

# Cal Students Protest Curbs on Student Gov't; Administration Pounces

by Jim Petras

(As reported in the December YOUNG SOCIALIST, the University of California is in a turmoil following a set of directives by President Kerr which virtually abolished representative student government at the University and placed severe restrictions on the functioning of student organizations. The anti-fraternity party, Slate, along with several other organizations and individuals, has been fighting these directives.)

BERKELEY—As the YS goes to press Slate is in the midst of a general student election, the Kerr directives being the central issue. The fraternity types and the so-called independents do not offer opposition to the administration. "Togetherness" is their motto. Slate is the only group which has a program for a student government.

The Administration has prepared itself in order to defeat Slate. The main support for Slate in the student body is among the graduate students. The Chancellor arbitrarily removed the graduate students as voting members. Thus Slate is operating under a great handicap in this election.

## MOVES TO IGNORE

Earlier, the Slate representative to the Executive Committee of the Associated Students made a motion: to ignore the directives of the University President until students could decide the powers of student government. But the majority of the Executive Committee, dominated by the fraternity coalition, prevailed and the motion was defeated.

Protests denouncing the Kerr

directives continued from other campuses of the University—Santa Barbara, Sacramento State, and Riverside, where students picketed an administration building.

At UCLA, students are organizing a student political party similar to Slate, which tentatively calls itself Platform.

The Bureaucrats, meanwhile, were also "doing things." On their way to the Santa Barbara campus—Slate was visiting different campuses to determine the climate of opinion—State people were slandered by a high administration official, who went so far as to say that Slate was out to "destroy the University." This bureaucrat then made hints at mysterious powers . . . that Slate had "outside support."

Such is the Method of the Educator.

## KERR UNDER PRESSURE

Under the impact of the initial furor over the directives and the continual pressures of the students led by Slate and the Student Civil Liberties Union, His Excellency President Kerr withdrew one section of the directives: that section banning recognized student groups on campus from taking stands on "off-campus" issues. The most important part of the Kerr directives, however, remains. The Chancellor still has direct control over Student Government and ultimate veto power over student affairs. Student Government President Dave Armor, a member of Slate, pointed out: "One of the most crucial restrictions was the prohibition of student governments in taking stands on off-campus issues and this provision has not been affected by the modification."

Slate is particularly affected by Kerr's directive as it has, since its inception, waged campaigns on "outside issues" of interests such as the referendum last spring against segregation in Berkeley housing. This referendum was sponsored by United Socialist Action, and supported by the Young Socialist Alliance.

All the official "liberal" groups, such as the Democratic Party and the NAACP, opposed the proposition, causing its defeat. Slate's support of the socialist-sponsored proposition incurred the wrath of President Kerr, who gave Slate a fight for its very life.

For the first time since the loyalty oath struggle [in 1950] the faculty at Cal has taken a stand: the Academic Freedom Committee of the Faculty Senate has taken a very critical view of the now infamous Kerr Directives.

## CONTINUES STRUGGLE

But the Slate people continue to strive for their goals. Another trip to Southern California campuses is planned. They plan to utilize their growing membership for carrying the political issues to the Cal students.

Aryay Lenske, Slate chairman, puts it this way: "We will continue to fight against any denial of student rights despite the desire of the Administration to end political action on the campus."

# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 3, No. 4

January, 1960



Pete Seeger sings to New York rally supporting First Amendment defendants

—Jack Arnold

## AS TRIAL LOOMS:

# Pete Seeger Faces Jail for Views

by Jack Arnold

Pete Seeger, the popular singer of folk music, was summoned in August of 1955 to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee as it sat in session in New York. Appearing along with him were about 30 actors and actors' agents. The committee's purpose as stated by chairman Francis Walters was "to expose the Communist conspiracy in the entertainment field."

In the interview held by this reporter with Pete Seeger, Mr. Seeger remarked that according to Sherlock Holmes "nothing is ever a coincidence. It certainly was no coincidence that just at the time

a hot fight was raging in the TV actors union the Committee decided to hold hearings in New York. Walters tends to show up at a time when he thinks he can do the most damage."

Mr. Seeger goes on trial in January to face contempt of Congress charges arising out of his First Amendment resistance to the inquisitorial probing of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. Seeger is one of the 30 First Amendment contempt cases being aided by the newly organized Committee of First Amendment Defendants. Contributions for the work of this committee should be

sent to the committee at Post Office box 564, Radio City Station, New York 15, N.Y.

Q.—Why did you invoke the First Amendment rather than the Fifth?

A.—I told Congressman Scherer I had nothing against the people who used the Fifth Amendment. I myself just chose not to.

Q.—In other words, you were objecting to the nature of the questions the committee was asking?

A.—Yes, the use of the First is a broader attack on the committee. The committee's antics are damaging Americans. They have blackened our country's reputation in the eyes of people around the world.

Q.—I understand that you engaged in an interchange of words with the committee when you appeared. Can you tell me a little about that?

A.—Actually I was rather straightforward. What I said was that I've never done anything conspiratorial, supported anything conspiratorial, or sung any songs that were conspiratorial. Because some of my opinions may be different from yours is no reason for me to be thought of as any less of an American.

Q.—Pete, I remember the Weavers group had several recordings on the market that were hits. Then they just seemed to drop out of sight and very little was heard of them for some years. Can you tell me what the reasons for that were?

A.—Many performers don't like to talk about blacklists because they feel it hurts business—but I don't have any objection to talking about blacklists. Most people don't have any idea how many have been blacklisted. We (the Weavers) sold two million copies of "Good Night Irene" and then in July 1950 our TV contract was cancelled and we couldn't get any

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 4)

## Canadian Students Seek 'Immediate End' To Nuclear Testing

by Paul Schwartz

TORONTO—The main assembly hall of the University of Toronto was packed with 500 of its 12,000 students. They came to hear the plea of leading faculty members for support of their anti-H-bomb petition.

The petition, to be signed by the students and sent to the Canadian Tory Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, calls for an "immediate and permanent end to the testing and production of nuclear weapons" and "for measures to prevent the spread of such weapons to countries that do not have them."

Many students who thought the petition was not strong enough in its wording and who wanted further action enthusiastically applauded Professor K. McNaught when he emphasized that the petition was only a "minimum demand." Other faculty members supported this view.

## WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS

Toronto supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST distributed a leaflet urging the faculty to strengthen the petition by demanding of the Canadian government that it 1) cut the military expenditures; 2) demand the removal of U.S. troops from Canadian soil; 3) withdraw Canadian troops from other lands.

The leaflet urged the students to support the petition, but to supplement it by organizing a protest motorcade to North Bay, where the Canadian government is now building Canada's first missile base.

Petitioning of this nature has spread to several other Canadian universities, among them McGill, McMaster, and the University of Vancouver.

## New Student Party at San Diego Fights Fraternity Domination

SAN DIEGO, Calif.—The Independent-Liberal Party of San Diego State College is essentially a protest movement. It began last May as the Independent Organization. The student government at San Diego State College is dominated by members of Greek-letter social fraternities and sororities ("Greeks"), primarily because few other student body members have any interest in student government.

It was felt by the leaders of the Independent Organization that Independents ("non-Greeks") should also become politically conscious, adopt platforms, support candidates, and so on. After an unsuccessful election campaign at the end of May, the independents were reorganized under the name Independent Party, a group concerned with welding the Independents on campus into a cohesive political unit and giving them their full share of political power. The "Greeks" number 1500 out of a student body of 10,000, yet they

control most of the student government.

Primary in the Independent Party's program was also a desire for reform. This was particularly directed toward the campus bookstore. The bookstore is operated by a faculty-student board, the Aztec Shops Board. This board is presumably elective, but its faculty members were last elected in 1933. Mr. Richard Thomas, who holds the mysterious office of Graduate Manager, is an ex officio non-voting member of this board. Despite his non-voting status, he is secretary and treasurer of the board and, according to reports from those who have attended board meetings, conducts 90 per cent of the board's business single-handedly.

The bookstore's monopolistic position on campus guarantees it an annual business of \$400,000 and an annual net profit of \$99,000. Prices at the bookstore, according to the most reliable fig-

# Youth Speaks Out!

THANKS, SCOTT

Dear Editors:

Helen and I wish to congratulate you on the YS for November 1959. The material and the make-up are both good.

Scott Nearing

## DOESN'T CARE FOR NROTC

Dear Editors:

Following is the text of a letter which I submitted to the Professor of Naval Science here recently:

My Naval Science instructor told me this morning that I did not care for my Naval Science classes and my appointment as Midshipman, USNR. This is true. In this statement I will expand and explain my reasons for "not caring for" my appointment.

Gradually, and since I have been in college, I have become less and less appreciative of my appointment as a Midshipman. The first lessening of my spirit probably came during my Freshman year. This was not a dislike for the appointment, however, and let it be noted that until recently I have had every intention of becoming a Marine officer. During my Freshman year I began to think that perhaps I would not be a career officer; I was not filled with a desire to be a platoon lead-

er in the Marine Corps, and I intended to apply for pilot training. I must blame these ideas on an unconscious dissatisfaction with the military way of life.

Throughout my Sophomore year these ideas continued, and I hoped that when I became an officer I would be placed in some position that would not directly connect me with the front lines of war. I remembered that I had had past experience in communications and thought that perhaps communication officer would be a good position for me.

This summer and fall has been a great period of personal enlightenment. . . . During the last few months I have read or reread and seriously studied the great religious and political thinkers. . . . I have investigated and considered many social viewpoints—utopian, Marxist, socialist, anarchist, democratic—and have given much thought to each. I have considered the problem of what I am, what my purpose is on earth, and what my final goal should be and I have decided that my final goal is in conflict with the purposes of the NROTC, or of any military force. . . . I do believe that the United States is using a policy of arms buildup and foreign aggression which is leading us towards a terrible war or an equally unbearable police state. I believe that it is my duty as a human being to protest this policy. I believe that a military state such as we have and are intensifying represents a definite infringement on human dignity; human beings become nothing as compared with the all-importance of the state. I have objected recently to the

removal by the armed forces of human rights; I now find it necessary to object officially to our policy of militarism and removal of human rights and our drift toward the police state. My duty has become one, like Thoreau, of civil disobedience. For these reasons I submit my withdrawal from NROTC.

Thomas Otis Price, Jr.  
Corvallis, Oregon

## SWARTHMORE PROTESTS

Dear Editors:

I read with interest a recent issue of your newspaper in which it was stated that Swarthmore had refused to allow YOUNG SOCIALIST representatives to visit the campus. I would like to clarify the position of the college. It is not an anti-socialist stand, but rather an all-inclusive rule against having outside commercial firms solicit business on campus in any manner. As you noted in your article, Swarthmore is a liberal institution of high academic standing. As such, there is, of course, a strong socialistic sentiment present in the student body.

Peter S. Walsh  
Swarthmore, Penna.

In other cases where sales of the YOUNG SOCIALIST have been forbidden on a campus as part of a ban on "commercial literature," for example, at the University of Colorado (Boulder), American Civil Liberties Union chapters have taken the position that a ban on distribution of commercial literature should not be used as an excuse to prevent distribution of religious or political literature.—Ed.

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401

January, 1960

# The Biggest Fix

The year just completed might well be called "The Year of the Big Fix." Not that any new hoaxes were devised to gyp the American population, but one revelation after another of fraud and corruption in nearly every field has jolted the average Person-in-the-Street into utter cynicism. He now assumes that anything and everything is a fix. Even the reputable publication "Consumers Reports" has found it necessary to reassure its devoted readership that its evaluations are based on nothing but Untainted Research in the interest of the consumer.

For several years now Congressional exposé committees have concentrated their efforts on corruption in the labor movement. This has gotten to be pretty tame after a while; so now they have taken up the cudgel to expose the world-shaking TV scandals. Idols have been smashed; careers wrecked; illusions dispelled. Other committees reveal that the public has been robbed of \$750 million yearly by the drug companies. In New York City, recent discoveries show that thousands of families have had to fork out money to pay for the butcher's thumb, or for adulterated gas in their cars.

No layer of government, no pillar of respectability is free from the implication of corruption. Not at all a freak, not at all accidental, corruption is a part of the very fabric of the society. It has existed, it will continue to exist, as long as our present economic system exists: a system in which not a wheel is turned, not a machine runs, not a house is built, not a play produced or a book published, unless there is profit in it.

The biggest fix of all is beyond the scope of the governmental committees. It will never be revealed by them—though most of their members are aware of it; in fact, thousands and millions of dollars are spent yearly to keep knowledge of this fix from leaking out. For when this biggest fix of all is known to the American people, they will not allow the capitalist system, the system which to have life must rob, must cheat, must lie, to stand for one minute.

Who gets the real "payola?" Charles Van Doren? Allan Freed? No; the real payola goes to the owners of corporations, in the form of dividends, Diners Club tax loopholes, mid-winter cruises, hunting expeditions, private planes, and all the rest, at company expense. The real payola goes to those who perform no necessary function in society. Those who do the work, those without whose muscles, hands, and brains not one penny of profit could be made, get platitudes, lies, empty promises. It need not always be this way. As soon as the working class and its allies realize how necessary they are and how useless the capitalist is, things will change. Debs put it this way in a speech to workers in the IWW in 1905: "You make the automobile, he rides in it. If it were not for you, he would walk; and if it were not for him, you would ride."

# San Diego Frat Fight . . .

(Continued from Page 1)  
of a boycott lasting one week. Although bookstore business was cut to almost nothing during one of its peak seasons, the administration refused even to consider the questions and requests put forward by the students.  
The present school semester opened with a struggle for on-campus status for the Independent Party. Failing this because of the flimsiest and most nonsensical reasons imaginable and after suffering another election debacle, the Independent Party incorporated with another group to become the Independent-Liberal Party, which did gain on-campus status.

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## BOYCOTT BOOKSTORE

During the latter part of May the Independent Party organized a student protest movement against the bookstore in the form

## MIDDLE-EAST ANALYSIS:

# Israel's Future Is With Arab Masses

by Fred Mazelis

(This article is based on a talk given by the author to the Student Zionist Organization at the City College of New York.)

Since the founding of Israel 11 years ago, the country has been plagued by the animosity of the neighboring Arab governments and the overwhelming majority of the Arab peoples. The greatest task confronting the Israeli people in the next decade, one which must be accomplished before growth can be assured, is the establishment of friendship and understanding with the Arab masses.

The Arab-Israeli dispute is very complex, enveloped as it is in the cold war and the colonial revolution in the Middle East. The Arab masses are in the midst of overthrowing feudal monarchies, decadent regimes subservient to the Western imperialist countries. The people of the Middle East today see their poverty as a result of foreign domination, collusion between the West and reactionary

elements in their own countries. This is most obviously true at present of the regimes in Iran and Jordan.

## IMPERIALIST STATION

In the attitude of Israel towards the Arab revolution we can find a clue to eventual Arab-Israeli peace. The present Israeli government chooses to turn its back on the colonial revolution and to side with the colonialists. The Arab people, with justification, see Israel as a supporter of their enemies, as a base in the Middle East for imperialism. Witness the vote of Israel in the U.N. on the Algerian issue and the attack by Israel on Egypt in conjunction with Britain and France in the Suez crisis.

It is important that Israel see the difference between the Arab peoples and their past and present leaders. This understanding of the trends and changes taking place in the Middle East requires a socialist analysis of the situation. The only progressive path

open to Israel in the Middle East conflict is to line up on the side of the revolutionary changes taking place there, not on the side of those who maneuver to keep feudal regimes in power.

Notwithstanding Nasser's military dictatorship, it was the aspirations of the Egyptian people which were at stake in the Suez crisis. By invading Egypt at that time, Israel showed itself to be an enemy of the Arab people. Israel should have denounced the Anglo-French invasion instead of joining it; and offered its assistance to the Arabs over the head of Nasser. This would have put Nasser in a difficult position. Following such a policy, Israel would soon have found support among the Arab people.

It is not enough for Israel to insist that it should not be attacked on its borders or that it harbors no aggressive intentions. It must make sure that its Arab enemies, those reactionary feudal and bourgeois elements whose interests are opposed to those of the Israeli and the Arab peoples will be unable to justify fanatic hostility to Israel. It must proclaim the bonds of common interests between Arabs and Israelis. This can be done only by a socialist Israel, an Israel which, if need be, is ready to sacrifice the financial aid of wealthy Zionists in London and New York.

This idea leads to the connecting links between the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Israeli economy. For the economy will have to look elsewhere if Israel antagonizes and estranges world Zionism. In the absence of much foreign capital, Israel will then find it even more necessary to consider planned economy and nationalized industry in the effort to built up the country.

## YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

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

- BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd., LA 3-3703.
- BERKELEY-OAKLAND: E. V. Debs Club, Young Socialist Alliance, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley.
- BOSTON: Young Socialist Alliance, 1318 Commonwealth Ave., Apt. 7, Boston, Mass.
- CHICAGO: Young Socialist Alliance, Hirsch 438 St. James Pl.
- DENVER: Young Socialist Club, Box 724.
- DETROIT: Young Socialist Committee, 692 W. Forest.
- EAST LANSING: Young Socialist Club, Michigan State University.
- NEW HAVEN: George Orwell Forum, Yale University.
- IOWA: Socialist Discussion Club, State Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City.
- LOS ANGELES: Young Socialist, Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.A. 54.
- MADISON: Wis. Wisconsin Socialist Club, Landau, 1026 Clymer P.
- MILWAUKEE: Young Socialist Club, Myrtle Kastner 2951 N. Frederick Ave., Apt. 1.
- MONTREAL: McGill University Socialist Society, McGill Student Union, 690 Sherbrooke St. W. Social Democratic Club, Sir George Williams College, 1435 Drummond.
- NEW YORK CITY: Young Socialist Alliance, 45 E. 7 St.
- OVERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College.
- PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, Phelps, Apt. 4b, 3506 Powelton Ave.
- PORTLAND, Ore.: Focus, Reed College.
- SAN FRANCISCO: Young Socialist Alliance, 196-A Connecticut St., San Francisco.
- TWIN CITIES: Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Leonard, 517 Ridgewood, Minneapolis, FE 6-4423.
- TORONTO: Young Socialist Alliance, 81 Queen St. W.
- TROY, Maine: John R. Paton, Troy, Me.
- YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio: Socialist Discussion Club, Antioch College.

**BRUTES IN BLUE:**

# Detroit Blames Youth In Cop Brutality Wave

by Henry Maddox

DETROIT — Socialists have pointed out that the capitalists seek to divide the working class by pitting one race against another, one nationality against another, skilled against unskilled, unemployed against employed. Now we have the attempt to divide through setting one generation against another — parents against their children, adults against youth. In the midst of a struggle to break down discrimination, the powers that be are trying to provoke the Negro community against its own children through a scare campaign over juvenile delinquency.

Within a period of eight weeks this fall, four major incidents of police brutality against teen-age "delinquents" occurred in the Detroit area.

The most violent attack took place September 10 in what has become known as "The Magnolia Street Case" in which, as the Detroit Free Press reports, "A 16 year old boy . . . was kicked and beaten by at least four patrolmen Thursday night after he was a prisoner in the Vernon station garage." This particular incident was not unusual in the daily routine of the Detroit police stations, but this time such a matter was spotlighted because two Free Press reporters chanced to be eye witnesses to the following scene:

"The patrolmen left the [police] car and yanked Steel [the 16 year-old Negro] from it by the neck. Another patrolman raced up. 'Is this him?' he shouted. Then he threw a fist into Steel's face. A second patrolman pushed that assailant aside and sunk his fist into Steel's stomach. Steel fell to the garage floor moaning. When the law officers noticed the reporters one of the cops shouted, 'Lower that door!' But all were

too busy slugging Steel, now prone on the floor. They dragged him to the side and the onlookers could see only patrolmen kicking and slugging him."

Steel and five other Negro youths were arrested while sitting in a parked car in front of the boys' homes. The police had been cruising around looking for traces of a gang fight which occurred earlier. Seeing these young Negroes sitting peacefully in a car, the police demanded identification and forced the boys out of the car for a personal search. There was a scuffle and during the melee the police were hit by a baseball bat and a kitchen chair. A crowd gathered to protest the policemen's actions and reinforcements were called to disperse the onlookers and to help bring the boys to the station where the beating of Steel took place.

**COPS 'GET TOUGHER'**

Because of the eye witness scoop of the two Free Press reporters, the police department head was forced to conduct an investigation into the charges of police brutality. The major daily newspapers attempted to divert attention from the police department criminals by launching an attack on crime among Negroes and by demanding a "get tough" policy toward teen-age delinquents.

**PROTEST SPREADS**

Included among the groups which supported the boys and protested the whitewash of the patrolmen involved in the beating were Ford Local 600, the American Civil Liberties Union, which furnished legal counsel, two precinct organizations of the Democratic Party, the NAACP, and the Urban League. The Rebels, teen-age YOUNG SOCIALIST supporters, circulated petitions protesting police brutality in this case and



—Jack Arnold  
New Yorkers view display of implements of police brutality to discourage prospective juvenile delinquents. Authorities barred YS photographer from photographing electric chair.

received a good response to them.

In addition to the "Magnolia Street Case" the following incidents were reported:

On Sept. 29 a 14-year-old Negro boy was arrested for allegedly cursing at women on the street. An eye witness account of his arrest stated that the boy was "smacked a few times" by the arresting officers. While he was being questioned at the police station, his mother and a group of relatives "burst into the police station, crying for the boy's release . . . They shoved past patrolman Jess Elledge and John Godwin, who had made the arrest, and stormed into the rooms where the boy was being questioned. Police had to call in eight officers in four squad cars to restore order." The mother now faces charges for her actions.

On Oct. 3 a 15-year-old Negro girl was shot in the chin when she stabbed a man she thought was attempting to rape her. While she was being treated at the hospital she was arrested by police-women because it turned out her victim was a vice squad officer. His story was that he thought she was a prostitute evading arrest by another vice squad officer.

**VICTIM FACES SENTENCE**

The girl describes how she defended herself when a strange man suddenly approached her while she was walking on the street, grabbed her, and tore at her clothes, making her fall to the sidewalk. She stated she carried a pocketknife while walking through this particular neighborhood through fear of just such an incident. Instead of being complimented on her quick de-

fense of her maidenly virtue she was faced with prosecution for defending herself against a plain-clothes cop.

In most cases a real trial has proven that the original arrest and charges were completely unwarranted; but punishment doesn't wait for trials and juries and legal procedures. Punishment is meted out on the spot and excused by the police department with the words "Gentlemen cops don't solve crimes."

The cops use direct action in dealing with teen-agers, striking workers and minority groups. It is time that these victims use direct action in resisting attacks on themselves and their civil rights . . . direct action in the form of mass protest meetings, self-defense measures and law suits against the brutes in blue.

**THE POLITICS OF SENILITY—PART III**

# The Ogre of the Leninist Vanguard Party

(This is the third in a series of articles devoted to a revolutionary socialist critique of modern reformist social thought.)

by Tim Wohlforth

Conservatives, liberals, right-wing socialists, and Stalinists all share one thing in common. They all agree that the present bureaucratic social system in the USSR is the natural outcome of Leninism and Lenin's methods of party organization. Where the Stalinists differ from the others is that they put a plus where the friends of the State Department put a minus.

Let us look a little deeper into the question of the party. We will discover that the vanguard party that Lenin built and defended is quite a different creature from that which now lords it over the USSR and the Eastern European countries.

What is a vanguard party? Is it the raising of a handful of "chosen messiahs" above the mass to rule as benevolent despots? The word "vanguard" originally referred to the first troops of a column of soldiers. It does not mean "standing above," but rather "standing in front of."

This literal meaning is close to the real meaning the term had for Lenin, Trotsky, and the early leaders of the Bolshevik party. They conceived of their organization not as something separate

from and raised above the working class, but rather as the organization of the most advanced sections of the class itself. As such it was to have many human links with all levels of the working class and could be successful only if it responded to (Trotsky used to talk of carrying on a dialogue with) the working class.

**LENIN'S DEMOCRACY**

Lenin's party was organized under democratic centralism. He believed that if a party, serious about its politics, is to be effective

it must make its decisions democratically and once these decisions are made all should participate in carrying them out. Otherwise the party would not be able to function and a small minority would be able to prevent the will of the majority from being effected—a very undemocratic result.

What alternative methods of organization have the critics of democratic centralism been able to develop? In the last article in this series (November YS) we analyzed the right-wing socialist concept of an "all-inclusive party" showing that it was anything but all-inclusive and not very democratic to boot. It might be well to compare briefly the internal life in a typical right-wing socialist party and that of a vanguard party. In a vanguard party prior to every convention a period of discussion is opened. Major resolutions of both the majority and any minority tendency are presented at least three months before the convention.

Following intensive discussion both orally and in the discussion bulletin, convention delegates are elected on the basis of proportional representation. At the convention itself the questions are again debated and voted upon. Once decided upon, both majority and minority are expected to partici-

pate in implementing them.

Now let's look at a social-democratic party, such as the SP-SDF in this country. There is no regular procedure requiring the publication of documents and their discussion at specified times. Usually resolutions are put out at the last minute and receive little attention. Discussion bulletins are published, but generally there is little chance to discuss a question prior to the convention as the majority does not bother to present its ideas in a worked out form to be discussed.

Elections are held with only a vague idea of the issues that will be presented to the convention. During the convention, resolutions play a minor role and most of the time is taken up by dignitaries and their speeches. However, even if resolutions were passed it would matter little, for the new national leadership does not feel itself obligated to carry them out.

**YPSL's CIRCUS**

The last convention of the Young People's Socialist League was a supreme example of this type of shenanigans. After much fruitless discussion over rather meaningless resolutions, none of which presented any worked out political program, the convention finally reached a decision to: table all resolutions before it.

Having dispensed with the side show, YPSL went on to the main

business of the convention—a personal brawl to get some seats on the incoming national committee (which, by the way, would also decide nothing). Such methods of organization do not produce a "broad decentralized" party, but rather an undemocratic, uncontrolled centralism foreign to a vanguard party. There is nothing binding the incoming leadership and it then makes all the decisions for the organization.

The capitalist parties are of course much worse—not even going through the forms of democratic discussion of program. The Stalinist parties are worse still, adhering to the name of Leninism only to deny it real democratic content.

The three-ring-circus school of organization of the social democracy and the unchallengeable bureaucracy of the Communist parties is indicative not only of a lack of respect by the leadership for the ranks of these organizations, but of a complete disdain for political issues. That these organizations relegate politics to such a low position shows that they do not picture themselves as conscious participants in the struggle to establish socialism in America and in the world.

(Next month: "Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys.")

Two New Pamphlets:

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—reformism or revolutionary socialism

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# Deutscher Sees New Trend in Russia

an interview

(Following is an interview with Isaac Deutscher conducted by Jim Lambrecht, YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board member, and Pete Camejo and Bob Sheffield of the Boston Young Socialist Alliance. Mr. Deutscher is the author of "Russia: What Next?" "Stalin, a Political Biography," and "The Prophet Armed" and "The Prophet Unarmed," the first two in a trilogy on Leon Trotsky. He spent the month of November doing research in the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University, where this interview was conducted.)

**Q.** Mr. Deutscher, why do you write a biography of Leon Trotsky? What significance do his life and ideas have for the present?

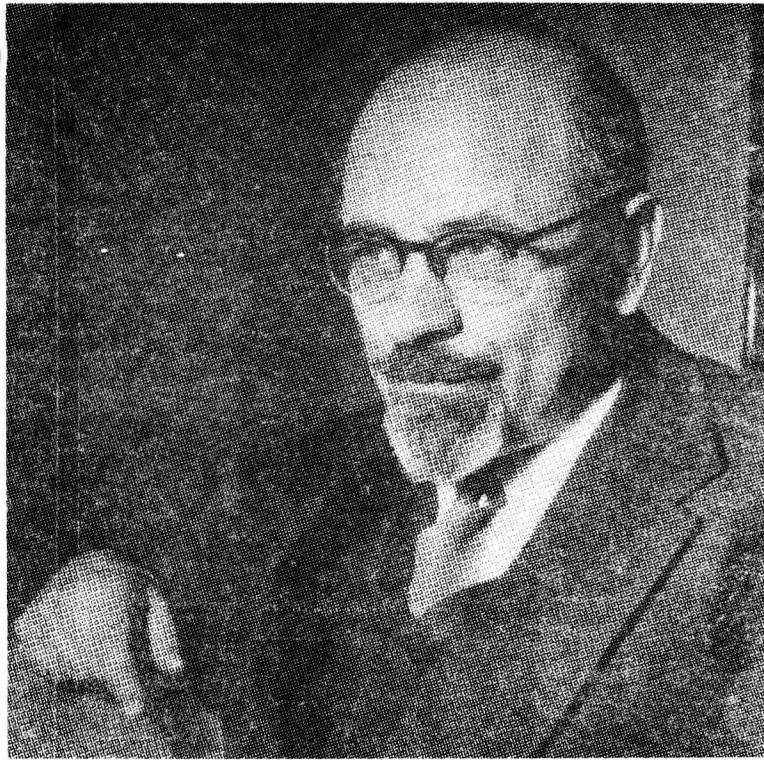
**A.:** Both Stalinism and Trotskyism are, in my view, being transcended by history, but each in a different way. Of Stalin—there remains only the material achievements of the Stalin era in the Soviet Union. Stalin's ideas will not have value for the future. For that matter, even many of his actions have been repudiated by his epigones and successors. The historic development is transcending Trotsky in a different way . . . many of his ideas must be restudied and thought upon. His revolutionary perspective has been confirmed, although the revolutionary process is developing in forms different from those he foresaw. In restudying Trotsky's ideas in the light of subsequent experience, we must use Marxist methods of analysis, no dogmatism, but rather a search for understanding through a study of reality.

**Q.:** Your research has made you familiar with many present-day Soviet periodicals. Since "de-Stalinization" in Russia, have you noted any discussion of questions dealing with the early history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)?

**A.:** Yes . . . there is now an intense interest in these questions, particularly among Russian students. The slogan of "Back to Lenin" issued by the 20th Congress of the CPSU contributed to this, as well as the recent publication in the USSR of Lenin's final writings, including his "Testament," and his "Notes on Nationalities." They have also republished the long banned records of early CPSU Congresses of 1917-1923. In effect they have uncovered the "Atlantis"—the lost continent—of Russian Communist Party history arousing very great interest.

### CHANGED ANTI-TROTSKYISM

All this has caused a renewal of the old anti-Trotskyist campaign on the part of the ruling group. The Khrushchevite versions of party history repeat many of the earliest anti-Trotskyist arguments—arguments used during the Stalin-Trotsky disputes of the 1920's, but not the charges of the later Stalinist campaign (the Moscow trials of the 1930's)—the charges of treason, "fascism," and so on. In comparison to that, the new anti-Trotsky campaign has been unwinding in reverse—it has been much less vicious. I think that the official historians and propagandists will have to retreat even further.



ISAAC DEUTSCHER

**Q.:** Your books on the Soviet Union have attracted world-wide attention. What does the Russian press say of them?

**A.:** The Stalinists have labelled me as "Trotskyist" and "revisionist" and "Trotskyists" have denounced me as "apologist for Stalinism." A writer in the last issue of the Soviet publication **Problems of the History of the Soviet Communist Party** refers to me as "the most dangerous revisionist and the most active Trotskyist in the West."

**Q.:** Do you then consider yourself a Marxist?

**A.:** What a question to ask of me! Yes, definitely . . . and not a revisionist of Marxism. On the contrary, I believe that dialectical materialism—the worldview of Marxism—has been confirmed repeatedly by history, by the advance of modern science. And I do not believe that the capitalist economic system can be made to disappear through gradual reforms and thus give way to socialism. In this I differ from many Eastern European "revisionists" (disillusioned ex-Stalinists). On the other hand, the Khrushchevite campaign against "revisionism" is ambiguous and hypocritical. Didn't Khrushchev himself find much to rewrite in the Stalinist record—at the 20th Congress?

### MARXISM DISPROVED?

**Q.:** Many critics of Marxism say that the rise of a bureaucracy in Russia disproves some basic concepts of Marxism, for instance the "withering away of

the state." Would you comment on that?

**A.:** I don't think the rise of bureaucracy has disproved any basic tenets of Marxism. It can be understood only by means of Marxist analysis. Stalinism was an aberration from Marxism . . . but not an accidental one. It was Marxism refracted through the prism of Russian backwardness. Now that prism is vanishing; and Marxism, enriched by gigantic practical experience, can and will re-emerge.

We should not forget that even in the Stalin era the Soviet masses were brought up largely in a tradition of Marxist socialism, however distorted and debased that tradition had become. Moreover, what has been "indoctrinating" the Soviet masses with Marxism is primarily the social structure within which they have lived—this has been much more important than any formalized and official "propaganda." The Russian workers of today may have a less crystallized idea of Marxism than had their forebears in 1905 and 1917 or Western revolutionary workers. But they take for granted planned economy and public ownership of the means of production—the things that old socialist propagandists had to drum into people.

The Soviet worker of today thinks in a Marxist way, even if he isn't aware of it; and this kind of Marxism existing in the minds and social instincts of many millions and rooted in the social structure is historically more important than the Marxism of the classical text books; and this kind of socialist mass-consciousness will increasingly show itself in pressure against bureaucracy, whatever the forms of that pressure; and it will eventually pose the problem of the "withering away of the state" in a new context.

**Q.:** In what way do you think political democratization will occur in the Soviet Union? By reform or political revolution?

**A.:** I do not believe that there has been enough empirical data to justify any rigid or even clear-cut prognostication. The past six years since Stalin's death have seen a

great deal of reform in Russia. There is not yet, it is true, social-democratization. But these reforms set the stage for it.

### GROWING PRESSURE

What caused the reforms? There has been growing popular pressure against the supremacy of a bureaucracy; behind that pressure there is the rise in the productive power of the Soviet industry, the growth of a new working class, mass education, etc. The reactions of the ruling group to these pressures have been of a reformist character—there have been many concessions. If the regime becomes rigid, it ceases to grant concessions to popular pressure, then political revolution may follow. But that is the only situation that would make it possible. However, popular unrest leading to political revolution rarely occurs in an expanding society where productive power, popular well being and mass education are constantly rising as they are in the Soviet Union.

**Q.:** What is meant by the "democratization" of Soviet society? Do you think there will be a return to the political regime of the pre-Stalin era?

**A.:** No. The workers councils of the early years of the revolution were in fact a dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers revolution had won for them a very precarious position in one of the most backward European countries, surrounded by highly industrialized capitalist countries hostile to them. The Russian bourgeoisie was wholly disfranchised, while the vote of a peasant counted for less than the vote of a worker. Lenin called these measures "exceptional." The workers were forced to rule in this way because of their numerical weakness; but then they, in their turn, were virtually disfranchised by the party machine.

Now Russia is no longer isolated and her own industrial strength has increased greatly. Social antagonism between industrial city and farming countryside is being reduced. The working class is one of the largest in the world: it forms a near majority of the Soviet population. In another few years it will form the absolute majority.

I believe a truer "socialist democracy" will be possible, a democracy in which all elements of society will participate equally. This should be a form of democracy superior to that of the workers councils of the 1920's, and even of 1917-1920.

**Q.:** What books are you planning for the future?

**A.:** I am completing "The Prophet Outcast," the final volume of my trilogy on Trotsky. Much of it had already been written, but a study of new material compelled me to change my outline and rewrite. The biographical form does not permit an explicit statement of one's political assumptions—after the Trotsky biography I plan to write a work analyzing in broad

outline the development of revolution, socialism and labor movements in the last 150 years. When I finish that, I shall return to my biography of Lenin.

**Q.:** To what extent have you been involved personally in the historic events described in your books?

**A.:** I have been a Marxist since the age of 18-19 when I became a member of the Polish Communist Party. In 1932—at 25—I was expelled for "anti-Stalinism." For a number of years after that I was under Trotsky's very strong influence. Producing a three-volume biography of Trotsky is perhaps a way of gratefully acknowledging this great influence. However, neither I nor the rest of the Polish section of the Left Opposition were in agreement with Trotsky's decision to proclaim a new Fourth International. I feel that our view has been confirmed. A "workers international" that has been unable to influence the class struggle in any important country over a period as significant and revolutionary in character as the past quarter of a century has been a failure, by Trotsky's own standards and by any other standards.

At no time did I consider myself quite an "orthodox Trotskyist." "To be a Marxist is quite enough," as Ryazanov, the old Marxist scholar and Trotsky's friend used to say.

(Next month the YOUNG SOCIALIST will feature a review of "The Prophet Unarmed" by James Robertson.)

## Pete Seeger . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

more TV jobs. Our contract with Decca Records, which was signed in May, 1950, was cancelled in 1953.

Today, almost ten years later, people take Weavers records to disc jockeys and the disc jockeys tell them as far as they know the directive not to play them is still in effect.

I find myself in an unusually fortunate position in that I don't work in any one place or have any one boss. If it were up to the administrations of colleges I wouldn't have any jobs. It is usually the students who ask me to come.

**Q.:** Can you give us an idea of the defense strategy in the attempt to subpoena Congressman Walters to appear as a witness at your contempt trial?

**A.:** Walters couldn't be located for a full week. After one week of phone calls and telegrams my lawyers succeeded in locating him. He then said he was very busy and couldn't make it until January. Walters claims he was investigating a conspiracy. I claim I haven't done anything of that nature. We want to put him on the stand to tell us what he thinks I've done that's conspiratorial.

### Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

1960

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