# Redbaiting Flares On CCNY Campus; New Party Forms

by Fred Mazelis

NEW YORK—The CCNY campus has been the center of a political storm through February and March of this year. Amid accusations of anti-democratic attitudes and an implied accusation of subversion of Student Government by an "anti-democratic group," a new student party has been formed.

The formation of the Democratic Forum and Union, (DFU) as the new group was named, came at a time when Student Government had been acting forcefully on such issues as compulsory membership lists and there was increasing sentiment on campus favoring CCNY's participation in the Vienna Youth Festival.

exploration of the possibility of reduced fares for College students on the transit system (see March YS). Of the nine candidates running on the Slate, eight were elected.

In early March, the above-mentioned DFU was formed by four student leaders, who issued a vague and very broad statement of principles for the new party. The initiators listed four basic points: belief in the democratic process, liberal education, the City College, and student self-government. A statement characterized by the "Campus" as "empty platitudes." Also included in the statement was an attack on certain "anti-democratic" forces in Student Government. A red-baiting attack on unnamed SC representatives and other student leaders had begun.

One of the basic reasons for the red-baiting seemed to be the activity of many CCNY students in relation to the forthcoming Vienna Youth Festival. Student Government Secretary Peter Steinberg, an SDS candidate, is quoted in "The Campus" as saying that SDS support of sending delegates to the Vienna Youth Festival probably was one reason for opposition to the group by some members of the Forum.

"Cold war" liberals on campus feared that CCNY would break out of the present cold war atmosphere. It was feared that CCNY might be the only American university to send an official delegation to the Youth Festival, where it could freely mingle with young people from all over the world, including those from behind the "iron curtain." CCNY President Gallagher supported the

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## Youth March Grows

Petition gatherers have already collected over 100,000 signatures to a petition demanding speedy school integration.

A delegation from the Youth March for Integrated Schools on April 18 hopes to present this position to President Eisenhower. The White House has informed A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the march, that the President's "highest ranking deputy" will receive the delegation.

tival. Why did several student leaders think it necessary to form a new party, and at the same time raise the issue of red-baiting? To understand this, it is necessary to understand some of the recent developments in Student Government at CCNY.

In the SG elections of December 1958, a student slate of candidates entered the field and ran, not on their own proposals or personalities, but on a common program. This group, the Student Democratic Slate (SDS), presented nine candidates on a platform including proposals for an end to the speaker ban on those convicted under the Smith Act, the abolition of compulsory membership lists, the investigation of school cafeteria prices, and the

# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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A crowd demonstrates in Peking against a tiger that can hardly be dismissed as made of paper during the U.S. and British invasions of Lebanon and Jordan last summer.

## ARE THE TIGERS MADE OF PAPER?:

# China's Communes Shake the World

by Jim Lambrecht

How are 650,000,000 people to live off a fertile area equal to only a small section of the arable land in the United States? In China all other questions stem from this one. The phenomena of the people's communes—immediately a controversial point in the cold war—is no exception.

But another question has been pushed to the fore by State Department propagandists and should be cleared up first. They draw an analogy between the people's commune movement and Stalin's "full collectivization of agriculture" in the early 30's.

Reacting to the latter as to a traumatic shock, the Russian peasant slaughtered his livestock and burned his crops. Thousands died rather than submit to it. Agricultural production fell to a point low enough to seriously endanger the existence of the state.

Moreover, recovery was sluggish—to this day farm production is a major problem in Russia. And twenty-five years later, collectives are still a sore spot in the memory of the peasant; it is to soothe and reassure him that even Khrushchev expresses "doubts" about Mao's communes and urges the Chinese Communist Party to "go slow." It is not surprising that this brutal Russian analogy makes us think long and hard about China's people's communes. But does it really apply?

### GREAT LEAP FORWARD

As in pre-revolutionary Russia, the peasant of China fought the landlords for the classic right to till his own bit of land. Slowly, from the first revolt in 1946 until 1952, he won that right. It was not changed by the CCP's (Chinese Communist Party's) policy of "mutual aid teams," in which the labor of many tiny farms was pooled during harvest time. Even amalgamating these farms into "agricultural producers' co-operatives" (1954-56) left the right basically untouched. Each peasant drew shares from the common harvest according to his original investment in the co-operative of land, tools and labor.

But in April, 1958, the first commune, Weihsing or Sputnik, in Honan province established the following rules: "When the agri-

cultural producers' co-operatives merge into the people's communes . . . the share funds contributed by the co-operative members registered under their respective names, and bear no interest. Investments made by the co-operative members will be repaid by the commune." Further, ". . . members of the co-operatives must turn over to the common ownership of the commune all private ly-owned plots of farmland and house sites and other means of production such as livestock, tre holdings, etc., on the basis that common ownership of the means of production is in the main in effect." (People's Communes in China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958). From April to December, 1958, 99% of China's 50 million peasants took up life in the giant new communes. In every sense the peasant lost the right he had fought for, precisely in the Russian pattern.

But here it breaks down. At the end of 1957, China's second five year-plan set a 250 million ton target for 1962 grain production. 35 million tons had been produced by December, 1958—four years ahead of schedule. Last year's increase in overall production, including industry, broke the world record for annual rate of increase—30%—by doubling it. Vast public works—irrigation, afforestation, flood control—have been initiated with a labor force of over 100 million. In other words where Russian history shows that farm production hit bottom China's doubled and in some areas even tripled.

### 500,000,000 CHOOSE COMMUNES

The Chinese peasant is no more an obedient human pack animal as cold-war propagandists would have us believe, than he is a wop

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## 'WE WILL WALK A MILLION STEPS':

# Negro Students Picket, Sit-in to Force Integration

by Nora Roberts

After five days of picketing and demonstrations, students of Baltimore's Morgan State College, a primarily Negro school, won the first of their integration struggles on March 21. 450 college students participated in picket lines and sit down demonstrations to open up the nearby Arundel Ice Cream Store to Negroes. The students intend to continue in their desegregation drive and hope to force the local theatre and rooftop restaurant, the only recreational facilities near Morgan's campus, to serve Negroes.

The Northwood shopping center, subject of the students' integration drive, is privately owned. The demonstrators launched the campaign fully expecting trouble and even arrests. Picketers around the theatre were confronted with "private property" and "no trespassing" signs but continued their protest without violence, although they were threatened by the police.

Morgan students, with the support of many whites, sat down in the ice cream store and waited five days to be served. Finally the management was forced to wel-

come them. "I want you to know that you will have as much right to come here as anyone else," stated George F. Kerchner, supervisor of the newly integrated ice cream store, as he welcomed the students. On the first day of the victory, a white patron asked Frank Greene, one of the leaders of the desegregating campaign, if he was hungry and was told, "I've been hungry for 200 years."

400 students attended the picketing rally on Monday, March 16, held by the NAACP and cheered Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore NAACP. Mrs. Jackson urged the students to "get up on the picket line. Let the world know you're willing to die for democracy," which brought the house down with cheers and applause.

Following the victory at the Arundel Ice Cream Store further pressure has been exerted by the students on a May Company restaurant and the neighborhood theatre. 200 students participated in a one day sit-in at the restaurant which provoked the management to fly in from St. Louis to negotiate with the mayor's Com-

mission on Interracial Problems. Morgan students are picketing the Northwood Theatre in three shifts every night—some 300 involved each evening. The president of the Student Council, Aubie Edward, stated: We will walk a million steps to get in, and if that isn't enough we will walk another million . . . The theatre is small—but the principle is big."

In line with their policy of action as effective means of combatting segregation, Morgan students have come out in full support of the Youth March for Integrated schools in Washington on April 18. One union in the area has already pledged money for five buses to go from the campus. The students plan to have 5,000 signatures from Baltimore youth to present to the president.

Jack N. Farrington, in the Morgan Spokesman, summed up the prevailing attitude in his statement: "In the current struggle over the issues of civil liberties, those of us who wish to be equal must aid those who wish to help us. History tells us that wherever there is freedom there must have been those who fought, toiled and sacrificed for it."



# Internal Security Act of 1950

## fabric of the witchhunt

by Charles Love

(Over the past ten years a series of federal, state and municipal laws, administrative rulings in all branches of government and by numerous quasi-legal bodies have been passed to make up the "legal" fabric of the witchhunt in this country. Many of us have become so used to these anti-democratic laws as to be generally unaware of their existence. In this article our Earlham College corresponding editor deals with the most infamous of these laws, the Internal Security Act of 1950.)

The Internal Security Act of 1950 presents "a clear and present danger" to the freedom of every American. This Act is representative of some of the anti-democratic trends found in the United States government. It is used to control the thought of those who dare to disagree, who dare to dissent, who dare to speak openly and freely in opposition to some aspects of modern society.

The Internal Security Act denies American citizens their political freedom. This Act says that a person can be penalized for conspiring "to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment of a foreign dominated totalitarian dictatorship in the United States." It must be noted that the words

"substantially contribute" can have many interpretations.

Any deviant from the incumbent administration's policies can be said to be "substantially contributing" to the foreign domination of the United States. In this way an administration could squelch all opposition. Through the ambiguous wording of this portion of the act it denies a specific freedom—that of free speech. The use of this Act can bring American politics to an all time low of stagnation and conformity.

The Internal Security Act requires "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations to register the names of their members with the Attorney General. An organization is deter-

mined as a "Communist-front" by the "extent to which the propositions taken by it or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those of the Communist Party."

### AMBIGUOUS WORDING

The ambiguous wording of this section of the Act hampers the actions that many groups may want to take. According to this Act an organization that is opposed to NATO can be labeled "subversive" because the C.P. is against NATO. An organization that is in favor of low rent housing projects can be labeled "subversive" because the C.P. is in favor of low rent housing projects. All organizations that in some way work for social justice can be labeled "subversive" because the C.P. says it also works for social justice.

Thus many organizations could no longer function effectively because of the "subversive" label. Members of such organizations could have their reputations ruined. This creates a stifling atmosphere of fear. There are many people who are afraid to join certain organizations because they fear that their reputations as "loyal" Americans will be ruined and that they will lose their jobs.

This Act takes away man's freedom to earn a living. The Act says that it is a criminal offense for members of "Communist-front" organizations to work in factories that have government defense contracts. Thus a person can go jobless because he happens to agree with some aspects of Communist ideology. This allows the financial elite of our country to put economic pressure on those who disagree with it.

This Act allows for the construction of concentration camps in our country. The Act says that in time of war or national emergency the Attorney General may set up detention camps and issue warrants for the arrest of all persons to whom "there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in espionage or sabotage."

### CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The words "reasonable ground" and "probably" are too ambiguous for my taste. Because of such wording, anyone disagreeing with the incumbent administration's policies could be considered dangerous and thus sent to a concentration camp. If you remember, this was done to Japanese-Americans during the last world war.

If there is ever another war the same thing can be done to socialists and others who dare to be free thinkers not bound by the petty morality of modern society. According to the Internal Security Act the Attorney General has the powers of a dictator in that it is he and he alone who decides when there is "reasonable ground" on which to jail a person as a traitor.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 can be used to deny Americans the constitutional rights of Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Assembly. This Act can be used to deny people the right of giving free expression to their beliefs. It must be remembered, for our democracy to be valid, our society must be free.

We must take notice of the horrendous potentialities of this Act. We must defeat the forces of reaction that have supported it. We must work and speak untiringly and courageously, eloquently and persuasively, to defeat the forces of suppression.

Q. Would you tell us a little about the socialist youth movement you have in Ceylon?

A. The youth movement is called the Samsta Lanka Samaja haruna Sangama (All-Ceylon Congress of Sama Samaja Youth League). It has around 48,000 members. They are organized in 670 youth leagues scattered throughout the country. The youth leagues contain students, young peasants and young workers, with young workers predominating. Members of the two language and national groups of the country—Tamil and Singalese—are to be found in the leagues. We have recently formed a separate organization for students that is just getting started.

Q. Could you give us an idea of the relationship of the youth groups to the working class of your country?

A. The youth leagues carry on a very important function of education within the trade union movement. It is through the organization of youth leagues in the factories that we were able to make our first real inroads into the trade unions. Presently the bulk of the Government sector of the economy (railroads, transportation, port facilities, etc.) are organized by LSSP-led unions. In addition the youth help to organize the plantation workers in the many isolated plantations that are organized.

Q. What is the relation of the youth to the peasantry?

A. The youth are the chief link between the proletariat and peasantry of Ceylon. It is the youth who penetrate into the villages and bring them our program. In general they bring the working class line to all the more backward sections of the population.

Q. Could you give us an example of the type of concrete activities the youth engage in? For instance, I understand that

recently your country was rocked by what are called "communist" riots—riots between the Tamil and Singalese speaking people. Did the youth play any role in this?

A. The riots were perpetrated by the present government in hopes of staying in power on the basis of extreme Singalese chauvinism. Our party has opposed any attempts to discriminate against the Tamil minority and has supported the idea of a bi-lingual state. In many areas riots were prevented only because of the intervention of the youth. In Tamil areas our youth protected the homes of the Singalese. In Singalese areas, our youth protected the Tamils.

Q. Can you give us another example of the work the youth do in emergency periods?

A. When the government raised the price of rice a while back the struggle against this action was led by the party through the youth and the trade unions. In the countryside it was the youth who led the peasants against the government. Nine of our comrades were shot during those demonstrations. During a strike the youth picketed along side the workers. They raise money and collect food for the support of the strikers. No other party in Ceylon has a youth organization anything like ours.

Q. Could you tell us a little something about your party?

A. The LSSP is a Marxist party affiliated with the Fourth International. Presently we have 14 members in parliament and are the official opposition. The Communists have only three members in parliament and support the present government. The masses are moving in our direction. They have tried every other road—each one only to lead to a blind alley. We expect to have a majority in the next elections.

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## Redbaiting Flares On CCNY Campus

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A new group, stating that opposition to "a small number of students, some of whom do not believe in democracy," was an "important insight."

So fearful were President Gallagher and Renee Roth, one of the DFU leaders, of possible CCNY participation in the Festival that they recently came to the defense of the State Department as against the NY Times. The Times had stated that the government is "quietly and unofficially encouraging the participation of able and thoroughly prepared American students in the Communist-dominated World Youth Festival in Vienna this summer." Gallagher charged the article was "completely misleading" and Miss Roth stated the story "misrepresented the views of the State Department."

As of March 23, the original DFU leaders had announced no specific programmatic positions, as the Slate had last fall. The witchhunt tactics continued. SDS representatives maintained that they had not formed into a party; they issued a statement in denial of the charges of anti-democracy, and insisted that they were representing to the best of their ability, the student body which had elected them on their program. The SDS also accused the DFU with attempts at exclusion of certain individuals from the new group; the Slate maintained that the "democrats" were themselves almost immediately guilty of anti-democratic and illiberal attempts at slander.

A membership meeting of DFU was called. Over fifty students came to the meeting, at which the constitution of the new group was adopted. Since the DFU had been proclaimed as an open organization on the basis of the four broad principles, many SDS supporters attended. When two SDS leaders were elected to the executive committee of five of the new party, the three other executive committee members responded with further attacks and announced that they would present resolutions to the DFU the following week condemning the "Communist line at CCNY." One of the four originators of the party refused to go along with any McCarthyite attacks and announced he would vote against the resolution.

As the YS went to press, another DFU membership meeting had come to a tie vote on a resolution expressing "opposition to communism." Many liberal students broke out of the cold war patterns. The point was raised that many people consider themselves communists or socialists and also consider themselves in no way anti-democratic. (The YOUNG SOCIALIST for instance considers itself more democratic than the everyday liberal.) It was also brought out at the meeting that complete agreement on outside issues was not necessary for a student political party which would take positions on the important student issues. At the end of the meeting, three executive committee members of the DFU announced that they were in favor the group disbanding. Although the exact future of the DFU was in doubt, it was fairly evident that there would be two political parties on campus.

The political situation at CCNY has broader implications relevant to students everywhere. It shows clearly the utter bankruptcy of "cold war liberalism." A fighting student council was established at CCNY through the hard work of the SDS. The Council actually carried out a real campaign against membership lists, and in defense of the students. In contrast to this, the "cold war" liberals find that their political task is to defend the "purity" of CCNY from "anti-democratic forces."

This they do by adopting anti-democratic means themselves and getting the support of Pres. Gallagher, the classic cold war liberal. His administration has for many years refused to take decisive action on the witch-hunting regulations and other basic issues facing the City College.

Nothing really progressive can be expected from the initiators of the DFU as long as they continue on their present negative path. In the coming May elections, a fighting program must be offered by a party free of red-baiting. The campus deserves a party which will take definitive positions on matters that count, and that welcomes all students no matter what their political beliefs.

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**A GIRL GOES TO REFORMATORY:**

**Is It a Crime to be 16 and Unemployed?**

by Barbara Doritty  
 NEW YORK—Too old to be sent the State Social Welfare Dept. and too young to collect relief. Helen is a 16-year-old Negro girl. Is it an offense to be almost 17? It would appear so, judging from the ruling handed down by the Brooklyn Children's Court. On February 26th Helen began serving a one to three year sentence at Westfield State Farm, a reformatory at Bedford Hills, New York. The formal charge: violating probation.  
 Her records state that she is not a delinquent, but a truant. Two years ago she went before the Children's Court and explained that she could not go to school since she had no food, no money and no clothes. She was judged a delinquent and was sent to St. Ann's Catholic Home for girls. Last June she was put under the jurisdiction of the Children's Court and told to get a job. Her request for carfare so that she could look for work, was refused. Last month she made another appearance at the court with

neither money nor job. She asked desperately to be sent to a foster home. Instead, Domestic Relations Justice Thurston lowered the boom. He commented on his action: "I feel Westfield is a good place for her to round out her education."

**The Spanking Bill**  
 New York State's legislature approved a bill which would allow teachers to "use reasonable force in moderate degree" in keeping discipline. The opposition voiced fear that resentful white teachers in Harlem might "take out their feelings on children not of their own race."

As though one such case were not enough, that same afternoon Justice Thurston committed a 16-year-old boy to the Elmira Reception Center, New York. Like the girl the only charge against him was truancy and failure to obtain work. 99 per cent of the youths in Elmira are involved in

much worse things than truancy. Referring to both cases Thurston said, "I do not hesitate to send boys and girls to reformatories. I think I'm doing them a favor."  
 Authorities involved in both cases have said the usual procedure for a Children's Court judge was to keep a youngster at Youth House until full investigation is made by the Probation Dept. Referrals to Elmira or Westfield are usually made when a young person has reached 17 and not then for truancy alone.  
 The only crime committed was by Justice Thurston. Both the boy and the girl were under 16 when told either to go back to school or look for work. In neither case was aid given. In the girl's case she pleaded with the courts to be sent to a foster home where she would at least find a small measure of security, food and clothes.  
 Yes, they will receive an education as well as vocational skills. They will learn what no other school could teach them: The use of narcotics, prostitution, homosexuality, thievery.

**A Songbook for Bosses**

(Below are some excerpts from "The Bosses Songbook—Songs to Stifle the Flames of Discontent." This collection of satire, obscenity and radical obscurantism may be had by sending 50 cents to Dick Ellington, P.O. Box 104, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y.)

**TALKIN' LITTLE ROCK**  
 Well I went out 'bout nine o'clock,  
 Walked down the streets of Little Rock,  
 Just lookin' to see what I could see.  
 When suddenly a paratrooper landed on me—  
 Seven Tanks, two howitzers, an army field kitchen, and a four-star general.  
 Time for the kids to go to school.  
 A real brave crowd arose to the occasion,  
 They were ready to repel the "nigra" invasion—  
 Against nine kids; 500 strong—  
 And 500 "Americans" can't be wrong.  
 There's no discrimination in America—it's all Rooshun propaganda.

**TALKING MANAGEMENT BLUES**  
 If you want higher profits, let me tell you what to do,  
 You got to talk to the people who work for you,  
 Got to bust up the union. They're much to strong,  
 Fire anybody who dares belong, Get rid of the agitators, Hire friendly people.  
 Willing to work for an honest wage.  
**THIS LAND IS THEIR LAND**  
 This land is their land. It is not our land.  
 From their plush apartments to their Cadillac car land.  
 From their Wall Street office to their Hollywood starland,  
 This land is not for you and me.

**Communes . . .**

(Continued from Page 1)

aero. Pack animals responding to brute force cannot break production records, and super heroes by the million do not exist. His willingness to surrender private property rights overnight to begin a new form of communal life comes from a two-fold necessity peculiar to China's countryside.

Despite China's great land mass, it is mainly the coastal regions, particularly in the South, that are suitable for farming. The regions along the rivers Yangtze and Hwang-ho are also fertile, but unstable because of periodic floods. The chief crop, rice, demands saturation, making irrigation on a large scale a necessity. But both flood control and large irrigation projects are incompatible with tiny garden-plot farming; even the producers' co-operatives could not provide enough unified land or labor for them. In addition, with no respite from war since the turn of the century China lost whole areas of irrigated land to the drought.

The peasant population numbers 500,000,000. After the land had been divided, the average farm consisted of one mu, or one-sixth of an acre. In America 40 acres are considered minimal for the sustenance of life. Furthermore, the growth of a new rich peasant class shrank the average farm still more through direct purchase or usury. The producers' co-operative system did not change this situation. The rich peasant retained a larger share fund at harvest time, and the amount of unified land and labor was still too small to affect total production.

These conditions forced the peasant along his present course to the people's communes. It is noteworthy that the CCP specifically chose to rely on the poor peasant to accomplish the transition. Wu Chih-pu, Secretary of the CCP of Honan province where Sputnik commune was launched, wrote: "There must be reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants, and their predominant position must be ensured in the communes." (Red Flag No. 8, Sept. 16, 1958). The land and labor formerly scattered over 740,000 agricultural producers' co-operatives were united in 26,000 people's communes.

Millions of women were added to this force through collectivized living arrangements—communal kitchens, nurseries, old age homes. This broke down the age-old condition of virtual slavery the Chi-



A youth brigade sing as they rest on the threshing ground after a bumper harvest in Honan Province of China. The youth, too, played their part in China's "Great Leap Forward."

nese women were forced into. For the first time in decades there was enough surplus labor for work on major public projects. One of these, a water conservation project in Ahnwei province, engages the labor of 700,000 peasants; 300,000 plant saplings in the big drive to afforest China's countryside; uncoupled thousands work to harness the powerful Hwang-ho river.

An overall increase in surplus farm product means more world trade for China, a step-up in industrialization and improvement of military defenses against another Korea. To the Chinese

peasant, who suffered for centuries under the rule of imperialism, this, too, is important.

**TIGERS—PAPER AND REAL**  
 It is inconceivable that so many millions could accept—accept enthusiastically—a way of life they thoroughly detested. The Russian peasants did not—why should the Chinese? Nevertheless John Foster Dulles of the U.S. State Department reaffirms (and his "left critics," such as the YPSL, echo) the Russian analogy despite the above facts and chalks it all up to the whip, to regimentation. If these hysterical outcries were really intended to explain China's

big leap, they would constitute a monstrous insult to humanity. But Dulles explains nothing. He is building a propaganda campaign to justify more cold war in the Far East, and that is not all. After World War II, American capitalism counted China among its conquests — and lost not only China but Eastern Europe, Indochina and the Korean War. American capitalism is desperate, seeing only one way out, someday "liberating" China for the benefit of capitalist investment.

The CCP leadership has accepted the Communes and even done much to further their development just as a few years earlier they furthered the institution of co-operatives and the nationali-

zation of industry. They carried out these essentially socialist acts despite their declared desire at the time of their military victory in 1949 and many times earlier to preserve capitalist relations in China. They took these steps because if they hadn't their economy would have collapsed under the pressure of the imperialist blockade and the war in Korea.

The CCP leadership, while capable of responding to the pressures of the masses as in the above examples, still has many of the characteristics of the bureaucracy in the USSR. It fears genuine worker's democracy which would guarantee freedom to all political parties that defend the great Chinese revolution and its conquests. They, moreover, foster the illusion that somehow China can reach the stage of socialism or even communism isolated in a backward country and facing the immense military might of the United States. It attempts to simply dismiss the capitalist threat as a "paper tiger" and imply that China will come to communism through such bootstrap operations as the communes.

While defending the communes as a necessary step in the development of China, we must frankly warn that unless the Chinese CP adopts an internationalist outlook and banks on the spread of socialism in other lands which will remove the imperialist threat and give it the financial and technical aid of socialist governments in the advanced capitalist nations it will not be able to reach the stage of socialist development. Under such conditions it would not be surprising to see a growth of the bureaucracy in China, this bureaucracy becoming less and less responsive to the pressures of the masses.

*You are invited to attend*

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**YS Launches Midwest Tour, Fund Campaign**

As a part of its continuing program of bringing socialist ideas to American youth, the YOUNG SOCIALIST is sponsoring a midwest spring tour during the month of April.  
 Jim Lambrecht, who is a member of the YS editorial board and chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York City, will be conducting the tour. He will speak on "China's Communes" and "Will Our Generation See a Socialist America?" Present plans call for speaking appearances at Cornell University, Toronto, Oberlin College, Antioch College, Earlham College, Detroit, University of Michigan, Chicago, Milwaukee, and the University of Wisconsin.  
 This spring the YOUNG SOCIALIST is conducting a \$1,200 fund drive during the period of March 15 to June 15. It is through the successful completion of semi-annual fund raising drives that the YS is able to raise the additional funds necessary to keep an independent youth journal going. At these times the YS asks its readers to pitch in and make a contribution to the continued work of the YOUNG SOCIALIST for a socialist America and a socialist world.



## MILLS' CAUSES OF W.W. III:

# Can the Intellectuals Alone Put an End to War?

by Martha Curti

C. Wright Mills, "The Causes of World War Three," New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958. 172 pp., \$3.50.

Since the advent of World War Two, intellectuals have increasingly withdrawn, under the cloak of "objectivity," from political involvement. That a sociology professor should choose to investigate such a vital and controversial question as war is unusual enough; that he should actually draw political conclusions on steps that can prevent war is more startling; that the book is basically a powerful and penetrating indictment of the Cold War politics of the U.S. Government is nothing short of amazing.

C. Wright Mills is sharply critical of U.S. foreign policy, for which he holds both parties equally responsible. The perpetual "crises" as in Lebanon and Quemoy are to him "stupid;" the tremendous military budget, the spread of military influence, the inability of U.S. capitalism to industrialize backward countries, all come under careful, critical scrutiny.

The major proposals of the author to reduce the war danger run directly counter to those of the cold war apologists: withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from foreign soil; an immediate drastic cutting of the military budget; extensive aid, without strings attached, to all underdeveloped countries including those in the Soviet-Chinese orbit; immediate cessation by the U.S. of all bomb tests, unilaterally if need be.

Mills believes that intellectuals should speak out, should take a stand on every important question: "We must cease being intellectual dupes of political patrioters. This disgraceful cold war is surely a war in which we, as intellectuals, ought at once to become conscientious objectors. To make that decision does not even require great risk or self-sacrifice. It requires only sanity and getting on with our proper job." Such a stand is for Mills a step forward. Socialists should welcome "The Causes of World War Three," whether or not they agree with every idea therein, as an important contribution to the discussion of a problem the solution of which is essential to man's very existence.

## WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

In his analysis of the causes of war, Mills gives lip service to the notion that both the U.S. and the USSR are equally responsible. The vast weight of the book, however, the majority of the facts, the analyses, the arguments, point to the ruling circles in the U.S. as the primary impetus toward war.

"It is easy to see," writes Mills, "why the Russians consider these [the American] bases as aggressive and provocative. It is as if, from the American viewpoint, Soviet bases of similar type encircled the North American continent. Examine a map of the world projected from the North Pole, and on it, around the Western Hemisphere, locate Korea, Arabia, Japan, etc., and the point becomes immediately obvious: Bermuda, Jamaica, the tip of Alaska would be equivalent

## Soviet strategic-bomber bases." (p. 107).

One of the major causes of war is rooted in the economy, according to Mills. Ruling circles in America are mindful of the important role the war economy has in maintaining prosperity. Of decisive significance also is the need for U.S. business to protect its rapidly growing foreign investments, amounting in 1957 to \$58 billion.

The "imperialism" of the USSR, while it superficially resembles that of the U.S., is substantially different, in Mills' estimation. There is nothing inherent in the Soviet economy which compels it to expand. Indeed, the movement of U.S. and Soviet "imperialism" is in opposite directions: "As the

## Military Claim U.S. Has Too Many Arms

Top military officials expressed the opinion in secret House hearings that the U. S. was accumulating too many nuclear weapons that could destroy the Soviet Union "several times over."

According to the N. Y. Times, Gen. Nathan F. Twining stated, in a "top secret" report censored from the transcript, that the Soviet air threat is "not half as big as ours," and that they apparently intend "not to deliberately initiate a general war now. I think that with the 'now' out it would still be true." Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor said: "I consider that we have an excess number of strategic weapons and weapon systems in the atomic retaliatory force."

Soviet economy is further industrialized, this kind of imperialist temptation and drive toward conquest loses its strength. The reverse is the case with capitalist imperialism."

## CAPITALISM UNEXPORTABLE

Whether private capitalism or planned economy can solve the problems of the underdeveloped colonial and semi-colonial areas will greatly influence, if not actually determine, which type of economic system will win out in the long run. Mills, using poverty-stricken capitalist India, and China, with its whirlwind productive development, as contrasting examples, shows why private capitalism cannot industrialize the backward countries. "That the underdeveloped countries—containing two-thirds of mankind—

are still underdeveloped is a world historical default of Western capitalism," writes Mills. It is understandable, then, that with almost no exception the masses of Asia and Africa are socialist and communist oriented.

## ELITE AND MASS

As another major cause of war Mills cites the political structures of the U.S. and the USSR, which he claims, are becoming more and more similar though arising from different historical origins. Both societies are characterized by a tendency toward polarization between a small group of men, the "power elite," which makes the major decisions which affect the society, and the great mass of people, atomized, inert, passive, manipulated, to whom a role in history is denied. This analysis is documented in the case of the U.S. by showing where the decision to make war or peace is really made: not, certainly, by the people whom the decision affects; not even by their elected representatives in Congress. Real alternative policies are not even presented or debated. The very acceptance by the masses of the war ideology is, then, a major factor in the drive towards war.

## YPSL AND SCHLESINGER

Such a book will not be regarded kindly by cold-war liberals. Since it attacks precisely their sore spot, it will not get the wide response and sympathetic hearing it deserves. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the professional cold-war liberal historian, has attacked the book. And, sad to say, the Young Peoples' Socialist League (YPSL) has joined the fray—on the wrong side, of course (Challenge, March, 1959). The greatest weakness of the book, complains the YPSL reviewer, is that it is soft on the Communist menace! "The most blatant and serious fault is a sloughing over the threat of Communism."

The most valuable contribution of the book, however—its documentation of the role of the U.S. ruling circles in the drive toward war—is not even mentioned. Such an attitude shows how deeply the cold war ideology has infiltrated into this section of the socialist movement—that ideology which claims: "Our war preparations are necessary for defense against the Soviet menace."

The second major fault of the book, according to the YPSL writer, is that its analysis of the colonial revolution is—what? untrue? distorted? No: it is "coldly objective." That's what is wrong

with it. It might possibly lead some unsuspecting person into supporting the colonial revolution in areas where the great masses of people are under Stalinist leadership.

"The Causes of World War Three" does have some serious weaknesses, albeit not the ones that the YPSL complains about. The major inconsistencies in the book all stem from the electric philosophy of Mills, which vacillates between idealism and materialism.

## WAR AND IDEALS

To illustrate: On p. 82 Mills says that war is basically caused by ideas in the minds of men: "The immediate causes of the arms race are the official definitions of world reality clung to by the elites of the U.S.A. and of the U.S.S.R." "The official theory of war—the military metaphysic—is itself among the causes of the thrust toward war."

Yet on p. 116 Mills asserts that the very existence of U.S. capital-

## It's Nice to Know

Attention believers in Anglo-Saxon supremacy! The great writer of ancient Rome, Cicero, wrote to his friend Atticus in Greece, "Do not obtain your slaves from Britain because they are so stupid and so utterly incapable of being taught that they are not fit to form a part of the household of Athens."

—Southern Newsletter

ism and its attempt to maintain itself will end in war, ideas do what they will: "The continued attempt by the U.S.A. to defend the economic and political status quo of the world today will end in war."

Perhaps these ideas do not seem contradictory to Mills. But as he carries them through to the solutions to war, he arrives at two directly opposite and incompatible solutions. From the idealist strain in his thought comes the proposal for coexistence and negotiation as the only deterrent to war: "From the standpoint of mere survival, let alone progress . . . there is now one and only one paramount goal and only one general means to it: coexistence." "If peace is, and can be only, a peace of co-existence, the means to peace is, and can be only, negotiation." (pp. 97-98).

But on just the preceding page, Mills comes to a directly opposite conclusion, which stems from the materialist side of his thinking: "What the United States ought to do is abandon the military metaphysic and the doctrinaire idea of capitalism." (p. 96). "Our struggle for peace must . . . be a struggle to develop and acquire access to the means for our struggle. Our immediate and continuous fight, in short, must be a fight inside the U.S. power system over who is going to determine the uses of this nation's fabulous means of power and over the reshaping of these means into more democratically responsible instruments. A real attack on war-making by Americans today is necessarily an attack upon the private incorporation of the economy." (p. 117—emphasis added). . . . "An attack on war-making is also an attack on the U.S. power elite." (p. 121).

All this sounds very much like the socialist program for peace: the main enemy is not the Soviet Union; the main enemy, the main cause for war, is capitalism itself; the main struggle therefore is over who shall prevail in this

country—the "power elite" or the vast majority?

This directly contradicts Mills' other proposal, for coexistence. Coexistence is what we have now; it is the status quo; and Mills has already pointed out that this status quo is leading us, not to peace, but right into war and destruction.

The final major inconsistency in Mills' analysis comes when he answers the question, "Who, then, is to stop war?" To Mills the fact that a power elite has central responsibility is not altogether a bad thing, for it increases the possibility of the influence of reason in human affairs. He answers the problem with a neat syllogism:

1. War is caused by ideas.
2. Intellectuals deal with ideas.
3. Ergo, intellectuals should stop war by convincing the power elite that war is stupid.

Mills' theory of the "power elite," which is empirically accurate in describing the U.S. social structure, is misleading when used as Mills does in political analysis. His conception of U.S. society, it seems, is a static one; he not only describes the present apparent helplessness of the masses, but he denies to them any possible historical role in the future.

(The "power elite" theory also a fitting empirical description of the Russian social structure. Here also, however, Mills ignores the dynamic possibility of the concept. Implying that status quo will stretch endlessly into the future, he underestimates the significance for the future events such as the uprisings in Hungary, East Germany, and Vorkuta).

The pitiful weakness of his reliance on the intellectuals as a solution is shown by Mills himself. He has proven irrefutable in "White Collar" that intellectuals and the middle class generally are incapable of playing independent political role; must ally themselves with one of the major forces in society—the "power elite" or the labor movement. Obviously, by sheer process of elimination if nothing else, the labor movement is the only social force we now have to count on for progressive change.

## MARX TO PLATO

Mills' dilemma arises from attempt to evade Marxism. Like all those who claim that Marxism is outmoded and does not deal with present-day reality, Mills has no startling new ideas to propose. His own proposals—coexistence, negotiation, the leading role of the intellectuals—he himself has refuted far more strongly than he has supported them. His "new" solutions are not as new as the 100-year-old ideas of Marx; they are the more than 2000-year-old ideas of Plato, who envisioned a society governed by the intellectuals, the Philosopher Kings.

That Mills does not see the potential force of the labor movement, that his ideas of what can be done are therefore limited, that his book is addressed to fellow intellectuals isolated in an atomized society, is understandable. For Mills is an isolated intellectual; until he and other intellectuals join forces with the labor and radical movements they will necessarily be talking, by a large, only to themselves. Mill's principled opposition to the cold war is the first step toward ending the isolation and helplessness of the intellectual. Let us hope that others will take the same step, and indeed go further.

## Mage Challenges the Left on Hungary

by Tim Wohlforth

Shane Mage: "The Hungarian Revolution," Berkeley, Calif.: Young Socialist Forum, 2431 Dwight Way, 1959. Price 25 cents.

With this pamphlet by Shane Mage, the YOUNG SOCIALIST initiates its new educational bulletin service. It deals with the highly controversial subject of the Hungarian revolution in a way that should challenge the thinking of all on the left.

Those who accept the Soviet Union's official view of the Hungarian events as a "counter-revolution" must read Mage's point by point factual answer to Herbert Aptheker's "Truth About Hungary" before they can say with intellectual honesty that their view has a basis in the real events that transpired during October and November, 1956.

On the other hand, right-wing socialists and liberals who view the Hungarian Revolution as a simple struggle for "democracy" and who are unconcerned with the potential within the Hungarian situation for capitalist restoration will find Mage's polemics against the right wing of the now defunct Young Socialist League a theoretical challenge to this view.

The events in Hungary, while they occurred two and a half years ago still deserve careful study by thoughtful people. For in these events, we can learn much of the future evolution of that one-third of the world which has taken the first painful faltering steps in the direction of socialism. Mage's writings contained in this pamphlet, are in our opinion, a very thoughtful and stimulating contribution to an understanding of these events.