

End Conscription; Free U.S. Youth From Militarism

(The following letter was presented to the public hearings on the draft extension held by the Senate Armed Services Committee, March 3-5. The proposed draft bill, which would extend the draft for four years, was passed by the House on Feb. 5.)

To Sen. Richard B. Russell
Chairman, Senate Armed Services
Committee

Dear Sir:

We urge the members of the Senate to defeat the proposed four-year draft extension for the following reasons:

1. Even according to those who consider the present military establishment of the United States necessary, a large standing army is useless. The need for large forces has been made obsolete by the existence of guided missiles. Military experts in the Pentagon testify to this; as does Duncan Sandys, British Defense Minister, who gave this as a reason why the British Government will end the draft next year. In this age of nuclear warheads, in which a third of the nation's cities could be

completely demolished in one-half hour, what kind of "defense" would mean anything?

It should be obvious, therefore, that to disrupt the lives of millions of American young men, to tear them from their homes, their schools, and their jobs, cannot be justified on the grounds that it is necessary for defense purposes.

2. In its provision for the deferment of men who are getting an education—which in many cases means that a student could be deferred until the age of 26 and thus escape the draft altogether—the bill discriminates against those in the lower economic brackets. The cost of higher education has skyrocketed during the past decade; existing scholarships and loans do not begin to wipe out the inequity.

3. The draft extension increases the danger of thought control. Every young man from 18½-26 years of age (some five million) faces a political screening before he enters (or is rejected from) military service. This screening is based on his entire pre-induction history. During the entire period of reserve duty, furthermore, he is under surveillance for any "questionable" political activity.

Thus the military apparatus has in its grasp the political associations of millions of men and boys before, during, and after actual military service. Those rejected for service because of "subversive" associations are branded for the rest of their lives, and find themselves barred from large numbers of jobs. Such procedures are repugnant to the best American tradition, which values the right of free association without being questioned, hounded or persecuted.

An extension of the draft, moreover facilitates the growing encroachment of the military into every aspect of American life. This is especially dangerous in the schools and colleges, where the untrammelled investigation of all ideas, however unpopular some of them may be, is essential to the educational process.

4. The vast sum allotted to military spending—roughly 70 per cent of the Federal budgets—is unnecessary. The young people of America would far prefer that this money be used to provide a complete education for all, to increase teachers' pay and improve school facilities, and for better health and recreational facilities, rather than for wars and "police actions" about which they were never consulted.

WHY THE DRAFT

Why, in view of the inutility of the draft extension for military purposes, does it find the unanimous backing of the Administration and the leaderships of both parties? First, peacetime conscription ties up some two and one-half million men who would otherwise be competing with the five million already unemployed for non-existent jobs. Add to this the 70 per cent of the Federal budget allotted to war purposes, and the 20 per cent of all production which is geared to war, and it can be seen that a severe economic crisis would result from the remov-

(Continued on Page 3)

Cal Students Support Socialists' Campaign Against Discrimination

(Youth generally play a very minor role in elections in this country. However this spring socialists are doing more than any one else to put the focus on the need for greater participation in electoral activity on the part of young people. In our last issue we reported on Peter Buch, a UCLA student, and his campaign for a seat on the Los Angeles Board of Education. On page 3 we have an article by Harriet Talan, a student of Wayne University, who is running in Detroit for the Wayne Board of Governors. Below are two dispatches sent to us by a Bay Area supporter Joe Black dealing with the activities of socialists to get an anti-discrimination housing bill passed, which have now received the support of an important section of student opinion in the area.)

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 26—The University of California's student political party unanimously endorsed the initiative to outlaw discrimination in housing at its General Assembly meeting tonight.

After hearing a report of Don Mullen—one of the proponents of the measure — SLATE not only forthrightly declared its support for the measure, but also immediately established a working campaign committee.

This action by SLATE means a major step forward in the rallying of a section of the university for the proposed ordinance. United Socialist Action, sponsors of the initiative, also announced that they are running Marion Syrek, Jr. for Berkeley City Council.

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 10—The outstandingly successful initiative petition campaign inaugurated by the United Socialist Action, a group of socialists of several hues who believe in joint socialist electoral activity, forced the issue of racial discrimination in housing on the Berkeley City Council. The meeting that the Council held tonight turned out

(Continued on Page 3)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

VOL. 2, NO. 6

March, 1959



Kathryn Turner, 11, one of the five Negroes admitted to William Ramsay Elementary School in Alexandria, Va. on Feb. 10, waves good-bye to some of her classmates after classes. Integration finally came to this community last month and it came quietly and with no trouble.

Protests Free 'Kiss Case' Boys; Youth March Movement Rolls

by Jim Lambrecht

Hanover Thompson, 10, and Fuzzy Simpson, eight—jailed for being kissed by a white playmate in racist-dominated Monroe, North Carolina—are free. Five months ago they received indefinite sentences to the N.C. state reformatory with a comment from the presiding judge that they would stay three "possibly until they are 21." Only one month ago the Superior Court in Raleigh, N.C. reaffirmed this sentence, denying a legal action filed in their defense.

Yet on Feb. 13 they were released and are now with their mothers in Charlotte, N.C. How did this happen? The record—despite the cover-up legal gyrations of the N.C. authorities—is clear. Their release was forced by a giant international wave of protest.

FROM MONROE TO ROTTERDAM

Building a "massive movement of protest" was the declared purpose of the newly-formed Committee to Combat Racial Injustice that sparked the campaign to free Hanover and Fuzzy. Dozens of church, trade union and youth organizations heard speakers on the case. The CCRI initiated a nationwide petition drive, sponsored

protest meetings and rallies involving other groups, issued a great number of press releases and held national and international press conferences to keep public attention focused on the case. As the campaign developed the national NAACP offered its support and took over the legal aspects of the case.

Two major CCRI actions were just beginning when the boys were freed. In New York a picket line-demonstration around the United Nations was being prepared for the following week by the Youth Committee to Free Hanover and Fuzzy, youth division of the CCRI. In Cleveland, Ohio Rob-

ert F. Williams, chairman of the CCRI, was presenting the facts to a trade union audience—part of a scheduled national tour that included union audiences in Chicago, Detroit and the Twin Cities.

Letters of protest poured into Raleigh in such quantities that according to a Carolina news columnist hostile to the Committee, it took "five hours of this reporter's time just to leaf through them." Thousands signed petitions demanding the immediate release of the boys; similar campaigns were carried on in England, Italy, China, Scandinavia, France, Belgium and Holland.

The release of the boys represents a concession on the part of North Carolina authorities, who have conceded, however, only what was forced out of them. Still hanging over the boys is the original charge of "assault on three white females." The official reason for their release was that their home conditions had been improved.

CCRI leaders have announced plans to follow through with the campaign until North Carolina clears the boys' record completely. Information and petitions demanding that the boys' names be cleared may be obtained from the CCRI at Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

TREACHERY IN THE COURTS

Success in the "kissing case" can only be ascribed to the active protest of thousands of people, and not to the "justice" of the courts. The CCRI program — supplementing court action with mass action—stems from a recognition of the betrayals of the court system. This betrayal became clear nationally when the Supreme Court, highest in the land, implicitly deversed its 1954 desegregation decision by granting constitutionality to the Alabama "Pupil Placement," which evades desegregation by ill-concealed indirection. That opened the floodgates

(Continued on Page 2)

40% of Students Oppose H-Tests

A nationwide survey of campus opinion just concluded by a national press service shows that opposition to the testing of nuclear weapons is growing among college students.

Fully 40 per cent of America's college youth gave a resounding "no" when asked if nuclear tests should continue, a 500 percent increase over the number who felt similarly last year. Ten per cent are undecided and 50 per cent believe tests should continue.

When polled in 1957, college students felt this way: 88 per cent believe testing should continue; eight per cent thought it should stop; and four per cent were undecided.

The survey was conducted by Associated Collegiate Press, a co-operative news service made up of college newspapers. All parts of the country were represented in the polling.

"The Atomic Energy Commission periodically assures the public that the radiation level is still much below the maximum safe dosage," says the ACP report which was released with the poll results. "But just as periodically, reputable scientists renew doubts with announcements, for instance, that radioactivity in certain local areas has passed the safe dosage."

What's the cause of the big switch in college student's opinion? Besides the fact that such noted people as Albert Schweitzer and Linus Pauling have expressed opposition to bomb testing, student SANE groups have sprung up on many campuses.

DISCUSSION:

Is 'Peaceful Coexistence' Peace?

Dear Editors:

In answer to the letter by A. Robert Kaufman: I believe he is correct when he says "We would have a depression far greater than the one of the Thirties" if the arms race were ended. And he would be unimpeachably correct if he replaced "coexistence" with the word "peace" in the final sentence of his letter, "It might very well be that we can hasten the downfall of capitalism through the popular demand for (co)existence." The action of people for peace is ultimately action against capitalism.

What is the difference between "peaceful coexistence" and "peace?" In Kaufman's letter, no difference is demonstrated. The two terms can be interchanged.

But when Kaufman uses the term "coexistence" he is liable to be misunderstood. In real life there is a difference. The slogan "peaceful coexistence" is put forward by the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy. They have their own content for it, however, even though many equate it with the demand for peace.

What does it really mean? In this country it means that the Communist Party is to play the role of slowing the workers in their struggles. Proof: The use of the strength of the CP—and a few years ago, though small it was meaningful—to ensnare the work-

ers in the Democratic Party, thus dissipating the energies of many militants and radicals. During the last imperialist war, the CP was on the side of the bosses in enforcing no-strike pledges while exploitation and wage-freezes were stepped up.

In France, it meant the refusal of the Communist Party to wage an effective struggle against the capitalist class there. Instead, the CP was in a coalition with these same capitalist class representatives who continued the Algerian colonial massacre. When the revolts of the Algerians and the growing resentment of the French became a threat to French capitalism, these politicians—Pflimlin and Co.—with the help of the CP, turned the government over to deGaulle and his nascent fascist movement. Pflimlin had pretended to be opposed to deGaulle, but at the same time shipped arms and supplies to the very people who were the foundation of deGaulle's movement. And the CP—"fell for"—the pretense of Pflimlin and supported him as the "bulwark" against deGaulle.

Why does the CP, as the examples show, betray the working people in their struggles? Very simply: It is in the interest of the Soviet bureaucracy to do so. By the method of offering the CP's of the different countries to

help maintain capitalism, the bureaucracy is able to effect deals with the capitalists in these countries that they believe are to their advantage: They want to be left alone to rule and exploit the Russian people. If the capitalists, in turn, should not live up to the deals, the CP suddenly becomes "radical."

This is the meaning of "peaceful coexistence." It means exactly what it says: Capitalism in the capitalist countries, and in return, "peace" for the Russian, Chinese and Eastern bureaucracies to maintain their sordid rule. Chewed, stretched and flavored to taste better, the Soviet leaders have made this policy of stepping on the working people sound like "peace."

The only "peaceful coexistence" that is possible is between socialist nations. The capitalists will break their agreements and go to war whenever that is more profitable to them, and the whole "cause" of the Soviet bureaucracy, if followed, will have served to disarm and mislead the working people into a terrible trap when the time for struggle comes to pass. The only cause of merit is for peace and peace alone, with all it entails, without maneuverings, and without watering down the other needs of the people.

Robert Black
Detroit

'Kiss Case' Boys Free; Youth March Rolls . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

for a number of other Southern legislatures, including Virginia's, who are now preparing similar legislation.

If the Courts, including the Supreme Court, can become playthings of racism and its pressure, no other course remains for the Negro people but to organize a counter-pressure outside the courts.

BUILD THE MARCH!

This popular vote of "no confidence" in the courts with a consequent response to appeals for massive movements of protest, has reached national proportions. In 1957, 35,000 Negroes made a march on the nation's capital called the "Prayer Pilgrimage." Barely one year later 10,000 young people conducted a "Youth March for Integration" down Constitution Avenue to the Lincoln Memorial.

Now another march has been scheduled for April 18, reinforced this time by a drive to gather one million signatures on petitions demanding the enforcement of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Three hundred New Yorkers attended a kick-off canvassers' rally here on February 14, where Youth March leaders announced that thousands of petitions had been mailed to every campus in America.

One indication of the scope of this movement is the formal support it has won from the NAACP, George Meany and Walter Reuther, who did not endorse the first march. NAACP youth councils and campus chapters in New York are already taking reservations for buses. Some are pushing the petition campaign. Builders of the Youth March should contact these youth groups everywhere and attempt to include them in their activities. The trade unions should be urged to sponsor buses for the March and to spread Youth March information through every local. District 65, one of New York City's largest unions, made a major contribution to the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage in this way.

The Youth March committee has revealed that its first run of

50,000 petitions has been exhausted, an additional 50,000 are now coming off the press, and 250,000 more announcements of the petition drive and march have been ordered.

Readers and supporters of the YS interested in the petition campaign and the Youth March can write to Youth March headquarters, 312 W. 125th St., New York, N.Y. for more information.

EXTEND THE MARCH MOVEMENT!

By this spring, then, a total of three major mass mobilizations for civil rights will have been launched on the federal government in Washington. All three are a tribute to the militancy and consciousness of the Negro people. In no other way than by this massive protest could the inactivity of the government have been so thoroughly publicized and exposed. But despite the exposure, the government hangs tough and the courts continue to give in to the racists. Both have a much higher resistance to the pressure of the Negroes than to that of the racists, because the racists are a part of the status quo in this country, while the Negroes fight for change.

The government is also part of the status quo; its power is based to some extent on a segregated South. The Republican political machine, for instance, is backed by Northern Big Business in whose interests segregation works because it keeps Southern labor divided, impotent and cheap. The Democratic political machine also relies on Big Business and in addition counts a significant part of its votes among the Southern racist Dixiecrats. With such deep roots in the status quo it is no wonder government has not responded to the pressure of the various marches on Washington.

Then how can that pressure be increased or at least more effectively directed? The answer lies in political mass action, an extension of the generalized mass actions of recent years. This means the creation of a new party based on the Negro people in their struggle for civil rights. With such a

political instrument, everyone who fight for civil rights anywhere in America—not just those able to go to Washington—will be able to exert pressure on the government. Through a new political party, which will drive a wedge into government that will endanger the positions of the present political machines, the pressure of the Negroes will be really felt in Washington. If it is good to exert mass pressure outside the courts, it is even better to exert it outside the two parties that stand behind them.

NEED LABOR PARTY

The new party would be weakened in the long run if its supporters were restricted to Negroes, a numerical minority as opposed to whites. Negroes should seek the backing of a section of the white population, and primarily that of labor. Labor suffers from the rule of the Democrats and Republicans in much the same way that Negroes do. A divided Southern working class threatens working-class unity everywhere. A non-union South provides an area of retreat for Northern Big Business when Northern labor presses too hard; lack of union traditions in the South has made it a recruiting ground for scabs and strike-breakers. Big Business, standing behind both political machines, has no more natural enemy than organized labor, whose wages must come out of Big Business' profits. Thus, much of the anti-Democrat and anti-Republican program of a new party of Negro rights would be attractive to labor, many of whose members are also Negroes.

A new party of labor and Negro rights would serve as a permanent national center for organizing militant struggle against racial injustice and in defense of its victims; it would be a standing threat to racists everywhere. Through the new party such a pressure on the present Big Business racist-backed government would be generated that no government on earth could withstand it, for it would be the united pressure of the majority of the people in America.

Young Socialist

Tim Wohlforth, Managing Editor

Allen Taplin, Business Manager

Editorial Board: Bert Deck, George Payne, Tim Wohlforth, Richard DeHaan, James Lambrecht, Martha Curti, Allen Taplin.

Corresponding Editors: Philadelphia—Neil Miller; 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; Boston—Pete Camejo; Earlham College—Charles Love; Canada—Cliff Cotton; Britain—James Downs; Germany—Wolfgang Kaiser.

Roaming Correspondent: Shane Mage. Western Representative: James Robertson.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year, \$5.00 for six months. Bundle rates: \$7.00 for first 100 copies, \$5.00 for each additional 100. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone EN 2-3722. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

Vol. 2, No. 6

401

March, 1959

Youth Festival in Vienna

The past 12 years of cold war has had its divisive effect on the students and youth of the world. International solidarity of youth of all countries in defense of student's interests, of the colonial peoples and of the interests of the working people has broken down.

The two major world organizations of young people are the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) with headquarters in Paris, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) with headquarters in Budapest. The location of the two groups gives an indication as to their general political coloration.

Paris is indicative of dying capitalism, which in its death pangs, throws up another Bonaparte to run the country and conducts a bloody war against the Algerian people. Budapest, more than any other city in the Soviet orbit, represents the degeneration of socialism under the "leadership" of the Russian bureaucracy. For it was in Budapest that the Soviet Union turned its tanks and guns against the working people who were fighting for a democratic socialism.

Preparations are now under way for the Seventh World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna July 26 to August 4 this summer. The youth festival is sponsored by some 40 youth organizations including WFDY but also including organizations with considerable divergent points of view from the WFDY. The purpose of the Festival is to promote international understanding and friendship. Young people of all points of view are specifically invited to attend and no restrictions are put on the presentation of any political or religious viewpoint. Those young people from the U.S. who attended the last World Youth Festival in Moscow attest to the fact that they were free to exchange their views with other young people from all over the world. One participant read the UN report on Hungary to persons gathered openly in the streets of Moscow.

Because of the successful response in this country to the last festival and the interest engendered in the new one among young people all over this country a campaign is now being waged to frighten people out of participating in the Festival using the old worn techniques of "red-baiting." An "Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival" has been set up in Cambridge, Mass., with the financial aid, it is reported, of two wealthy Bostonian blue-bloods. This group is propagandizing the American campus with the aim of preventing any official representatives from being sent to the Festival from this country. It attacks the Festival for advancing such "propagandistic slogans" as "solidarity of youth," "peace and friendship," and "the horrors of nuclear war." As every intelligent American knows, if you are against "the horrors of nuclear war" and for "peace and friendship" you certainly must be a "subversive!"

This campaign against the Festival is being supported not only by conservatives, like those financing it, but "liberal" and "socialist" organizations also. For instance, the social democratic youth, the Young People's Socialist League, have attacked the Festival as have the Students for Democratic Action.

We, on the other hand, feel there is nothing subversive in peace and nothing to be feared from discussion with young people of all lands. We feel that those who fear such discussion and cooperation are those who fear the end of the cold war—those who are profiting from a situation under which we spend 40 billions a year for armaments and 15-20 per cent of our production is dependent on war.

The YOUNG SOCIALIST urges all young people in this country who are independent enough to make up their own minds, who refuse to be told who they can associate with and with whom they can discuss, to resist this "red-baiting" attack on the Youth Festival and to give their support to this effort toward international cooperation of youth.

The Youth Festival is not the solution to the problems of world peace. The world will be faced with the threat of war as long as capitalism stands. But the Festival can be useful in promoting the type of cooperation among the youth of the world that can lead to young people becoming an effective force for peace and in defense of the colonial peoples and working people of all lands.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

- ANNAPOLIS: c/o Bob McCormick, Box 16, St. John's College.
BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, c/o A. Robert Kaufman, 2738 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703.
BAY AREA: Young Socialist Alliance, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley, E. V. Debs Club, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley, Mark Twain Club, 196-A Connecticut St., San Francisco.
BOSTON: c/o Camejo, 405 Monroe, MIT, Cambridge.
CHICAGO: Young Socialist Committee, c/o Calnek, 1501 E. 68 St.
DENVER: Young Socialist Club, Box 724.
DETROIT: Young Socialist Committee, c/o 3310 Cortland.
LOS ANGELES: Young Socialist, Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.A. 54.
MADISON, Wis.: Wisconsin Socialist Club, c/o Landau, 1026 Clymer Pl.
MONTREAL: McGill University Socialist Society, c/o McGill Students' Union, 690 Sherbrooke St., W.
MILWAUKEE: Young Socialist Club, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
NEW YORK CITY: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471, Cooper Sta.
OBERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College.
PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, c/o Phelps, Apt. 4b, 3506 Powelton Ave.
PORTLAND, Ore.: Focus, Reed College.
RICHMOND, Ind.: Socialist Discussion Group, Earlham College.
TWIN CITIES: Independent Political Youth, c/o Jean Bradford, 1822 La Salle Ave., Mpls.
TORONTO: Young Socialist Alliance, LE 6-8536.
YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio: Socialist Discussion Club, Antioch College.

Why I Am Running for University Office

by Harriet Talan

(Harriet Talan is Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Wayne State University Board of Governors, four year term. She is a 23-year-old senior at Wayne State and is Secretary-Treasurer of the recently organized Independent Socialist Club.)

"A student on the Wayne State Board of Governors?" That is the question my campaign leaflet asks. It is one of the reasons I am asking people to vote for me.

As a student I want to see the simple, democratic notion of student representation on the university administrative body put into effect. The Board of Governors is the major policy making group. It makes important decisions affecting every single student. Students should certainly have a voice in those decisions.

As a socialist, of course, I have other reasons for undertaking this campaign. I want to bring the program of socialism to my fellow students and to the working people of my state.

Wayne is just another one of the many schools that suffers from the general academic and financial crisis of our educational system. Michigan universities are now threatened with a cut-off of funds if the state cannot do something about its bankruptcy.

Along with the other socialist candidates, I intend to show that the source of this crisis is to be found in capitalism's war economy. Our platform calls for converting the \$40 billion national war budget into 40 billion dollars for schools, public works and other socially useful projects.

We are counterposing this program to the current "soak the

poor" tax schemes offered by both Michigan Democrats and Republicans. We oppose all taxes on family incomes under \$7,500 a year.

END THOUGHT CONTROL

If our cultural and academic levels are to be raised there must also be an end to thought control and intimidating loyalty oaths. Faculty positions must be open to teachers who feel free to tell the truth about socialism and capitalism. We want an end to the misrepresentation and distortion of Negro and labor history now prevalent in our schools to

ties available for retraining of workers displaced by automation.

Many students seeking jobs and housing are discriminated against because they are Negroes or members of other minorities. We want the universities to bring maximum pressure to bear on bigoted landlords and employers. We want to wipe out all vestiges of racial discrimination in campus housing, fraternities, sororities, and in other places.

GIVE STUDENTS CONTROL

Administrators and the politicians of the capitalist parties fear student representation on a body like the Board of Governors as they don't want students to govern their own affairs. We want the veto power taken away from the presidents, deans and faculty. Student governments should be granted full autonomy in student affairs.

We believe that everyone is entitled to a free college education. We are not impressed by the argument that there is not enough money. There is plenty of money for education, decent schools and equipment, adequate pay for teachers and much more that is vitally needed.

These are Liberals?

On March 2 the "liberals" in the Democratic party demonstrated just what sort of liberals they are. Approving a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Francis E. Walter, head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, they effectively reinforced the "organizing" clause in the Smith "Gag" Act. The supreme court in 1957 freed five Californians and ordered new trials for nine others who had been convicted on this clause.

A single objection by one of the "liberals" could have prevented this bill being called out of committee. The bill was passed without debate or dissent. WHERE WERE THE LIBERALS?

which Peter Buch called attention in the February YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Joblessness in Detroit has reached vast proportions and is still on the increase. We want the universities to make their facili-

All that stands in the way is capitalism's profit-hungry war economy. The organization of a mass labor party by the American worker could easily overcome this obstacle.

I probably won't get elected to the post I am seeking. The Socialist Workers Party is still a small minority group. But the chance this campaign will give me to talk to many students and working people is more than sufficient to explain why I am running for the Wayne State Board of Governors.



Cal Students . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

to be very "educational." To the assembled body of citizens it demonstrated quite clearly all of the vacillation and hypocrisy that we had come to accept, in theory at least, to be the character of our "legally constituted" legislative representatives, when confronted by an issue which had behind it popular support, and which would clash with vested interest.

The petition was for an ordinance which would make illegal any racial or religious discrimination in the renting, leasing, and selling of housing in Berkeley. The initiative, which carried 2,367 verified signatures, far more than the 1,400 required, met with the public opposition of the top regional leadership of the NAACP, and the somewhat less than public opposition of the Democratic Party, the SP-SDF, the Communist Party, and other such "liberals."

Although the members of the City Council could not bring themselves to express any open disagreement with such a fundamentally democratic demand before the unprecedentedly large audience that came to witness their debate, they could neither openly support it.

HEMMING AND HAWING

They acted, tonight, with striking unanimity. They hemmed together; they hawed together. One councilman, a Mr. T. J. Kent Jr., a renowned "liberal Democrat" currently being groomed for further advancement into the loftier reaches of the political arena, first suggested that the petitioners withdraw their initiative. This, he was told by the City Attorney, could not be done. He was flatly told by Don Mullen, the spokesman for the measure before the

Council, that this would not be done.

Another of our illustrious City Fathers said, after they began to realize that they could only pass the bill as it was presented to them, or vote to place it on the ballot of the city elections in April, "you presented this petition so as to trap the Council." He argued that it was submitted too late for them to "adequately consider" the matter. He ignored, however, that USA had complied with all of the requirements of the State Election Code and the City Charter, and that there were fully two months between the time the petition was submitted.

THE BUCK PASSES

At long last, after much of the same kind of squirming, of desperate looking-for-a-way out, and of righteous blustering, the Berkeley City Council boldly faced the issue. They voted to place it before the electorate — the only legal alternative they had to passing it themselves.

It came as no real shock to those witnessing the debate that not one voted against this gracious passing-of-the-buck.

Throughout the discussion it was increasingly evident that the Councilmen were unanimous in not wanting to take any definite stand, particularly one which would be in favor of such a law.

The net result of the meeting tonight were that the hopeful were disillusioned; the skeptical were confirmed in their skepticism; and both were embittered. There came also the realization that United Socialist Action, and the minority communities in general, were going to have a struggle on their hands to win this basic demand for equality; and the determination to win that struggle in the April municipal elections.

End Conscription; Free Youth from Militarism . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

ing of the war props from the economy.

Second, the draft and the whole military apparatus is needed to perpetuate a war atmosphere, and thus to justify to the people the huge military budget and the foreign policy. The "defense of the free world" against the "Soviet threat" is the rationale for this foreign policy. The reality is precisely the opposite of this claim. On the first part—the "defense of the free world": is this "free world" the world of Chiang, Rhee, Franco, and all the other dictators the U.S. has kept in power against the wishes of the people? Is the State Department's unstinting support of France's suppression of the Algerian people

the way to freedom? The U.S. Government lines up every time, not on the side of freedom, but on the side of colonialist oppression.

On the second part—the "Soviet threat": is the Soviet Union bombarding islands three miles off our coastline? Is our country surrounded by Soviet bases? Does the Government's action in Quemoy really constitute an act of "defense"? The State Department seems to be living in a looking-glass world. As this paper stated when the U.S. Marines were sent to Lebanon, "How long do they think they fool people that aggression is defense, that subversion is aid and and suppression is freedom?"

THE ALTERNATIVE

What plan then, do socialists

have to offer as a way to "defend the free world"?

1. Put an end to military conscription.

2. Fight the political screening of youth in connection with military service.

3. Fight for a socialist America. With a planned economy, the nation would not require a gigantic military expenditure to keep the economy going. Billions of dollars would be released for humane and useful purposes.

A socialist America, with the political power in the hands of the people who do the work, could extend a hand of friendship to people throughout the world. It would help to raise the standard of living of backward nations to an extent hitherto undreamed of. It would side unequivocally and without qualification with all the progressive struggles in the world—with all the movements against imperialism and dictatorship.

The people of the Soviet Union would be inspired by our example; with the end of a military threat from the United States, which serves to justify the existence of the present oppressive bureaucracy, they would throw out Khrushchev and Company and go forward, on the basis of the planned economy which they already have, to establish genuine socialism. In short, the "free world" would be, for the first time, really free.

Editorial Board, YOUNG SOCIALIST on behalf of the students and young working people throughout the country who read and support the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ENCAMPMENT

Fighters For American Labor

. . . lectures by participants in the American class struggle

LABOR AND THE WITCHHUNT

Labor divided—the effect of the witchhunt on the trade union movement. Hear—

Bill Price, formerly on staff of N.Y. Daily News; campaign coordinator for Ind. Socialist Party.

TEAMSTERS

Through civil war in Minneapolis to the organization of the Northwest. A report on the General Strike of 1934 by—

Oscar Coover, teamster.

MIGRATORY FARM LABORERS

In California's factories-in-the-field whole families battled the cops for the right to organize. Hear the story from—

Fred Halstead, labor journalist.

SEAMEN

Merchant seamen clash with government to win labor's rights. The role of capitalist state in maritime by—

Tom Kerry, former maritime organizer.

MARCH 21 and 22

at

Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey

For information: phone EN 2-3722 or write YS Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y.C.

Read

The Young Socialist

I want to subscribe (1 year, \$1.00; 6 months, 50c)

I want to become a YS Supporter

(Name—please print)

(Address)

YS. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., N.Y.C. 3

Mike Harrington's 'New Left' Is Old Hat

by Tim Wohlforth

Michael Harrington, "The New Left." New York: Young Peoples Socialist League, 1959. Duplicated.

There is no issue which is discussed more in the socialist movement of the United States these days than electoral policy. This is as it should be, for the main task before the American working class is the building of a political party to represent its interests. Until the working class struggles on the political front with at least as much independence as it does on the economic front there will be little progress in this country.

This goal, the building of a labor party, all sections of the socialist movement (outside of the sectarian Socialist Labor Party) support, at least in words. It is the question of how to achieve the labor party and what the small socialist forces can do today to speed it along that causes the discussion and controversy in radical circles.

A MARXIST APPROACH

There is one approach, which the YOUNG SOCIALIST among others endorses, based on a Marxist analysis of the class structure of the United States. It sees as the basic social classes in society, on the one hand, the capitalist class which owns the means of production, enabling it to control and consume the surplus product of our economy. This class therefore seeks the preservation of the status quo. The working class, on the other hand, owns nothing but its capacity to work. It does not share in the surplus; it suffers from the economic insecurity and has the most to gain from a socialist transformation of society.

In addition there are the intermediate social strata (called the "petty bourgeoisie" by Marx) the small businessmen, the farmers, the middle and lower echelons of management and finally the labor bureaucracy which runs the trade union movement. These strata seek to reconcile the struggle between the two major classes in the interests "of all the people." It is through these strata that the capitalist class exerts its influence over the working class and receives its mass base.

The establishment of a labor party is part of the process of breaking the working class from the political domination of the capitalist class. This political domination is fostered not only by the capitalists themselves but by the

intermediate groupings, the most important being the labor bureaucracy, or "New Men of Power" as C. Wright Mills calls them. The process that will lead to the formation of a labor party will be marked not simply by increased clashes between the working class and the capitalists. The rank and file of the trade union movement will come into conflict also with the conservative bureaucratized trade union leadership that oppose a sharp confrontation with capital on the economic field and even more strongly on the political field.

VOTE SOCIALIST

It is the job of socialists to support the rank and file trade union militants in their battle with the trade union leadership and to give this fight a direction, the goal of forming a labor party. In addition the socialist movement can in the interim, offer to the most advanced elements in the working class the opportunity to vote for a socialist party as a protest against the two capitalist parties.

THE NEW LEFT

Michael Harrington, in his new YPSL pamphlet, offers an approach to electoral action which runs counter to that outlined above. His goal is ostensibly the same as ours, the building of a labor party. However closer scrutiny of his argument reveals that what he really has in mind is something quite different—the formation of a new Liberal party in the United States. This is the real meaning of such phrases as "not a third party of protest, but a real, second party of the people;" his talk of "realigning" the Democratic Party and his constant references to such vague entities as "the New Left," "the democratic left," "the progressive forces."

This new liberal party would most likely be a Democratic Party without the Southern conservative racist bloc. It would be a party in which the bulk of the support would come from the trade union movement but the policies of the party would be determined by the liberals, the lawyers, the party politicians, and the economic forces that exert pressures on this layer of the population.

However, we do not need to speculate on how such a party would look or what it could accomplish. Such a party has already been set up on a state-wide level in Michigan and in a few other Northern states. What has been accomplished for the interests of labor in these states? Very little. Today the unemployed in Michigan are planning to hold a protest demonstration at East Lansing in order to demand that the governor "Soapy" Williams take action in behalf of the 328,000 unemployed in the state. In New York State, this "liberal" party, with no Southern racists gave us a governor who intensified the witchhunt and a mayor in New York who went so far to express his liberality as to accept a medal from Franco.

It is obvious that such a liberal party would be perfectly acceptable to the labor bureaucracy as it would not mean a head on confrontation of labor with capital on the electoral area. Labor would supply the votes and the middle class elements would provide the program. The creation of a genuine labor party would not be one bit closer. Labor would have to break from this new "progressive" party before it could move ahead.

OPPOSES SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

Harrington's tactics for the socialist movement today flow from

this goal. For instance he opposed "The theory of always running socialists where it is possible." This, in his mind, "will have the effect of counterposing the socialists to the best of the conscious workers and their allies who are backing the candidate of the labor movement." The "candidate of the labor movement" means those Democratic Party candidates endorsed by the trade union bureaucracy. We, on the other hand, feel that it is precisely in opposing labor endorsed Democrats that we can expose the incorrectness of supporting the Democratic Party.

This goal, the forming of a new liberal party, also explains Harrington's emphasis of "insurgent" groupings within the Democratic Party, and his insistence on including in his party socialists who support the Democratic Party.

Harrington writes his views on this subject with the flair of someone who has just discovered something "new," the result of "creative thinking freed from sectarian sterility." What Harrington peddles, however, has been on the market for years. As one example I refer the reader to the 1924 La-Follette campaign which the SP endorsed, a step which the Communist Party exposed as "class

collaborationism" (something the current CP could well study as it also mouths phrases strikingly similar to Harrington's on this topic). Or a more recent example would be the right wing of the Socialist Party which broke away in the 1930's to form the Social Democratic Federation in order to support the "liberal" Roosevelt.

One can even trace the beginnings of the differences between Harrington and the views of the YS to the very founding of the Marxist movement in 1848. For in his analysis of the 1848 revolution in Europe Marx stressed the necessity of the workers breaking from the petty bourgeois parties and forming their own party.

That a question raised in 1848 has not been settled in the United States in 1959 shows the general backwardness of the socialist movement here, a backwardness easily understandable in a period of general isolation for the left and of intense witchhunt against all dissenters. It is hoped that young socialists, at least, will be quick to grasp the lessons of the working class movement on independent class action and not be fooled by Harrington's attempts to dress up "old fashioned" class collaborationism in the form of the "New Left."

Youth Notes

NEW YORK DATELINE: A suit to test the constitutionality of morning prayer in the public schools has begun in Long Island recently. The prayer was recommended for use by the New York Board of Regents although its use is optional. It was adopted in Herrick High School in 1958. More than 250 people came to hear the arguments in court on a petition submitted by the New York Civil Liberties Union stating the prayer violates the principle of separation of church and state. The Conference of Democratic Students protested the requirement that high school students sign a loyalty oath before they can receive their diplomas. The group pointed out that there is no such requirement for students receiving loans, scholarships and fellowships from universities, private industry, or labor foundations. Night school teachers from several New York public high schools waged a bitter battle against the Board of Education for a salary increase. For 25 years the teachers have received \$12.25 a night for four hours' instruction. The majority of students affected by the walk-out and many day session teachers supported or sympathized with the strikers.

CANCER AND CLASS: America's second most deadly killer, cancer, seems to strike hardest in low income groups. A study by the U.S. Public Health Service indicates there was a relatively high incidence rate for the disease among the lowest one-third income group in each of 10 communities surveyed in 1937-39 and resurveyed 10 years later.

ON THE LEFT: Tim Wohlforth's national tour for the YS came to an end with a week-long stay in the Baltimore area the last week of February. During the Baltimore tour 17 talks were given to a total of over 300 people. These included talks at four colleges, one high school, two young Jewish groups, a panel discussion with the United World Federalists, a party and a meeting with YS supporters in the area. The Baltimore Socialist Discussion Group, which sponsored the tour, is now holding classes on the "Communist Manifesto." The Eugene V. Debs Club of Berkeley is holding a class series on "The ABC's of Socialism." It meets every other Thursday at 8 p.m. at 2431 Dwight Way. The Young Socialist Alliance in New York has just finished a class on the "Communist Manifesto" and is now beginning one on Lenin's "State and Revolution." The Young Socialist Alliance in Toronto, Canada is now holding semi-weekly meetings and reports increased interest and attendance. Over 55 Philadelphians turned out to a highly successful Negro History Week meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Club at which Jim Lambrecht and Nora Roberts of the YS spoke. The Boston Area Conference of Young Socialists, announced in our last issue, has decided to form an organization and is also launching a discussion bulletin. Peter Buch, the YS supporter who is running for Board of Education in Los Angeles, recently scored the House Un-American Activities Committee for violating the free speech of L.A. teachers. "I am against investigating, screening or firing of teachers because of their ideas," he said. The LA Mirror News gave his remarks a good spread.

WORLD YOUTH: The recent demonstrations against the U.S., centering around the "Time" magazine story quoting a U.S. Embassy official as favoring the dividing up of Bolivia, were led largely by young people. The Ecuador police used sabers against law students in Quito who had joined thousands of unionists in a sympathy strike for the dockworkers of the port of Guayaquil. The first Asian-African Youth Conference, held recently in Cairo, while divided on many issues, was united in opposition to Western Imperialism and in defense of the Algerian Revolution. Students in Paraguay, who had daubed the walls of the city of Asuncion with the slogans "Viva Castro" and "Down with Tyranny" were beaten brutally by police.

MEMBERSHIP LIST FIGHT:

CCNY Students Hire a Lawyer

by Fred Mazelis

NEW YORK—The current year at CCNY has been marked by a definite increase in the level of student interest and activity.

In the Student Government elections in December 1958, the Student Democratic Slate, a newly-organized student party, ran nine candidates. The candidates ran on a platform which called, among other things, for the abolition of compulsory membership lists, the removal of the College's ban on speakers convicted under the Smith Act, and investigations of school cafeteria prices.

The student body, having been presented with a student slate which stands on basic issues, responded by electing eight out of the nine candidates in a total vote substantially larger than the votes in the past number of years.

The focus of much of the interest in student affairs has been the membership list controversy. This question at the College is an old one, dating back to November, 1954, when compulsory membership lists were instituted by the General Faculty. Continued student opposition, centering, of course, around the right of any individual to maintain the privacy of his associations and activities, has never allowed, the question of lists to be forgotten. For five years a changing stu-

dent body has continued to maintain that the list requirement is a fundamental violation of civil liberties. In the spring of 1955 CCNY students registered two to one opposition to compulsory lists in a schoolwide referendum. Five clubs left campus in 1956 rather than submit lists. In the fall of 1957, the American Association of University Professors passed a resolution condemning compulsory lists. Another vote taken at CCNY in December 1957 registered student opposition by a three to one margin. The CCNY Student Council has repeatedly called for the abolition of compulsory lists.

Under the "compromise" regulation in force from November 1957 to November 1958, a club refusing to submit a list of its members could use College facilities but could not receive funds or use the name of the College. The General Faculty voted last November to discontinue this system. A new proposal was passed January. This latest compromise exempts political, religious, and "social action" clubs from submitting lists. They may not receive funds, although they may now use College facilities and name.

The new ruling has undergone several interpretations. The latest official interpretation would allow funds to any sort of club which submits a list, but the funds could

be used for non-political and non-religious purposes only. This in effect would allow funds for all clubs but the funds would still be tied to the lists.

It is this "blackmail" aspect of the new ruling in particular which has moved the Student Council to action. The Council has authorized the Student Government president to take legal action necessary to reverse the ruling. The SC had also appealed to the Board of Higher Education to half implementation of the decision and lost. Now the Council has retained a lawyer to fight the ruling.

In addition to these developments, several campus organizations have shown signs of renewed life. The CCNY Students for a Sane Nuclear Policy has broadened its general activity into the spheres of foreign policy and international issues. They recently held a meeting for I. F. Stone on "The American Economy and the Armaments Race."

Last semester the NAACP chapter joined with the Bronx NAACP in picketing a Sears Roebuck store for a discriminatory hiring policy. This semester the Student Government has set up a Youth March Committee to encourage participation in the projected March on Washington. Last semester 200 students participated. The committee is aiming for 500 this spring.