

Youth Fight Tests Of Nuclear Bombs In Britain, U. S.

by Janet Downs
(special to the YOUNG SOCIALIST)

LONDON—Over the last few weeks concern has been mounting among the British people over the possession of nuclear weapons by the British Government and the proposed establishment of American rocket bases in this country.

The depth of this feeling among middle and working class people was demonstrated recently when several thousand people marched from London to Aldemaston, a distance of fifty miles.

Girls in jeans, clerks, young teachers and apprentices marched side by side. Musicians played their instruments, Labor members of Parliament, students and housewives truged through the pouring rain. Engineers, electricians, journalists and schoolboys walked through towns and country lanes.

What were we doing? This was a protest march against nuclear armaments to the Aldermaston Atomic Research Establishment organized by several pacifists and left-wing Labor members of Parliament.

Four thousand marchers set off on Good Friday following a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square. During the next two days, the number of marchers at one time fell to 500 due to the terrible weather, but on Easter Monday, almost four thousand marched past the 12-square-mile atomic warfare centre which is in stark contrast to the peaceful typical English village of Aldermaston.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION

The official slogan was "Nuclear Disarmament," but many marchers went further and infused a working-class content into the march. Unofficial posters bobbed up and down along the line: "Nuclear Disarmament by Industrial Action," "Black all work on Rocket Sites" and "No Work on H-bombs." To the English worker the slogan "Black all work on Rocket Sites" means to consider working on such sites as scabbing against the organized trade union movement. This slogan has gained in popularity among the workers and many local union and Labor Party branches have raised it.

18,000 Students Strike in Canada; Ask Federal Aid

by Charles Wright

(The writer of this article is a Canadian student who played an active part in the strike described below).

MONTREAL—An unusual blow was struck recently by the University students of Quebec in their struggle with Duplessis, the premier of this province. On March 6, 18,000 students boycotted their lectures. This action was precipitated by Duplessis' refusal to meet the student representatives of six Quebec universities for a discussion on the problems of both the universities and the students. The basic problem revolves around the financial needs of the students. Although the federal government of Canada has appropriated funds for aid to students, the provincial gov-

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The march was organized on a big scale. There were mobile canteens and film units; accommodations were booked at church and Labor Party halls; large meetings were held on route. Messages of support were received from many organizations including trade union branches. All the way people waved encouragement from their doors and thousands crowded the streets of towns such as Reading to cheer us on our way.

There were two striking things about these marchers. Firstly, young people were in the majority. At least 75 per cent were

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THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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—San Francisco Chronicle

About 250 Bay Area demonstrators are seen here near the University of California radiation laboratory as they protest against nuclear tests. See article on left for a report on this and similar demonstrations throughout the United States and England.

Michigan Students Rout 'Red Squad', College; Defend Young Socialist's Right to Distribute

by Bob Himmel

DETROIT—Attempts by police and administration authorities to halt the distribution of the YOUNG SOCIALIST on the University of Michigan campus have met with decisive defeat. A combination of intimidation by police photographers, threats of arrest by a university official and an editorial smear in the university newspaper backfired when a large number of students repudiated these tactics and rallied to the support of the distributors.

When members of the Wayne Young Socialist Club of Detroit handed out sample copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST on Thursday, March 13, in front of the Michigan Union, they were surrounded by a group of police photographers who took pictures of the young socialists and every student who received a paper or stopped for conversation. The photographers were reliably identified as members of the Detroit Police Department's notorious "red squad" which has a long history of intimidating radical gatherings and meetings.

An article on this incident in the Michigan Daily the following day quoted John Bingley, Assistant Dean of Men, as saying that he had received prior notice of the plans by the Wayne club to distribute and had turned this information over to the Ann Arbor police department "as is usual in a case of this kind." Bingley stated that both the city and the university had rules against distributions of this sort and that enforcement attempts "might have been made if the group had been there longer." He implied that this would be the case if the young socialists were to return.

EDITOR HITS LIBERTIES

A few days later, on Sunday

March 16, the Michigan Daily ran an editorial, signed by associate editorial director Edward Geruldsen, entitled "Young Socialists are Destructive Nuisances." In this editorial Geruldsen unleashed a hysterical attack against the YOUNG SOCIALIST and its supporters and proposed that they be denied the right to distribute on the university campus. "The question," he wrote, "of whether or not a group like the Young Socialists should be allowed to press its campaign on campus must be considered from two sides—the practical and the theoretical. The answer from both sides is 'No.'"

Geruldsen claimed that "from the practical point of view" socialists should not be allowed to distribute "because there are laws against their present methods." He also opposed it "for the theoretical and ethical standpoint ... we will not be a party to a campaign against the political and social principles in which we believe."

Indignant letters by students began pouring into the office of the Michigan Daily in every case repudiating the editorial attack

and upholding the rights of the young socialists (this was also the case at Wayne State University in Detroit when the Daily Collegian uncritically reprinted the Geruldsen editorial a few days later.) The Wayne Young Socialist Club publicly announced that they would return to the University of Michigan campus one week later, on Thursday, March 20, and would defy any attempts to harass them or prevent a distribution. In a letter to the Michigan Daily the chairman of the Wayne club urged all "interested students to be on hand in the event the intimidation re-occurs in order to see for themselves."

STUDENTS RALLY

During the week prior to the second distribution a number of students who had been attracted to the civil liberties issue began rallying support on the campus. Letters continued to appear in the Michigan Daily and it became evident that substantial student sentiment was aroused in favor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. One letter, printed on the day of the second distribution, hailed the decision to challenge a law abridging basic freedoms. The writer of the letter asked, "What is a man to do when faced with a questionable law? Be safe and obey? Be sneaky and evade? Be overt and challenge? It is our national custom to test a law by breaking it. The only way to test the constitutionality of a law is to bring it to court—to make an issue of it (which the Socialists apparently are planning to do today.)"

Faced with a growing opposition the university administration backed down and a front-page article in the Michigan Daily announced that "University officials indicated they have no plans to interfere with distribution of

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ROBERTS RUNS IN CALIFORNIA:

Educator Challenges Two Parties; They Offer Depression, Death'

by James Robertson

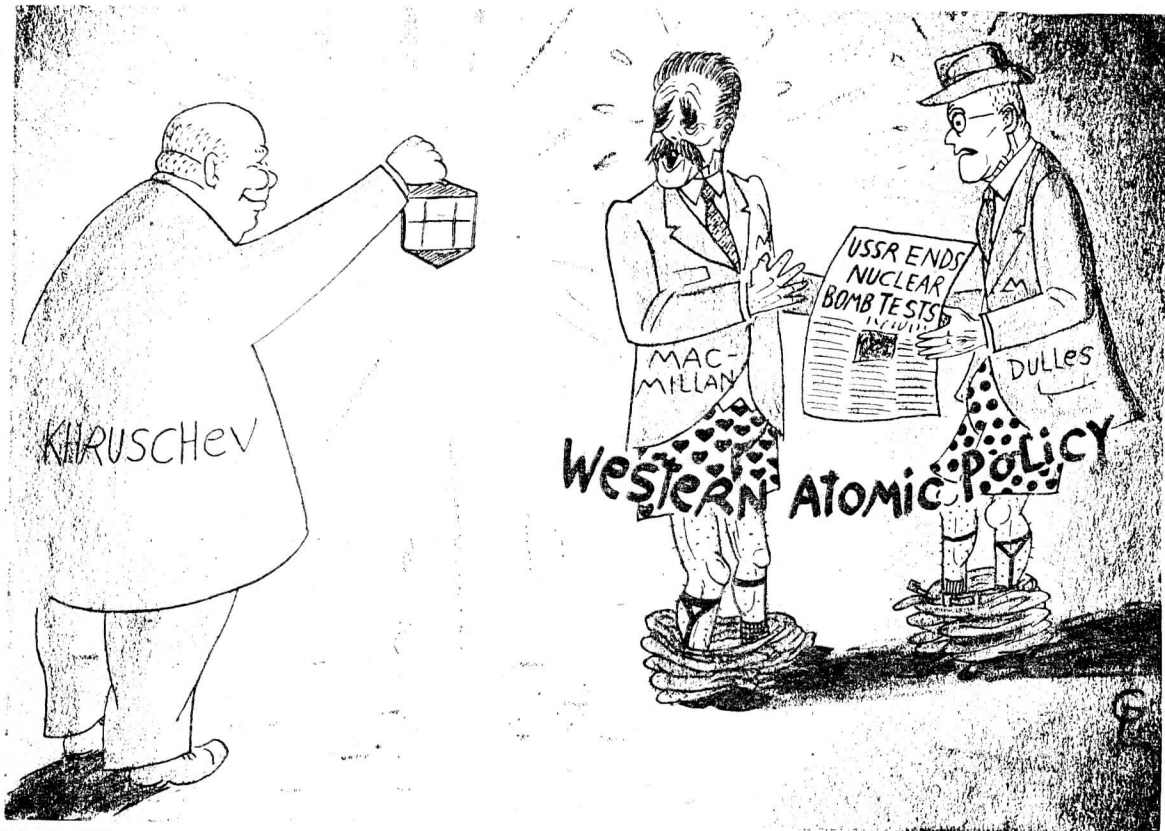
SAN FRANCISCO—"Our shattering crisis in American education is moral and economic. A society that pays out more every year for liquor and tobacco than for education of its children is travelling down the road to national bankruptcy," states Holland Roberts, well known Marxist educator, who is currently running as an independent candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

"The bi-partisan administration in Washington is wasting the substance of the people in preparations to destroy our civilization. The 45 billion dollar budget voted to blow up the world at the command of the merchants of death is final proof of the senility of the Democratic and Republican parties. They are offering the people only depression, death and destruction," he charges.

As a socialist who has gained support for his candidacy from a broad array of socialist forces in

the state, he declares, "The people of the United States will soon discover that nothing less than a complete change in our social and economic system will save our schools from decay and our civilization from collapse. As they face the struggle with monopoly for the education of their children, they will find that only a socialist America will safeguard their children. Only under socialism can we educate all our children up to the full development of their capabilities."

Many young people, including the supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST in both the Bay Area and Los Angeles, are actively supporting Roberts' campaign. They hope in this way to bring the ideas of socialism as they relate to education to as many young people in the state as possible. They also hope to further the conception of independent working class political action in opposition to the two war parties in the state and throughout the country.



This is YS staff cartoonist George Payne's conception of the recent decision of the USSR to stop nuclear tests. See below for further discussion from our readers (including Payne) on the question of the USSR and nuclear tests. The discussion began in our April issue with the publication of a letter from a group of Japanese students in the peace movement and replies written by Shane Mage and Steve Max.

YOUTH SPEAKS OUT:

More Discussion on Nuclear Tests

Dear Editors:

Because of the Soviet Union's generous move in halting further nuclear tests, without waiting for the West to do so, for the first time since the crushing of the Hungarian people's revolt I am proud that the USSR includes in her name the word "Socialist." Although I still deny that there is a socialist society in the USSR, since if there was it would be more democratic than the USA, I think that the Soviet Union, granting the power-politics motives in the gesture, nevertheless acted in a truly humanitarian, a truly communist way in ending the tests.

An amusing aspect of the whole thing is Steve Max's comments in the last YOUNG SOCIALIST on this very issue. Max defended the previous Soviet position in the manner of a blind and faithful Stalin puppet. Now the USSR has changed its position, vindicating Shane Mage's point of view. Not until the Khrushchev report came out of Moscow could one criticize Stalin according to "the line" at the time of the 20th Congress. When the first Soviet troops ceased their attack in Hungary, the rebellion was a "popular democratic revolt." Then when the Russians attacked again it was all the work of "Fascist-inspired Project," etc. When will the blind Russophiles like Max ever learn? The Kremlin clique itself is more creative than such robots.

The USSR should follow up the good impact of its nuclear tests move by instituting genuine political democracy. Then Western propaganda would be reduced to laughable nonsense.

George Payne

Dear Editors:

Both contributors to the discussion, "USSR and H-Tests," agree that, as Shane Mage put it: "... Soviet military strength is and has been a force for peace. If the Russians did not have atomic weapons the MacArthurs and other 'preventive warriors' might well have succeeded long ago in starting World War III." It could be argued with equal validity that U. S. military strength and its possession of atomic weapons is a force for peace, since they deterred the USSR from invading South Korea, Formosa, West Germany or any other of an infinite number of real possibilities.

In fact, the possession and testing of nuclear weapons by either

of two great imperialist blocs is the very opposite of their mutual pretense of being "peace-loving." Except for World War I and the brief period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, there is no evidence in the history of the USSR to indicate that it is in any way superior to the U. S. on the issue of a pacific foreign policy—as on many other issues. What we may expect, on the contrary, seems to be a repetition of the pattern which was established already in the 1953 East Berlin uprisings: a joint effort by the U.S. and USSR to put down "anarchy" and "lawlessness" in the colonial camps of both.

This illusion that the USSR has a monopoly on peaceful intentions at the present stage of the world's power struggles is, however, only mildly erroneous compared with the position put forward later by Steve Max. This is the familiar suggestion that the USSR is a priori immune from evil. Thus, despite the admitted "desirability of unilateral cessation of testing," Comrade Max concludes from the USSR's feeling that it is not "in a position to do so" that such a hypocritical "feeling" is not only legitimate but honorable.

Even ignoring for the moment the inherent immorality of such a dual posture, any socialist sees in this familiar refrain precisely the line of thought which has brought the international Communist movement to a shambles, and has discredited the socialist movement throughout the world. Even Communism's long and unsavory record of domestic reformism has not been as damaging to it as this quietism and "know-nothingism" on any question relating to Russia. The fascination with Russian national aims has resulted times untold in the suppression of the struggles of colonial and oppressed peoples for democratic self-determination. And, indeed, this international know-nothingism is combined with the domestic reformism in the proposal that socialism should somehow take a back seat to the ambiguous aspirations of what Comrade Max terms "the world peace movement." Socialism has everything to lose and nothing to gain from identification with this hypocritical "movement."

**Fraternally,
Richard DeHaan**

Dear Editors:

Fraternal and warm greetings chance. We need this world, it is

to our overseas friends. I hope this exchange of letters is the beginning of a long and fruitful exchange of ideas. I would like to comment on the question posed in Iwasaki Shigeo's letter to the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

The crucial question of today is not whether the Soviet Union is morally or militarily correct in unleashing nuclear explosions. The crucial question is whether governments have the right, duty, and obligation to decide on questions of life and death or whether the people as a whole have that right. The battle to be won is not the battle to squeeze concessions from either the U. S. State Department or the bureaucracy of the USSR. The battle to be won is the struggle of the majority of mankind against the oppressive few who control the basic means of production, whether that control is exercised under the name of capitalism or "communism".

Let the citizens of each country vote on the question of war or peace! Let everyone who must bear arms or die in agony decide what shall be done about nuclear weapons! Let the voice of the multi-millioned be heard and the maneuvering statesmen of the few will be drowned in a mighty shout of, "No! No war! No nuclear explosions! No starvation or oppression! We vote yes for only peace and prosperity!"

It is argued that the nuclear tests conducted by the USSR have prevented World War III. I point to the wholesale revulsion against imperialist war aims throughout the world. I point to the uprisings in East Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, and to student strikes in China. I point to the American people's reluctance to support the U. S. Government's flirtation with war. I point to these and I say that there, there is the explosive force that the governments (East and West) fear more than a hundred atom bombs!

Sophisticated political arguments about which atom bombs help peace and which foster war can not remove the reality. Humanity can't afford war or testing for war. The minority in power, in front of or behind the Iron Curtain, would rather see the world destroyed than to lose their privileged positions in society. The majority of the world's population must not give them that chance. We need this world, it is

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May-June, 1958

German Youth: I Oppose Capitalism, Communism; I Believe in Socialism

Dear Editors:

Thanks a lot for sending me a copy of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. I was indeed surprised, getting such a good paper from the U.S.A. and seeing that American youth stand for Socialism as well. Surely you know that Germany has a great Socialist youth movement and it would grow immediately when we could act in East Germany as well. But I didn't know that there are Socialists in the U.S.A. too, because generally we think of American boys that they don't care much for politics, and their main thing seems to be to drive a heavy car with great speed, while the Americans girls are rock 'n rolling with Elvis P. and weeping with Johnny Ray.

Reading the YOUNG SOCIALIST, I could make out that we have absolutely the same ideas as you and I was really surprised about the objective articles on the Syrian-Turkish crisis, the Hungarian revolution and the actual interview with the woman who

Reader Differs on USSR

Dear Editors:

It seems to me that in our discussions of communism, socialism and the USSR, too often we seem to think that because the Soviet Union has apparently used some police state methods in the past, these same evils are therefore inherent in any communist government. The real issue is suppressed in favor of denunciations of Russia.

In my thinking, the communist governments in the USSR and China are definite improvements over their governments before the socialist revolutions. The common man under the Czar didn't have much to look forward to. Tom Chamales, in the January 1958 True Magazine, p. 87, comments, "... Mao was running a clean government, a damn clean government by Chinese standards ..." The East European countries which turned communist after World War II are much better off now than they were under the Nazis.

I am very interested in debates on Marxism, but I get pretty disgusted at rabid denunciations of an economic system based on its peculiarities in specific situations. I suppose if someone could prove to me that communism necessarily implied police state methods, I would be less opposed to this type of argument; but until that can be done, let's not make such a point of it.

**Dennis Weeks
De Kalb, Ill.**

took part in the trip to China. Well, it may be you can read the same in a French paper, which is an independent one, but which stands for a left policy, but I scarcely believed to hear that from the U.S.A.

Anyway your paper was a witness that the Socialist movement is progressing steadily and that it has a place between capitalism and Communism. You see I live in West Berlin and I have the experience of capitalism and Communism and I am opposed to both. I believe in Socialism as the best form of political life.

Wolfgang Kaiser

'Let's All Unite Now On a Socialist Ticket'

Dear Editors,

Are you tired of hearing people say "wait," "not now," "the time isn't ripe, the people aren't ready," etc., etc. ad nauseum? On the question of a Socialist Unity Ticket these cries are heard, along with cries of joining with the existing "mass" movements, of people from the Left unable to sit down together and so on.

I believe that the time is now—right now. The people who "aren't ready" will never be ready if they never see a third choice on the ballot. They will never think about Socialism if they never hear about it.

Many left-thinking people voted for Truman in '48 as a means of joining a mass movement, i.e. the Democratic Party. Well, they got the Democratic Party with a capital D and they got loyalty oaths, the murder of the Rosenbergs and all the crippling thought control of the last 10 years. The voices of a few progressives working in the big parties becomes nullified and meaningless, even a small group working on their own attracts publicity if not immediate public support; sometimes they can even force changes in the big parties. The important role that the A.L.P. played is testimony to that.

As far as progressives talking to each other is concerned, it seems that it is the older socialists, scrapping over long-dead horses who have some difficulty here. Young socialists care about peace, civil rights and the future of American socialism, and a Socialist Unity Ticket is their chance to register this belief on the ballot. They don't want that chance when they've been voting for 20 years. They want it now... right now.

Hedda Markowitz

our world,—we are on the verge of claiming it. But what use to claim a world smothered by radio-active dust? The fight today is to achieve socialism. What use to argue among ourselves as to which statesmen are more corrupt? The fight is to preserve a world where socialism can be won and developed. What use to win a socialist world if our children inherit the "Ash of Death"? Socialists,—unite in the strug-

gle against all war, against starvation, against insecurity! Socialists, workers, farmers, students, women, fight together against oppressive governments, wherever they are! Our choice is not between lesser evils—between U. S. imperialism or the Russian bureaucracy. Our choice is: socialism or barbarism?

Let the people vote on war!

**Evelyn Sell
Detroit, Michigan**

Socialism And The American Student

A SCHOLAR ANSWERS:

Was Marx Wrong?

by Dr. Otto Nathan

(Dr. Nathan is a distinguished economist and is executor of Albert Einstein's will. Presently he is teaching at New York University. He recently won an important civil liberties case when the Supreme Court ruled in his favor following the refusal of the passport division to issue him a passport so that he could go abroad and execute the will of his good friend Dr. Einstein.)

Even among some of the scholars, writers and political figures who heretofore have been inspired, consciously or unconsciously, by the work of Karl Marx, it has of late become fashionable to emphasize those segments of Marx's analysis in which he allegedly was "wrong" and to consider his thoughts and his theses inapplicable to the problems of our times. The changes in capitalism are considered to be so profound that explanations developed under completely different conditions almost a century ago and the theoretical tools then elaborated are said to be historically interesting, but of only little heuristic value in a completely new social, political, and economic environment.

These arguments, I suggest, are based on inadequate acquaintance with Marx's work or on misinterpretation of his work. Marx was not only a revolutionary political leader and an economic theorist of rare and possibly of unequalled excellence and power; he also made an enormous contribution to the philosophy of history. His expectations about the development of human societies are probably based, as Engels did not tire of emphasizing, more closely upon his materialist conception of history than on the theoretical analysis of the economic system ex-

major change in recorded history was considered to have occurred haphazardly; nor was it assumed that future significant transformations would take place for merely accidental reasons. The materialist conception of history, together with the Marxist analysis of capitalism, enables man to discover the direction of the historical development in which he participates regardless of his own will; and it enables him, if he so chooses, no longer to be an unconscious tool of history, but to become its collaborator by de-

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—Eric Arnold, Michigan Daily

Hands reach out as members of the Wayne Socialist Club distribute copies of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST**, America's only socialist youth paper, at the University of Michigan campus. Questions are thrown at the young socialists: "Where do you stand on Civil Liberties?"; "Do you advocate what they have over in Russia?"; "Hasn't Marx been refuted?" and so on. This issue is an attempt to answer some of these questions. The answers do not necessarily reflect the editorial position of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST** but rather illustrate the broad range of views found within the publication.

BEHIND THE STUDENT STRUGGLES IN OTHER LANDS:

Cuban, Polish Youth Demand Freedom, Socialism

by Tim Wohlforth

A few weeks ago thousands of Indonesian youth paraded down the streets of Jakarta carrying placards stating "SEATO Go To Hell." A couple of months ago Parisian students distributed leaflets calling for a demonstration against the French government's suppression of the Algerian Student Movement. Thousands of students gathered, not at the places indicated on the leaflet where only police waited to break up the demonstration, but at another location spread by word of mouth on the morning of the demonstration. Last October several thousand Polish youth participated in demonstrations in the streets of Warsaw protesting the banning of the militant Polish socialist youth paper *Po Prostu* by Gomulka who felt it had gone too far in its attacks on Stalinism.

This is just a partial list of important actions by students throughout the world over the last few months. We could add to this list reports of actions in Venezuela, Ceylon, England, Canada, Spain, Japan, and many, many other countries if only we had the space to do so. For the weight of youth in national and international politics is on the increase. In every major progressive struggle over the past few years young people have played a great and in some cases decisive role. It is therefore extremely important to understand the specific role young people play in these struggles, the problems they face, and the possible lessons to be learned from their experiences for future developments in our own country.

Let us first take a look at youth in a colonial or underdeveloped country. It is in these countries that youth—particularly as students—play the greatest role. It is also in these countries that students—almost to a man—find themselves militantly on the side of the struggle against imperialism and in many cases on the side of the struggle for socialism. Why is it that students—who for the most part come from the middle and upper classes—turn from the

status quo and go into militant opposition to it? Why is it the sons and daughters of the ruling capitalist class in these countries find themselves pitted against this very same class?

Largely this is because of the tremendous weakness of the capitalist class and capitalism in these

countries. For this reason the capitalists can offer few possibilities for advancement—rarely even the comforts of a white collar existence—to the aspiring student. Countries like India contain huge surpluses of educated young people who find themselves unemployed, with no prospects for future development within the present system in the country, and therefore with little stake in the continuation of this system. Consequently these young people fight that which holds their country back—that which keeps it from growing and industrializing—they fight imperialism imposed from outside as well as capitalism at home which cannot free itself from this imperialism nor really industrialize and build the country.

CUBAN YOUTH FIGHT U.S. TANKS

For example, let us take a look at the recent events in Cuba. A

young person in Cuba finds his country governed by a bloodthirsty dictator who rules with many of the same techniques as Hitler—terror, torture, corruption. In addition he finds his country and this dictator dominated by America and American capital. For instance the correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* states in a report from Havana: "There is no doubt that many American businessmen here are pro-Batista. One put it succinctly: 'You can do business with Batista.'" He also reports investments of \$800 million by U. S. business including control of 90 per cent of all electricity and of all telephones in Cuba by American business. Finally, Cuba's economic system is completely dependent on the quota set for sugar imports by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Because of this the Cuban student finds that America supports Batista instead of supporting the democratic opposition to Batista. The organ of the Cuban Federation of University Students charges: "Far from helping its closest neighbor to restore democracy, the United States has been giving military aid to Dictator Batista. . . . The airplanes, tanks, guns, bombs and bullets with which Batista is killing the Cuban youth and bombing open cities and villages are being supplied freely, or almost freely, by the United States under a Treaty for Defense of Democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Batista's army is being trained by U. S. military personnel and the strategy and tactics of the warfare against the Cuban people are being decided under the supervision and advice of U.S. military instructors . . ."

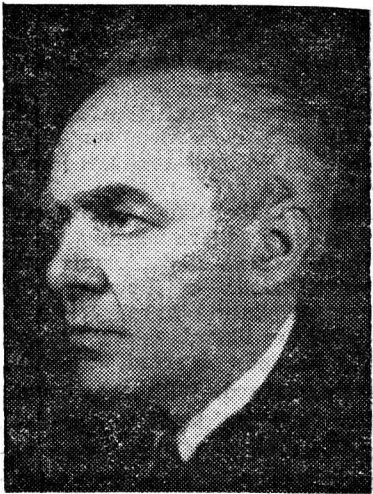
It is because of this situation—this domination of Cuba by American capitalism, this bolstering of

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Soviet Youth Opposition Program

"The oppositional youth (in the USSR) consider themselves Marxists, but they feel that the present Soviet social order does not correspond to Marxist ideals. They seek a genuine Marxism and have therefore turned to the pre-Soviet period and to the Twenties. Just as the political and social opposition of the English Puritans against Absolutism in the 16th century was founded on quotations from the Bible, so today the opposition of the Soviet youth against the regime is reinforced by quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. They consider the purges of 1937 as an annihilation of the true leaders of the Revolution by Stalin's bureaucratic clique—as a kind of Thermidor. They see 'October', whose true history is not particularly well known, as their ideal and demand a return to the original ideals of that revolution which they believe they recognize in several of the works of Lenin of the year 1917 (including *State and Revolution*). These youth speak of the bureaucratic degeneration of the regime, of the emergence of a ruling and exploiting bureaucracy, whose interests the Dictatorship supports against the people. The young people, who hold the above ideas, incline toward the tradition and radical methods of the old revolutionary parties and seek possibilities for an active struggle . . . attempts to distribute leaflets come out of the circles of such 'neo-Bolsheviks'."

—"Junge Gemeinschaft", November, 1957 (paper of the West German Socialist Youth)



OTTO NATHAN

isting in the England of his days. In dealing with Marx's significance for our own times these various aspects of his work should be carefully distinguished.

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPT OF HISTORY

The materialist conception of history is the grandiose attempt to explain the evolution of human history during many thousands of years. It assigns to the never-ceasing technological development the crucial role in the formation of succeeding social, political, and economic institutions. Man, although producing the institutional changes in society, is himself not free to create, but is a tool of impersonal forces over which he has no ultimate control.

This conception of history enabled Marx not only to anticipate significant changes in the structure of capitalism, but to explain the eventual evolution of capitalism into a completely different form of society, into socialism. No

WHY WE SUPPORT CIVIL LIBERTIES:

Socialism Is the Fulfillment of the Liberal Freedoms

by Richard DeHaan

What do civil liberties have to do with socialism? The concepts of liberty with which we are familiar today were enunciated in their classic form in the French Revolution. Even earlier than that, in 1791, the American Bill of Rights gave civil liberties the definitive character which still today structure, at least in their formal aspect, any movement of social reform. But these are clearly liberal freedoms, and their promulgation thus primarily a liberal issue. Why do socialists, as revolutionaries totally opposed to liberal, bourgeois society, interest themselves in the maxims of liberty which that society honors more in the breach than in the observance?

Socialism is concerned with democracy because socialism is a progressive movement. Not only does every progressive movement by definition retain what is best in its cultural tradition, but the retention of these elements of its history is the very condition of its success. Indeed, socialism is nothing more than the realization and completion of the ideals of capitalist society.

Thus the socialist perceives a fundamental ambiguity in his confrontation with capitalism. On the one hand, there are already forces at work in the society carrying it towards socialism. For example, the strong sentiment in this country during and immediately after World War II for inclusion of the right to a job as one of the citizens "natural rights" was an indication of the widespread need to implement the Declaration of Independence's abstract guarantee to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Yet, as the postwar prosperity waned, and in response to the pressures of powerful reactionary interests, the guarantee was never adopted.

This brings us to the second aspect of the liberal version of civil liberties: the very structure of capitalist society is such as to guarantee the failure of any attempt to realize and complete its abstract ideals. The great civil libertarian, Robert M. Hutchins, remarked in a recent lecture that the Bill of Rights has come to have importance only for those likely to be affected by it. Thus, newspapermen have defended the relevant portions of the First Amendment and nothing else; Communists, the Fifth Amendment and nothing else; "States Righters," the Tenth Amendment and nothing else, etc.

We can confidently expect from an atomistic, competitive, pluralist society an indifference to any humanistic goal transcending the personal welfare of its mutually hostile members. As Hegel and Marx put it, in bourgeois society we find a concern for interest and right, but never for the good. And this, as we shall see presently, is precisely what has occurred in contemporary capitalism. The vision of the good society has either persisted as a mere ideal in liberal society, or it has been degraded to the level of apology for the status quo. Capitalism is incapable of realizing its ideals precisely because to do so would be to destroy itself, the form of society which by its very nature renders impossible a world in which "all men are created equal." And precisely because the bringing of these ideals to realization would constitute the annihilation of capitalism, socialism has a necessary and intimate relation to these democratic ideals.

THE DIALECTIC OF LIBERALISM

This, then, is the historic character of liberal capitalism: its dialectic at once carrying it remorselessly towards a more just social order and with equal remorselessness rendering it incapable of ever achieving that justice.

Academic freedom, as with civil liberties in general, is customarily reduced in liberal society to the merely relative, the service of a particular interest. Consider, for example, the recent Princeton University case of the Catholic Chaplain who was expelled from the academic community without benefit of due process. Liberal sentiment was shamefully unanimous in applauding this

open breach of academic freedom. This habit of mind results from a society in which no value can be conceived but in the interest of some project or group. Liberal thought has never been able to grasp the socialist subtlety that



freedom for oneself is really no freedom at all, or, as the great socialist, Eugene V. Debs, put it: "While there is a soul in jail, I am not free."

The justification for academic freedom, like that for civil liberties in general, can never be freedom's utility to society or its fruitfulness in the attainment of some extraneous end. What is wrong with the witch-hunt is not that it is inutile, since such methods can serve a variety of legitimate purposes; what is wrong with it is that it is bad, that it does not serve the cause of human freedom.

MARX VS. EMPIRICISM

It is precisely the liberal, bourgeois theory of civil liberties which has historically dissolved their absolute import into mere relativism. These empiricist, positivist, nominalist and utilitarian accretions to the Rights of Man are integrally involved in the original enunciations of civil liberty by the French Encyclopedists. Marx replied to them, and to the entire classical philosophic tradition, that the only thing wrong with their philosophy was that it was unrealized. Each class in history, he held, had come to power on the basis of increasingly greater, and increasingly real, claims for the universality of its ideals. Since the proletariat is the last class in history, the one negative factor still standing outside the ideological "universality" of bourgeois ideals, its accession to power can only be on the basis of true universality. When the proletariat realizes in actuality the abstract ideals of bourgeois philosophy, then for the first time will the ideal be identical with the real.

This Marxist "absolutism" in civil liberties and morality has unfortunately been contaminated by the liberal ideology against which it is nominally directed. Self-styled Marxists now stand second to no liberal in proclaiming the relativity of all things. This fashionable pragmatism is felt to be very, very radical, and it is customary to compound the error by facile references to the theological and metaphysical bases of the Marxist view of human values. Trotskyism, for example, reduces, just as does liberalism, the struggle for absolute freedom to the

level of tactics and strategy. The only value, Trotsky held, is the furtherance of the interests of the parochial group known euphemistically as the vanguard party of proletarian consciousness. From the indubitable fact that morality occurs in the class struggle, Trotsky mistakenly infers that it is therefore nothing but the class struggle. And precisely as in liberalism, the competing interests are so monstrous as to place themselves beyond the pale of freedom. Thus the orthodox Trotskyist party today holds that there should be no civil liberties for "fascists," as McCarthy once held that there should be none for "those who would destroy civil liberties."

But this contamination of socialism by liberalism pales in comparison with its perversion by another group of self-styled Marxists, viz. the Communist Party and its sympathizers. This viewpoint holds that any violations of rights which have occurred in the USSR are justified by the tremendous industrial progress made by the USSR, and will cease when an adequate level of "primitive accumulation" has been reached. Furthermore, to hold that socialist development must everywhere take the form which it has taken in the Western liberal democracies is to force all peoples into a Procrustean bed which may have no relation to local conditions, etc.

We will leave aside the question of whether the USSR has attained a socialist form of economy, although it should be noted that even the capitalist US economy is in many respects more "planned" than that of the USSR. Yet the contention is that the exist-

ence of these few real or imagined technical gimmicks sanctifies any barbarism which Stalin or Khrushchev might perpetrate. I want to emphasize as strongly as I can the antithetical relation which this theory bears to any authentic socialism. The imprisonment of men by things, by the means of production, was exactly that against which Marx directed the entirety of his work. Far from justifying the anti-socialist barbarism of Stalinism, the sanctification of primitive capitalist accumulation at the expense of democracy only compounds the sins of totalitarianism with the obscurantism of vulgar Marxism.

As to the contention that such local "variations" on the road to socialism are justified by local peculiarities, we should refer to the perfectly parallel situation of the denial of civil liberties to Negroes in our own South. Those who would not for one moment accede to Jim Crow on the grounds that it is in conformity with local idiosyncrasies, do not even hesitate at using the identical argument to justify mass violation of civil liberties in the USSR.

In the same lecture cited above, Hutchins delivered a judgment of American capitalism which socialists would apply with equal force to any bourgeois society: "... The aim of industrialization is to get rid of men altogether, except as consumers, and to make them interchangeable parts of the industrial machine. But the interchangeable man is not a man. Since he is not, freedom and justice are of little importance to him." This is an authentic repetition of Marx's view of the corrupting force of the workers' alienation by capitalism; that the USSR prides itself on making a thing of man indicates its total rupture with the humanist, revolutionary import of Marxism.

CP AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Some Communists and sympathizers would maintain that they have a right to be judged not on what the USSR does, over which they have no control, but on what they do here, over which they do have control. Fair enough. The Communist record of defense of

civil liberties in this country is in no way preferable to that of the Soviet government. This plummeting career reached its nadir in the fervid applause which the CP gave, ironically enough, to passage of the Smith Act and its first application, against the Trotskyists, in 1940. Although the CP has since stated that it has abandoned the theory of "social fascism"—the rule of thumb whereby all non-Communist leftists are dismissed as giving objective assistance to the triumph of fascism—its record does not bear out this contention. In 1949, for example, Howard Fast denounced the Trotskyists as "admitted pro-fascists" in the course of refusing to support the civil liberties case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was persecuted for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. As recently as last November, the Daily Worker denounced a socialist electoral campaign in New York City as giving objective assistance to "counter-revolution."

In each of the cases we have examined—whether it be the liberal, the dissident Communist or the Stalinist approach to civil liberties—, we have seen a reduction of the classical ideals of liberty to the furtherance of the interests, of certain parochial groups. These movements are fundamentally liberal in failing to understand the historic role of the working class. Enunciated as apologies for proletarian hegemony, these theories are in fact antithetical to any social order based on justice for the proletariat, since they fail to recognize the necessarily universal character of any working class social struggle.

Thus we can now answer the question with which we began: Socialism has a necessary and intimate relation to civil liberties and to democracy. Indeed, a socialism which is not democratic is inconceivable, since it would constitute not a progressive, but a retrogressive, movement. Socialism does not transcend or outmode the liberal freedoms, but on the contrary realizes and completes them. Real freedom can come only with socialism, but a socialism without real freedom is a travesty on a noble tradition. Socialists, therefore, defend civil liberties at all times and in all places, constantly driving the contradictions of liberalism to their conclusion in a society in which the liberal values are not only formally observed, but effectively realized. With this transition from the ideal to the real, and only with it, does man become a value in himself: it is the beginning of socialism. With the coming of total democracy, civilization is for the first time a medium in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

If we are to learn from the tragic history of liberal and liberal-contaminated reformism, if we are to avoid future Hungaries as well as future McCarthys, our critique of bourgeois society will have the revolutionary import which only a full-blooded civil libertarianism can provide. We must have the courage to learn from the failures of the past, to say with the utopian Malatesta: "If it is necessary to raise the gallows in the public square in order to win, then I prefer to lose." Not only must we prefer to lose any undemocratic struggle, we must realize that when the gallows is raised, we have already lost.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

The following is a list of young socialist clubs throughout the United States and Canada. All these clubs are broad in their political composition, open to all young socialists, and unaffiliated with any political party or grouping.

EAST—

New York City: Young Socialist Alliance,
144 2nd Ave. (9 St.) GR 5-7920

Philadelphia: Young Socialist Club,
contact A. Phelps 2708 Sterner St., BA 9-2426

MIDWEST—

Yellow Springs Ohio: Antioch College Socialist Discussion Club

Detroit: Wayne Young Socialist Club,
3737 Woodward

Chicago: Socialist Youth Committee of Chicago,
contact J. Maxim, 1457 E. 54 Place

Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Socialist Club,
University of Wisconsin

Twin Cities: Independent Political Youth,
5232 Powder-Horn Station, Minn., TA 2-0930

WEST—

Denver: Young Socialist Club,
contact Hodgett, 3368 W. 32nd Ave.

Los Angeles: Conference of Young Socialists,
1930 New England St., AN 3-1533

Bay Area: Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist,
2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley

Mark Twain Club,
P.O. Box 1467, San Francisco 1, Calif.

Portland, Ore.: Focus,
Reed College, Portland

Seattle: New Radical Youth Organization, (name to be decided),
contact. Severn, 3707 W. Cambridge

CANADA—

Montreal: McGill University Socialist Society,
c/o McGill Students' Union, 690 Sherbrooke St., W.

Toronto: Socialist Youth Forum,
phone LE 4-8040

Vancouver: Pioneer Socialist Youth Club,
4366 Main St., D1 0604

Should Students Support the Workers?

by Evelyn Sell

A while ago I became acquainted with a Wayne University student, a history major, who decided to get a factory job one summer. When he first began working on the assembly line in one of Detroit's major plants, he was disgusted with his fellow workers. They were apathetic to intellectual discussion. They spent their reliefs playing cards or pitching pennies or trading dirty jokes. They didn't even have any pride in their work and threw nuts or coke bottles inside door frames in the full knowledge that the prospective owner would wonder about mysterious clinks and thumps as long as he drove that car. They continually complained about their working conditions and the problem of speed-up or lay-offs without ever considering management's problems. They weren't objective about their conditions; they were too one-sided and that one side was their side.

The history major congratulated himself that he wasn't and never would be or could be like the men working beside him. He brought heavy volumes to work and read Beard and Toynbee during lunch periods and breaks. He hated the monotony and degradation of a production job as much as those men who welded in nuts and coke bottles but he had enough personal pride in his work to do as good a job as possible.

The summer sped by and the student gained an education about some basic facts of capitalist life. He brought his lunch box to work but no volumes of history. He was glad for the diversion afforded by pitching pennies. He was too physically, mentally and emotionally exhausted after work to pitch into a brilliant intellectual discussion with school friends.

A STRIKE AND A PROFESSOR

When a strike took place in his plant he was angered when his professor stated he couldn't take a position on the question until he'd studied all factors thoroughly. "He doesn't know what it's like! Of course, the men must strike. How else can they change their working conditions? And those conditions must be changed!"

The history student learned first hand what most students only read in text books. Books can be invaluable. They have illuminating graphs and pages of statistics that prove that production per man steadily increases while the workers real wages steadily decrease; that one third of our nation is still ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed; that "white collar" workers are rapidly becoming proletarianized as their work becomes more routinized and all intellectual and creative aspects disappear from their daily tasks; that our economy has reached a point where prosperity is dependent upon a cold war in Korea or a brink-of-war in the Middle East.

Is there any reason why the student, the young intellectual, should identify his interests with the special interests of the working class?

The liberal student generally wishes to see a society in which democracy flourishes, where intellectual endeavor can be pursued without interference, where culture can prosper, where peace exists and where everyone has a fair break to develop his capacities.

CULTURE AND PROFIT

What force exists in modern society which thwarts this goal—which holds back the development of mankind? Let's take a quick look at the cultural field. Today a piece of writing is judged by one criterion and one alone—its salability. To get a new piece of literature published in this country is extremely difficult. Very few publishers will touch a work which steps outside the tried and true pattern of "salable" novels. It is even more difficult to get a play on television. Here the sponsor enters. Any play which is at all controversial—which in the least might offend any section of the public cannot be shown. Thus a TV script about the Till Case—the murder of a Negro boy in the South—becomes a play about a foreigner in a New

England village. Plays with any real meaning cannot find an audience and we are subjected to the puerile material that makes up 90 per cent of TV live programs.

Democracy is the word most often heard on the lips of the American student. How has democracy fared under capitalism? In the first place, for the capitalists democracy is a luxury—not a necessity. When things get tough for them, when the working class puts too much pressure on them, then they resort to fascism as in Germany and Italy in the Thirties. Secondly, when we look at the "democratic" camp, the "free world," we find America bolstering up anti-democratic governments—Franco, Batista, Trujillo, Sinyman Rhee, to name a

few. There is hardly a reactionary antidemocratic grouping or government in the world that the great "democracy"—the U. S.—does not support. Thirdly, in its struggle against the Soviet Union the capitalists have severely limited democracy here by witch-hunting all dissenting opinion.

For the working class, democracy is a necessity. It needs de-

mocracy just as living things need air. When democracy is stifled, as in the Soviet Union, its power wilts, it is weakened and socialism cannot exist. The worker, being a majority class and not a minority class, can rule only through the expression of its democratic will.

It is therefore the profit system—what we call capitalism—

that stands in the way of the goals that students strive after. The working class is pitted in daily life against the capitalist class. The worker owns no property and therefore has no stake in the continuation of the profit system. It is in his interests therefore to replace a profit-making system with one in which all of the citizens, not just the capitalist class, benefit.

The worker, then, in struggling for his own interests, comes up against the force that holds back the development of humanity in general. In other words, the worker in emancipating himself, in replacing the capitalist, emancipates mankind and frees the productive and creative forces in society so that they may bound forward in every area of endeavor. Thus the student in striving for a better world to live in must align himself with the worker—even though the worker may pitch pennies at noon-time instead of reading Shakespeare. Together they can build a society where maybe the worker won't be too tired after a day on the assembly line to do anything but watch TV. And should he wish to watch TV he will have a chance of seeing something better than "If I Had a Million," or "The \$150,000 Question."



Thousands of students gather at the October 4 Warsaw Polytechnic Institute meeting (shown here) in order to protest the banning of Po Prostu.

World Youth Demand Freedom, Socialism . . .

(Continued from Page B-1)

a tyrannical dictator—that the vast majority of the Cuban youth find themselves in opposition to Batista. Virtually all the opposition groups are made up almost entirely of students. The last two presidents of the National Federation of University Students were murdered by Batista because of their opposition to him. The University of Havana has been closed for a year and a half because of the opposition of the student body to Batista.

In fighting against Batista and for the simple demand for the restoration of democracy in the country the students find themselves fighting American imperialism. Thus our previously quoted Wall Street Journal correspondent states: "The fiery rebellion in Cuba is singeing the operations of many U. S. concerns here—and fomenting an increasing amount of anti-Americanism."

However, the Cuban youth by themselves cannot topple Batista. It is necessary for them to forge a link with the most powerful progressive class in the country—the one and a half million organized workers. So far Castro has offered the workers no social program and seems to be resorting to adventurist methods instead of developing a firm basis in the working class. The recent failure of Castro general strike call flows from the attempt to limit this struggle in composition to simply middle class students and not involve the working class. Homer Bigart of the New York Times took a tour of the working class waterfront section of Santiago—Castro's stronghold. This is what he found: "It is in these districts, largely Negro, that Senor Castro has needed much missionary work to convince the laborers that his revolt is not solely a middle-class affair. Whether he has the support of these people is by no means certain."

Thus while in underdeveloped countries like Cuba, students en masse play an extremely significant role in the struggle for real independence, they cannot succeed in their struggle without forming a solid alliance with the working class. And in order to form this alliance they need a program—an anti-capitalist program. It is to

such a socialist program that many students in colonial countries are already turning.

Now let us take a look at the problems faced by young people living in the one-third of the world which calls itself socialist. Here, too, we see students in struggle—here, too, the cry for democracy is raised. But when we look a little deeper into the situation we see that the problems faced by young people in the Soviet orbit are quite different from those faced by the colonial youth.

The most fundamental difference—the one from which most others flow—is that in the Soviet orbit a tremendous progressive step has been taken—capitalism has been abolished and a planned economy has been established. Thus the first step which all peoples must take in order to establish the basis upon which society may really advance has been taken in one-third of the world.

SOVIET YOUTH AHEAD

As a result the young person is put in a much different situation. In the first place he is educated from childhood in the most advanced thought of our times—in Marxism. He is taught to think in class terms—to dig at the economic roots of a problem and to think in terms of the involvement of the masses in the solutions to problems which are raised in society. However at the same time he faces an authoritarian regime. He finds that a privileged bureaucracy has grown up in his country—a bureaucracy which lives much better than he does—which controls the state and all means of communication and which holds back the development of the country in a truly democratic socialist direction. Therefore, when faced with the frustration in reality of the Marxist ideals he has come to believe in, he finds he must struggle against this bureaucracy in order to achieve fully these ideals.

However, his task is a dual one—not only must he struggle for the flowering of workers' democracy in his country but he must struggle against the reinstitution of capitalist domination over his country. He must defend the progressive features of his society while struggling against the reactionary features.

Let us look at how the revolutionary youth in these countries express their views on this question.

Here is Po Prostu's view of what the October revolution in Poland was all about: "The October movement has aimed at the omnipotence of the bureaucratic apparatus in Poland and, by various means, it tried to abolish this apparatus. In the revolutionary situation this movement was certainly a manifestation of the masses' struggle against the new social group, a group of 'administrators'—an elite ruling the country." Po Prostu was accused by Gomulka at the time of its suppression of raising the "subversive" slogan of "All Power in the Hands of Council," i.e. urging the transference of power from the bureaucracy in Poland to the workers organized in workers' councils. Recently Gomulka has gone so far as to abolish these councils and make strikes illegal.

But in the minds of the Polish student Lenin's slogan of "All Power to the Soviets" (Russian word for council) still stands out clearly not as a "subversive" slogan but as the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

(Also see accompanying box for the program of University youth in the USSR.) Thus the student in the Soviet orbit utilizes the analytic revolutionary method of Marxism to expose the real nature of the country he lives in and to equip himself for the struggle for workers' democracy.

Finally we come to youth in the advanced capitalist countries like the U.S. Here, capitalism has fared a little better—certainly better than in the one-third of the world where it has been abolished. It has been able to stabilize itself temporarily—partially at the expense of the rest of the world.

For this reason the student in Western Europe—and far more so in the U. S.—is not as active as in the colonial sections of the world and the Soviet orbit. However, the objective need for activity is as great if not greater than in other sections of the world. The task of young people in such areas is not simply to advance the progressive struggles in their own countries but to protect the rest of the world from

domination by their own imperialist governments. Thus it is necessary for the French youth to protest their government's domination of Algeria and murder of the Algerian youth; it is necessary for the English youth to come to the aid of the Egyptians when their government invades Egypt and today to demand that their government stop poisoning the air with radioactive particles; and finally we Americans have so much to protest that it is difficult to know where to begin.

It is also our duty to prevent our governments from interfering in the affairs of the non-capitalist countries in order to try to re-establish imperialist domination over these areas.

Our struggles to protect the rest of the world from the imperialist domination of our ruling capitalist class is of importance to our own more narrow interests of building a socialist and humanitarian society in our own country. Every step forward of the colonial revolution is likewise a forced retreat for the imperialist powers, thus weakening their power in the world. Thus the colonial peoples and ourselves have the same enemy—we fight the same force that is holding back the development of the world and threatening to embroil us in another war.

Once the American youth go into motion—and with the weaknesses showing up in capitalism not only internationally but internally in the form of the recession, this should not be too far off—they will be faced with the same problems that face youth throughout the world. They will discover that they cannot advance their own struggle in isolation. Their own revolutionary will is not enough. They will have to form an alliance with the only progressive class in our times—the working class. In order to form such an alliance they will have to spell out a joint anti-capitalist program. The attempt to form such a program will immediately pose the question of socialism. American youth, too, will have to face the choice which faces the rest of the world, young and old: socialism or barbarism. We can be confident that they and all humanity with them will choose socialism.

Our Task Today Is to Fight for Peace!

by Steve Max and Gil Turner

The central problem of our time has become, literally, the survival of mankind. Having mastered to a large degree the instruments of physical power and destruction man is now being plunged along the road which has but one destination—mass suicide. The nations of the world seem to be engaged in the greatest gamble in history, a kind of reckless shooting craps with destiny.

For those who do not wish to sit idly by while their lives and the lives of their offspring hang on the roll of the dice, the answers to two fundamental questions must be sought: (1) What are the causes that have given rise to and continue to promote this frightening state of affairs?, and (2) What, if anything, can be done to resolve the situation in man's favor? Upon adequate answers to these questions may well rest the future of human life as we know it.

First, let it be stated that there is no single panacea for this urgent problem. To those who say that the solution lies in the policy of "liberation" of the Soviet bloc countries in order to make the "free world" safe we answer: The safety you offer is the safety of a world contaminated with the air of death; the safety of fear that at any moment some power crazed captain of the "free world" may push the button that spells HELL; in short, you offer the safety that every page of history denies—the safety of war. On the other hand, there are those who are saying that the only solution to the problem of survival is Socialism. If these few need be answered at all it is to say this: You have got your agenda confused. Socialism, a world system of brotherhood, will come if man survives the crisis of the nuclear age. We are not prepared, however, to close the book of history simply because a large segment of the world's people is not prepared to demand that to which we are already committed. That is to say, although the demand of the people is not for socialism, they do cry out, unanimously, for the right to live.

Somewhere between these two poles lies the resolute desire of most of the people of the world. It has been widely referred to as the concept of coexistence. Stated in another way, it simply means that a realistic appraisal of the world as it is requires that differing systems live by side or not at all. To state otherwise is to demonstrate a blind and irresponsible devotion to ends regardless of consequences. Such an approach is no more defensible in the name of socialism than in the name of finance capital.

THE CAUSES OF WAR

Let us begin our search for the answer to the first question by dispelling the notion that the U.S.S.R. is the unique and malevolent threat to peace. The history of man is black with wars. The practice of war as an integral part of human existence neither began nor ended with the October Revolution and contemporary attempts to place the blame there represent the frustrated groans of a decaying system seeking self-justification. The fact is that most wars of recent times have grown out of the internal need of capitalism to expand. Having divided the world among the leading capitalist nations, the competition for new markets then dictated the use of force. This development is referred to by historians as the period of imperialism.

In addition to expansionist policies, the peace has been under constant threat in recent years because of the hard reluctance of imperialist powers to release their satellites from political and economic domination. Present examples of this factor are Suez, Cyprus and Algeria. It has been argued by the spokesmen of the West that the colonial revolutionists are the threat to peace since they are the aggressors. The parallel to this logic is in popular use by those who oppose the struggle for civil rights in America. They argue that the just demands of the Negro people for equality must be denied because their imple-

mentation would bring a threat to domestic peace. Eyewash! There is only one position consistent with even the most elementary concept of social justice. That position is—Give these people their freedom! If it be argued that the United States has not been active in suppressing the movement for colonial independence, its undisguised complicity in the murder of the Algerian people is a prima facie refutation.

The overriding factor in regard to the peace issue however has been the cold war against the Soviet bloc. This phenomenon, if understood in terms of two fundamentally different economic systems in competition with one another, must be expected to be with us for some time to come. It does not have to carry with it the constant threat of breaking into a hot war of global annihilation. The criteria for judging any foreign policy should be: Does the policy help in relaxing world tensions and diminishing the threat of war? Such policies must be demanded when they are found and supported when they are adopted. We therefore join with the peoples of the world in welcoming the Soviet announcement of its intention to test no more nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. We

urge the United States Government to do likewise.

An organized peace movement has been slow in starting in the United States and it is only recently that any broad formations have occurred. There are to date three general groupings: (1) A liberal grouping organized around the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. This movement is growing rapidly with community and campus clubs being organized. It has a three-point program: 1. Immediate cessation of nuclear testing through United Nations agreement; 2. International control of missiles and satellites; 3. Support to all agencies concerned with supporting the U.N. as an effective instrument of world law.

Second, there is the liberal pacifist grouping. It's most effective activity to date was seen in the recent "Walk for Peace" project, in which people walked from Philadelphia and New Haven to U.N. headquarters in New York to petition against further testing of nuclear weapons. Although there were relatively few who made the entire walk, about 700 persons, predominantly students, joined the project in New York. The third peace grouping is that of the nuclear scientists taking independent action as scientists to

bring to light the facts about nuclear testing and warfare. In America, this group has been spearheaded by Nobel prize-winner Dr. Linus Pauling.

The peace movement has thus far been directed at the testing of nuclear weapons and has scarcely touched the question of disarmament and international relations. The question of tests is a logical starting point since it is the simplest and most clearly understood issue. It is our opinion that in pressing this demand, its relation to the peace picture as a whole will be seen and that the urgent need for comprehensive disarmament and a policy of peaceful coexistence will be seen. At the moment, it is vital that the literature being provided by these groups be given the widest possible circulation to counter the effect of government propaganda. Probably the main reason that the movement has been so restricted in size is that the dangers of nuclear testing and the implications of nuclear war are not widely known. How many people for example, are still deceived by the myth of "civil defense"? How many are aware of this statement by the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, headed by the late Albert Einstein: "There is no defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected. Preparedness against atomic warfare is futile and if attempted will ruin the structure of the social order."

An important front on which the peace forces must be active is the national elections of 1960, and it is not too early for their thinking to be consciously oriented in this direction. The question of war and peace and its atomic ramifications will be a campaign issue of major impor-

tance. Every effort should be made to press the major parties into competing for votes on the basis of a program designed for peace rather than skill at "brinkmanship." For this to come about, however, the people must demonstrate that they are not apathetic. Demonstrations like the walk for peace serve to demonstrate this as well as to bring pressure on the present administration. With regard to congressional and senatorial contests, the peace offensive can and should be brought into these local elections, particularly in areas where peace activity is taking place.

Work to bring the peace issue into the election begins with the primaries, and people active in the peace fight should register and vote to get the most liberal candidate on the ballot and thus assure gaining the highest concessions when the Republicans and Democrats play off for votes in 1960. A great deal of public pressure will be necessary to counter the lobbying effect of financial interests which derive profits from continued war production. Where public expenditures as a means of maintaining employment levels is used as a justification for such spending, the demand should be raised that these funds be used to provide schools.

The work of this period in man's history is clear and unambiguous. The work is peace. Through the effectively voiced demands of all segments of the population which have no vested interest in maintaining the arms race and the threat of war can come a new era—an era in which nations and peoples may choose their destiny free from the horrible imminence of absolute destruction.

Dr. Otto Nathan: Was Marx Wrong? . . .

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liberately serving and promoting the inevitable tendencies determining the evolution of society.

The materialist conception of history is not only grandiose but, I firmly believe, also a highly successful interpretation of mankind's march through time. Its great significance during the nineteenth century was to give the many millions of the industrial and agricultural proletariat throughout the world the hope and the certainty of a better future. The misery and bleakness of the present became easier to tolerate when it was realized that a better tomorrow was bound to evolve, at least for the next or a future generation; and the inevitable struggles of the laboring masses acquired new meaning and a definite direction.

The ingenious propaganda of capitalism seeking to obscure the enlightening teachings of Marx has succeeded in suppressing and almost eliminating Marxism from our schools, colleges, and universities. And yet, at hardly any time could it have been more important for a maturing generation to acquaint itself with Marx' work than for the college population of our own days with its widespread feeling of insecurity, its depressing hopelessness, and its lack of a social purpose towards which to work. Any serious and unprejudiced student, no matter what his particular economic orientation, cannot fail to appreciate the enormous light which the Marxist interpretation of history throws upon the economic, social, and political development of the last century throughout the world, not necessarily on individual events or on the inevitable short-term zig-zag of society's evolution, but on the over-all direction in which

the world and its many parts have been moving. The materialist conception of history, no important aspect of which, in my opinion, has been refuted by the century that has passed since the theory was originally given to the world, will not, and is not meant to, solve the serious and heavy problems man is faced with today; but it will help him to understand the world in which he lives, and to realize that, while one order of life is dying, a new one is being born under infinite pains and convulsions. It will enable the individual to find his place on the side of those forces which struggle towards life.

DAS KAPITAL TODAY

Besides the materialist conception of history, Marx's most important contribution to our understanding of the world in which we live in his theoretical analysis of capitalism, an economic system

which affects our physical and emotional life in innumerable ways. As any theorist, Marx based his analytical work on a set of abstract assumptions which necessarily differed from the peculiar institutions existing in the capitalist economy of his own days. Because capitalism has since undergone great changes—on the whole in line with the expectations that a careful reading of "Das Kapital" would have suggested—the structure of today's economy deviates even more from the institutional economic organization that provided the basis upon which Marx elaborated his theory. This evolution in capitalism does not render the work of Marx less significant; rather, it makes it mandatory upon a student using Marxist theories for the analysis of contemporary developments, to exercise such care as a scholar in any field will al-

ways observe in applying theories to the real world as it is known in his time. Marx himself warned his readers when, in the Preface of the 1872 German edition of "The Communist Manifesto" he said, ". . . the practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time existing . . .". Only those who, disregard these principles—so obvious to any real student—will find that Marx was "wrong." To realize that the development during a whole century differed in certain details from what might have been assumed in the light of the Marxist analysis, does not make the work of Marx any less fruitful for the examination and understanding of capitalist evolution today. Marx would have been the last to hold, unqualifiedly to a given position or an assumption; he would, and did in fact, study and restudy any problem in the light of new developments. He never tired of examining the concrete reality as it presented itself to him.

Marx needs to be protected as much from those friends who uncritically and dogmatically repeat what he allegedly said, as from his enemies who, as uncritically and dogmatically, reject his work. Those who approach him with an open mind will find his work an unparalleled rich and exciting source of intellectual stimulation, insight and understanding. Our college youth should study Marx. As a Marxist I urge them to do so, if for no other reason than because no man who wants to understand and to participate in the developments of his time can afford to remain unacquainted with the most powerful social thinker that the nineteenth century produced.

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A PERSONAL CASE HISTORY:

How They Made a 'Delinquent' Out of a Promising Boy

by Vincent Rodriguez

With all the hysteria in the press, radio and TV about juvenile delinquency and hoodlum terror in the schools, I feel obliged to speak out about a tragic case of someone who is very close to me. It is not the kind of story that the sensationalists like to print or read about. But it goes a long way toward explaining how some unfortunate people are tagged delinquents and hoodlums, and how some innocent lives are broken and sometimes ruined. It is the story of my cousin.

Both my cousin Louis and myself were raised in a poor working class neighborhood in New York City. Louis' mother was compelled to work and still take care of a husband and seven children. Louis' father had very little formal education, having worked from childhood, and was too embarrassed even to attempt to help his children with their school-work.

A PLAYFUL BOY

Louis was always a playful boy who made friends easily. He had no particular love for schoolwork. Except for a scolding and punishment when he brought home a bad report card, nobody at home seemed to have the time or ability to take him in hand. Besides, any fears were quickly dispelled when at the end of each term he was promoted.

This situation continued until Louis was about to enter the fourth grade. The 3B teacher summoned Louis' mother and informed her that her son was really the worst pupil she had, though there were others not very far behind him. She said he did not know 1A work and that she did not know how she could promote him and several of the others, but that she felt sorry for them and would push them ahead if she had assurances from the parents that they would give their sons special help.

Louis' mother was both embarrassed and afraid. She asked why her son had been promoted from the first grade if he did not know the work. The teacher shook her head and hinted that her job was difficult enough and that she was not paid for leaving pupils back.

THEY CALLED HIM RETARDED

Louis' mother took time and much effort to help her boy learn

three years of elementary school work in the next few months, but the battle was too uphill. She herself had only gone as far as the sixth grade. The boy was undisciplined and his playful spirit rebelled against so much concentrated study. Finally Louis' mother and several other mothers were summoned to the school and told that their sons were retarded and that they would be placed in a special class where they would be given an opportunity to catch up. The mothers were very relieved. At this chance for their sons to catch up and rejoin their classmates.

The special class was the beginning of my cousin's future troubles. It comprised pupils who were behind their work, those like my cousin who had never really learned any work, and those who were very obviously mentally retarded. However the stigma attached to this class was sufficient to classify everyone in it as mentally retarded.

Tests were given to the pupils but they received very little drill in basic reading and writing. My cousin told me it was like a kindergarten in that everyone spent most of his time playing games. Louis and his friends did not object too much at first as it was easy and there was no homework. But with each succeeding term spent in what everyone called the "dummy class," morale dropped lower, except for those who were truly retarded.

Louis' mother felt very badly

about his not learning anything basic and made trips to the school. She was assured by teacher and principal that her son was retarded and incapable of learning like a normal child. When she protested that he was not being taught, she was told he was being trained mentally to select the field for which he was best adapted.

Our whole family, on being convinced that Louis was a retarded child, ceased trying to help him. Louis himself became convicted that he was stupid and could not learn, and ceased to try. But this much both Louis and I remember: he was never happy in the class and was very much ashamed to be considered retarded and stupid.

A 'SPECIAL' SCHOOL

At the conclusion of what should have been his sixth grade, my cousin was transferred to a special school for the older retarded children. He was now about 12 and was to remain with the other CRMD (Children With Retarded Mental Development) students until they were eligible for dismissal, at sixteen.

Here Louis found other boys from different parts of the city who were like himself, and who also felt bitter at being classed with "idiots." Though they all considered themselves retarded, they also felt above playing games and blocks.

They responded in their bitterness and frustration by truancy

and by forming gangs which played hooky and roamed the city looking for trouble. The school authorities reacted by getting tough. The boys formed tighter gangs, whose whole purpose seemed to relieve the monotony and harass the teacher.

Louis continued this delinquent school behavior until he was 16, when he was released as a full time delinquent, untrained for any job, unable to read or write. He joined the neighborhood gangs and continued to get in and out of trouble.

It was when he approached 18 that Louis began to feel the full effect of his state of existence. He was starting to mature and sought to mingle with more adult persons, especially of the opposite sex. He was very much ashamed of his inability to read. He tried to find jobs which most uneducated persons might fill, but constantly ran up against a minimum reading requirement. In addition another problem brought further complications. He found his being dark and of Spanish origin was becoming a barrier to meeting and mingling in the groups he wanted so much to join.

A change seemed to come over him around this time. He was no longer a playful and cheerful boy, but now avoided his friends and retreated into solitude. At this point I made a special effort to teach him some of the basic rudiments of reading. But it was almost a futile effort. His mind was unaccustomed to concentration and every difficulty discouraged him. Having been considered an idiot for so long, it was not the easiest thing to suddenly have the fullest confidence in himself.

THE BULLETS HIT HIS LEGS

An incident occurred at this time which had the effect of retarding indefinitely any hope for a quick solution to his difficulties. Louis was turning more and more away from the gangs he had joined. He hated himself when in their company and longed to be among nicer people. One day while walking with two of his friends, the three were suddenly confronted by two youths. One had a gun and shouted obscenities at Louis and his friends, then proceeded to aim the revolver at them. Louis' friends fled, shouting for help. Louis leaped at the

young man and struggled for possession of the gun. He succeeded in getting it, but was wounded twice in the legs.

While being carted away in the ambulance he was questioned by reporters as to what gang he belonged to, and the reason for the shooting. He explained that he no longer belonged to any gang and didn't know the youth who shot him. In fact he thought he had been something of a hero and was proud of himself.

Much to his amazement the press and radio told a different story. He was played up as a young hoodlum leading his gang into a street fight where he had been wounded. This was the story believed by neighbors and friends, church and school people. All this because he had gotten in trouble before.

After this Louis retreated more and more into himself. He was rejected for military service on the grounds either of having a record or of failing to pass the mental examination. He was now at his lowest point.

It was at this time that I began to suspect he might not be so retarded. He took a great interest in the classical and operatic records I used to play. When we went to the movie he would analyze plots and point out the main themes in the drama with what seemed to me an amazing insight for a retarded boy. Also, he would show much common sense in many incidental problems.

I then began a long hard campaign to discover whether he really was mentally retarded. I began first by teaching him simple first grade reading words and spelling. At first he bitterly refused to cooperate as it only brought back painful memories. But he convinced me, when he could be forced to concentrate, that with effort and discipline he could learn to read and spell. However he absolutely refused to go back to school because he was afraid of humiliation.

FULL OF FEARS

It is here that I leave the story of my cousin. He is now twenty-one. He can read fairly well but is still full of fears on that score. He suffers from a sense of inferiority to such an extent that he fears to apply for jobs lest his dif-

(Continued on Page 4)



—Eric Arnold, Michigan Daily
Hundreds of students gather at the University of Michigan to receive copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. See article continued below.

Michigan Students Rout 'Red Squad', Defend Young Socialist . . .

(Continued from Page 1)
newspapers today by the Young Socialists of Wayne County."

When the young socialists arrived at the scene of the distribution, a short time before the noon class break, a crowd of about seventy students were on hand to greet them. Several reporters were in the group, crowding around the distributors for interviews, and at least twenty of the students (many of them from the staff of the Michigan Daily) brought cameras in order to get a documentary record if the previous week's police harrassment was repeated. The "mysterious photographers," however, did not reappear. True to form the "red squad," aware that its activities would not stand the test of large scale public scrutiny, were conspicuously absent from the scene.

When classes adjourned, the crowd around the distributors increased to more than two hundred and over 500 copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST were given out in the first 15 minutes. Each of the distributors had a large cluster of students around him and there was a lively and friendly discussion of socialism on the sidewalk for over an hour. The

temper of the crowd was best expressed by the fact that each time a photographer would snap a picture students would crowd around the subject, holding up copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, and demanding to be included in the shot. On one occasion an Ann Arbor police car pulled up beside the crowd. When this happened they were so roundly booed

and hissed that they quickly pulled away and didn't return. One student, active in student politics at the university, told the distributors that he and a number of his friends were prepared to lead a "march on the police station" if there was "any trouble with the cops."

The following day a second editorial appeared in the Michigan

Ann Arbor Student Reads YS: 'How Can I Help?'

Dear Editors:
In your paper of February, 1958, which I received while several of the "Wayne Young Socialist Club" members passed them out here on the U. of M. campus I noticed your subscription blank, which I am not enclosing because it has part of one of the articles which I want to keep intact on the reverse.
The above mentioned paper is the first I've seen on Socialism and I'm very glad I stopped between classes to get it. In this movement I believe I've found something I can really put my teeth into. The "dog eat dog" view of life has for a long time sickened me because I could see no reason for things having to be

the way they are. Now perhaps there can be, through your group, something I can actively do about it.

Could you please send me any pamphlets, etc., you have on the movement, as well as a reading list, if you put out one or have one available, through which I could find out more about this?

Because of school, and working, I have very little free time at present. However, if there is anything I can actively do to help, in this cause that seems, now more than ever, to be of prime importance, not only to this country but to the world, I should like to very much.

Richard L. Peters
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Daily" (along with a front page picture and story of the distribution) entitled "Let a Thousand Socialists Bloom." This editorial, written by editorial director James Elsmann Jr., took a line diametrically opposed to Geruldsen's. Elsmann congratulated the administration for their "prudence yesterday in not making an incident in front of the Union." He further testified that the young socialists "were impressive as they argued, with considerable preparation, their case; their opponents, those who were willing to speak for capitalism, did not seem as well prepared . . ." Elsmann deplored the atmosphere of our schools that discourages any real discussion of social questions and stated that the result was "that many Americans are not well prepared to defend the existing economic system, much less to reform it." In conclusion he proposed that one of the campus clubs "invite them (the young socialists) to campus so that a debate be held on a legitimate issue, and on an issue that all of us should be able to speak on with competence."

There is no question that the energetic insistence of YOUNG SOCIALIST supporters on the

right to freely distribute their literature and openly advocate their ideas was an essential factor in rallying student support and forcing the administration and police into an inglorious retreat. Many students who did not consider themselves socialists made a point of expressing their respect for the courage and the principled stand taken by the socialists in Ann Arbor and their interest in socialist ideas. As one letter writer in the Daily Collegian stated, "My curiosity has been agitated and I am now anxious to see exactly what socialism offers." This type of interest has already developed to the point that a number of University of Michigan students are currently organizing a student Young Socialist Club on the campus based on the ideas and approach of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

ATTENTION!
New Young Socialist
Address:
144 Second Ave.,
N. Y. 3, N. Y.

2,000,000 Grads Face Glutted Labor Market

by James Lambrecht

This June's high school and college "class of '58" will star in the most painful tragedy produced thus far by the recession.

With March unemployment at five and a half million level, according to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, there is pain enough in this country. But the tragedy of the unemployed student will affect more people and cut deepest because it involves the murder of the greatest hope generated by prosperity.

Prosperity to a majority of the people meant homes, cars, television—and the loss of these things will be deeply felt. They were never more, however, than scattered oases on the dismal, repulsive desert that even in prosperous times makes up the lives of working people. No, the real promise of the boom was that the children at least, by learning professions, could escape once and for all from the category "working class" itself. A college diploma was a way out, a breakthrough to the kind of life that the appliances, homes, cars and so on only symbolized.

YOUNG WORKERS GO TO SCHOOL

For this reason the number of "lower economic group" youth attending universities rose with the upward curve of the economy, from the end of World War II till now when students from this background make up a near majority of the total national student body. Sons and daughters of auto workers and miners learning to be doctors, scientists, engineers! Long hours of overtime made real sense when you could plan on a buy like that.

The rulers of this country made use of this hope because it coincided with their own opportunity for business expansion. The World War II G.I. Bill, the Korean Veterans' Bill, both helped create new reserves of college-trained technicians necessary for the huge industrial system developed over the last ten years. The ruling class still has a need for them—but only politically—if one can judge by the torrent of magazine and newspaper editorials that followed the launching of the first Soviet satellite.

High schools and colleges combined will graduate 2,000,000 students onto the labor market this spring. It is the worst market for labor, according to the April 9 New York Times, since the end of the last depression in early 1941. The effect graduation will have on that market could be duplicated only by the total demobilization of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps—in fact. In figures, the tragedy is invisible. Most students have worked only part time or not at all and consequently will not appear in the unemployment statistics.

Also invisible will be the tragic waste to society as a whole. Shut down factories can be counted, crops rot in the field for all to see, the "army of unemployed" line the streets of America at the first faint hope of work. But the "unlearning" process, the degeneration of highly specialized skills that need practice to maintain themselves, is invisible. In addition, an economy operating at half capacity produces neither the security nor the incentives necessary for a new generation of capable youth to begin its university training.

STUDENTS STANDS WITH WORKERS

Thus the long reach of the American worker out of his class has been cut off, and his warmest hope frustrated. The taste of this

frustration is bitter, it will spread far out through the network of human relations that make up the working class. Part of that network, however, is the "class of '58" itself. For this reason, in the class struggles that would be detonated by the deepening of the slump, a high degree of worker-student unity can be assumed. No more will businessmen use the campus for recruiting strikebreakers, as they did during the Thirties. And more than this, the students themselves will be able to form a firmer social and political movement now than before, providing a steadier stream of articulate leaders, organizers, of speakers and journalists so necessary to the workers as they mobilize against recession. Here in the new student with his close class ties to the worker, lies the source of the new hope generated by the frustration of the old.

As Others See Us . . . Anti-Pro-Communists

It makes us sad to note that in this day and age not all young socialists are willing to work with each other. The recent Midwest Conference of Young Socialists, which brought together representatives of most of the organized young socialists in the country, received an attack from two quarters precisely for attempting to get all young socialists together. One small group, the Young Socialist League, which is looking towards unity with the almost defunct Socialist Party, characterized the conference as "pro-communist" and therefore refused to participate in it though invited.

The conference was attacked by people holding a diametrically opposite political point of view as "anti-Soviet" because of the inclusion of Socialist Workers Party members among those in attendance. These people had likewise been invited.

It is our view that the socialist movement cannot advance a single step unless it learns to work together on those issues where it agrees. Luckily the vast majority of young socialists in this country likewise take a non-sectarian point of view.

Delinquent . . .

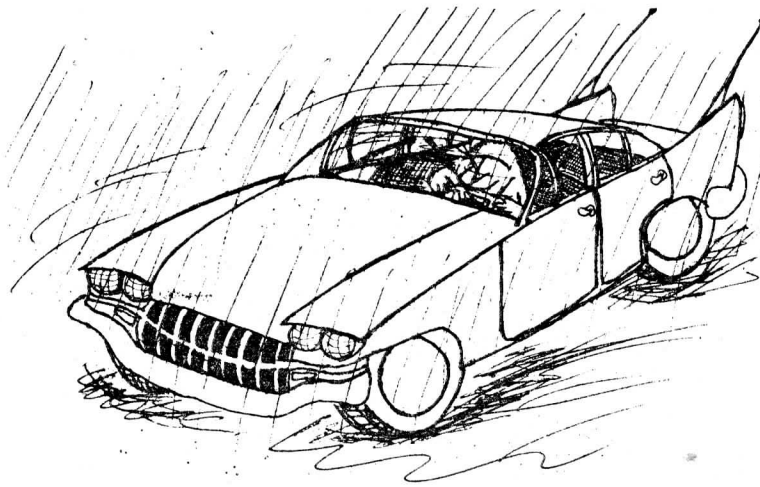
(Continued from Page 3)

difficulty in reading be discovered. At first when he began to realize that he could learn to read and write, and that he was not as retarded as everyone thought, he was happy. But he soon became bitter again at having lost so much time and so many opportunities. We tell him it is still not too late to go to school, but it is like telling a man who has been in prison that it is not too late, and not to think of the lost years.

I myself am amazed at the change in the boy. It is hard for me to believe that Louis, my cousin, who read the Bible fairly well, tries to study Shakespeare, reads poetry, has definite talent in painting, loves classical music and is artistically inclined in many ways, is the same boy who was pushed out of school for being mentally inferior and was continually branded a hoodlum and a juvenile delinquent.

It is for this reason that we should not join the sensationalist press in condemning a young hoodlum, but rather should probe into the circumstances that might have driven him to this unhappy situation.

The Life of Albert Smuck — II (Engineer at Genocide Research's Podunk, N.Y. Lab)



Albert Smuck is driving to work in his new, 1958 car. Boy! It sure is raining hard. But, Albert has to drive fast, otherwise he'll be late for work. A radiation count was made on the rain water and showed that it had more than 200 times the maximum safe drinking water standard of radioactivity. What does Albert think about this? "Oh, I'm not worried about this fall-out stuff. A lot of propaganda, that's all. When some guy came up to my place the other day and asked if I'd sign a petition to halt bomb testing, I told him to get the hell out. What we need are bigger and better bomb tests so we can Keep Ahead in the arms race. That's the American Way of coming Communism."

—Richard Kenny

Youth Fight Tests . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

under 26. There were large contingents of Labor Party youth, Young Liberals, University students and 16-18-year old school-children.

Secondly, everyone wanted to know what further one could do to prevent another war. "What can we do after the march?" "What else can be done?" were the questions constantly posed. There was a terrific thirst for discussion and literature on the question. Anyone selling pamphlets or papers was quickly surrounded by a crowd

LABOR PARTY ACTS

The Aldermaston March has had repercussions. The Labor Party leadership—afraid it will miss the boat in this developing movement—is organizing mass demonstrations all over the country with the theme "Stop the Tests." Until recently the Party leadership shied away from any action over nuclear weapons, trying to allay the fears of the rank and file with mere statements on stopping British tests.

Resolutions are passed every week now by branches of unions, trades councils, and local Parties asking for blacking of work on rocket bases, demanding that the Party should state its intention not to use, manufacture or test the H-Bomb, and urging that a Labor Government rescind all agreements with the United States on rocket bases in this country.

STUDENTS' REFERENDUM

The threat of nuclear war hanging over our heads has aroused almost every university in the British Isles.

A couple of months ago, the Oxford University students' magazine "Isis" organized a referendum among students on nuclear disarmament. The result showed a majority in favor of cessation of British tests, and if necessary of the unilateral renunciation of the bomb by Britain. Similar referendums are being organized in almost every university.

Aberystwyth, Birmingham, Coventry, Edinburgh, Exeter, and Nottingham Universities have held crowded public meetings. Southampton University is organizing a debate. Leeds University students have sent a deputation to their M.P. A mass lobby in favor of nuclear disarmament is planned for May 22nd when students from all over the country will travel to London to visit their M.P.s.

The Aldermaston marchers certainly cannot prevent the Gov-

ernment from manufacturing nuclear weapons—only the British working class has the strength to do that. However it may spark a movement within the British Labor Movement that will force the Labor Party leadership to pledge that the next Labor Government will refuse to test, manufacture or use nuclear weapons and give support to the American, Russian and German working class in their efforts to compel their governments to take similar action.

Americans Hit Tests

On Easter Day demonstrations were held across the United States in opposition to the testing of nuclear weapons by this country. Large numbers of young people were involved in all the demonstrations.

In Berkeley, California, 250 persons demonstrated in the rain near the University of California radiation Laboratory (see the picture on page one). They carried signs stating appropriately "Rain, Rain, Go Away, Come Again Without Gamma Rays" and "April Showers Bring Radioactive Flowers." The protest was organized by the Northern California Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests.

Close to 200 persons participated in two poster walks on the same day organized by the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago. A large percentage of the participants were young high-school and college students.

Over 700 persons lined up in front of the United Nations in New York City at the climax of a "Walk for Peace" during which a number of people walked from Philadelphia and New Haven. The marchers all wore blue armbands and pledged to continue wearing them until the tests are stopped.

In Bronx Science High School, also in New York, these armbands have been spreading like wildfire so that it is estimated nearly 300 students are now wearing them to classes.

Supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST have been active participants in all these demonstrations for peace.

AVAILABLE—Copies of the official bulletin of the recently held Midwest Conference are now available. The bulletin, which contains the minutes of the conference and other information, sells for 15c a copy. Write: J. Maxim, 1457 E. 54th Pl., Chicago 15, Ill.

Canada . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

ernment of Quebec has refused to accept the money.

Since numerous statements of Quebec's premier had shown that he was not deeply concerned with the problems of higher education in the province, it became necessary to arouse public opinion in support of the students' cause. Duplessis' final refusal even to meet, made the one-day voluntary suspension of lectures necessary.

Reaction to the announcement of the strike was varied. Both the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party (CCF) supported the move. On the other hand, such august newspapers as the Gazette and the Montreal Star, being pro-Duplessis, were anti-strike. Most of the university principals made statements against the walkout, and it was decided by the governing boards of these universities that lectures would be held as usual. Thus the public saw that this was purely a student action, unsupported by any other group involved in education.

90% OF STUDENTS STRIKE

The walkout was staged successfully except at Sherbrooke University. Here, because the professors applied pressure on them, the students decided at the last moment to withdraw from the action. This left five universities, McGill, Sir George Williams, Laval, Bishop's, and the University of Montreal. At all of these universities except one the students were able to attend their lectures if they so desired, but even then about 90-95 percent did not do so. The one exception was the University of Montreal where the picket lines allowed only faculty members on the campus. Picket lines were also formed at some of the other universities, but these had orders to allow anyone to pass.

At the same time, student volunteers distributed to the public copies of *The Quebec Student*, a bilingual leaflet which had been printed by the combined staffs of the university newspapers. It contained a summary of the situation, and the conclusions of a brief which had earlier been submitted to the provincial government. This brief recommended that the principle of annual grants to the universities be recognized by statute, and that each student be given free financial aid by the government in accordance with his needs.

Now that the strike is over, we must wait to see the results. As a protest it has succeeded admirably in presenting the problems of higher education to the Quebec public; but at present one cannot tell how the public as a whole will react to these problems. A large number of students, especially the English-speaking ones, did not really care about the walkout in the first place; they considered it only as a day off. Nevertheless many students were sincere in their desire for improvements, and the struggle against Duplessis' education policies is being continued.

STUDENTS FIGHT ON

The student representatives of the five universities participating in the boycott have decided to continue their program of bringing the needs of higher education to the attention of the Quebec public. At the same time, three students from the University of Montreal have been trying each day to obtain an interview with the Premier. So far they have not succeeded.

How long the present stalemate will last is uncertain. Soon the students will be writing their final examinations, and then all scholastic activities will cease for the summer. But next fall one can expect further action on the part of the students because it is highly unlikely that Duplessis will by that time have agreed to a meeting with their representatives.