

# Socialism Grows On U.S. Campus: Nation Goes Left

by Tim Wohlforth

(Tim Wohlforth, editor of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*, is currently touring the Midwest as part of his nationwide barnstorming tour. The first lap of the tour, covering from San Diego to Portland on the West Coast, was reported in the November *YS*. This article covers Wohlforth's visit to Seattle, Vancouver, B.C., San Francisco State College, Stanford University, Denver University, University of Colorado, University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin (Madison), University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee), Earlham College, Cleveland, and Oberlin College.)

DETROIT — As I traveled around the country during the weeks prior to the recent elections, a new political climate was noticeable—a climate which led to the Democratic landslide and the defeat of "right-to-work" legislation in five out of the six states in which it was proposed.

This new climate is marked by a polarization in the political life of the country between labor on the one hand and the representatives of big business on the other. The struggles around the "right-to-work" proposals brought this out the most clearly. I visited four out of the six states where these proposals were on the ballot: California, Washington, Colorado, and Ohio.

In each of these states the "right-to-work" issue dominated the election. Billboards spotted the countryside; each day's paper brought a new rash of ads on each side of the issue; radio and TV were loaded with spot ads on the issue as well as panel discussions; and finally the labor movement had mobilized its rank and file with leaflets, bumper signs, pins, wooden nickels, phony three dollar bills, rulers, and what not.

At issue in the "right-to-work"



fight was the existence of a strong labor movement itself. Under the falsely named "right-to-work" proposals, labor-management agreements which made union membership a condition of employment would be outlawed. This law would severely weaken that trade union as the collective bargaining agent for all the workers in the plant, a bargaining agent democratically chosen by the majority of the workers in the plant.

## BUSINESS CRUSADE

The largest corporations in the country (especially General Electric) spent millions of dollars to sell this proposal to the people through a full scale anti-union campaign in these states. The labor movement organized itself for self-defense and carried through a magnificent campaign.

In Ohio the campaign was especially impressive. It was organized by the United Organized Labor of Ohio which represented all the unions in the state. The campaign reached its climax when the UOLO rallied the rank and file workers in Cleveland and other industrial areas to the polls to hand out sample ballots. I toured Cleveland on election day and

talked to the unionists—there were as many as four at each of the 2,000 or more precincts—as they handed the sample ballots to the voters. The voters of Ohio got a chance to meet face to face with organized labor, and they responded. Especially in Ohio and California the voters turned out and voted down the proposal overwhelmingly. The bulk of these voters were not union members but they felt the need for strong unions in their state and they came to their defense.

These campaigns were carried on by labor with little or no help from the politicians of either party. In Ohio, for example, Senator Lausche, a Democrat, actually supported "right-to-work." The labor movement was able to mobilize its rank and file as it never had been able to do before for any Democratic Party politician. The whole "right-to-work" campaign posed the question: Why does labor continue to support the Democrats who do nothing for it? The labor movement has demonstrated that it can rally the people of this country behind it. With very little extra effort the workers could have distributed material for labor candidates alongside their anti-right-to-work material and brought a labor party to power in these states.

## CANADIANS PLAN LABOR PARTY

When I visited Vancouver in Canada I got a taste of the possibilities that a large party of the workers holds for the future. There I addressed the Stanley Park Club, one of the many local branches of the CCF (Commonwealth Cooperative Federation), the biggest socialist party in Canada. There CCF members told me

(Continued from Page 3)

## 2 Negro Boys and a Kiss

"Please tell me, Mr. President, when Negroes may expect your Justice Department to introduce the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to this social jungle called Dixie," asks machinist Robert Williams of Monroe, North Carolina in a telegram of protest to Eisenhower.

Two Negro boys, Hanover Thompson, 9, and Fuzzy Simpson, 8, are presently at the Morrison Training School for Delinquent Boys at Hoffman, N.C. for committing the "crime" of being kissed by a white girl while playing on the way home from school. They were sentenced, Williams claims, without the benefit of counsel nor a chance to confront their accuser.

Williams, who is president of the local NAACP, believes the two children were sent to reform school in order to put pressure on himself for entering applications for his two sons to attend white schools in the area.

American youth, Negro and white, must speak out against "Southern Justice" that has affected so cruelly two small North Carolina boys. We should write or telegram Governor Luther H. Hodges, Raleigh, N. C. and President Eisenhower. We must get up petitions among our fellow high school and college students. If we act now we can see that these two young boys are returned to their families and that some semblance of justice prevails in the Southern part of the United States.

—THE EDITORS

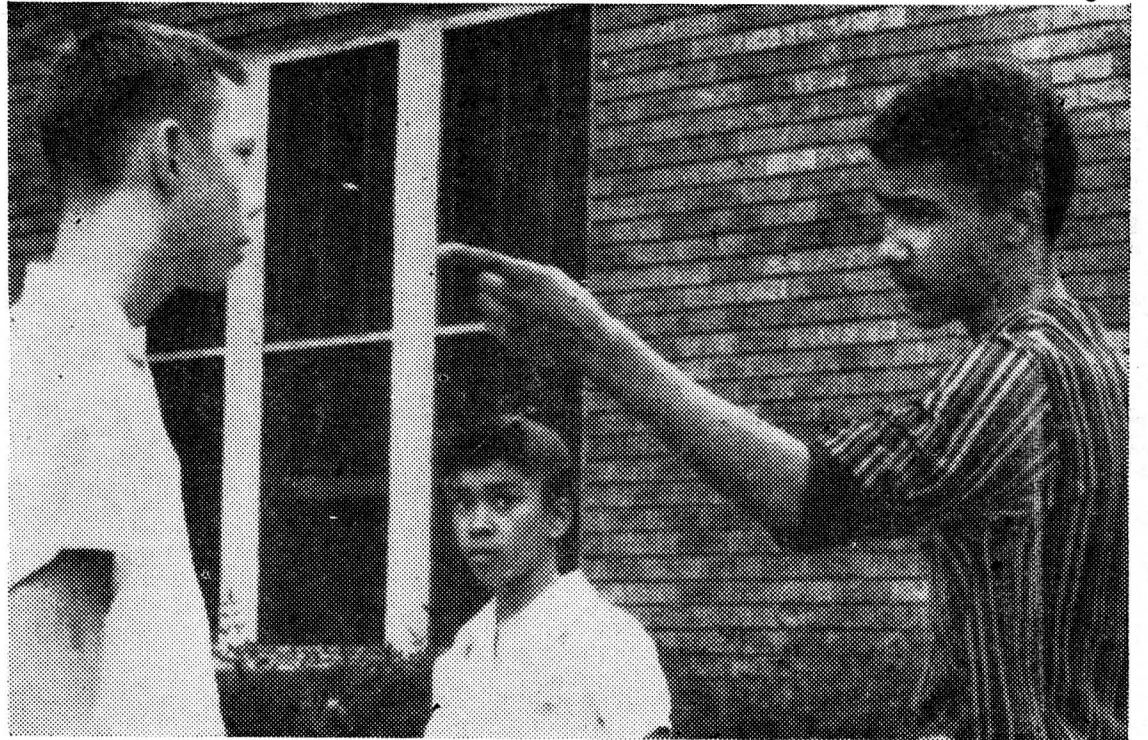
# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

VOL. 2, NO. 3

December, 1958



SCENE IN LITTLE ROCK: Johnny Gray, 15, points finger at white boy who tried to force him and his sister off the sidewalk on their way to school. For a report on the drive for a million signatures for integration and a young socialist's participation in the Youth March on Washington, see page 3.

## California Professors Strike Policy Of Informing on Students' Views

by Richard DeHaan

A little-known relic of the McCarthy period in American education was carried on its first step to reinterment last month by the Academic Senate of the University of California, Northern Division. The question, "Must professors be informers?" was answered in the negative by an assembly of the Senate on October 31. The adoption of a report, the so-called "Rynin Resolutions," by the Senate's Academic Freedom Committee served notice that henceforth teachers at the Berkeley, Davis, San Francisco and Mount Hamilton campuses will not give voluntary answers to questions from prospective employers and other investigators about their students' political views as expressed in the classroom.

It is not generally known that teachers have been increasingly relied upon as political stool-pigeons in recent years—in most cases apparently against their will. With the Cold War came a burgeoning of "loyalty" investigations by various government agencies, private employers and by the flourishing new industry of professional investigators.

"Friendly" response to these inquiries has been defended in the profession as part of the teacher's responsibility to prepare his students for entry into society—not only intellectually, but also in every other respect, including ideologically.

The University of California Senate, which had previously taken the initiative in beating down a state loyalty oath, has taken the first publicized step in rolling back this even greater danger to freedom of thought and association. The teaching profession has generally managed to skirt this issue up to now. The American Association of University Professors, for example, has yet to take a stand on its members' serving as informers, and has shown a distressing tendency to restrict its efforts to keeping its own oxen from being gored.

### NSA IS BACKWARD

As to the students' "own" organization, the National Student Association, it is yet immeasurably more backward. While it, too, has adopted a decent stand on academic freedom, the machinery by which it proposes to enforce this stand is so complex as to vitiate the principles. Before a mere investigation can even be initiated, the NSA must receive a request from: (1) the student government, (2) ten per cent of the

student body or 500 students, whichever is less, (3) the college administration or (4) the NSA Regional Executive Committee, with the permission of the student government. Even if this process of instituting an investigation were not so cumbersome as to require several months, or even years, of effort, it relies for evidence of an infraction of academic freedom on precisely those sectors of the academic community which are traditionally hoodwinked or controlled by the administration. In the recollection of this writer, the NSA has yet to even begin an investigation of an academic freedom violation, much less censure an administration.

SCOTT NEARING ON PEACE, SOCIALISM: A YS interview —page 2.

As bad as this situation is, however, it is still not the worst aspect of the academic freedom picture today. The teacher's role in a loyalty investigation is usually not of overwhelming importance because: (1) being himself concerned with the protection of academic freedom, he often declines to cooperate anyway, and (2) students' political activities do not usually occur in the classroom, and political opinions are often not expressed there. (Nevertheless, a serious deficiency in the California resolution is that teachers are still not prohibited "... from giving information coming to them from outside the classroom.")

### WORST OFFENDERS

By far the worst offenders in academic informing are the ad-

(Continued on Page 4)

# Youth Speaks Out!

## THE TEDDY-BOYS' ROLE

Dear Editors:

Nottingham and Notting-Hill, two Negro sections in London, were the scene of recent race riots in which the Teddy-boys participated. Decrepit Victorian tenement houses, divided into small pokey flats in which as many as three West Indian families live, are seen throughout these areas. The employment situation is very bad, creating jealous competition over even the most unskilled and undesirable jobs.

The Teddy-boys, made up of young men in their late teens, were directed by speaker vans from all parts of London to incite race riots in the West Indian sections. "Britain is Going Black," "West Indians Are Taking Your Jobs," "Save Britain From the Black Invaders" headlined the fascist newspaper, *Action*.

The Teddy-boy's role is one of blind action—he is always ready to fight. He is the standard-bear-

er of a corrupt society. His Edwardian suit is a pathetic cry for self-expression starved by cash relationships and commercial "culture."

The London press was quick to blame the riots on the Teddy-boys. The ruling class hates the crude exposure of the evils of its system by the Teddy-boys. They are the scapegoat for the contradictions in capitalist society. Propaganda is directed against them in order to attribute to them and youth in general all the crimes that occur.

I. Lamb

Islington, England

## A DISCORDANT NOTE

Dear Editors:

I have just received my first copy of the newsheet, the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*. The talent of those whose work appears in this issue (November) leaves more than a little to be desired, both in style and in the use of jargon and distortion of facts, no matter how valid the seeming excuses. I object, for instance, to a statement made on page 3 by Mr. Wohlforth. In saying, "... the U.S.S.R. shows us that it is possible for a major power to function without trying to dominate the world," it seems to me that Mr. Wohlforth is either terribly naive or, and this is more reprehensible, he is using the distortion of fact to attain an end.

Pray do not interpret this as a blanket condemnation, either of your paper or of Mr. Wohlforth. I shall read the paper whenever

I have the opportunity and time. I do not agree with all—nay, with even very much of what is therein stated, but I welcome the opportunity to hear of divergent viewpoints when honestly expressed. I hope, therefore, that I have made a mistaken assumption. I trust you will be able to correct me if this is true.

Dante F. D'Alessandro  
Seattle, Wash.

## ON BRUSSELS WORLD'S FAIR

Dear Editors:

The aim of the U.S. pavilion was obviously to show that America is a very nice country to live in, especially for those who have enough time and money for frequent pleasant relaxation. The life portrayed was typically upper middle class, with a millinery show that attracted much attention and no mention of things like unions and unemployment. There was a significant inscription on a wall: "America's business is everybody's business." The voting machines in the exhibit were much joked about in relation to the franchise of Southern Negroes.

The Russian pavilion, near the American, was . . . [designed] to show that the Soviet Union has become a major industrial power. The attraction Number One was of course the "spoutniki." But the sloganeering seemed too heavy to many visitors, socialists included. The propaganda of the American pavilion was more clever and discreet.

Ernest Glinne

Co-editor, La Gauche (Belgium)

# Young Socialist

Tim Wohlforth, *Managing Editor*

Allen Taplin, *Business Manager*

Acting Editor: Martha Curti.

Editorial Board: Bert Deck, George Payne, Tim Wohlforth, Richard DeHaan, James Lambrecht, Michael Kovacs.

Corresponding Editors: Philadelphia—Arthur Phelps; Detroit—Evelyn Sell; Chicago—John Worth; Minneapolis—Tom Leonard; Denver—Leonard Hodgett; Los Angeles—Peter Allan; Bay Area—Richard Kenny; Seattle—John Severn; New York—Daniel Freeman; Baltimore—A. Robert Kaufman; Canada—Ernest Strong; Britain—Janet Downs. *Roaming Correspondent*: Shane Mage. *Western Representative*: James Robertson.

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year, \$.50 for six months. Bundle rates: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The *YOUNG SOCIALIST* is published monthly at 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone GR 5-7920. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*, which are expressed in editorial statements.

VOL. 2, No. 3

401

December, 1958

## The Pasternak Affair

The first thing which should be noted about l'affaire Pasternak is that among those who are hurling the accusations are to be found the worst offenders in the confusion of political and literary values. *Dr. Zhivago* appears to be a novel which owes its popularity more to its notoriety than to its literary merit. In New York, for example, the *Herald-Tribune* assigned the review to its veteran ex-Marxist, Bertram D. ("Bertie") Wolfe, who viewed it as falling only slightly short of pure genius. *The Times*, on the other hand, assigned it to its regular book-reviewer, Orville Prescott, who turned in a less than glowing evaluation, remarking that if it had been written by a Russian emigré or an American, it would probably have passed unnoticed.

Similarly, the Nobel Prize itself has recently become to some extent entangled in the Cold War, particularly with respect to the Literature and Peace prizes. In 1957, the Literature award went to Albert Camus, the only housebroken member of that section of the French intelligentsia emerging from the Resistance, and in particular the award was for his anti-socialist work translated as *The Rebel*.

On the other hand, the protest is rightly directed against the attempts to stifle artistic nonconformity in the supposed interests of the state. The futile attempts by the Soviet bureaucracy to insulate itself from criticism have nothing in common with the Marxist conception of the role of the artist in a socialist society.

The difference between the reception accorded Pasternak's prize and that of the Nobel Prize awarded to the three Russian physicists is also of great significance, and tells us much of the reigning values in Khrushchev's land of peace.

It is particularly to be regretted that the lynch-party rallying around Pasternak was initiated by the aging careerist leader of the Young Communist League, who, in the smiling presence of Khrushchev, denounced Pasternak as "worse than a pig . . . for at least a pig does not dirty the place where he lives." The youth of Soviet countries had earlier taken the lead in rolling back the Stalinist dictatorship—as evidenced by its conscious organization to this end in Poland, Hungary, and, from all indications, also in Russia.

Youth, which has the most to gain from a socialist reconstruction of Soviet society, has also the most to lose in any attack on independence of thought. The traditional and consistent adherence by the youth of the Soviet countries to the values of socialist civil liberties can only result in the eventual production of really effective protests against the bureaucracy which denies the every aspiration of youth.

## A Look at the Elections

Socialists can look upon the 1958 elections with a good deal of satisfaction. For the first time in half a century, radicals of various persuasions were able to unite to launch socialist electoral campaigns in a number of key areas of the country.

Thus after more than a decade of cold war and witchhunts, a scattered radical movement was able to unite and begin its comeback as a legitimate part of American politics.

We socialists can be rightfully proud that it was our efforts that brought into the elections issues which the two capitalist parties had conspired to suppress, i. e. jobs, peace, and civil rights. Socialist candidates were heard and seen on countless radio and TV programs. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature were distributed.

The socialist vote, while modest, was really impressive for our time. In New York State over 30,000 voters cast their ballots for the Independent-Socialist Party candidate for Governor, John T. McManus, while approximately 45,000 voted for Corliss Lamont, the I-SP candidate for Senator. This was the largest socialist vote in New York State since the 1930's.

The efforts to run United Socialist tickets were not only challenged by the capitalist politicians but were attacked by the leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Communist Party. The SP-SDF threatened legal action against the I-SP (for the use of the name United Socialist) and issued slanderous statements to the press about the new party, alleging that it supported dictatorship. All this at the moment the I-SP was fighting Carmine De Sapio for a place on the ballot. The Communist Party wound up supporting witchhunt cold war candidates such as Harriman. The election results indicate that the overwhelming majority of socialists ignored these advices from yesteryear.

But where do we go from here?

In Cleveland, at the end of November, socialists from all over the country are gathering in a national conference, to meet each other, to exchange experiences, and to consider proposals for the future.

We greet this conference in the hopes that it will constitute another step forward in the process of uniting a really effective movement in America.

Given the absence of a mass party of labor we favor a united socialist presidential campaign in 1960. We hope that the adult leaders will not waver from the promising course they have set in the past year. The united socialist campaign have won the enthusiastic support of young socialists. We look forward to a bold militant campaign which will bring the question of socialism into the consciousness of American youth.

## Scott Nearing Views Peace and Socialism

### an interview

(The following is an interview with Dr. Scott Nearing, conducted by Arthur Phelps, Philadelphia Corresponding Editor for the *Y.S.* Dr. Nearing, veteran socialist speaker and writer, has just returned from a trip through China and Asia.)

Dr. Nearing discusses the question of "peaceful co-existence," a subject which has aroused much interest in the radical movement. We invite our readers to make their own contributions to this discussion.)

Q.—What do you mean by peaceful co-existence?

A.—The term co-existence presupposes differences—ideological, economic, social—between different groups of people, different religions, different economies, different forms of political organization. These differences exist inside Philadelphia and Pennsylvania as they do throughout the world. Yet you recognize these differences and co-exist or you fight them.

Q.—Do you think that there can be peace or peaceful co-existence between countries who have planned and capitalist economies, respectively?

A.—Not only is this possible, but it happens. For example, there are those who recognize China and there are those who do not.

The British are like us in their outlook, but when the Chinese liberation came in 1949, the British government did not hesitate before recognizing the Peoples' Republic of China. There is no social imperative against recognition or co-existence. The British do rec-

ognize and seek to co-exist with China.

Q.—But this contradicts what you yourself have said in the *TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE*, that capitalism has an economic impulsion to expand. And it is clear to me, at least, that top on the agenda of the U. S. State Department is the winning back of the Soviet Union and China to the sphere of capitalist investment.

A.—You presuppose an either-or which actually does not exist. There is an area between the either-or. For instance, in India, Mr. Nehru is an anti-Communist and has gone so far in proving this as to put Communists in jail. He, of course, is a socialist and a member of the incumbent Congress Party. Here is a conflict situation between Nehru and the Communists.

Now, in 1957 in Kerala, they elected a Communist government through a coalition that included other left forces and independents. Since that time, this Government has functioned in Kerala. Under the Indian constitution, if the Kerala government violates constitutional precepts, the government can be removed. Here you have a conflict situation where opposing forces are co-existing.

Q.—Now I would like to ask what you think are the prospects for socialism in America?

A.—I have travelled over the country lately. And it is my observation that there are a large number of people who would welcome socialism in America. In fact, I would say that this body of persons number a large minority. I don't know exact figures, but I would say thousands, whether 500,000 or 5,000,000, are of this mind.

However, the history of socialist movements in the U. S. is very schismatic: strewn with the wreckage of schism, splits and factions—and these many people throughout North America who would welcome a change don't belong to any party and won't, as long as there is a paralyzing division in the left.

I have seen some encouraging signs, however, especially in colleges where there is emerging a development among students who have organized themselves—they often call themselves socialist study or discussion groups. They will not affiliate themselves with any one political party on the left. There are not many of them, but you can find them here and there across the country. It reflects a new attitude of young people toward the world they live in. They want to recognize the failures of, and liberate themselves from, the past. Organizationally, they have a paper called the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*, published once a month in New York at 144 Second Avenue; and they have officers that travel around the country, speaking to various groups about socialism.

Another sign which may prove significant is that offered by a conference to be held on the 28th and 29th of November in Cleveland. This Conference hopes to come to some conclusions about various matters, among which is that of unity of the left in the 1960 Presidential elections.

It is from the forces engaged in these attempts to think things out and act together that I see encouraging prospects for American socialism.

Q.—Dr. Nearing, I thought that you were aware that I am a representative of the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*. I fully agree with your latter remarks concerning prospects.

A.—Well, if you represent the *YOUNG SOCIALIST*, do you take subscriptions? I've been meaning to get one for some time.

### Subscribe Now!

6 months \$ .50

1 year \$1.00

(Name—please print)

(Address)

(City) (State)

**YOUNG SOCIALIST**

144 Second Ave.  
New York 3, N. Y.

# Youth Notes

NEW YORK—A Student-Faculty Committee at Queens College approved a plan to evade the ban of Smith Act speakers at municipal colleges. The resolution calls for "no ideological or organizational restrictions" for speakers on campus. Before going into effect, it must be approved by a faculty committee and College President Harold Stoke. . . . Two teachers in New York City schools left their jobs after being notified to appear for questioning about possible present or past membership in the Communist Party. Since 1951, when a state law (the Feinberg Law) was passed requiring an annual investigation and report of "subversive activities" in public schools, a total of 321 teachers have left the city school system as a result of the investigations. . . . In California, two young men who had been threatened with loss of their jobs won "security risk" cases. They were both charged with membership in or association with radical groups as students. In addition, one was charged with maintaining a "close continuing association" with his brother-in-law, who was "alleged" to be a Communist. Both cases were handled by the ACLU.

BOULDER, Col.—Homecoming decorations caused furor among the student body on the question of integration. The decorations, made by fraternities, sororities, and dorm groups, depicted Negroes as pickinninies, mummies, Uncle Toms, and even cannibals, in the theme of "A Little Bit O' Dixie." William H. Pickett of the Denver Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in a heated meeting held right after the homecoming parade: "Our country is on the spot and it's time we began to take a different view of the Negro instead of this outmoded stereotype."

DETROIT—A new teenage club has been organized recently. It has discussions on political and social questions and plans a wide range of social and cultural activities. A major club project, now underway, is a mimeographed songbook containing 43 labor, radical, and folk songs with guitar chords. For a copy, send 35c to Sid Brown, 692 W. Forest, Detroit, Mich. . . . The Young Socialist Alliance in New York reports an attendance of over 450, mostly young people, at its recent showings of two Soviet film classics, "Potemkin" and "Ten Days That Shook the World." The Alliance reports a successful beginning to its series of classes on the "ABC's of Marxism." For information call CA 8-2006. . . . Several students at Forest Hills High School in Queens have started a newsletter, **The Thinker**. The publication is intended to "stimulate discussion and create an atmosphere of debate on pertinent social and political issues of the day." For a copy write: Fred Magdoff, 110-15 64 Rd., Forest Hills 75, N.Y. . . . **The ABC's of Socialism**, by Leo Huberman, will be the basis of classes conducted by the Socialist Study Group in Baltimore and the Young Socialist Club in Philadelphia. The pamphlet may be ordered at 50c a copy (or 5 for \$2.00) at Monthly Review, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. 14. For information on the classes, call Fleetwood 8-0430 in Baltimore; in Philadelphia, write A. Phelps, Apt. 4B, 3506 Powelton Ave. . . . Application forms are available for the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna next summer. Travel costs are \$300-400 round trip. Write U.S. Festival Committee, 19 W. 27th St., N.Y.C. 1.

GENEVA—A petition urging an immediate agreement for the permanent cessation of nuclear tests was flown to the delegation heads of the three-power talks here. Signatures numbered 60,000 from all parts of the United States. Students at City College of New York contributed 600. . . . "No More Quemoy's," "Think, Don't Brink," "America Needs a New China Policy," were some of the posters which greeted President Eisenhower on his pre-election visit to San Francisco. The posters were part of a picket line which last three hours and included 200 people at one time. Most of the pickets were young adults, Negro and white, who had come from all over the Bay Area.

## A Voice Is Raised on Campus

(One of the most encouraging aspects of the current YS tour is that it has helped to spark the formation of socialist clubs at colleges where they did not previously exist. Following is the initial statement of one of these new clubs, the Earlham Socialist Discussion Group.)

### "AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO THE EARLHAM COMMUNITY:

"There is a group here at Earlham College who feels that there is a need for us to join together to discuss some of the complex issues that confront the modern world. We feel that people must become aware of some facts and figures that aren't too well known. For instance, did you know that 8% of the families in the United States have incomes of over \$10,000 a year while 20% of all families have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year? About 31% of our total population have incomes of less than \$3,000 annually. Contrasted with this, 75 American families are worth more than 76 million dollars each and five hundred American families are worth more than 50 million dollars.

"We ask: why do such inequalities exist in a nation that is as rich as the United States? Why are there slums in every large city in America? Why must migrant workers be hungry? Why must 31% of the population live from day to day insecure about how it is going to make ends meet? Why must the American worker live in constant fear of recession?

"Why is there race hatred? Certainly the Republican Party with its usually wishy-washy policy on race relations has no answer—they don't even pose any relevant questions for that matter. The Democratic Party has no answer as long as it is composed of men like Eastland.

"Why are we always on the brink of war? The Republicans don't seem to help matters. Many Democrats only want to spend more money on war materials.

"There must be a third opinion, a dynamic voice, a courageous voice, a voice that effectively challenges the present system. Before this voice can be eloquent and persuasive, its proponents must have the facts at hand. For this reason a group called 'The Socialist Discussion Group' is being formed on the Earlham campus. Besides studying the present world situation, we shall take positive action when possible."

## 10,000 MARCH ON WASHINGTON:

# Let's Sign Up 1,000,000 for Integration

by Fred Mazelis

Signatures of one million young people opposed to segregation in the schools will be presented to President Eisenhower on May 17, 1959, the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision for immediate integration.

This was the decision of 10,000 students who marched through the nation's capitol on Saturday, October 25.

To implement this decision, plans are already underway for organizing the new March and the petition campaign. Three meetings have been held at the March headquarters in New York City, with over 100 people, Negro and white, in attendance. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, reported that the NAACP plans to declare its support to this March, in contrast to its official silence on the last one.

I joined three car loads of Young Socialist Alliance supporters going to Washington to participate in the mile and a half march down Constitution Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial. This was an event that no young socialist could refuse to participate in. It expressed the desire of young Americans for a democratic, fully integrated school system.

We were part of the crowd of students who marched, eight abreast, in protest of the government's unwillingness to secure the right of free and equal education for all.

We were at the Lincoln Memorial with the YOUNG SOCIALIST and our leaflets when Harry Belafonte announced that the President had refused to see a delegation of ten students, Negro and white, who had come to talk with him about furthering integration. This was after A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the Youth March for Integrated Schools Committee, sent a letter to the chief executive asking, in conciliatory terms, for an audience so that the students might receive his "blessings and inspirations."

### ANTI-SOCIALIST

The YOUNG SOCIALIST received a terrific response from all but the left-wing participants. The paper was sold and a leaflet on integration distributed so that people there could go home with more than Randolph's empty words and hopes for a demonstration next year, and the next, but with a concept of society based on the equality of all men socially and economically.

Our attempt to spread the ideas of socialism was met with resistance from police and radicals alike. A member of the Young Peoples' Socialist League stated that any left-wing literature around would lend material to red-baiters of the march as a whole. He then followed up his belief by reporting one of the salesmen to a law enforcement officer who proceeded to harass the YS supporter.

Even with many such harassments, nearly 400 papers were sold. Not one of the major newspapers, radio and TV newscasters, or statements reporting the march red-baited it on the basis of our participation.

The party held by the Baltimore Young Socialist Club following the demonstration, which many students not previously acquainted with socialist ideas attended, indicates that many young people are ready to look beyond superficial explanations to a real understanding of the race problem in the United States.



Participants in the Youth March for Integrated Schools in Washington, D.C., read leaflets being distributed by a YOUNG SOCIALIST supporter.

## Socialism Grows on U.S. Campus . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

that plans were being laid to unite the CCF and the whole labor movement in Canada into a new party of labor. The Canadians are showing us the road we, too, will soon have to follow.

Signs of a reawakening of interest in socialist ideas continued to be apparent on this leg of the tour as it had been on the previous section of the tour. Large audiences turned out at Denver University, University of Colorado, University of Minnesota, and a number of other places. At both Oberlin and Earlham Colleges a good ten per cent of the student body turned out for my meetings.

Socialist youth activities are flourishing especially in the Midwest. Here active campus socialist clubs are functioning on leading campuses. One of the largest of these is the Wisconsin Socialist Club which has some 60 members at the Univ. of Wisconsin in Madison. They held a highly successful protest on the invasion of Lebanon by U.S. Marines (see September YS) and followed it up this fall with a successful protest against U.S. tactics over Quemoy and Matsu.

Another sign of the growth of socialism in this area was the organization of new socialist clubs during my tour at the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin and at a small Quaker college in southern Indiana, Earlham. (See statement of Earlham Socialist Club on left.)

Oberlin College in many ways typifies the new spirit to be found on the American campus. A few weeks before I visited Oberlin, some of the more liberal and iconoclastic students had decided to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the college in their own way. For many years the imposing edifice on the campus has been an arch erected to commemorate the American missionaries who died in the Boxer Rebellion in China. The students decided to put up an arch on the other side of the college square to commemorate the Chinese who died in the Boxer Rebellion, a rebellion against American and British interference in the internal affairs of China way back in 1900.

### ARCH SEVEN

With my return to the campus (I was formerly chairman of the Eugene V. Debs Club at Oberlin) the newly formed Oberlin So-

cialist Club decided to revive an old tradition, "Arch Seven." Seven o'clock in the evening, when the students have finished supper and are streaming past the arch on the way to the library, is the traditional time at Oberlin to have free speech forums. I spoke to some 200 students for almost two hours on the elections, on socialism, in fact, on almost everything. The tradition proved its viability and the Oberlin socialists hope to continue it when warm weather comes again in the spring.

One of the most heartwarming aspects of a tour like this is the people you meet. For instance, I met and shared the platform on several occasions with Jerry Barrett who was running as a socialist for State Senate in Wash-

ington (see November YS). He was doing a fine job, and giving the campaign the zeal with which he had previously fought on the University of Washington campus for civil liberties causes.

In Denver I met a young Southern white student who supported integration and whose family has been active in organizing trade unions in the Deep South. In Boulder, Col., I met another student who, when not in classes, walked on the picket line with the retail clerks who were on strike in the area. These are the people one remembers—the students who are fighting with the working class for a better life; not the countless numbers of fraternity boys, who, in their blissful ignorance, feel themselves to be "superior" to the majority of American people who work for wages.

It is these few young men and women on the American campus who hold the future in their hands and not the sorority girls who go around on some campuses with Greek letters painted on the rears of their jeans like so many cattle—branded. And it is for these college students along with young workers and high school students, that we publish the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

**AACHEN, MANIFESTO:****Colonial and Workers' Struggles, Not H-Bombs, Will End War**

(The YOUNG SOCIALIST prints the following declaration by left-wing European socialist youth both as a matter of general interest and because it represents what we consider to be a fundamentally sound view on the question of war.)

On August 2 and 3, 1958 an international conference of the left wing of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) was held at Aachen (Aix-La-Chapelle). Among those attending were delegates representing the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes (Belgium), the "Falcons" (West Germany), SFIO youth (recently expelled from the French Socialist Party) and young socialists from Holland. The Falcons have an estimated 100,000-150,000 members.

This manifesto stands in stark contrast with the document adopted by the American affiliate of the IUSY, the Young Peoples' Socialist League. At its merger convention with the Young Socialist League, the YPSL adopted the "Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism" which supports "collective security" or in other words lines itself up unquestioningly with the military alliances of the West.

"The Aachen Manifesto" is translated by Richard DeHaan from the monthly newspaper of the Belgian JGS, La Jeune Garde, of September, 1958).

The relations of forces have changed since the end of World War II. These changes reflect in the first instance the obstinate determination of the two large military blocs to integrate the colonial peoples politically and economically. The reasons for this determination are as much strategic as political. It is in the Middle East in particular that the interests of the two blocs collide. . . .

The determination of Western imperialism to thwart the colonial revolution is explained by a series of convergent necessities:

1. American imperialism needs to protect the markets which serve it both as sources of raw materials and as means of disposing of its products. The aggressiveness of American imperialism is thus greater than its economic expansion, and more menacing. Furthermore, given the unstable equilibrium of the world today, the loss of an important market is a serious political defeat for American imperialism in its conflict with the Soviet bloc. America's diplomacy with regard to the underdeveloped countries is not able to mask its total opposition to the colonial revolution.

2. British imperialism seeks above all to protect its control of the underdeveloped countries which furnish it with needed raw materials. It consequently holds with tenacious grip the strategic bases which alone maintain control over the necessary markets.

**FRENCH IMPERIALISM**

3. French imperialism, the weakest of the three and the one most directly threatened by the colonial revolution—thereby explaining its virulence—is essentially colonialist. The bourgeoisie and the French army seek to maintain a military, administrative and political domination over the territories whose loss would pose acute social and economic problems to the French bourgeoisie. By virtue of a backward economy, the French bourgeoisie has need of privileged markets, which the colonies provide, in order to sell its products. These two considerations explain the tenacity with which French colonialism hangs on to the bitter end.

These diverse imperialist powers can occasionally come into conflict, as in the Suez affair, but whenever one of them is seriously threatened by the rise of the colonial revolution, a real solidarity is established between them.

Faced with this unified front of imperialism, often reinforced by the passive or active complicity of certain working-class organizations of the imperialist countries, the colonial revolution finds itself disarmed. The paralysis of the international workers' movement compels it, in its own interest, to accept the aid of the Soviet bureaucracy, which harmonizes with the interests of the native bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie seeks to use and divert to its own profit the colonial revolution.

**THE KREMLIN'S ROLE**

Desiring both to weaken the Western imperialist bloc, the power of which is a permanent danger to it, and to arrest popular revolutions which might develop outside its influence, the Soviet bureaucracy assists to the fullest the various national bourgeoisies in proportion as these bourgeoisies are able to control the forces of the revolutionary movements which agitate the underdeveloped countries.

The Soviet bureaucracy, the expansionism of which is limited by its internal difficulties and weakened by democratic demands, thus desires much more to roll back American imperialism than to take the actual leadership of the colonial revolution. The extension of the bureaucracy's dominance actually signifies the beginning of a profound internal crisis. This is why it plays the game of the bourgeois revolution.

The clash between the colonial revolution and Western imperialism has never been as violent as it is today. This poses the problem of war with new sharpness.

The struggle against war cannot be led effectively by governments which above all else defend "national interests"—which is to say, defend in practice the interests of the ruling class—but only by the people and by the international working class. It is of primary importance to rise in opposition to official lies and pacifist illusions, and to put for-



MAY DAY, 1958: Falcons demonstrate in Cologne for Algerian freedom.

ward against them concrete slogans for peace, in order to escape these vague and hollow formulae.

**DISARMAMENT?**

Still less should effective action against war be deferred until the conclusion of an impossible agreement between East and West on a "general disarmament, simultaneous and controlled," for the governments do not sincerely want to realize such an accord and each requires of the other camp that it give the first example. In point of fact, they dream only of maintaining their own supremacy.

Similarly, the U.N. is powerless to maintain peace, for it is only a world-wide assembly of the same governments which seek to make their solutions prevail there, and admit of no peace other than that favorable to their own interests.

The fundamental cause of war lies always and primarily in the capitalist system. The capitalist economy needs consumption and armament programs in order to check and prevent economic crises. Thus imperialism plays with fire in order to defend its own interests. The Soviet bureaucracy does the same, sacrificing the interests of the working class to its own.

Military pacts, always billed as "defensive," constitute in themselves a threat to peace. One affirms and justifies the other, as do NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe.

It is necessary to roll back the machines of war and to orient ourselves increasingly towards "disengagement." At the same time, we must realize that the means of actual destruction render illusory all the strategic argument used by the major powers.

**COEXISTENCE: THE STATUS QUO**

"Peaceful coexistence" means only the maintenance of the status quo, and of the oppressive regimes of the world which are themselves the causes of war. But the colonial revolution, opposing this status quo, restricts the capitalist domain. The Western working class should solidarize itself with the irrepressible surge of the colonial revolution; it should oppose all imperialist intervention, in Africa and Asia as in Latin America. Finally, it should never believe that peace can be acquired by the right of might.

Internationally, the anti-war struggle of the working class should begin by action in its own country against its national bourgeoisie. As applied in the West, this action is by no means "unilateral"; it assists in the long run the democratization of the Eastern countries and removes from the bureaucracy the pretext of "capitalist encirclement" by which it maintains its oppression.

**FIGHT AGAINST WAR**

Such action should be translated in individual countries into:

1. The struggle for the reduction of the term of military service,
2. The struggle for the reduction of military appropriations,
3. The struggle against the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and against nuclear testing.

The nuclear peril is such today that any general war would probably mean the destruction of the human race. Already nuclear tests threaten the health of humanity. War would make a tragic error of a mischance.

But, if nuclear energy is capable of destroying civilization, it is also capable of assuring, by the immense scientific possibilities which it conceals, the abolition of all the material slavery which still weighs upon humanity and the conclusive liberation of man from need. To these ancient dreams of happiness are opposed the oligarchies and existing social forms. Either this contradiction will be eliminated by the socialist revolution or capitalism will sweep the world along to an ultimate catastrophe. The alternatives are thus now, more than ever: "Socialism or war."

**Informing . . .**

(Continued from Page 1)

ministrations of colleges and universities. As yet there has been suggested no way to curb these activities, or even to learn the extent of them. Administrative officials, furthermore, are not traditionally concerned with the ideals of academic freedom, and are somewhat more inclined to cooperate with the various minions of government and industry on whose bounteous grants the administrators increasingly depend.

Many universities, for example, require that full or partial membership lists of all student organizations be filed with the administration. These lists are often made available to any investigator of undesirable ideas who may ask to see them. The practice of keeping such lists on file indefinitely and opening them to all and sundry was beaten down recently at The University of Chicago. Several years of mounting student pressure on the administration finally forced an agreement to keep the lists in a safe, and to destroy them at the end of the academic year. The requirement for such lists itself, however, remains an undemocratic one, and has been fought on many campuses, notably at The College of the City of New York.

Administration officials are also in the habit of opening students' personal files to the ideological flatfeet. The University of Chicago for years maintained a special room in its Administration Building for the convenience of visiting investigators in rifling through the files which contained such information as the impressionistic jottings of various teachers and administrators on the social and academic idiosyncrasies of the student.

While the California precedent is an encouraging one, and should be extended to campuses throughout the country, the gravest threat to academic freedom remains the proclivity of administrations to smooth the feathers of various governments and corporations.

Perhaps the best way for students to begin the fight on both these practices is to institute a questionnaire for teachers and administrators asking what they do when confronted by an investigation of their students. If they are willing to convey information to outside snoopers, they will surely have no objection to giving the same information to the students, who are, after all, the only reason for their existence.