

Negro Pressure Brings Conviction In Fla. Rape Case

By Jack Arnold

The conviction of the four white youths for the rape of a 19-year-old Florida A & M University Negro coed can be counted a victory. There can be no doubt the indictment and conviction came as the result of mass actions like the strike of A & M students and the Youth March on Washington which are placing the struggles of the Negro people in the spotlight for the whole world to see.

The all white jury brought in a guilty verdict with a mercy recommendation. The judge handed down the heaviest sentence possible under a mercy recommendation, that of life imprisonment. The verdict marked the third time in Florida that white men had been convicted for a sexual attack on a Negro while 37 Negroes have died in the electric chair for the crime since 1925.

In explaining the mercy recommendation, the jury foreman, A. H. King, a wealthy corn and peanut plantation owner, said that the jury preferred to leave the punishment up to the judge since the girl had not been abused except for the repeated (seven) sex assaults.

Just how much of a victory the conviction is was called into question by such men as Rev. Joseph Redick, former NAACP state president of Florida, who had the following bitter comment: "Florida has maintained its fine record of never sending a white man to the electric chair for the rape of a Negro."

While four white youths received life imprisonment in rape charges of a Negro coed a step has been made in the right direction toward equal justice for Negroes convicted of raping white women. A 16-year-old Negro won life imprisonment on a rape charge. The judge has renewed the hope that justice is not "color blind but an attainable goal."

NEGROES' REACTION

The young victim of this brutal attack, her parents, and her friends, all had stated that these four white men should get the same kind of justice given to Negroes for this type of offense. Their attitude and that of the Negro people was summed up by Marl Young in his column, "This World Of Ours," in the June 5 edition of the Los Angeles Tribune. In a rebuke to the Rev. Martin Luther King he said:

Meanwhile, back in Tallahassee, the Rev. Martin Luther King helps the Florida officials prepare for a whitewash in the case of the four whites who raped the Negro Florida A & M coed. Dig this. The Rev. Martin Luther King goes to Tallahassee and says that he does not believe in capital punishment. Who asked him and why did he have to make the statement at this time? If a colored man looks at a white woman in the south, they send him to the electric chair (that is, if the lynchers allow him to come to trial). We have been insisting that Florida prosecute these rapists to the fullest extent of the law and "Golden Boy" King goes down there (who invited him, anyway?) and paves the way for the Florida courts either to let the rapists off with a light sentence or let them go scot free, just like Mississippi lynchers.

Marl Young devotes the rest of his column to an attack on the pacifist ideas of Rev. King. His comments on King's remarks

clearly line him up on the side of men like Robert Williams, president of the Monroe County, N.C., branch of the NAACP. Mr. Williams was recently suspended from holding office for six months in the NAACP for advocating the right of Negroes to forcibly defend themselves against the mob violence of the racists.

Marl Young goes on to say:

Besides his unnecessary remarks anent capital punishment, the Rev. King also said, and this will kill you. "Join me in saying to our white brother in the South, you can bomb my home, but I shall love you."

Get that! I'm supposed to love the dog that bombs my home . . .

I want it understood that I am one Negro he ain't speaking for. I am a law abiding man and do not believe in violence but if I caught anyone in the act of bombing my house, I would blow his brains plumb out of his head. But Rev. King says I should shower him with love and kisses.

VIOLENCE RISES

A report just published by the American Friends Service Committee, the department of racial and cultural relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group working toward better race relations, states: "Resistance groups, typified by the White Citizens Council born in Mississippi in 1954, have spread across the South. By 1956, they had an estimated 300,000 members . . ."

The report emphasizes that the use of terroristic methods has been on the increase since the Supreme Court's outlawing of school segregation. The report listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation.

It is no wonder that men like Robert Williams call for and organize defense guards to forcibly resist, wherever possible and necessary, the racist terrorists.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

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National Guardsmen stand with rifles poised at a coal siding in Kentucky. United Mine Workers officials say that if it hadn't been for the intervention of the National Guard and State Police the coal strikers would have been over long ago. See article on page 4.

NYC HOSPITAL STRIKE:

Workers Earn 'Charitable' \$32

by Barbara Doritty

After 46 days the hospital strike has been settled. The union has won a partial victory. They have succeeded in entering the hospital only through the back-door. Officially the hospital employees have no union recognition within the institution but unofficially a worker may choose a union official to represent him.

Still the social sin of New York City—the non-professional hospital worker is no longer the forgotten man. His weekly wage has been increased along with better working conditions and fringe benefits, he works only 40 hours a week and now has overtime rates for anything exceeding the 40 hours and finally all of the strikers will be reinstated as quickly as possible without discrimination.

The strike is a symbol of the unrest of Puerto Rican and Negro workers over the bitter inequalities to which they must subject themselves in employment. Their goal is for recognition of a union of their own choice. They have also proposed that addi-

tional pay and other improvements be included in the settlement. The strikers are members of Local 1199 of the Retail Drug Employees Union, an AFL-CIO affiliate.

The strikers had much to say about conditions in the hospitals: " . . . after six years of service to this hospital I make \$47 a week. . . . I can't afford to get married." An elderly woman with 15 years service said, "If I could use this stick, there wouldn't be any scabs left in there . . ." "Why did you join the strike?" asked a young man. "For one reason," he said, "I wasn't making enough money. After 10 years, I'm getting \$52." A young woman said, "32 dollars a week for doing two or three peoples' work and the assistant supervisor talks to you like you're a dog."

THE YOUTH

Volunteer help and paid scabs are the weapons used by the hospitals to help break the strike. Charles Silver, head of Beth Israel Hospital and president of the New York Board of Education, at the beginning of the strike, unsuccessfully encouraged the principals of Stuyvesant High School and Washington Irving High School to recruit students as scabs.

But not all the young people at these hospitals have been used as "scabs." Among volunteer help on the picket lines was the entire congregation of Adam Clayton Powell's church which included many youth. They wore buttons saying Operation Humanity. The demonstration was called to protest economic exploita-

tion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Some of the young people supporting the strike are the New York leaders of the Youth March who voted to turn over 600 lbs. of meat to the hospital strikers. They have set up a "Friends of Local 1199" subcommittee.

VIOLENCE

Recently trouble broke out at Flower-Fifth Avenue hospital when the graduating class of the New York Medical College which operates the hospital marched down 5th Ave. The commencement exercises were to be held at the New York Academy of Medicine a few blocks away. Unnoticed by some 40 cops the pickets made their way behind the graduates, some carrying signs saying "We Can't Send Our Kids to College on \$34 a Week." Realizing they had been outmaneuvered, the cops struck out at the pickets with their nightsticks, and hand-to-hand fighting broke out. Despite protests from the crowd 12 pickets were taken to the police station. The union in return has charged the police with "brutality."

Many unions have joined the struggle with food, money and volunteer help. Local 144, Hotel and Allied Service Employees has threatened to strike a number of smaller, profit-making hospitals. Unlike the voluntary non-profit institutions those operated for profit are required by law to deal with unions of the employees' choosing.

Hospital workers are among the most exploited workers in New York City. Thirty-five dollars a week—this is what a hospital director probably spends on taxi cabs each week. Yet this is what one of his workers gets for his living costs. This same worker is cut off from minimum wage standards, and from unemployment

(Continued on Page 2)

Profs Hit Fulbright 'Loyalty' Ban

Widespread protest has surrounded the refusal of the Fulbright Fellowship Board to grant a fellowship to Prof. Bert J. Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College, on grounds of suspected loyalty. The case, which has received the support of the Mississippi Valley Historical Assn., the national leading body of American historians, threatens to bring to light the entire "loyalty" screening procedures of the Fulbright set-up.

Loewenberg, considered the foremost authority on the impact of Darwinian theories on American thought, was invited to lecture at the University of Leeds in England and was approved by two Fulbright screening committees. The Board of Foreign Scholarships, which has final authority, rejected the Loewenberg nomination without originally giving official reason, though he was informed informally it was for reasons of loyalty.

Following large scale protests among his colleagues and the threat of the screening committee to resign, the Board finally gave reasons for its refusal, reasons which did not mention loyalty and were obviously trumped up. The screening committee is not satisfied with this response and has called for "a public policy statement of loyalty procedure."

Youth Speaks Out!

MARCH ON THE WHITE HOUSE!

Dear Editors:

In your May issue you discussed the Youth March and its faults. I was there and I agree with you that the location was abominable and the speakers were a disgrace with their complacency and support of the Cold War. The next March should be more effective with marching through Washington to the White House so that people will see us and we should have some youths speaking and saying what they want to say.

I would appreciate it if you would tell me how those interested can insure the success of the next March.

Jane Freedman
Englewood, N.J.

(We suggest that all readers of the YS join existing Youth March committees or NAACP youth councils, if they are not already members, and urge within these groups a more militant policy for the next March. Ed.)

I ENJOY READING THE YS

Dear Editors:

Enclosed is a one dollar money order for a year's subscription to YOUNG SOCIALIST.

I am a junior at Northeastern University in Boston.

I enjoy reading the YOUNG SOCIALIST and seeing what other young socialists are doing throughout the country.

Hildegard Langille
Newton, Mass.

WHY LAUD RUSSIA?

Dear Editors:

Why it is that at virtually all meetings of "Young Socialists" Communist Russia and Red China habitually are lauded and the United States criticized, in spite of the imperialistic designs of Russia and China, and the butchery both have and continue to indulge in to force their tyrannical form of enslavement on their peoples?

Why do we never hear a word of condemnation of Russia's seizure of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and her dictatorial control over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Why do we hear England and the United States criticized for protecting Lebanon and Jordan from Nasser's imperialism, yet nary a word re Russia's attempt to dictate to Yugoslavia or China's butchery in Tibet?

How do we justify claiming to be "Socialists" while religiously putting forth the same propaganda line as comes from Moscow and Peiping? Is anyone stupid enough to think that the public can't see through this deceitful doubletalk?

Just what is the dividing line between "Socialism" and Communism? Why do our clubs rely almost wholly on speakers with a long, long line of pro-Communist activity?

Joseph W. Bollenback
Madison, Wis.

(The YOUNG SOCIALIST since its very first issue has firmly supported the struggles of the working people in the Soviet lands for workers' democracy and against the bureaucracies that run their countries. We have, just as firmly, supported the colonial revolutions and opposed Western imperialism as in France's war against Algeria or American intervention into Lebanon. It is the former position which distinguishes us from the Communist Party and the latter position which distinguishes us from the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Ed.)

GREETINGS FROM AN OLD SOCIALIST

Dear Editors:

You are doing a good job spreading the cause of socialism. If I am any judge, and I have been reading socialist papers since 1897; Victor Berger's *Social Democratic Herald*, followed by the *Appeal to Reason* and the *Chicago Daily Socialist*.

After Debs left the scene the movement died or nearly so. To my way of thinking it is going to take another 1893 slump with Russia and China able to compete for world trade. The capitalists will have to reduce their gouging to stay in the game.

You lads will see it, I'm too old—88. Good luck, boys!

Bill Scales
Vashon, Washington
LETTER FROM INDONESIA

Dear Editors:

I want to thank you very much for sending your interesting paper, the YOUNG SOCIALIST, to me so regularly.

I really admire your courage and enthusiasm for fighting and struggling for the just cause of socialism. Be sure that the progressive forces among the world youth and especially the youth of Asia and Africa will support you heartedly. We are convinced that in the near future capitalism, colonialism and discrimination will disappear from this world, also thanks to your mighty efforts. Then we will be sure world peace is firmly established for eternity.

I will always keep your heroic struggle in my mind.

Tan Swie Liang
Djakarta, Indonesia

CLASS STRUGGLE IN PHOENIX

Dear Editors:

Arizona is a study in sociology and a classic example of the need for socialism.

Surrounding the Phoenix area, a scant 180 miles from Mexico, are farms and fields where the peons of society work from dawn to dark for \$2 a day and live in "Grapes of Wrath" conditions. Slightly above them are the casual laborers who work for a dollar an hour, hoping the work can be found the next day and the next week, and live in constant

terror of destitution if work should slump, never able to accumulate enough savings, aging prematurely from malnutrition, lack of sleep and wear.

Somewhat better off are the "steady" laboring proletariat: mill, cement and metal workers, dish washers, truck drivers and service station attendants, etc. But even they are in constant fear of losing their jobs and are driven to work harder. Phoenix is a pocket of chronic unemployment and the enormous lines of layed off workers flood the employment offices.

The standard wage here is one dollar an hour and we are denied the 40 hour week. We have the six day week or even the 50 or more hour week. The workers have no protection against arbitrary dismissal and many bosses like a good heavy turnover.

The few union we have are impotent and in collusion with capital against labor (which is not uncommon among unions).

The capitalists act as if a job were a gift to which the workers should be indebted. To get a job one must go before a personnel department and become an object for sale, stripped of human dignity, robbed of personal privacy and measured by all the latest tools of modern science to see how much more profit this object can make for the corporation than the next object. A human being becomes a dispensable object, his feelings of his own worth are shattered.

Also here we have rigid stratification, not only for our so-called "middle class" (White Collar proletariat) and bourgeoisie but among our most oppressed class as well. A farm laborer could never get a job in a gas station, a gas station attendant could never get into a skilled craft because he must have a father, brother or uncle in that trade union before he could get in, not to mention those high initiation fees.

Being a Mexican or Negro intensifies the problem. Even a Mexican or Negro can't eat in a decent restaurant (there's no anti-discrimination law).

Economic barriers to higher education still exist. The capitalists fight government aid to students and they bribe schools with their funds. Democracy doesn't exist when a voter has no alternative between the Democrats (the capitalists' lobbyists friend pretending to be labor's friend) and the out in the open Republican enemies.

It is obvious we must break from the liberal idea of reforming the irreformable system and answer the Marxist call of abolishing it.

Richard Balestrieri

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Summer, 1959

'THEY TEACH US SOMETHING':

Students Hit Teacher Firing

by Virginia Kaye

OAKLAND, Calif.—In spite of the protest gathering of over 100 students and teachers at the Oakland Board of Education meeting of May 19, from McClymonds High School, the board "democratically" upheld the firing of two teachers, James Clark and William D. McIntyre, from that school.

The students and teachers were supported and backed by Robert Ash representing the substantial membership of the AFL-CIO in this area, who maintained that "union discrimination" was involved.

In protest against the action, four young women students spoke in favor of being able to keep their teachers. One of them said that some of their former teachers didn't do much else but sit and look at them while those who were being fired had attempted to actually "teach us something."

It became more evident as the proceedings developed, that this attempt to "do something" was the crux of the firings. George Stokes, president of the Teachers' Local 77 charged that it was more than mere coincidence that those fired were Negro teachers who had been striving to have conditions improved in their generally neglected school-building and curriculum through their union. He questioned whether the real reason in back of the superintendent's actions was not a retaliation against the teachers because they "had refused to play footsie with the Board of Super-

intendents and Education as well as some of the surrounding community."

As it was evident that feeling ran high among the students and teachers on this all too obviously discriminatory firing, the Board of Education refused to take an open vote on whether or not to grant the teachers an open hearing.

However, both the students and the Teachers' Local 77 are determined that this is not to be the last that is heard from them. They are circulating petitions in the neighborhoods, and calling in both the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP for support of the re-hiring of their teachers.

However this turns out, it seems pertinent to comment that once again it has been demonstrated by the two-party representation on the Board of Education that "democracy" is not just a balance between numbers, but depends on a real struggle of the majority to gain their rights against a small minority group whose first loyalty is to uphold the property rights of others like themselves.

As one young teenager left the meeting, she said: "Wait until I tell my folks; thy tell me to go to school and learn to be a teacher, but they've got to know that when you do—you just get kicked out." There is also the beginning of another kind of realization among the students, for I heard several comments and suggestions about a "school strike."

Workers Earn 'Charitable' \$32 . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

in this country. The charity organizations such as Blue Cross and the Red Cross are run by highly paid executives and their board of directors are made up of the biggest business interests in the country. They are geared to offset any demand for socialized medical care or at least municipal ownership of the hospitals. The health of the population should not depend on charity or be administered as the private province of the few. It should rather be the obligation of the government to provide for the welfare and health of the citizenry.

When the hospitals claim they cannot operate without the present slave labor conditions there is a simple answer. If you can't run the hospitals, then we, the people of New York, shall.

CHARITY RACKET

Labor and management are both interested in the strike. On the one hand breaking the strike could encourage further campaigns of union-busting headed

Further, the arguments of the union-busting hospital management expose clearly the phoniness of the whole charity setup

by big business. On the other hand, however, a success for the union could encourage minorities in other industries to organize a union.

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IRAQ REVOLUTION ON THE BLOC:

Will Another Deal at the Summit Bring World Peace?

by Shane Mage

(Shane Mage is roving correspondent of the YOUNG SOCIALIST who spent the last year in France and North Africa. The June 6, 1959 issue of the Nation contained an article written by him and his wife Judith on U.S. bases in Morocco.)

Is "peaceful co-existence" an empty phrase, or can it become a reality? In this summer of 1959 the success of Khrushchev's diplomacy in committing a section of the West to a summit conference points up the immediacy of the question. Do these negotiations show the way toward a world free from the menace of war?

Much of the confusion surrounding the phrase "peaceful co-existence" stems from the fact that it embodies two distinct, even contradictory ideas.

All coexistence really means is "existing together": states with different social systems existing on the same planet instead of destroying each other in atomic war. But this "coexistence" is exactly what the world has known ever since 1945.

Certainly no one in his right mind prefers a war of annihilation to the present state of affairs. No Gallup poll is needed to know the response to the choice of "Co-existence" or "No-existence." But is there anything peaceful about this "coexistence" as it has been practiced for the last 14 years?

A world divided into two hostile camps, each bristling with weapons of ultimate destruction, is, to be sure, much preferable to no world at all. The catch is that at any moment a peace of mutual terror can, by accident or by conscious decision, explode into a war of mutual annihilation.

"Coexistence" in this sense means continuation of the Cold War. But peace, by any rational use of the word, means something altogether different—at the very least a situation in which mankind would be secure from the threat of total war, a situation in which atomic stockpiles could be destroyed, in which all nations could reduce their military preparations to the vanishing point.

Simple, modest, rational ideas. Yet is there a reader to whom this prospect does not seem a utopian dream? This reaction indicates what a tremendous transformation of the present international reality is required to establish peace. Is it possible at all? Can the capitalist states coexist with the Soviet bloc on a different basis from the present one of Cold War. Can "Coexistence" ever be "Peaceful"?

Before venturing a theoretical answer to these questions we should examine more closely the real nature of the actual coexistence between the capitalist and Soviet blocs.

THE TWO CAMPS

Naturally each bloc claims (in public) that the rivalry is one between absolutes of good and evil. "The Free World" against "Totalitarianism"; "The Camp of Peace and Socialism" against "The Capitalist Warmongers." But the "Free World" is made up of dictatorial, reactionary and imperialist powers; the "Camp of Peace and Socialism" did not hesitate to use the most warlike means in order to suppress the socialist revolution of the Hungarian workers. The reality of the international situation is more complicated.

What separates the rival blocs is, in the first instance, a social line. The countries of the Soviet bloc have broken away from the world capitalist system and on the



The Algerian freedom fighters, pictured here, are symbolic of the struggle of the colonial peoples for self-determination. What will be the fate of their struggle at the proposed summit conference? See article by Shane Mage on this page.

basis of a planned economy, have proven their ability to progress far more rapidly than any existing capitalist state. This fact imposes an ineradicable antagonism between the two camps, for it is obvious that capitalism cannot long survive the day when Soviet economic superiority becomes absolute instead of relative (i.e., when the U.S.S.R. attains a higher standard of living than the U.S.A.)

But in addition to the underlying social conflict, the nations are divided by disputes of a perfectly traditional type: control of Germany, of Eastern Europe, of the Far East, of Middle Eastern oil. The participants at the Congress of Berlin would today feel perfectly at home with eternal themes of power politics.

By definition, "coexistence" presumes the persistence of the social antagonism between the camps. On the other hand, the concrete disputes of a "traditional" type always provide the basis for negotiations, for bargains, for deals between the contending camps. The more so, in that on these questions the interests of the capitalist nations clash among themselves at every point. Thus at top-level conferences the public speeches are devoted to "ideological" presentations of plans for German reunification and other such quixotic notions, and the real, serious negotiations take place across the dinner table. What are the subjects of these negotiations? Look a moment at the background of this summer's negotiations for a summit conference.

IRAQ REVOLUTION

On July 14, 1958 a revolution broke out in Iraq. The people of Baghdad shot King Faisal and tore the dictator Nuri Said to pieces. A group of army officers headed by General Kassem took

power. Alongside the army, an enormously powerful popular revolutionary movement developed throughout the country. Keep in mind these two facts: 1. Iraq is one of the world's largest petroleum producers, and the Iraq Petroleum Co. is controlled by British capital (with a French minority interest). 2. The Iraqi Communist Party is the only serious political force in the country except for the army.

On January 1, 1959 the first stages of the European Common

fall or next spring. Result: in a sudden fit of present-mindedness Prime Minister Macmillan, remembering that two years before Khrushchev had invited him to visit Russia, packed his bags and took off for Moscow.

THE DEAL

The resulting Anglo-Russian deal is a good example of "co-existence" in action. What did each side get out of it? At the very least the following: for the Russians:

1. A summit conference.

14 for the British to write off Nuri Said to profit-and-loss and to line up behind Kassem (To the Americans and French, meanwhile, Kassem was a dangerous Communist). By eliminating the danger of a popular revolution against Kassem the British guarantee their share of Middle Eastern oil.

These are only the most conspicuous points of a fantastically complicated situation in which all the parties are playing a double or triple game (as always, when oil is at stake . . .). But they do give an idea of what is really involved in the negotiations taking place under the watchword of "coexistence".

Who benefits from this deal? The rulers of the USSR and the British capitalists, to be sure. Who loses? Not only the capitalist competitors of Britain. For the sake of "coexistence" Khrushchev agrees to use the CP of Iraq to contain the Arab revolutions within capitalist limits and, in the bargain, gives the British Tories a little help against the Labor Party. It is the workers of backward and advanced countries alike who foot the bill. And this pattern will apply with even greater force to any eventual deal between the U.S. and the USSR.

Theoretically, the fatal defect of any doctrine of "peaceful co-existence" is that it accepts as given, at least for a long period of time, the present division of the world between the capitalist and non-capitalist camps. This is not in the least a question requiring speculation about the perspectives for world revolution; it is a question of the political role of the Soviet Union and of world Communism.

It is elementary that for the capitalist powers the condition *sine qua non* for any durable

(Continued on Page 4)

PROGRAM FOR PEACE

1. Put an end to military conscription. End compulsory ROTC.
2. End the witchhunt against teachers, professors and students in our high schools and colleges. No more political screening of youth in connection with military service.
3. Immediate unilateral cessation of nuclear testing.
4. Dissolve NATO, SEATO. Bring home all American troops from foreign soil.
5. Lower the voting age to 18 years and let the American youth vote on whether THEY wish to go to war.
6. For a socialist America. With a planned economy, the nation would not require a gigantic military expenditure to keep the economy going. Billions of dollars would be released for humane and useful purposes.

Market went into effect over British protests. This scheme, pushed by U.S., French and German capital, would eventually mean the economic unity of Catholic "Little Europe" (Benelux, France, Italy, W. Germany) and the effective exclusion of Britain from the European market. Louis XIV, Napoleon, Wilhelm II, and Hitler all tried to unite Western Europe economically. In every case the British reaction has been the same: alliance with Russia.

Add to these facts the imminence of a British general election this

2. The opportunity to buy hitherto embargoed material from Britain and the promise of eventual long-term credits.

For the British:

1. A strengthening of the prestige of the Conservative Party, immediately reflected in the recent municipal elections.
2. A lead over the other Western nations in the developing competition for Russian markets.
3. The essential point—the commitment of the Iraqi CP to all out support of Kassem. It took only a few days after last July

BEHIND THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE:

There Are Economic Roots to the Drive Toward War

by A. Robert Kaufman
(Baltimore Corresponding Editor)

Thomas á Kempis probably said the shrewdest word on the problem of world peace that was ever written when he commented that "All men desire peace, but few desire the things that make for peace." Those of us who are devoted to the cause of peace are inclined to talk a good deal about the forces opposed to peace, but we seldom take the trouble to identify them accurately, even in our own thinking, much less in public discussion.

It is my conviction that there are strong forces in our economy—and relatively small groups of individual men representing and acting for these forces—which have a vested interest in keeping the present cold war just as similar forces had in previous wars.

These vested interests, of course, are the owners and managers of the means of production in every capitalist country.

THE CAPITALIST DRIVE

Capitalism, historically, has had three inherent drives toward expansion. They are:

- 1) The need to dispose of surplus commodities;
- 2) The need to find ever cheaper raw materials and labor; and
- 3) The need to invest surplus capital.

Uninhibited expansion is obviously aggressive. The history of capitalism is the history of meeting these three needs by the capturing of colonies, the creation of spheres of influence, and the wangling of trade concessions. Conceivably there might have been other ways to accomplish these purposes; but in fact the principal means used has been the armed power of the state.

Capitalism as a way of life has never been so overwhelmingly charming that "primitive" peoples seeing its face for the first time have instantly been happy to exchange their own old ways for it. Nor is it so deeply sporting in its manners that one group of capitalists has invariably retired gracefully from the field when another group had won what the first was trying to win. For both these reasons, capitalists in every country have used national armies as their persuaders: to convert cultures and even civilizations into markets and labor supplies; and to displace or try to displace other capitalists from positions already won. Historically, capitalism has relied on force and violence to vent its expansionist compulsions.

The nature and behavior of capitalism, in short, are the causes of possibly all modern wars.

FEAR OF RUSSIA

It is not surprising, therefore, that the capitalist countries of the world had not been moved toward gentleness and peacefulness by the developments in Russia. Here, for the first time in modern history, was a country that neither lay down and died, like a nice sensible primitive society, nor hastened to join the gang. Instead, it had created an entirely new situation.

By by-passing the one element in capitalism that injected the touch of insane compulsiveness into its basic three needs—the element of profit—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had, by the beginning of the fourth decade of this century, been able to retain all the active and creative parts of capitalism yet to eliminate the necessity of aggression.

The very notion of "surplus" commodities and capital evaporated, for both had been surplus only in the unreal sense that no easy market existed for them at a profit; in the practical sense that human use could be found for them easily, neither capital nor the products of industry had ever reached a condition of actual too-much. And with these two drives gone, the question of the costs within the area of the system of both labor and raw materials became manageable as an

internal problem with no need for resource looting nor slave exploitation.

As a practical matter of fact, the capitalist countries added, after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918, two new drives toward war to its classic three.

The first is, of course, the felt need to destroy this most dangerous of all competitive systems. Censorship could deceive the people for some time, but obviously not forever. Even, for that matter, if the new economic system were permanently kept from enticing the people of the capitalist countries, if it were allowed to flourish it would "rob" the capitalists of a huge market and trading area. On both these counts, then, capitalism felt compelled to destroy the Soviet system.

BIRTH OF THE COLD WAR

World War II left the capitalists in the United States with an uncured depression to cope with without the artificial market of the waste of war. Certainly there might be other logical ways to utilize the immense productive capacity of the country; but not if the motif of private enterprise were to be sustained: there was nothing to do but to prolong and re-create the artificial market. How? The country would not tolerate an actual new war, so close on the heels of the one just concluded—but how about a scheme that would accomplish the same thing for the owning class and keep the rest happy in the belief that they were somehow staying off the war they dreaded? Nothing simpler, given the powers of Madison Avenue. The solution was what has come to be known as the Cold War.

At home, the Cold War and its concomitant Anti-Communist Crusade have produced a social atmosphere that only twenty years ago the ordinarily literate American would have instantly identified as Nazi or Stalinist: an atmosphere in which mistrust of one's neighbor has become almost the standard attitude, and mutual suspicion lies only a molecule's depth under the surface. Loyalty oaths, wiretaps, security firings, FBI investigations, Unamerican Activities Committee Hearings—such words and phrases have become part of the vocabulary of everyday life, as common as the language of Star Chamber and Holy Inquisition no doubt were in their times.

Abroad, we have used the Anti-Communist Crusade as an excuse for suppressing the rights of self-determination of exploited peoples in every continent. One need mention as samples only the "free" world's support of France in Algeria and Viet Nam, of Chiang Kai Shek in Formosa, of Batista in Cuba, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and the United Fruit Company in Guatemala.

OUR WAR ECONOMY

In short, where war spending was once a means to an end, it has now become an end in itself. 1984 has arrived, at least in some of its aspects, 25 years early.

The simple, wholly unemotional

truth is that capitalism cannot afford another depression of the magnitude of the one of the Thirties, and it has not imagined another preventive than war-spending. Depression means discontent among the working classes and wavering of faith in the benevolence of a system that leads millions to breadlines. The poor of America were probably never really very close to revolution in the Thirties, but the owning classes were afraid that they were, and feel no confidence that they might not succeed in banding themselves together effectively in another depression.

The New Deal (for which the capitalists have always been boorishly ungrateful) saved the system until a war could be whipped up; and then the armies and war production finished the job of salvaging capitalism for another generation or less. That this is no Moscow-dreamed description of what happened is attested by the authority of no less an outspoken champion of Free Enterprise than President Eisenhower. "In 1939," he told his audiences in 1952, "after seven years of New Deal doctoring, nine and a half million Americans were still out of work." The dangers of depression, as we all know, were happily dissipated by 1942.

The capitalist "solution" for depression is dramatically summarized in just a few figures. Before World War I, about 20 per cent of the national income of industrial nations was derived from the sale of goods abroad, and another two to four per cent from sales to the military. Today, in this country, the figures are almost exactly reversed. Foreign exports have fallen as nationalists and socialists have gained control of their own countries, one after another, from the imperialists. War production, on the other hand, has now risen to about 25% of the gross national product, and is still rising. What would happen to this quarter of the gross national product and to the workers employed in a number of key industries if, without special preparation, peace were suddenly to descend upon the world?

17,000,000 UNEMPLOYED

According to *The Nation* (June 7, 1958) there are some nine million men engaged in production for the military. Add to this number the three million in the armed forces and the nearly five million presently unemployed, and you arrive at the shocking total of seventeen million who are in any sane human sense unemployed.

Optimistic and well-intentioned dreamers among the conservative and liberal economists, politicians, and social critics point out that with this manpower and the productive machinery it now wastes we could build homes and roads, schools and hospitals, and perhaps a host of other socially useful products, and bring about an everlasting age of peace and prosperity for all mankind.

The machinery of modern industrial production is capable of such miracles, without doubt. Like all machinery, it is inert, neutral, uncritical of its own uses. Only the men who control it can de-

termine what it will do, and so long as our American productive capacity is in the hands of private owners concerned primarily (if not exclusively) with grinding out private profits, the dream of utilizing it for human ends remains just that—a dream. Capitalists never have consented to any such use of "their" machines, nor is there any element in the psychology or philosophy of capitalism to justify the hope that they ever will. "In a world where hundreds of millions lack the necessities," writes Scott Nearing, "Uncle Sam is paying farmers not to produce foods and fibers which might feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Nothing that the enemies of capitalism can say about the system speaks more loudly or decisively in favor of its liquidation."

Capitalism is wedded to an ever-growing war industry. For this reason it must continue to fan the fires of Russophobia and keep the Cold War going. To do this, it must silence the voice of opposition, and hence must continue the Witch-Hunt. This is why we have the Smith Act, the Walter-McCarran Act, Unamerican Activities investigations, security screenings. The truth might make us free.

The effective forces opposed to peace today are the forces of capitalism. If we are told—as we will be—that to combat these forces is "treason", then we must reply as did another American radical revolutionist a hundred eighty-four years ago. How else can we be true to ourselves and to the

cause of peace?

If the liberals and conservatives are right, and we can achieve full peace-time production under capitalism—more power to them! Whether they can convince us socialists that this is possible is altogether unimportant. Let them concentrate on convincing the capitalists that the latter do not need war industry to maintain their profits; but I fear it is tragic to waste so much good will and philanthropic motivation on such a hopeless endeavor.

WE NEED SOCIALISM

As I see it, we must be aware of what forces are promoting the war economy, and be alert to point out the truth at every possible opportunity about the Cold War and the Witch Hunt. It is these activities of our true governors that have blinded the people into being led down the disastrous, and possibly very short, road to war.

Our primary responsibility to the cause of peace, ultimately, is to end that economic system which bases its very existence on an armaments race.

Nor do we have the choice of a more comfortable, gradual transition into socialism. We are every day showered with the slow death of radioactive fallout. We may any day step off the brink into the swift death of thermo-nuclear annihilation. Either we end capitalism (and replace it with a democratic economy, compatible with human objectives, or capitalism ends us. Either way, the system will go. The only question is—must human life itself perish with it?

Will the Summit Bring Peace? . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

political agreement with the Soviet Union is that the USSR will help to maintain the present division of the world—i.e., will use its influence and the apparatus of the various Communist parties to preserve capitalism wherever it exists. As we have seen in the case of Iraq—and there are dozens of equally good examples—the USSR is perfectly willing to accept this role, to act in a pro-capitalist way.

THE BUREAUCRATS

The policy of the USSR, China, and the "peoples' democracies" is based on the interests not of world socialism, but of the all-powerful bureaucracy which rules these countries. And despite its rhetoric, this bureaucracy is not socialist—its interest is to hold on to and if possible augment its privileges.

These privileges are based on a controlling position in the planned economy of states which have eliminated capitalist rule. The bureaucracy must defend them against the equalitarian and democratic demands of the workers of the Soviet bloc, but at the same time it must defend the economic system which is their basis against attempts to restore capitalism. The bureaucracy is condemned to balance eternally and uneasily between the workers at home and the capitalists abroad.

Hence the doctrine of "Socialism in One Country". From its very birth the bureaucracy offered to help preserve capitalism if capitalism in turn would simply accept its right to existence. "Socialism in One Country" (the inevitable corollary to which is "and Capitalism in all the Rest") was applied by Stalin with all the im-

placable rigor hinted at by Khrushchev in his famous "report". Today "peaceful coexistence" is simply a new name for the same policy.

This policy may not be socialist, but can it at least bring peace? If so, there might even be a case in its favor.

STATUS QUO MUST GO

Unfortunately no agreement based on preservation of the status quo can lead to peace—for the simple reason that the status quo cannot conceivably be preserved. The Soviet bureaucracy can no more prevent colonial revolutions from breaking out than it can save the capitalist economic system from periodic breakdowns posing the choice of socialism or fascist militarism. And even if, by some miracle, capitalism could be permanently stabilized within its present limits, the rate of economic growth of the Soviet bloc would quickly upset the balance of power. Today the Soviet economy labors under a military burden relatively much greater than that of the U.S.—and nevertheless at present rates of growth it will require less than 15 years to outstrip the U.S. in per capita production.

The capitalist world cannot accept the establishment of real peace, for that would mean euthanasia, a death warrant written in the graphs of industrial progress. But neither can it today choose war, a war that would mean immediate destruction. Between peace and war stretches the shadow land of coexistence, where we are condemned to dwell until the hour of the definitive choice between the only two alternatives: world war or world socialism.

Hiroshima Today: the Scars Remain as a Warning to the Whole World

(We reprint here sections of an article based on a trip to Hiroshima today first appearing in the May-June issue of "No More Hiroshimas," the publication of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs. The atomic bombing of Hiroshima by the U.S. government following the personal decision of President Truman will go down in history as one of the most infamous and indefensible acts of genocide practiced by any people in any period. It is our jobs today, as young socialists, to struggle to remove from power the capitalist class in our own country which perpetrated this crime and which is quite capable of repeating it. This year on Hiroshima Day—August 6—some 10 million people will march in Japan to pay homage to the dead of Hiroshima and to dedicate themselves to the struggle against a repetition of Hiroshima. In spirit, we will be marching with these people.)

Walking about 2 kilometers to the West, leaving behind the bustle of the prosperous city center, one finds on his right a rough wall of the huge Hiroshima Stadium, with its colossal lighting equipment fitted on six scaffolds. And a grotesque dome soaring on his left strikes him as strange.

A few minutes' walk brings the sight of the dome full to the eye—a pathetic appearance.

Darkish walls, that silently tell it has suffered a big fire, are on the verge of tumbling down, and one can scarcely trace the shape of the building that it has once been. Here and there on the wall were windows, without panes, of course. In the middle of the site stood the grotesque dome that I had just seen, naked and iron skeletons radiating from the center.

Remnants of the building, red bricks, broken pieces of cement were scattered all over the site and there was scarcely space to put my feet.

Obviously, this is an imposing ruin that has been caught by the violent hand of destruction.

Looking around I found streaks of wire laid around the site, and by the wire fence was a notice-board painted white:

"August 6th, 1945, 8:15 a.m. The atomic bomb, exploding 570 meters high above this building, Industrial Exhibition Hall of the city, completely destroyed the whole city of Hiroshima."

WITNESSES

August 6, 1945. The second World War had come very near to the close. With overt signs of defeat, the city of Hiroshima was in a state of emergency. The majority of young men had been sent to the battlefields, and the citizens, even junior high school boys and girls, were mobilized for military labour service.

8:15 in the morning, the air-raid alarm raised the previous night was lifted, and people hurried on to their working places with a sense of relief, and those remaining at home had taken their breakfast. At this moment:

"All of a sudden, a yellowish thing, like a big mass of cloud, spread and wrapped me up, and I was blown away in a moment. I came to myself to find my hair and shirt on fire." (a woman 20 years old when bombed).

"Darkness. I saw my cousin half naked running helpless, through the wreckage of wooden houses. I ran after her and caught her at the end of the bridge, when I felt it afloat with many people on it. We did not know where to run, but hearing somebody shout, 'West!' we ran to the west. Trying to jump over a fallen pillar, I trod on a nail about 15 centimeters long, which pierced my sole. I cannot remember if it felt sore at all. I was just running, running to the river as I later found.

"People cried for water. 'Mother, mother!' a child's voice was heard to cry; mothers looking for their children, fire from all around, black rain above.

"I wrapped myself in a mat I

found discarded, and when it grew intolerably hot, I put it into the river. I repeated the same thing over and over again. How many hours had passed I didn't know. Houses were still on fire. It was getting dark. It was cold. I cried convulsively, not knowing what to do, quite helpless. All through the night I couldn't get a wink of sleep. I was anxious for my mother and father.

"Next day I was taken near the harbour of Ushima.

"All the people around me were just like monsters, blistered all over, wrapped up in rags. Some drank water, nothing but water to quench their thirst. Their stomachs admitted nothing else, just water. One after another died, everyday.

"Everywhere I saw a mass of victims. What kind of bomb could it be to cause so many casualties at one blow? Then my thoughts turned to my mother. Is she all right? Where can she be now?"

"The skin of my left palm peeled off before I knew and I saw something white underneath. Then I first understood I was injured. That something was, I was told, bones.

"Scores of victims in a little temple; with hair fallen off; bleeding from I know not where; crawling this way and that like somnambulists, some writhing in agony, uttering incoherent words; squirming maggots; summer, the season for maggots; dying, faintly crying 'mother—'; can all this be true? will not this end? my cousin lying on my left is burnt all over; she knows nothing but sleep, it seems; it was lucky that I was somehow behind her; with burns on your left hand and foot, you must say you have been lucky enough; oh, she suffered the blast in my stead; I should have been scorched all over just like her.

"My cousin, who saved me, died early in the morning of the 12th, saying, 'Satchy, my dear, nobody has come to us after all.' No, there was none but I who could see you off. Where on earth could they be? I must see somebody I knew. I didn't care who it was.

"My uncle came to me toward noon that day. Oh, uncle, you should have come a little sooner! I turned my eyes to my cousin. She was dead, dead on her face. Maggots were swarming around her head. Oh! she must have suffered so! 'If only I could have taken care of her!' my uncle said. 'Let's put her in here.' He brought a wooden mandarin case with him. He tried to hold up her corpse, but failed. Only the skin remained in his hands, peeled off her body. I could not touch my burnt hand and foot from that moment. Who could assure me that my skin would not come off likewise? My cousin was taken to the crematorium to be put on fire again. My uncle was walking like a phantom. 'Goodby, Fujiko—', saying so, her little brother bereft of a sister asked me, 'Satchy, is she dead? I can't open my eyes.' And from his closed eyelids trickled down drops of tears. He died,

too, in that hell on earth on the 19th. He was happier than his sister, to die in his father's arms." (a girl, 14 years old when bombed).

HYPOCENTER

I heard sparrows twitter. Looking above, I discerned their black figures popping in and out on the top of the dome. High above was an immense expanse of sky.

The dome, that had just told me the tale of dreadful experiences fourteen years before, lapsed into silence again.

On my back, across River Motoyasu was a garden full of green. Between the two rivers, Ohta and Motoyasu, is this equilateral triangular park, each side measuring about 500 meters, facing the sea. The site, that had been left in a state of devastation for 11 years, was put in order, and named "Memorial Park of Peace," in 1956.

On one side of the triangle stands the a-bomb materials hall, in which one can see an exhibition of materials pertaining to the a-bomb damages, and articles that survived the bombardment, which could not be found in any other place in the world.

The peaceful atmosphere of the park lifts up the cloud from the people's mind that has been drowned in the dreadful imagination of the past. The beautiful park produces a contrast to that skeleton of the dome that can be seen from any spot in the park. The monument, the statue and the hall, they tell the tale, but the tale is of the past.

The atom-bombed city of Hiroshima has now shed off its past scars, constructed buildings, and streets with a swarm of motor cars, and the people enjoy the aspects of nature as it changes from season to season.

To all appearances, the city has gained prosperity as becomes "the city of peace," while wishing peaceful rest to hundreds of thousands of victims.

But is the disaster really buried in the past now? And the scar, is it now more than a scar? The monument, the dome, and remnants of a melted clock exhibited in the materials hall, none of these reminders of the past gives us the answer to the question.

It is only the survivors of the disaster who can tell us the full story.

SURVIVORS

In five years after the bomb was dropped no less than 282,000 citizens of Hiroshima died. Considering those who have died since, or changed abodes, it is estimated that about one-fifth of the 420,000 population of the city, namely, 85,000, are survivors of the atom bombing.

All of them, more or less, are suffering from anaemia or physical handicaps due to heat radiation or radioactivity. Several scores of patients with advanced disease or those of rich families are accommodated in a few hospitals in the city.

A-BOMB SLUM

Hospitalized patients in the city are no more than 200 and the rest of the 100,000 victims are, of course, not free from anaemia and other physical handicaps. While the ruin has been transformed gradually into a brand new city with well prepared city plans, in the hidden corners of the town has been a continued life-death struggle of the victims against poverty and loneliness.

Near the hypocenter, a mass of barracks are crowdedly built, the row runs about 2 kilometers along



LEARNED OPINION

the banks of River Motoyasu. The number of these barracks adds up to 2,000 in this zone, where some 6,500 people, the majority of whom are atomic victims, live in poverty. People, therefore, call the spot "A-bomb Slum."

Most of the residents of this A-bomb Slum were deprived of their family and property by the bomb, and are suffering from atomic diseases. Not a few of them have no relatives nor friends. They are the only survivors of their families, living all alone.

Having no property of their own, personal or real, they have to earn their own living. But there are few demands for hands in Hiroshima, the city that has no industry of its own.

Most of them are day labourers working from day to day in the city's program for the unemployed. The people employed by day in this program are about 6,800, a considerably high percentage in comparison with the city's population, 420,000.

There are many among the inhabitants of the A-bomb Slum who have been completely disabled by the atomic bomb. They receive 2,000 yen of government allowance per head per month. It is just unimaginable how these people can possibly manage on 2,000 yen a month. When at least 10,000 yen a month is needed to live a decent life in Japan now, how can these people continue living on 2,000 yen?

Many of them are so ill that they have to be hospitalized immediately. All the victims are given the victim's certificate by the government, and by showing it they can receive medical treatment for nothing.

But what would become of their children, if the life-line of the family should be hospitalized? Not a few of them have thus given up hope of recovery.

We were puzzled when we saw nearly half the beds in the A-Bomb Hospital are left vacant. What the 50 vacant beds tells us is now clear, and the root of the question goes down far deeper than we imagined at first.

WOMEN

Women victims are plagued by a curse, the agony of which could not be understood by men. Most

women victims have been disfigured in their faces.

As a matter of fact, it is women who are suffering from every kind of damage caused by the atomic bomb:

"One day, a group of children caught sight of me on my way back from the hospital, burst into tears, ran into their house and looked out of the window at me in fear. My dreadful appearance came to my mind again, and I could hardly keep back my tears."

MARRIAGE

The boys and girls among the bombed people have grown up and attained the marriageable age. Married couples of victims came out of their struggle with physical handicaps and loneliness. The marriage was a symbol of the restoration of Hiroshima.

But an unexpected fear lay ahead of newly married couples, the question of heredity. Blood-curdling deformed children were born one after another.

Mrs. Sadako Nakata (5) is one of those midwives who has helped such deformed babies come into the world.

On August 1, 1948, Mrs. Nakata helped a 33-year-old atom bombed mother give birth to a horribly grotesque boy.

His eyelids were turned inside out, and eyes were turgid with blood, blood vessels showing themselves. He had no tip to the nose, nor ear lobes, only holes. Fingers on his limbs were stuck together, and very short. There were countless scratches all over his body, and they began to discharge pus from the day after his birth.

It was the fourth delivery for the mother, and her three children born so far had all been quite healthy.

After 1950, scarcely any cases of deformed children have been reported in the city of Hiroshima. But none of us could give scientific assurance that hereditary effects of radioactivity over coming generations has now disappeared.

A.B.C.C.

And what was the attitude taken by the American government toward these atom-bombed people?

In November, 1946, in the southeast of the city, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) was constructed with its

(Continued on Page 7)

'All Out for Fallout' -- A Satire in One Act

(Each year at the University of Wisconsin the ROTC has a Military Ball. This last spring the Wisconsin Socialist Club sponsored an Anti-Military Ball on the same evening. Below are excerpts from a play written and performed by members of the club at that affair.)

Scene 1. (the Chief's inner-chambers, somewhere in Washington. A couch, two chairs, and a low table on which is a liquor bottle and several glasses are in the room. At rise, the Chief and the Analyst enter, toting golf bags, golf clubs, wearing golf hats, etc. They are sweating up and have obviously been playing golf.)

CHIEF: So now you see my problem.

ANALYST: I think so—sit down. (takes pad and pencil)

CHIEF: I try and I try and I try. But I just can't seem to do it. Maybe I'm not made for this job. Can you help me out of the rough?

ANALYST: Sure, sure. But first relax. Have a drink. (pours) Now, when did you start having this problem?

CHIEF: The very day I took office. Since then—well, leaving out these good weekends at Golf-land and Retreatsburg, I haven't broken 90 more than once. And besides — they're beginning to talk.

ANALYST: Talk?

CHIEF: Sure. Upstairs — at headquarters. Last meeting they even dropped some hints about the next primary. If things don't improve, then (feigns slitting throat). There's public opinion and all that besides. Oh my, Oh my.

ANALYST: Now, now, now. Take it easy. You really must relax. Many others in your position have been on the brink of emotional upset.

CHIEF: (cutting him off) Please don't use that word. You know how it upsets me.

ANALYST: (cutting him off) Sorry. On the verge of emotional upset.

CHIEF: Ever since we got that blunderer into the Big Brother State Department, all I've heard is "Brink, brink, brink!" It's getting on my nerves. And with my game getting worse and worse.

ANALYST: And the new crisis?

CHIEF: That doesn't help any.

ANALYST: I noticed that today. How many letters this week?

CHIEF: About 7,000. And it's only Tuesday. They keep pouring in. Even the Governor of Nevada sent a card. And the Reno Chamber of Commerce calls once a day to tell me that the tourist trade has fallen off another 10%. Farmers send me radioactive chickens —radioactive chickens are complaining about radioactive roosters.

ANALYST: Americans are worriers.

CHIEF: Even Hawaii sent a scroll. It said "Remember Bikini Atoll—we may be next." And the Hexagon is on my neck to do something about public relations. What do they expect? Miracles? They know as well as I do you can't explode a tiny little A-bomb without inviting a march on Washington.

ANALYST: (obviously) Maybe you should have used a seven iron for that sand trap.

CHIEF: All this silly hysteria about a little dust.

ANALYST: Dust? (rubs finger on table and inspects it).

CHIEF: Fallout, you know. Some hotheads keep yelling about mutations, and danger, and Strontium 90.

ANALYST: Is the stuff really harmful?

CHIEF: How should I know? All I know is what I read in the papers. Heh! heh! heh!

ANALYST: Heh! heh! heh! (makes note on pad)

CHIEF: In any case, I'm going on TV tonight to calm everything down. That's my job you know oil on the troubled waters. Heh! heh! heh!

ANALYST: What will you say?

CHIEF: It's very simple. It was all explained to me this morning. You see, the problem is a twofold one. On one hand, there is the possibility that alternatives to the problem of whether there is or, on

zine. They must all be exactly synchronic in their movements. After a few minutes of this pantomime, during which they smoke, laugh, chuckle etc., all at once, the CHIEF enters).

CHIEF: Ahem.

HOTCHKISS 123: Hya. What's up, Chief?

CHIEF: (blusters) Well it's a serious problem, gentlemen, one which I think deserves the utmost of your time and effort, and I am sure . . .

HOTCHKISS 1: All right. Can that chatter. Save it for laying cornerstones.

comb your hair.

HOTCHKISS 3: Well, then, what does it do?

CHIEF: It doesn't do anything . . .

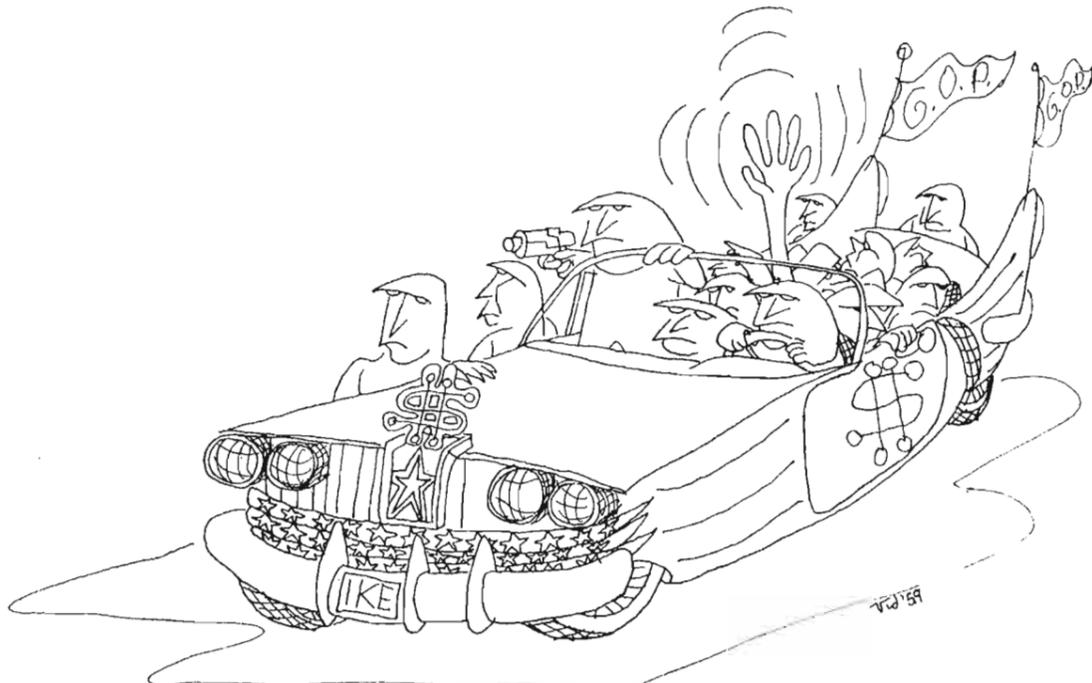
HOTCHKISS 123: Then why the heck do you want to advertise it???

CHIEF: That's my point. I don't want to sell the stuff—That is, unless it's absolutely necessary to prove to people that it's harmless.

HOTCHKISS 123: Aha!

HOTCHKISS 1: But is it harmless?

CHIEF: I don't know. That's



"And here he comes, ladies and gentlemen: the President of the United States!!"

the other hand, whether there is no, or, rather not, an alternative remain in the forefront; however, and I cannot emphasize this too strongly, that is, that there may be another possibility that the fallout question will be solved somewhere in the very near future. That is, there is, I think, no way of clarifying the issue beyond this point and at this time. (He has gotten up and is excitedly earnest)

ANALYST: I see. (smiles knowingly though uncertainly and lies down on couch)

CHIEF: Of course. And, if that doesn't hold up things for a while, I have still another plan. (rings for secretary)

SEC'Y: Yes, sir?

CHIEF: What is my schedule for tomorrow?

SEC'Y: (reading) 8 to 9, dress; 9 to 10 breakfast on TV studio program: "Eat with Eleanor;" 11 to 2, golf lesson; 2 to 5 a meeting with Dag Hammerakjold, Mr. Macmillan, and the Dalai Lama.

CHIEF: Cancel it and get me a plane reservation for N.Y.

SEC'Y: But what shall I say? (ANALYST begins to snore)

CHIEF: Anything you like. That's Jim Haggard's job, not yours.

SEC'Y: But where are you going?

CHIEF: The only place left—the holders of the keys to the kingdom, HOTCHKISS, HOTCHKISS, AND HOTCHKISS—Hard sell specialists.

SEC'Y: The Advertising Agency?

CHIEF: None other. They'll help me out of this fallout rut.

(SEC'Y leaves. CHIEF gathers up golf bag, throws a glance at the ANALYST, who is completely oblivious, and steals out).

Scene 2. (busy music. The three HOTCHKISSES march in, dressed all alike; like ad men. Charcoal suits, glasses, all carrying copies of "Fortune" maga-

HOTCHKISS 2: Get hep. No Doubletalk, man!

HOTCHKISS 2: Put it in lights so we can read it.

HOTCHKISS 12: Yeah.

CHIEF: You've been reading about the bomb test and fallout?

HOTCHKISS 1: Yeah.

HOTCHKISS 2: Fallout?

HOTCHKISS 1: (to Hotchkiss 2) You know . . . Bomb dust.

CHIEF: Yes. People are writing letters. They're afraid of the stuff.

HOTCHKISS : (musing) Bomb dust . . . hmm . . . might have possibilities; who makes it?

CHIEF: We make it. That is, we don't really make it. When you explode bombs, you get fallout.

HOTCHKISS 2: What do you use it for?

CHIEF: You don't Use it . . . you just . . . have it. Nobody really wants it—but there it is.

HOTCHKISS 3: I see. a by-product. Well, it still has possibilities.

HOTCHKISS 1: Yeah. Look what we did with Vaseline.

CHIEF: I think you gentlemen are getting the wrong idea. I don't want you sell the stuff, I just want . . .

HOTCHKISS 3: Hold it, Mac, hold it. Don't try to tell us our business. Just relax.

CHIEF: You really don't understand . . .

HOTCHKISS 2: Now, just let's run it up the flagpole for a bit and see if it waves.

HOTCHKISS 1: Now, this bomb fallout stuff, does it smell good?

CHIEF: (wearily) No, no, no. It doesn't smell at all.

HOTCHKISS 2: Can you use it to comb your hair?

CHIEF: I don't know.

HOTCHKISS 3: Maybe it tastes good? Does it feel nice?

CHIEF: No, no.

HOTCHKISS 2: Doesn't smell, taste, or feel.

HOTCHKISS 1: Can't use it to

not the point. Maybe it is, maybe not. But we've got to go on making it; that it, we have to go on testing these Heaven sent defensive weapons to protect us from our potential enemies. So far as I'm concerned, it's harmless.

HOTCHKISS 2: Sounds like bad business to me . . . making this stuff if it'll never sell.

CHIEF: But that's your job . . . selling stuff that people don't really need . . .

HOTCHKISS 1: Yeah. Look what we did with Vaseline.

HOTCHKISS 3: You say you have to go on making this stuff?

CHIEF: Right. The whole economy depends on it. (seeing his advantage)

HOTCHKISS 123: (very panicked and aghast) NO BUYERS?

CHIEF: Then you see my point. HOTCHKISS 2: Have you tried cleaning the thing. Removing the fallout?

HOTCHKISS 13: (singing) "You'll wonder where the fallout went. When the bombs are cleaned by the government . . ."

CHIEF: We tried the softsoap. Didn't work.

HOTCHKISS 1: Hmmm. How about all those scientists. You could get them to say there's no harm in the stuff—anyhow none that can be proven.

HOTCHKISS 3: They're all signed up with Viceroy, remember?

HOTCHKISS 3: Well, then that leaves only one method . . .

HOTCHKISS 2: You mean . . .?

HOTCHKISS 3: Yes

HOTCHKISS 123: THE HARD SELL!

CHIEF: I don't care how you do it. but I want people eating that stuff in their breakfast cereal, if necessary.

HOTCHKISS 123: All out for fallout!

CHIEF: That's the spirit!

HOTCHKISS 123 and CHIEF all throw down hands excitedly and begin to talk at once).

Scene 3:

NARRATOR: Friends, this is your local druggist. I'm not here to sell you soap, or toilet tissue, or vitamins. No, friends. That is all old hat. Heh! heh! heh! Today, out of the laboratories, out of the greatest minds of the Nation, comes a product that dwarfs all others. A product so great, so wonderful, that the imagination staggers with the thought of it. What is this substance which is the fruit of the labors of thousands of men? Soap? You can keep your soap. Toilet tissue? You can keep your toilet tissue. . . . Vitamins? Why, viewers, this product makes vitamins as obsolete as last year's suit. This substance is . . . yes . . . it's finally here . . . it's STRONTIUM.

SINGERS: Yes, it's STRON-TEE-UM.

Yes, STRON-TEE-UM To make you feel so gay . . . If you're feeling on the bum Take STRON-TEE-UM

NARRATOR: Get some strontium today!

SINCERE, EARNEST NARRATOR: I'm sorry, Mrs. Jones, but you're suffering from a resliverant crown and besides . . .

MRS. JONES: Yes, doctor?

SINCERE DOCTOR: Mrs. Jones, you have Beat Blood and Quivering Corpuscles.

MRS. JONES: Beat Blood and Quivering Corpuscles? Oh, doctor, what can I do . . . ?

SINCERE DOCTOR: Why, you can take some STRONTIUM.

MR. JONES (trivialously): You mean STRONTIUM, that which I have been hearing so much about?

SINCERE DOCTOR: The very same.

MRS. JONES: Doctor, where can I get some of this strontium?

SINCERE DOCTOR: Why, Mrs. Jones, you just have to breathe. It's right in the air.

MRS. JONES: Why, Lordy me . . . Land o' Goshen . . . Ricketty tickety tack an' Glory to God in the Highest.

(blackout)

SINGERS: Yes, it's STRON-TEE-Ea-UM

Yes, STRON-TEE-UM Yes, STRON-TEE-UM To make you feel so gay; If you're feeling on the bum, Take STRON-TEE-UM.

And Melt your cares away . . . (lights up on)

NEWSCASTER: And here are today's Dow Jones stock averages: Steel down 7 points.

Rails up 2 points. Strontium up 67 points.

And now the local weather report. For the vicinity, light rain and cloudy tomorrow. Temperature 74°. Relative humidity 89%. Strontium count 678. This is Walter Gezundheit saying goodnight. Be sure to stay tuned for that exciting western feature: Strontiumnick, which follows immediately. But first a message from our sponsor.

NARRATOR: Would you buy a cigarette without a fallout filter?

VOICE 1: I wouldn't.

VOICE 2: I wouldn't.

VOICE 3: Not me, sir.

NARRATOR: Yes, friends, OUR brand has the exclusive filter, which removes the smoke, but let's the strontium through. And it's the strontium that counts.

VOICE 1: It's the STRONTEE-UM that counts.

VOICE 2: Yes, sir, it's the strontium that counts.

VOICE 3: Man, what a cigarette

(fadeout to next scene)

Scene 4: Office of HOTCHKISSES.

HOTCHKISS 1: Hard sell, soft sell, medium-rare on the half shell. . . . This just doesn't

(Continued on Page 7)

THEY TAKE OUR LIVES FOR THEIR WARS:

ROTC, Conscription, Witchhunt Prepare Youth for War

by Martha Curti

Youth, who have to fight and die in wars they do not create, have a greater stake in the struggle against war than any other section of the population. The issue of peace or war—in the future society resulting therefrom—is the one question of all which is closest to young people.

The vast propaganda machine of the U.S. military establishment is aimed primarily at convincing young men to disrupt their civilian lives, their education, and their careers, to fight and possibly die for "their" country. To tell the truth about war would cost very little. But how could the capitalist government possibly tell us the truth about war? No one could be convinced to support the U.S. war preparations or to join the armed services, if they were told the truth: that the weighty war machine is built up not to "prevent future wars," not to "defend the Free World from Soviet aggression," and not to "ensure democracy at home."

The truth, in stark, simple, categorical terms, is that the capitalist governments must defend and expand, not "democracy," but the economic system based on private ownership of the means of production. (See article by A. Robert Kaufman on page 4.)

The cost of concealing this simple truth is great. The armed forces spend between five and ten million dollars a year on public relations. In addition they help to produce some \$30 million worth of movies which glorify America's role in war; add to this millions of dollars worth of free radio and TV time and the general bias of the press, and you come out with the most gigantic propaganda machine that exists in this country.

ROTC

On the campus, this pervasive propaganda machine manifests itself mainly by the ROTC. Over 300 college campuses throughout the country have ROTC units: two-thirds of these are compulsory. In 1953, as we came out of the Korean War, one-fifth of all the students in the U.S. were enrolled in the ROTC. Liberal arts institutions in that year devoted 16 per cent of their curriculums to military courses, which makes their very designation as "liberal arts" institutions suspect. According to the AAUP Bulletin of December, 1958, "Many faculty members look at these programs as an abysmal waste of time, as a serious intrusion on the educational experience of young men, and as a compromise of the academic standards in their institutions."

In addition to the thrill of being able to watch the ROTC boys march around in uniform once a week the entire student body is offered other treats—"Military Balls," free rifle practice, and the like.

Far greater a threat to democracy than unorthodox opinions on the campus, is the witchhunt which would suppress these opinions. The witchhunt grows directly out of the cold war foreign policy needs of the U.S. Government. When the cold war becomes hotter, the pressure to conform, to beat the drums for patriotism and wave the flag, to trample down radical ideas, becomes greater; when cold war tensions lessen, the witchhunt becomes less severe. Thus the height of McCarthyism coincided with the Korean war, while in the past couple of years both the imminent threat of war and the pres-

ures of the witchhunt have loosened up somewhat.

THE WITCHHUNT

One of the most potent weapons of the military propaganda machine, consequently, is the witchhunt. The FBI, the CIC (Military Intelligence), and the CIA, arm of the State Department, all work hand in hand to ferret out real and alleged radicals. Loyalty oaths and purges are an integral part of the military establishment; each of the five million men of draft age must undergo a political screening before induction, and remains under the surveillance of the military for his political activities during the entire period of reserve service. Thus his political activity is under the jurisdiction of the military for most of the all-important years when he is trying to establish himself in a trade or profession. The stigma of a "less than honorable" discharge is a powerful inducement to steer clear of radical ideas.

In the field of education, the effect of the witchhunt and war propaganda is incalculable. An untrammelled investigation of America's role in world affairs, in past wars, of the very causes of war, has been made virtually impossible. Textbooks on American history have been screened, indirectly by economic pressure, directly by various self-appointed watchdog committees, so that they justify and glorify all of America's military ventures and her present foreign policy.

A student who speaks up in the classroom in criticism of the accepted line is liable to have his statements reported to the FBI. An article in the Daily Californian recently reported that some professors regularly consult with the FBI as often as once a week. A student at a famous "progressive" college in the Midwest, who included radical ideas in a "confidential" autobiography intended



Four Lights

"Any of you really serious about giving it up?"

for the perusal of his professors alone, found excerpts from this document quoted as evidence against him in a military case.

To what extent these and the many other violations of academic freedom have already corroded the untrammelled investigation of all ideas, whether or not they uphold the status quo, is immeasurable. Suffice it to say, without this freedom, a serious education is a farce. The University of Wisconsin recognized this in a tablet which it erected in 1915: "Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

The tremendous, in fact determining, influence the military needs on U.S. politics is of direct concern to America's youth. Every new baby that is born in the U.S. already owes \$1,600 for wars he never even heard of. Seventy per cent of Eisenhower's new "peacetime" budget is de-

voted to present and past wars. The young people of America would far prefer to see this money used to provide a complete education for all, to raise teachers' pay and improve school facilities, and for better health, recreational and cultural facilities.

WE CAN'T VOTE

The Democracy which we are asked to defend is not extended to us when war is concerned. An 18-year-old is old enough to fight, evidently, but not old enough to vote on the war he is asked to fight in. Even Congress does not make decisions on war. World War II, Korea, the intervention in Lebanon, were all decided by a few men at the top, and Congress was merely presented with a fait accompli.

Democracy is at its most dismal level in the armed service itself. Enlisted men must accept everything, senseless or not, without question. Officers are without control from below. Experience in the Red Army in the early period of the Russian Revolution, when workers' democracy still prevailed, shows that an army

can function more efficiently and with less damage to morale when the soldiers have a voice in running the Army, and when the officers are elected and subject to recall by the men.

How effective has the vast effort on military propaganda been? To judge by the lack of resistance to the war drive, the money has been well spent. There are signs, however, that this state of affairs will not last forever. Most students that join the ROTC do it, not out of any patriotic fervor, but to avoid the draft and with it, in their opinion, the worst aspects of the inevitable military service. The tremendous demoralization of soldiers in Korea, the attitude of not knowing why they were there, is well known and has often been analyzed. A U.S. platoon sergeant told a New York Times reporter after being landed in Lebanon, "I don't know what we're doing here."

THE RESISTANCE

Open anti-war activity among students has been slight, but there are signs of its increase. A petition campaign against compulsory ROTC at Michigan State University has aroused accusations of "radical activity" by Detroit papers. An earlier anti-ROTC campaign at Oberlin College (in 1954) succeeded, not in getting ROTC off the campus, but in cutting its enrollment from 150 to 50 in two years. Furthermore a recent nationwide survey revealed that 40 percent of America's college students are opposed to continued nuclear tests. The springing up of student SANE groups on many campuses must have something to do with this encouraging phenomenon. (See March 1959 YS.) The recent bill extending the draft, which passed Congress without opposition, unfortunately aroused no protest among those most concerned.

Hiroshima Today: the Scar Remains as a Warning . . .

(Continued from Page 5)

immense yearly expense of 300,000,000 yen to be disbursed from the Department of Defense, and started minute investigations into the state of victims.

But the ABCC provided no remedy to the victims other than investigations of its own purposes. On the contrary, it often prevented them from receiving timely treatment and earning a modicum of wages that they could have gained for their day's work. "They came in the car to take me and my child to the institution. They stripped us naked, and examined us all over as much as they liked, but gave me no daily allowance, nor nourishment after they drew my blood. I was determined not to go there again. And when their car came to me the next time, I refused to go, and let them go back empty-handed." (Widower and day laborer, aged 38 when bombed)

14 years later, the destructive power of nuclear weapons has increased to a surprising extent. Many people have seen in news reels the huge cloud coming imposingly out of the explosion of an H bomb. The cloud, standing overwhelmingly and defiantly, looks ominously indifferent to the world at its foot, scores of square kilometers of a hell of incandescent heat.

"Hiroshima" has not been buried in the past. That ominous cloud may envelop all of us at any time. And if it happens,

nothing of us will be left behind except gas and a white residue of inorganic substance.

We cannot overestimate the

danger. To underestimate would be irretrievable.

The tragedy of Hiroshima should never be repeated. Be-

cause our dear husbands, wives, children, lovers, parents, all of us must be "human beings" in the time to come.

'All Out for Fallout' — a Satire . . .

(Continued from Page 6)

work.

HOTCHKISS 2: You just can't sell people something they've already gotten free.

HOTCHKISS 3: Why, they're clamoring for our scalps. They know there's something phoney in this everything for nothing pitch.

HOTCHKISS 123: (sighing) Ain't it the truth.

HOTCHKISS 1: So what you think we're going to do about it?

HOTCHKISS 2: Nothing to be done.

HOTCHKISS 3: What gets me right in the joints—you know what I mean—is this chief of ours who thinks he's going to leave us holding the bag.

HOTCHKISS 12: Bags, that is. We've got 100 million tons of this strontium stuff sitting right here in the basement.

HOTCHKISS 3: Imagine the nerve of the chief sticking us with a product that promises so much nobody will buy it.

HOTCHKISS 1: Say, you know what we ought to do with that guy?

(all confer hushedly, then jump up in glee in same walking, music,

etc. that we first met them.

(fadeout)

Scene 5: (Senate subcommittee room. Three senators sit around a smoky table. Sign on wall reads: WE INVESTIGATE ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING: BUSINESSMEN, LABOR, FARMER, DOPE PEDDLER, WE LOVE YOU ONE AND ALL. SENATOR HOGWIT GRAFT, CHAIRMAN.)

Hogwit: (irritably) He's late. Cut the cards.

Senator 1: 44 years we've been in power. And this fool ruins everything with his lousy dust.

(they play, cheating rather obviously and pulling cards from their sleeves, cuffs, etc. At this point the CHIEF enters, on tricycle.)

Hogwit: You're late. Sitdown.

SENATOR 1: Yeah, Sitdown.

SENATOR 2: Sitdown. You made quite a mess of things, didn't you?

CHIEF: It isn't selling. It isn't my fault.

HOGWIT: Not your fault? Why you two bit politician . . .

SENATOR 2: How much of the stuff do you have?

CHIEF: 100 million pounds. HOGCHKISS washed his hands of the whole business. Told me I

had to have the stuff out of his warehouse by tomorrow.

HOGWIT: All right, bird brain. Hand me the phone. (on phone) Get me Hotchkiss, Hotchkiss and Hotchkiss. Yeah, Senator Hogwit.

What's this about your giving up the STRONTIUM contract? Oh, it does. It will . . . ? It has . . . ? You have? Hmmm, well, I don't know . . . All of it? Will it fit . . . ? Oh . . . it has . . .

You have. Yeah. Why didn't I think of that. By the way, can I have my copy of THE POWER-ELITE back? I have to review it for NEWSWEEK. Yeah, goodbye.

(during this conversation the other two senators have been playing blackjack).

SENATOR 2: Blackjack!

HOGWIT: That's all solved.

CHIEF: It is? Where is it?

HOGWIT: Well the Army doesn't want it, and the Navy doesn't want it and the Air Force doesn't want it. And there's only one empty warehouse we can use . . . Next to your office.

CHIEF: Next to my office! Senator . . . ! You wouldn't . . .

HOGWIT: I win. (showing hand of cards)

SENATOR: What do you have? HOGWIT: A full house.

'THERE ARE NO NEUTRALS THERE':

Harlan Miners Fight Losing Battle

by Nora Roberts

More prosperity is now reported to be the trend in American economy. Unemployment figures are dropping and the "all clear" signal is being sounded by the major newspapers. Harlan County, Kentucky, and most of the Appalachian coal mining areas have not yet become aware of this new American prosperity. In these areas the recession is not over.

The files of the Harlan County United Church Relief Organization show 2,500 families that have absolutely no income. They have been unemployed for so long that they have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits. Machines have replaced hundreds of miners throughout the coal areas. Two hundred thousand miners now produce what 400,000 did ten years ago.

PERPETUAL RECESSION

This increase in unemployment presents a great problem to the United Mine Workers of America headed by John L. Lewis. Miners in Harlan County have been on strike since March 9 for a wage increase to \$24.25 a day. This is a two dollar a day increase over the old contract but is from \$10 to \$12 a day more than what most truck mines have been paying.

Some 7,000 to 11,000 men have been involved in the strike since it began. They are striking for union recognition among the smaller coal companies as well as for the wage increase. The strike has been chiefly against the loading ramp companies because without the ramps, the coal cannot go to market. Once the ramps sign the contract, all the mines must sign in order to keep business.

THE TROOPS

U.M.W. officials state that the strike would have been over in a week had the state police not intervened. Production fell sharply until the intervention. Then the coal mines started moving again and some mines began working while state troops were "preserving law and order." Now the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which handles most of the East Kentucky coal, is moving about 50 per cent of the normal tonnage out of the fields.

Even if the strike is won, the basic problem of automation will not be solved. Machines have been invented that are nearly 100 times the size of a standard power shovel. They can uncover coal 90 to 100 feet deep. One new machine, the push-button miner, has special sensing devices to get to coal even in narrow seams. This machine is expected to scoop out about 100 feet of coal seam per hour. One man is used to operate the entire machine.

AUTOMATION

Automation is sweeping through all the coal areas. It leaves thousands of miners in West Virginia and Kentucky jobless. Many of these miners have been moving further North to find jobs in another trade. The recent recession, however, found them coming home again because they could not find work. The condi-

tions are so bad that many miners have turned to scabbing. In Harlan County a scab was considered the worst kind of coward. The U.M.W. waged a bitter battle here from 1931 to 1936 with almost every miner participating. Since then, the area has supported the union solidly. Now miners with 20 years' union seniority become scabs, shamefacedly, to feed their children and keep their homes.

In present American society automation is a serious problem for labor. It creates unemployment, shorter work hours with smaller paychecks and is used to gain more profits for big business. In a planned society, technological advances could be used for the benefit of all, including the miners. It would create more leisure time for workers while the problem of food and shelter would be solved.

What Madison Taught Lenin

4th of July Oration

By Tim Wohlforth

This Fourth of July all across the nation orators will extol the virtues of "Our Forefathers" who carried through the struggle for independence and wrote the Constitution. As is usual with epigones they will undoubtedly know little of what the "forefathers" actually thought or believed in. It might be appropriate, therefore, to sketch some of their views on a few currently controversial questions.

The architects of our Constitution were very clear, honest and thorough thinkers for their time. Like Adam Smith and Ricardo in the England of the first bloom of capitalism they did not fear to look straight at society and describe it as it was. Therefore, they stand heads above contemporary sociologists and economists, who in a period of decaying capitalism, fear to tell the truth and utilize their "scholarship" to veil the reality.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

"... The most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. . . . A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes actuated by different sentiments and views."—James Madison. (quoted in Beard, *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, 1913, pp. 156-57.)

THE CAUSES OF WAR

"Has commerce hitherto done anything more than change the objects of war? Is not the love of wealth as domineering an enterprising a passion as that of power or glory? Have there not been as many wars founded upon commercial motives, since that has become the prevailing system of nations, as were before occasioned by the cupidity of territory or dominion? Has not the spirit of commerce, in many instances, administered new incentives to appetite, both for the one and for the other?"—Alexander Hamilton (quoted in Beard, *op cit* p. 183).

THE COMING WORKERS REVOLUTION

"In future times a great majority of the people will not only be without land, but any other sort of property. These will either combine under the influence of their common situation; in which case, the rights of property and the public liberty will not be secure in their hands, or, which is more probable, they will become the tools of opulence and ambition; in which case there will be equal danger on another side."

James Madison (quoted in Beard, *cit cit* p. 25).

REVOLUTIONARY WILL VS. LEGAL FORMALISM

Much hue and cry is made to this day on the "undemocratic" aspects of the Bolshevik Revolution. It is interesting to contrast, therefore, the American Revolution and its aftermath with the Bolshevik Revolution. Even a cursory study shows up the American Revolution as less democratic than the Bolshevik one.

For example, let's take the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly by the Soviets. Lenin justified this act (see "Thesis on the Constituent Assembly") by explaining that rigid adherence to formal democracy would, in this case, negate the content of democracy: that is the real will of the Russian people. He explained how the mood of the Russian people had changed since elections were held for the Assembly. The major peasant party had split since the elections with the Left Social Revolutionaries supporting the seizure of power by the Soviets. Thus, the real will of the people was expressed through the new government of Soviets and not through the Constituent Assembly which had become a rallying ground for counter-revolutionary forces.

Madison faced a problem similar to Lenin's: to justify on the grounds of democracy the fact that the Constitutional Convention, instead of preparing amendments to the Articles of Confederation, wrote a new constitution and carried it directly to the people instead of to the Congress which had authorized its work. He states that in all great changes in government "forms ought to give way to substance." A rigid adherence to mere technicalities "would render nominal and nugatory the transcendent and precise right of the people 'to abolish or alter their governments as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'" (above quote from Beard *op cit* p. 223).

From here on the analogy falls down for Madison and friends got the Constitution ratified in such a manner as it seems highly doubtful it represented the will of the American people. They acted in the interests of the ascendent capitalist class which was shook right to its very roots of power by the popular movement of the debtor sections of the population and therefore framed the Constitution in order to make their domination over these sections secure.

However, it was a historically necessary task for the petty bourgeois debtor farmer class could not rule in its own interest. Either big capital would dominate the country or the country would fall to foreign interests. Likewise, it was

Youth Notes

JOBS FOR ALL: About 100,000 young people looking for work in New York State this summer will meet failure, according to a special youth services conference. The conference also recommended the elimination of unreasonable bars to employment of young parolees according to present state regulations, expansion of New York City's public college system as last year nearly 8,000 applicants who met all requirements were turned away, and a reexamination of rules in housing projects which force a family to move if a child gets a job. . . . The *Wall Street Journal* predicts that many of the 320,000 college graduates this spring will have a "tough time getting a job in the field they want or in related work." This situation exists despite the much heralded upturn in the economy . . . Tom Mboya, the African leader who recently toured the U.S., left behind an urgent request of summer jobs for African students attending American colleges. He said jobs are needed in 13 states for these students.

INTEGRATION: A student equal rights group is leading a fight on bias in Greek letter organizations at San Jose (Calif.) State College. Billy Gene Parker, leader of the group, claims "that out of the 14 fraternities and 12 sororities here, involving 1,800 students, there is not one non-caucasian." He is demanding that the student council withdraw recognition from all groups that discriminate. . . . The all-white Dye High School (Flint, Mich.) senior class stood behind its invitation to Dr. Alvin Loving, Negro educator, to deliver the commencement address and won. Pressure had been put on the Board of Education to bar the speaker because of his race. It voted to bar him but then reversed its decision after pressure had been applied by those who supported the right of Loving to speak. He received a standing ovation from the audience of 1,000 at commencement exercises. . . . Marl Young, columnist for the *Los Angeles Tribune*, a Negro paper, sums up the score on the Mack Parker lynching as follows:

1. President Eisenhower doesn't give a damn.
2. Attorney General Rogers has made no comment.
3. J. Edgar Hoover and his fugitives from a Mack Sennett Keystone Cop comedy have chickened out.

. . . Textbooks presently used in Los Angeles public schools have had purged from them all references to the fact that the founders of the city were Negroes and other non-caucasian groups. An earlier textbook, published in 1946, did tell the truth about this. Of the 44 founders of the city of Los Angeles, two were caucasians with Indian wives, 16 were Indians, and 26 were Negroes.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: The sister of Bartolomeo Vanzetti of the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case, has written Helen Sobell in support of Morton Sobell who is in prison suffering an injustice similar to that of Sacco-Vanzetti. She states in part: "Let your actions be such that justice span itself like a blue and gentle sky unclouded so that humanity may still retain faith in itself. See to it that the word JUSTICE should not carry with it a tint of irony to any human ears but that it bring peace to all men." As a result of an independent study of the trial record a number of prominent individuals have added their support to the call for freedom for Sobell. These include Reinhold Neibuhr, John C. Bennett and Daniel Day Williams, all of the Union Theological Seminary. . . . 17-year-old Vickie Ann Alexander has been forced to resign as "mayor" of Brotherhood U.S.A., a youth workshop and camp in Los Angeles sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, because her father has been identified as a "top ranking Los Angeles Communist leader." No accusations were made against her other than that she was the child of her parents. . . . The New York City Board of Education has lost its fight to force teachers to inform on the "loyalty" and associations of their fellow teachers. . . . The University of Chicago has erased the last vestige of the famous Hutchins educational system. By so doing it marked the increasing educational conformity in the country and the dying out of the experimentations in education that arose in the tumultuous period of the 30's. No longer will education be primary in this education institution. As Dr. Simpson, dean of the college, puts it: "The ordinary American boy, who will only make a million in later life, the ordinary girl, who wants a husband as well as a diploma, are as welcome here as the Quiz Kid."

WORLD YOUTH: Hopes for more extensive student exchanges with the Soviet Union were raised by President Eisenhower's offer to open the U.S. to 10,000 Soviet students and vice versa. If the plan actually is put into practice the youth of the two countries may learn a lot more than either Mr. Eisenhower or Mr. Khrushchev would like. . . . Growing oppositional activity to the military dictatorship of Stroessner in Paraguay has been led primarily by the students. The pattern here follows closely the progressive role of students in the Venezuelan Revolution, the Cuban Revolution and in last summer's bus seizures in Mexico City. . . . The current crisis facing the Franco regime in Spain is clearly seen in the increase in arrests of radicals in the country. Socialist-minded students have felt the brunt of the arrests. The U.S. continues to prop up the Franco regime in economic aid and refuses to protest the imprisonment of the freedom fighters in this country.

historically necessary for the working class in Russia to win out over the Constituent Assembly which expressed the weight of the peasantry—a petty bourgeois class—in a clear way. For the mass of Russian peasantry likewise could not guide their own fate and if they ruled it would be only a short while before capitalism was reestablished through foreign powers and "all the old crap" returned. Let us emulate our forefathers not in their defense of the capitalist class for its progressive historical tasks have long since been fulfilled, but rather in their ability to look reality in the face and to state that what is—is.

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