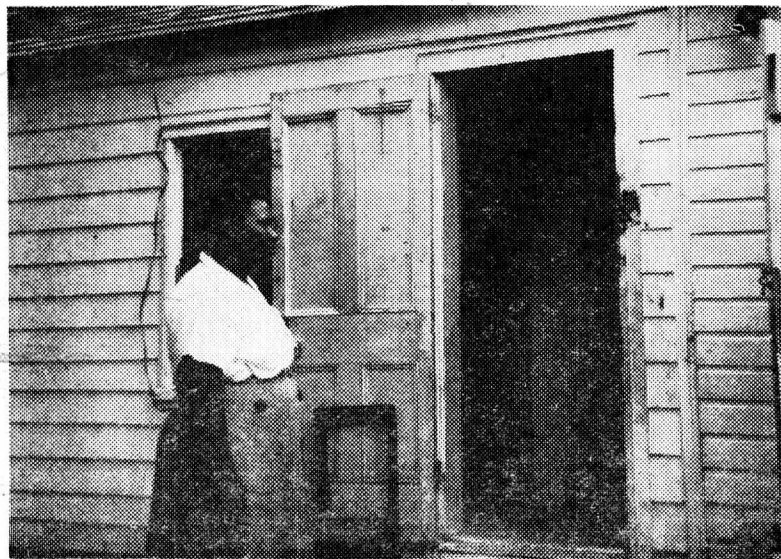


Suburbia, Long Island



YS REPORTER DISCOVERS:

## Migrant Workers Live In Barbed Wire Camps

by Gil Turner

LONG ISLAND, N. Y.—Exurbia, if one goes by the accounts of men like Spector and Campbell, is a land of wealth, pleasure and freedom.

For at least six months of the year, however, it becomes a land of poverty, struggle and bondage. For during the time of planting and the time of harvest exurbia becomes the land of the migrant on Long Island's potato fields. The stage is the same—only the players change.

One of the players is Laura. Laura is seventeen, has an eight-month-old illegitimate child, and has been working farms from Florida to Long Island's potato she was 14. This is her story:

### LAURA'S STORY

"I gets up about five-thirty each morning. The bus leaves for the fields and I got to eat an' to feed the baby. We gets through in the field at five o'clock and I comes home an' cooks supper for me an' the baby an' goes to bed. It's the same thing six days every week an' sometimes Sundays. When the boss has a lot of work, I works after supper 'til it gets dark."

"How much do you make?" I asked.

"I gets paid \$30 a week, but they take out \$2.50 a week rent for my bed an' most all the rest goes to keep me and my baby in food an' clothes."

The camp where Laura lives consists of two buildings. One houses the straw boss and his family. The other houses the workers. The rooms are about eight by ten, containing only bunk beds and a stove. These rooms house two to four persons each. Toilet facilities consist of out-houses.

### NEGRO CAMP

Laura's camp is a camp for Negroes. My next stop was at a Puerto Rican camp down the road, operated by the Eastern Suffolk Cooperative Association.

There are about 200 Puerto Rican men here who live in barracks. I interviewed Stephen J. Doraski, treasurer of the Co-op. "Are the laborers here good workers?" I asked.

"In the beginning they are, but it don't take 'em long to get out of line. I could sum it up this way: the first year they're good; the second year they're fresh and the third year they want to run you. That's why we never rehire the same workers from one year to the next. We've found out that no matter how good a worker is, he always comes back with bright ideas that spell trouble."

"You mean like organizing a union?" I asked.

### NO UNION

"We'll let the crops rot on the ground before we'll let a union in. Right now we're thinking of breaking the season in two parts with a new crop of workers twice a year. That doesn't give 'em so much time to get wise."

"What about the reports of camps enclosed with barbed wire where workers are not permitted to come and go as they please?"

"That's a lot of nonsense," he blasted, "a pile of propaganda put out by sensational newspapers to boost their circulation."

I discovered that he also operates a Negro camp in the area and set out to investigate it. As I approached the camp, a surprising picture assaulted my vision. Standing in front of me was a crowded collection of decrepit wooden shacks and buildings, surrounded by a seven-foot barbed wire fence Doraski had just told me didn't exist.

I got an opportunity to talk briefly with one of the "inmates"—a little girl of about ten.

### A PRISON CAMP

"How do you like this camp, little girl?" I asked.

"This is a prison camp," she replied expressionlessly.

One is forced to ask, where is (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Young



Socialist

voice of america's future

NOVEMBER, 1957

TEN CENTS

## Philly 'Solves' Delinquency By Sending Boy, 15, to Chair

by Arthur Phelps

PHILADELPHIA—It happened here late last July, but the place could have been any big American city "faced with the problem of Juvenile Delinquency," as the smooth ad-man's phrase goes. Three Negro boys walked into a drug store. Purpose—a holdup. One of the boys, 15-year-old Isaiah Green, carried concealed a sawed-off shotgun. The druggist screamed, "Get out! Get out!" and reached beneath the counter (for a tool? for a gun?). Panic-stricken, the boy pulled the trigger, killing the druggist. The holdup netted not a cent.

The State of Pennsylvania wasted no time. Against the background of an "aroused public opinion," whipped to hysteria by a bloodthirsty press, Isaiah Green was sentenced to death on September 5. His two young accomplices, Edward Walker 14, and James Crowson, 15, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

### A YOUNG NEGRO

Who is Isaiah Green and what is the background of his crime? We learned something about him in an exclusive interview with his attorney, Edward Garabedian, who is "shaping up" an appeal scheduled to be argued in the Superior Courts of Pennsylvania next

month. According to Garabedian, "He is a young Negro boy molded by his surroundings: poverty, second-rate education, a good father but a broken home because of a TB-ridden mother confined to a sanatorium."

When asked why crimes like that committed by Green occur, the lawyer said, "Boys like Green are trying to justify their own existence." They are striking out against the "White Man's world." With a gun in his hand "the shortest is as tall as the tallest, the weakest is as strong as the strongest."

But this rational and intelligent view of Green and his crime was not shared by those who were to decide his fate.

Judge L. Stauffer Oliver, one of the three judges who imposed the death sentence, admitted that no youth of less than 18 had ever been executed in Pennsylvania. But now, he said, "We have frequent killings of between 16, 15 and 14 years of age and even younger . . . the protection of society demands that they be held fully accountable and no longer be dealt with as mere delinquents." He said he also favored the death penalty for the 14-year-old. Added to the wisdom of this

distinguished judge, the words of Hyman C. Bogash, Secretary of the Philadelphia Association of Retail Druggists, throw some light on the desire of the respectable citizens of the City of Brotherly Love for the head of a 15-year-old boy.

"The crime," he said, "is that of the community, its courtrooms, politicians, professional and amateur do-gooders. Their coddling and pampering of teenage criminals has spawned a contemptuous, murderous breed."

The only answer, then, to the "problem of juvenile delinquency" is the policeman's club and the electric chair. And what about the social conditions which form the breeding ground for juvenile delinquency: the landlords who reap huge profits from fire-trap tenements, for instance, or the segregated neighborhoods and segregated inferior schools which are the physical properties and standard equipment of second-class citizenship? Attempt to do something about these things and you are a "do-gooder" or worse—a subversive.

Far better and far safer to hire a few thousand more policemen instead of building more decent public housing! Far cheaper and far easier to set an "example" by killing a 15-year-old boy than to provide decent schools for tens of thousands of children! Isaiah Green has been sentenced to die as a scapegoat and as a threat.

And why was this particular boy chosen as the victim? Of course we do not know the full reasoning which motivated the distinguished judges, but one thing is virtually clear: Isaiah Green would not have been sentenced to death if his skin had been white. For as we all know, in this Great Democracy of the U.S., we have two different codes of law, with different crimes and different penalties (though they are written in no statute book): one law for whites and the other for Negroes.

### MURDER NO SOLUTION

If Isaiah Green is murdered by the state of Pennsylvania it will not move us one inch further toward a solution to the "juvenile delinquency problem".

If Isaiah Green is to die for his crime, a second and far worse murder will have been added to the first. For which crime is worse—the panicky, impulsive act of a 15-year-old-boy or the calm, deliberate, premeditated killing of that boy by the rulers of a society which never bore any responsibility to him?

If young workers and students in Pennsylvania and in the whole U. S. protest against this legal murder and make their protest heard by Governor Leader and the courts a life can be saved.

### SPECIAL FEATURE:

Integration in The North Chicago, Detroit, New York

—Page 3

## Gomulka Turns On The Youth; Suppresses Paper, Meetings

by Tim Wohlforth

Hardly a year after Poland's October revolution raised the hopes of the Polish people for their own road to socialism Premier Gomulka has turned on his staunchest supporters—the youth.

Pro Prostu ("Plain Talk"), a leading paper of Poland's revolutionary youth and an ardent supporter since the Poznan events of the Polish people's struggle against Stalinism, has been permanently closed by the government.

In addition the demonstrations of several thousands of students that lasted for four days have been squashed with the support of the Catholic Church by the use of armed troops, tear gas bombs, and as Pro Prostu's editorial staff charges, "the brutal interference of the police." Hundreds of Polish youth have been imprisoned for their actions in support of the paper.

The present crisis is a culmination of a long struggle between the revolutionary youth and working class and Gomulka's government. Following the October revolution the Polish people formed their own independent organizations—workers' councils and youth clubs. Last December Pro Prostu issued a call without government sanction for a youth congress in Warsaw. Two thousand delegates attended and formed the Union of Revolutionary Youth.

This new group dedicated itself to "struggle against Stalinism and all conservative forces, against bourgeois reaction and against anarchy, struggle for socialism and democratization of life in Poland and reinforcement of the people's government and revolutionary legality." The group was later forced by the govern- (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

# Youth Speaks Out!

## Independence is the Key Word

Dear Editors:

Am enclosing \$1.00 for a one year's subscription to your paper. I hope that you'll live up to what you said in your editorial about "not claiming over-simplified dogmatic answers" and "promising a realistic approach to the modern world." The foundations for such promises can be summed up in one word—*independence*, and this, I trust, will be your guide line.

Yours for growth,

M.S.

## A Canadian Congratulates YS

Dear Editor:

I have enclosed one dollar for a year's sub to the YS. I hope we in Canada will be able to parallel it in the near future with a paper of our own, but it doesn't seem as if this goal will be realized for some time. Meanwhile, YS will serve as an example of what can be accomplished in this field. I'm going to see if I can't persuade some of my friends to subscribe as well, and I think most YS supporters will do the same.

Comradely,

J. W.,

Almonte, Ont., Canada

## On Eating Fried Tortillas.

Dear Editors:

I was just sitting home eating fried tortillas (delicious with butter and salt), listening to the radio, and reading the current *National Guardian*, when bang! your ad hit me. This was a pleasant surprise. I was very sad when our West Coast radical youth paper, the *Pacific Coast Youth Re-*

*order*, succumbed to the arguments of economic necessity (that such is what happened I can only assume, I never got any word on the subject). It was most enjoyable and instructional sheet and a great loss. I hope you can fill their forms. Enclosed please find my buck.

Good luck!

R. W. D.

Empire California

## Just Another Blind Alley

Dear Editors:

After reading your paper and especially your editorial I see that this is just another blind alley.

The names on the masthead are the same old familiar names connected with as I knew them anti-socialists or those who claim to be socialists but spend most of their time attacking socialist parties and countries (see SWP, ISL, SP, YSL, etc.)

Shane Mage, formerly of the YSL and now of the SWP, Tim Wohlforth of the SP, Bert Deck of the SWP, Peter Allan of the SWP, and Martha Wells of the SP, represent the same old tired Trotskyite, anti-Soviet and neo-Trotskyite forces and I see in this group the same old handful of fools and dilletantes that have comprised these groups in the past. I could comment much on the remarks made about the Hungarian workers in the editorial but I think that the recent fascist-like tactics of the Hungarians at Carnegie Hall should be an indication to all but the hopelessly blind about what type of people were the prime motivators of the

Hungarian Counter-revolution.

If your paper has any more issues I would be very glad to express myself therein but I doubt if my views are among the broad views you claim to express.

Sincerely with much anguish at your political bankruptcy,

L. B.

New York

(Ed. Note: Shane Mage is not a member of the SWP and neither Martha Wells nor Tim Wohlforth are or ever have been members of the Socialist Party. L. B. or anyone else is invited to submit views in disagreement with the editors for publication in future issues.)

## A Refreshing Publication

Dear Editors:

Your publication is most refreshing. I received it for the first time when attending the recent Carnegie Hall ECLC meeting.

My initial reaction brought me back to my own college days when I was vice-president of NSA. I sure wished we might have had something like the YS at that time. Best wishes. You are sorely needed.

Fraternally,

F. H. T.

New York.

## We Need Sounding Board

Dear Editors:

I'm enclosing one dollar for a year's sub to your paper. There is a need for a paper that is a sounding board for various socialist ideas, one that will not become sectarian.

Good luck on your new venture,

J. R.

# Young Socialist

Tim Wohlforth, *Managing Editor*

Bert Deck, *Business Manager*

*Editorial Board:* Bert Deck, Harold Kamm, Shane Mage, Gil Turner, Tim Wohlforth.

*Corresponding Editors:* Detroit—Evelyn Sell; Chicago—John Worth; Minneapolis—Tom Leonard; Los Angeles—Peter Allan; Bay Area—Marion Syek, Jr.; Seattle—John Severn.

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November, 1957

## Support China Visitors

The U.S. State Department has cracked down on the young American visitors to China in accordance with its previous threats. The first of the group to return home, Earl R. Williamson of Oakland, Calif., was greeted by a subpoena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. His passport was also lifted. In Moscow, sixteen of the returning students refused to turn over their passports to American Embassy Officials in order to be marked valid only for return to the U.S. The State Dept. announced that their passports would be seized once they entered the country.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has promised "all possible aid" to the young Americans. Leonard Boudin, ECLC General Counsel, said that the ECLC would defend the right of Americans to travel anywhere they wished, and would support the students who refused to turn in their passports. "I think the students will be successful," said Boudin, "but it will probably involve litigation."

All students and young workers who are concerned with civil liberties should join with the ECLC in support of the young people who face State Dept. persecution. As Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College, wrote: "I believe we have had enough of conformity. How much more we would gain if we showed enough confidence in ourselves to encourage American students to travel to any part of the world to which they have access in order to meet directly the youth of other countries."

## Guardian Supporter Joins Editorial Board

It is a pleasure to announce an important expansion of our editorial staff which will contribute both to the diversity of views and traditions expressed in the YS and to its geographical expansion. Gil Turner, formerly chairman of the Action Committee of a National Guardian Reader's Club in New England and very active in the campaign to defend the Smith Act victims has been added to the editorial board. John Severn, a student at the University of Washington (Seattle), and Tom Leonard, one of the initiators of a broad youth club in the Twin Cities area, have been added to our list of contributing editors.

# Why Was the Soviet Union the First To Launch a Man-made Satellite?

By Bob Fink

DETROIT—Why was Russia the first to send a man-made satellite around the earth? This is a question which is on everybody's mind and one that will not be dispelled by Rear Admiral Bennett's sour grapes remarks about "a hunk of iron almost anybody could launch."

The truth of the matter is "almost anybody" didn't launch it—the Soviet Union did, and there is little likelihood that America will follow in its footsteps in the immediate future. One ranking Administration official put in this way: "We can expect tremendous political pressure to speed up a lot of programs, but we couldn't profitably spend any more now on our program for big missiles." In addition the satellite, regardless of its scientific import, doesn't have the "practical" military uses of an H-bomb and has therefore been given low priority in defense spending.

The usual answer to the burning question of why Russia was first is that the Soviet dictatorship was able to "compel a relentless exertion upon one particular task, with little regard for cost and none at all for differences of opinion and the welfare of its people."

American scientists attending the Eighth International Astronautical Congress in Barcelona, Spain, where they learned that Russia plans manned flights to the moon in the near future, should have cause to question this line of reasoning which attributes Russia's success to "dictatorship" and America's failure to "democracy." For if dictatorship is the cause of the Soviet Union's triumph why is Spain so backward both scientifically and industrially? When

it comes to easy appropriations of money, lack of concern for the welfare of the people, the ability to "compel relentless exertion" and undivided authority, Spain is about as "advanced" as one can get.

Let us notice that aside from the tyranny that Spain and Russia have in common, there is a difference as well. This difference is a major one, and one which separates all the "backward" dictatorships from the "advanced" ones. Spain is a "free enterprise" capitalist country. Russia, China, and others in the Soviet orbit are not capitalist countries.

## PLANNED ECONOMY

In Russia and China there is a planned economy, and the indus-



try is nationalized and centralized. It is this difference between capitalism and the planned economy, and not the question of "freedom," that separates East from West. Spain, hardly a "free" country, is part of the "Free West." It is this difference which explains the great advance over the last 40 years in Russia as contrasted to the decadence of Spain.

## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

November 7th marks the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Since 1917, Russia has developed from a very backward nation to the second power in the world, militarily, economically and politically. This, whatever one's opinion of the USSR, is quite

an achievement, and the earth satellite launched October 4th is a symbol of this development.

Dictatorship, and the Soviet rulers, Khrushchev and Co., are not the friends of the planned economy and nationalization of industry that the American press likes to believe. Since control over the plan has been taken from the people, it has become distorted, misplanned. Even apologists for the Soviet rulers like Herbert Aptheker have admitted the tremendous waste perpetrated by the all-powerful bureaucracy in the Soviet orbit. In spite of these defects, however, this system has achieved so much in a short time that, were the democratic control of the whole economy given to all the Soviet people, the achievements would be vaster than could be imagined.

We learn other things from the reaction of the U.S. to Russia's "moon." We learn that here, only what is military is "profitable." Rockets to the moon, unless they can provide cheap labor, a high interest for invested capital, and raw materials, are not as profitable as, for instance, war in Korea, although they certainly can gain knowledge that will be beneficial to all people. That is why a school-aid bill fails to get passed, why low-rent housing projects are so scarce, and why the military budget is so astronomical. What will benefit the citizens does not necessarily make profit.

The events of Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and the rising tide of discontent in Russia and China mark the beginning of a truly democratic society with a socialist economy, and if by nothing else, the achievements that will result, will, by example, be enough to put Capitalism in its grave.

## Gomulka Turns On Polish Youth

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 4) ment to unite with the Stalinist Union of Worker Youth, forming the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, which was far more under the domination of the government.

Gomulka recognized in the independence of the youth and in the growth of workers' councils a threat to the continued rule of the bureaucracy in Poland. Along with his attempt to control the youth he turned on the workers' councils and forced them to concern themselves only with economic matters and to retreat from the political field.

In April Gomulka took his next step against the youth and dismissed Elgous Lasoat as editor of *Po Prostu* (see page 4). The paper was suspended over the summer and its first issue in the fall was confiscated. According to Reuters the government was demanding that the paper confine itself to only "purely student matters and avoid broad issues and controversial matters." A year ago when Poland's revolution against Stalinism began the whole nation was united around Gomulka, as witness his victory at the polls (with the help of the Catholic Church). Since that time the inevitable divisions that follow all revolutions occurred. The Polish people found that their problems were not solved and that a national bureaucracy still ruled over them. The workers were denied a real voice in the affairs of the nation and finally in Lodz they went out on strike against "their" government. Today the youth, too have been silenced.

But Gomulka's problems have just begun. For as soon as he silences for good his critics from the left who attack him for going too slowly on the Polish road to

socialism, he then becomes useless to the Stalinist element (Nantolin faction) in the bureaucracy and he will soon be silenced himself.

However Gomulka has yet to come definitely to grips with the Polish working class. It is one thing to squash 2,000 students and it is quite another thing to squash the whole Polish working class when it joins these students.

The present *Po Prostu* demonstrations failed because they centered solely around a student issue and did not touch the basic issues facing the working class—low wages, high prices, taxes, and lack of workers' control. When the students, intellectuals and workers unite in a solid front of opposition to the Polish bureaucracy no amount of policemen, tear gas or billy clubs will stop them from exerting their will and carrying the Polish people along with them to a truly democratic and socialist society.

## Migrant Workers . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

the government of New York while these conditions exist in a supposedly liberal Northern state? Could it be that Gov. Harriman agrees with one of the boss-men of these camps who asked:

"Would you want the government to tell you what to do with your property?" (Referring to the workers as well as the land.)

It brought to my mind a passage from a poem by E. B. White which describes a conversation between John D. Rockefeller's grandson Nelson and Diego Rivera regarding a certain mural. Nelson states, "And after all—it's my wall!"

"We'll see if it is," said Rivera.

# Do We Have Real Integration in the North?

a report to our readers

## New York Parents Protest Segregation in 250 Schools

by Ann Zuckoff

"Who said it couldn't happen in New York?" This was one of the placards carried in front of City Hall by 300 parents of school children recently, in protest against segregated and inferior schools in New York City.

No National Guardsmen have been called to prevent integration in the schools and no racist mobs threaten school children in this "liberal" northern city. But still 150,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children in this city attend schools as segregated as those in Alabama or Mississippi. Close to 250 out of 800 schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education remain segregated to this day.

The parents who picketed City Hall are determined to do something about this situation even if Mayor Wagner and friends attempt to ignore it. As one woman put it as we marched along together on the picket line, "We're only 300 today—next time we'll come 27,000 strong."

One young mother carrying a large sign saying, "Are we above or below the Mason-Dixon Line?" said to me, "I went to bed at 8:00 last night so I could march today, not for myself, but for my children and my grandchildren—I want to march until I can't march anymore."

Another mother pushed a baby carriage with one hand, and with the other held onto a three-year-old child. She didn't have room to carry a sign. She didn't have to for you could see the determination in her face and in her feet as she marched!

### SOLIDARITY FELT

Mrs. Simmons, who represented P.S. 139, said, "This is just the beginning. The Mayor knows what we want. We've been taking promises for a long time. Today is the first time, but we'll do it again if we have to." Throughout the demonstration there was a feeling of determination to continue to fight, and a feeling of solidarity with our co-fighters in the South.

This demonstration, climaxing a three and a half year struggle by Negro and Puerto Rican parents and teachers, was organized by a militant group representing schools in every borough in New York—"Parents in Action Against Educational Discrimination."

In a statement issued prior to the City Hall demonstration, "Parents in Action" attacked William Jansen, superintendent of schools, for having "failed to provide experienced teachers for our schools; failed to change zoning lines to promote integration; failed to plan new schools to avoid double sessions; failed to provide special guidance for pupils who need it most; failed to act on integration reports."

### JANSEN SABOTAGES

Last February, the Board of Education had decided that racial integration was to be the "cardinal principle of zoning." However, on July 27, Jansen projected his "master plan" which retained the concept of "neighborhood schools" (which with segregated neighborhoods means, in effect,

segregated schools) and negated the earlier decision of the Board of Education. Mayor Wagner himself maintained an eloquent indifference to the entire problem.

The youth of this city have a vital stake in this struggle and should support these courageous and militant parents. We should demand that the City Administration return the \$52,000,000 it sliced off the school budget; that integration commence immediately throughout the city by a plan of school rezoning; that student organizations together with P.T.A.'s, labor, and civic groups be represented on the Board of Education to determine school needs; and finally that youth of 18 be given the right to vote so we can have a say in city government.

It is clear that neither Mayor Wagner, who has displayed such cold indifference to the problems of New York's minorities, nor his rival Christenberry, whose "warmth" for New York's millions is displayed in his plan to turn over public housing to his private real estate friends, will be of much help in the fight for a decent life in the nation's largest city.

## 100,000 Chicago Negroes Are Forced Into Crowded Segregated Schools

by John Worth

CHICAGO—While the struggle to seat nine Negro students in an Arkansas school drew the startled attention of the nation a considerably less dramatic, but in many ways equally significant attack centered on the de facto segregation which isolated nearly 100,000 Negro pupils in the Chicago Public Schools.

De facto segregation is defined as a concentration of non-white students which exceeds 90% of the student body of any one school. On this basis a study by the Chicago branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reveals that over 91 per cent of Chicago elementary schools are, for practical purposes, segregated; and 40 per cent of all Negro high school students attend segregated schools. Further, the number of de facto segregated schools is not decreasing, but increasing at a fairly notable rate!

### TREND REVERSED

While the struggle for desegregation gains in the heartland of racial oppression, the South of the United States, the trend is reversed in the largest industrial city of the supposedly non-segregated North. "In cost and quality of instruction, school time, districting, and choice of sites," states the Chicago report, "the Chicago Board of Education maintains in practice what

amounts to a racially discriminatory policy."

What are some of the immediate consequences of this policy?

First, the predominantly Negro schools in Chicago are tremendously overcrowded. The student body of the white elementary school averages 669 pupils. The mixed schools average 947. But the same basic facilities are expected to furnish an education to an average of 1275 students in the predominantly Negro areas.

Overcrowding forces the second step—reduction in the hours of instruction by use of the double shift system. The school day in the single shift schools averages six hours. In the double shift schools it is reduced to four.

The heaviest burden by far is borne by the Negro students. Although they comprise slightly more than one-third of the total elementary school population, no less than 81 per cent of students affected by the double-shift policy were shown to be non-white.

"In fact," notes the NAACP, "it is a nice point whether the school time lost to the Negro child is not almost as great in Chicago as it is in Mississippi."

The fact that a deliberate policy of racial discrimination is practiced by the Chicago Board

of Education is proven by a number of equally informative instances.

On the Near North Side of Chicago, in which a mixed white-Negro population has been relatively stable for the past forty years, seven small mixed schools "well distributed in the area" were reduced, by 1956, to three extremely large schools districted in large north-south strips so that an artificial pattern of segregation could be developed in the area.

When new school construction has been positively unavoidable, the Board has consistently selected sites in which redistricting contingent upon the presence of the new school will remove Negroes from previously non-segregated schools. Current plans will, in fact, reduce the number of non-segregated schools (9 per cent) to a low of 6 or 7 per cent.

Even more convincing is the tendency on the high school level to make or keep Negro schools small, and to send nearby whites considerable distances to all-white schools, rather than to the nearer Negro schools.

Instances can be multiplied, but neither the fact of segregation in the Northern city of Chicago nor its scope can be easily denied.

## Youth Notes

### UCLA's Daily Witchhunts the YS

LOS ANGELES—UCLA's Daily Bruin greeted the distribution of Young Socialists at the campus gates with glaring front-page headlines announcing, "Socialists Stir at UCLA—Radicals Pass Out Colored Circulars." The front page also carried a large photograph of the paper with the caption "The Young Socialist—Socialism's approach to America's Young People." A lengthy news article and most of the feature

page of the Bruin was devoted to a witchhunting smear attack in a editorial refers to the necessity truly McCarthyite manner. The to be "alert" for the "enemy"—meaning socialism—is on the march. Peter Allan, YS's corresponding editor in the city, has challenged the Bruin to print a reply in defense of the paper and has challenged the editors to a debate on "the enemy"—socialism.

### LA Socialists Form Youth Group

LOS ANGELES—Following the call issued by five prominent socialist youth here the "Conference of Young Socialists" has been set up. Its membership included individuals who are or have been

members of the Labor Youth League, Young Peoples Socialist League (SP-SDF), Young Socialist League, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Socialist Workers Party.

### Young Socialist Alliance Starts in NYC

NEW YORK—The young socialists from various tendencies who participated in the Young Socialist Forum here over the summer have formed themselves into the Young Socialist Alliance. The

Alliance plans activities in the civil liberties and other fields in addition to another forum series. For further information call WA 9-5630 and write to the Alliance at 218 7th Ave., New York City.

### Chicago Youth Form Committee

CHICAGO—A Socialist Youth Committee has been formed in this city which is "exploring the possibility of forming a broad, socialist youth organization in which

ALL socialist youth, as well as those just becoming interested in socialism, can collaborate." The Committee is currently sponsoring a series of discussions.

### Young People Unite in Twin Cities

TWIN CITIES—Four prominent young socialists in this area have issued a call stating, "the signers of this statement, representing a number of socialist and radical tendencies in the Twin Cities, feel that it is now possible to organize an independent youth move-

ment which could provide a free and open platform for the discussion of all radical viewpoints." Signers include Al Nurmi, Orin Doty, Tom Leonard, and Dave Stanberry. For further information call FE 5-2314 or FE 6-8745.

## Detroit Citizens Favor Integration in Schools

by Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—"Is Detroit a potential Little Rock, Ark . . . ?" asked the Detroit News recently. They answer their own question with ". . . a resounding NO!" after looking through a study made by the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.

Two hypothetical problem situations concerning Negro-white relations were submitted to more than 800 white adult Detroiters who were selected as being representative of the community. "Suppose," went the first problem, "you live in a school district where there are no Negroes. During the summer several Negro families buy homes in the neighborhood and prepare to send their children to the school. Some white parents asked the school board to keep the Negroes out. What should the school board do?"

The study reported, "A convincing 56 per cent majority feels that the Negro children should be completely integrated into the all-white classes. Only one out of ten persons believes that Negroes should go to the school but be in their own classes. A little more than one-third advocates complete segregation of the two races in different schools."

### MIXED FUN

The second problem was, "One day a six-year old asks her mother if she can bring another girl home to play. The mother knows that the other girl is a Negro and that

her own daughter has only played with white children before. What should the mother do?" Forty per cent of those questioned felt that the children should play together in the home. A slightly higher percent approved interracial school play but not mixed play at home. Only 13 per cent thought Negroes and whites should never play together.

Another striking fact in this study was that 4 out of every 10 Southern-born Detroiters favored completely integrated schools. Those favoring complete segregation were in the minority.

### ANOTHER LITTLE ROCK?

The Detroit News featured this study in an article headlined "Tolerant View On Integration Found In City." Unfortunately, as so often happens, those who favor integration are less active and vociferous than those who act from ignorance and a calculated eye to the profits which accrue from segregated housing.

Detroit has seen this past year the same type of mobs which milled around the Little Rock high school. In Detroit the mob was intent on driving from her home a Negro woman who had just moved into what had been an "all-white" neighborhood. Negro newspapers report many incidents concerning unfair treatment of Negroes by Detroit police. The basis for "another Little Rock" exists in every American city.

# Djilas Presents Old Theory About New Class

by Shane Mage

For many years Milovan Djilas was Vice-President of Yugoslavia and a leader of the Communist movement. During that time he wrote much on theoretical and political subjects; but even to the well-informed reader in this country his writings remained unknown. As a Communist, and even as a heretical Communist, his thoughts naturally had no interest for the American "free press" or American commercial publishers. He remained untranslated, unpublished.

Now Djilas has broken with the Yugoslav Communist Party and has written a book entitled "The New Class" presenting his "Analysis of the Communist System." And as his break with Tito deepened, so Djilas' fortunes have undergone a remarkable change. In the "New Democracy" of Yugoslavia he has gone from the Vice-Presidency to prison, having committed the dreadful crime of criticizing the Yugoslav government. And in the "Old Democracy" of the U. S., Djilas, who once could not get a word published, has suddenly become "recognized" as a leading intellectual and political figure.

## TIMES LOVES IT

"The New Class" received a treatment not accorded to any similar book in recent years. It was translated and published with unprecedented speed. Before its publication it was the subject of two long articles in the New York Times which described it as a brilliant use of the "weapons of Marxist analysis" to "destroy Marxism itself".

It was immediately broadcast to the East European countries by the "Voice of America" and "Radio Free Europe" as a sort of ideological secret weapon in the Cold War. And in the U. S. "The New Class" has climbed steadily toward the top of the best-seller list.

What is the reason for all this excitement? Certainly not the quality of Djilas' thought—for in all formal respects "The New Class" is a shockingly bad book. Although Djilas must certainly have a wealth of experiences from the Yugoslav revolution and his participation in the Tito regime for nine years, he refuses to refer to his own past, his own immediate knowledge. Instead he writes in an entirely abstract fashion discussion the "Communist system" in general. This would not be so bad, if this abstract discussion were presented systematically, logically, coherently.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. Djilas does not develop his idea that "Communism" is a new form of class society to show what laws govern the development of the system, but merely repeats his basic proposition over and over.

Particularly inexcusable from someone with long experience as a leader of a supposedly "Marxist" movement are Djilas' repeated ignorant and false statements about Marxism. For instance, on p. 125 he claims that Marx and Engels "proceeded practically unaware of the most important minds of their time." (True, the next page Djilas admits that "they carefully noted the significant intellectual phenomena of their time.")

Again, on p. 48 Djilas tries to make us believe that, in contrast to Marx who believed in the existence of objective classes, "Lenin viewed men as sharing ideas rather than as being members of discernible classes." And on p. 51 he asserts that Trotsky was not for a revolution against Stalinism, that he "concluded that the solution was in a change at the top, in a 'palace revolution.'" In fact, Trotsky never favored a mere 'palace revolution' and ultimately called for a thorough-going "political revolution" carried through from below.

Of course, these serious defects do not in themselves invalidate Djilas' main thesis. That must be considered on its own merits.

## MAIN THESIS

The central idea of "The New Class" is this: the key to understanding the "Communist System" is that it is a new form of class society, dominated by a class of Communist bureaucrats who enjoy an economically and socially privileged position thanks to their totalitarian monopoly of political power.

The roots of this class lie in the philosophy of Karl Marx and in the type of Marxist political party developed by Lenin and Trotsky. This political party was able to take power and become a class because it was able to satisfy the basic need of the backward economies of Russia, E. Europe, and China—the need to industrialize rapidly.

In criticizing these ideas, we must start from what is clearly true about them: the "Communist System" is marked by the centralization of political power in the hands of a small number of leaders, who maintain this power by means of a dictatorship over all of society and, in the first instance, over the working class. Furthermore, this dictatorship rests on a larger group of factory managers, army officers, party functionaries and government bureaucrats, who enjoy a privileged social and economic position, benefiting from extreme inequalities of income.

Because they cannot admit this kernel of truth, the "official" Communists have no answer to Djilas, or rather, they have only the discredited Stalinist answers of slander and persecution. Thus the paper of the Yugoslav CP accused Djilas of imitating Goebbels and of seeking to poison U.S.-Yugoslav relations. And the Yugoslav government has recently sentenced Djilas, already in prison, to seven more years for the ideas expressed in this book.

Prosecuting Djilas for his ideas is, of course, a violation of the most basic democratic right.

There is, of course, nothing new about the idea that the "Communist System," under both Stalin and Khrushchev, represents the rule of a privileged bureaucracy over the workers. This fact was seen clearly by the Russian Communist left opposition which fought against the rise of Stalin and Stalinism, and analysed every stage of the growth of the bureaucracy from 1922 on.

## THEORY OLD HAT

Neither is there anything new in Djilas' "distinctive" theory that this bureaucracy is a new class. The same idea was expressed by James Burnham 15 years ago, in his book "The Managerial Revolution" and has been associated in the American radical movement with the name of Max Shachtman.

At first sight, the argument whether or not the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is a "class" would appear to be an empty quibble over words. Actually a much more important question is involved: is the "Communist System" simply a new class society, a new form of capitalism or worse-than-capitalism? Or, despite all its plague-sores, despite the totalitarian misrule of the Stalinist bureaucracy, does Soviet society represent a first step toward socialism, a transition between capitalism and socialism?

Djilas' thesis breaks down at three decisive points.

1.) His theory of the origin of the "new class" is unscientific. Classes and social systems arise out of a long-historical evolution,

in response to profound historical and economic necessities.

But Djilas says, "Communism first originated as an ideology, which contained in its seed Communism's totalitarian and monopolistic nature" and "the roots of the new class were implanted in a special party of the Bolshevik type." He finds the origin of his "class" in the minds of Marx and Lenin, not in real social and historical conditions.

2.) Even according to Djilas' own criteria, the ruling group in the "Communist" countries can-

not be called a ruling class. Djilas defines the bureaucracy as a class in this statement: "As defined by Roman law, property constitutes the use, enjoyment, and disposition of material goods. The Communist political bureaucracy uses, enjoys, and disposes of nationalized property."

3.) The most important failure of Djilas' theory is that it presents a false view of the relationship between the capitalist and "Communist" economic systems. Djilas contends that capitalism, as a world system, is a superior form of economic organization to the "Communist system." The new class, he says, is "the most serious—although not the only—obstacle to national and world progress."

This conclusion, which goes far to explain the enthusiastic response this book has received from the U. S. press, radio, and government, flies in the face of an obvious economic fact: since the beginning of the five-year plans the Soviet Union, despite vast devastation in World War II, has made enormous economic progress at a rate unparalleled by any

capitalism, is the "main obstacle" to progress, cannot hope to answer: why is it that this "Communist system," despite the fantastic wastefulness of its bureaucratic rulers, has proven itself able to develop much faster than the most "efficient" capitalist system?

## GLIB ANSWER

Capitalist apologists have a glib answer for this: Russia has been able to develop so quickly because its workers have been held at a very low standard of living. But Djilas himself has destroyed this argument by pointing to the low standard of living as the cause for "the slow, unproductive work of disinterested millions" which constitutes the "greatest waste" of all.

The answer can only be found in an understanding of the transitional nature of the "Communist system." The Russian Revolution marked the first step toward socialism by establishing the rule of the working class, nationalizing industry, and thereby establishing the basis for a planned economy. Isolated from the rest of the world in a terribly backward country, the Russian revolution fell back toward capitalism. The Stalinist bureaucracy grew up and captured control of the Communist party and Russian state from within.

The resulting society was a paradox, a self-contradictory combination of features from the capitalist past and the socialist future. There was and still is oppression, exploitation, inequality, dictatorship. There also were, and are, socialistic economic institutions—nationalized industry and a planned economy. The economic progress made by the Soviet Union was made despite Stalin's dictatorship which cost Russia the economic disaster of a forced collectivization in which more than half of the livestock in the country was destroyed. This progress is directly attributable to the vitality and inherent superiority of socialist economic forms.

## STALINIST PAST

Djilas shows himself to be a prisoner of his own Stalinist past. Once he regarded the Soviet Union as a fully socialist society, a democracy, a workers paradise. Having learned that it is none of these things he has leapt to the other extreme. Now the "Communist system" is simply a new form of class society, even worse than capitalism.

Capitalist writers, who know nothing, and care less, about Marxism, have hailed "The New Class" as a "Marxist Analysis." But in leaping from one one-sided view to its opposite Djilas has remained as far as ever from the minimal necessity for a Marxist analysis of the "Communist system"—a balanced view of the positive and negative features, of the capitalist and socialist aspects of one of the most complex and contradictory societies that history has ever known.

## Po Prostu's Editor



E. Lasota (with glasses), who was dismissed as editor-in-chief of Po Prostu in April, is seen here talking with delegates from young people's organizations. His dismissal marked the beginning of Gomulka's attempts to censor the revolutionary youth paper which finally ended in its suppression recently. See page 1.

not be called a ruling class. Djilas defines the bureaucracy as a class in this statement: "As defined by Roman law, property constitutes the use, enjoyment, and disposition of material goods. The Communist political bureaucracy uses, enjoys, and disposes of nationalized property."

## THE RULING CLASS

But for every ruling class in history the essential aspects of the "disposition of property" is the ability to leave it to one's children, the right of inheritance. In America today it is possible to be born a billionaire. However, according to Djilas himself, "in the new class no one inherits anything. . . ."

Another essential aspect of a ruling class is its complete solidarity against other classes which threaten its rule. Djilas asserts that this is true of the bureaucracy: "No other class in history has been as cohesive and single minded in defending itself and in controlling that which it holds." In fact, the recent Hungarian revolution proves just the

private capitalist economy.

Djilas, elsewhere in his book, recognized this fact. His chapter on "Dogmatism in the Economy" presents a vivid description of the terribly wasteful and inefficient methods of economic administration practised by the bureaucracy. He shows irrefutably how bureaucratic planning, in the absence of a democratic criticism and control from below, leads in practise to "wastefulness of fantastic proportions."

## RUSSIA ADVANCES

But then he goes on to admit as if stating a self-evident fact that "Of course, once-backward Russia has attained second place in world production as far as its most important branches of the economy are concerned. It has become the mightiest continental power in the world . . . nor are there any reasons to believe that the standard of living cannot be improved in proportion to the country's economic capabilities." (my emphasis, S. M.)

This poses a riddle which Djilas, for whom the "new class," not

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