

# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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CCNY students (upper left) represented one of the larger college groups in the march. Others included the Columbia, Hunter, Queens, Oberlin, and University of Chicago. Two of the youngest marchers (lower left) stand among signs saying "Defend the NAACP from Legal and Illegal Attack!" as they wait for the march to start. Trade union delegations, such as that of Local 62, ILGWU (above), were made up largely of the children of trade union members.

'WE SHALL RETURN 50,000 STRONG':

## 26,000 Youth March for Integration; Ike Plays Golf

by Jack Arnold  
(See Editorial on Page 2)

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18—Today the capital of the USA was the stage for the largest demonstration of American youth this country has ever seen. Marching six abreast, it took over one and one half hours for the marchers to file into the assembly area at the foot of the Washington monument. The Washington police estimated the attendance at 26,000. Throughout the length of the march column, could be heard chanting and singing of songs of freedom both in the traditional folk forms and the newer rock and roll.

Wherever one turned, placards and banners carried by the marchers were visible. In bold and colorful letters their slogans and the various corners of the land from which they had come were indicated. Some came from as far as Los Angeles, others from Chicago, Detroit, and other places in the West and Mid-West. Over 2000 came from the city of Baltimore. Many thousands more were from New York. From Durham, N. C., Virginia, and other cities and states of the South came mixed delegations of Negro and white.

### DOWN JIM CROW

Placards clearly indicated the purpose for which they had come. Such slogans as "Let Freedom Ring," "Integration Now," "It's

Time For Every State to Integrate," or "Down Jim Crow" were prevalent. The temper of at least some of the crowd was expressed by those who said: "We ought to be marching on the White House," or "We shouldn't leave until the President sees us."

Among those participating in the march were Young Socialist Supporters from Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore and 450 copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST were sold to a receptive crowd. A meeting was held in Baltimore that same evening featuring Tim Wohlforth, editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, who spoke on "The Integration Struggle—a Socialist View." A

lively discussion on how the march could have been improved ensued.

The marchers came by bus, car, and plane. They came from the NAACP's, from high schools, colleges, trade unions, and from anywhere else that the slightest whisper of the march had been heard. Very much in evidence were several large contingents from locals of such unions as IUE, UE, UAW, and ILGWU.

### LABOR SUPPORTS

Charles Zimmerman, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee AFL-CIO, in his remarks to the crowd said:

"American labor is in this struggle for civil rights . . . in it to the finish . . . which we hope will be soon. History has shown that the first victims of totalitarian movements are racial minorities, free trade unions, and religious minorities."

For all its impressiveness, the immediate effect of the march was limited. The two major political parties, the Democrats and Republicans, showed their disdain in failure to have any of-

ficial representatives present.

In the absence of any officials of the government, petitions, bearing the names of 400,000 persons, were presented to Congressman Diggs, a Negro Congressman of Detroit. Diggs promised to present them on the floor of Congress.

Those students delegated to appear at the White House to try and see the President were frustrated in this just as they had been in the last march although attempts to arrange a meeting had been made weeks in advance. At the time, President Eisen-

hower was vacationing in Georgia and they were met instead by two of the President's assistants.

Because of the size of the march, Eisenhower apparently felt it necessary to issue a positive statement in opposition to segregation. He sent word that he would never be satisfied until the last vestige of racial discrimination had disappeared in this country.

### PRESS SILENT

The effect of the march on public opinion was likewise limited. Buses headed for the

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### CCNY 'ANSWERS' YS:

## Red-baiting as a Fine Art

by Fred Mazelis

NEW YORK — Some of the "liberal" students at CCNY have a unique way of answering the charge leveled at them in last month's YS that they were engaging in red-baiting: they red-bait us for daring to accuse them of red-baiting.

Over a thousand copies of last month's YS were distributed at the College. The immediate reaction was interest on the part of some students, and a story and editorial in the following day's Campus. The Campus, one of CCNY's two uptown day session papers, carried an article reporting President Gallagher's reply to the YS and an editorial statement. Both alleged that the YS is "affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is on the Attorney General's list."

The YS submitted a statement to the Campus pointing out that the YS was not affiliated with the SWP, but had supporters who were members of the SWP, and others quite distant politically from the SWP. More important than that, we pointed out, was the fact that the Attorney General's

list was utilized by the Campus in an obvious attempt to identify the SWP and the YS in the mind of the reader as "subversive."

We stated, "no mention is made of the fact that this organization was given no hearing and that no evidence was ever presented to justify the listing. No mention is made of the opposition of the American Civil Liberties Union and many prominent liberals to the Attorney General's list."

"This approach we consider to be an excellent case of the use of the red-baiting technique perfected by Joe McCarthy: just a mention of the Attorney General's list is sufficient to smear a group of a publication."

Several days later the YS distributed 1,000 copies of the statement at CCNY and the Campus finally printed our statement. The Campus answered our statement saying that "no inference was drawn from the fact that the SWP is on the Attorney General's list." They also repeated their falsehood about the YS being an affiliate of the SWP.

In last month's issue of the YS, (Continued on Page 2)

### ADMINISTRATION HITS STUDENTS' RIGHTS:

## SLATE Fights for its Life at U. of Cal.

by Jim Petras

BERKELEY—The basic rights of students to free speech and to participate in the political life of their country has been threatened by the Administration of the University of California, here. Leading this onslaught on student civil liberty has been Alex Sherriffs, University Vice Chancellor, who has barred any student off-campus activity.

SLATE, the student political party on campus, recently endorsed Proposition C. This proposition appeared on the Berkeley City ballot in April and would legalize discrimination in housing. The ruling by Sherriffs was directed specifically not only at SLATE's position on Proposition C, but at its life as a student group.

This was only the beginning. Dean of Students Stone stopped a proposed rally in support of the initiative to end housing discrimination in Berkeley.

Dave Armour, former vice-chairman of SLATE, spoke out against Stone: "This ruling is just another way of preventing students from speaking freely on

issues that concern them." He also pointed out the hypocrisy of Stone when he said, "There was no hesitation when it came to actively supporting Proposition Three in the state election." (A proposition which the University favored). To add insult to injury Dean Stone was running for the Berkeley City Council in the same election.

### SLATE RALLY BANNED

SLATE proposed a rally to protest the ban on the Proposition C. rally. Stone refused. Now the issue was not whether or not student groups could discuss "outside matters," it was whether or

(Continued on Page 3)

## 'NO WORK ON H-BOMB':

# We Marched to London for Peace

by Pat Bickers

LONDON—Well over 4,000 people assembled outside the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston, Berkshire, to begin the protest march of 53 miles to London, organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Friday, March 27. Many organizations were represented on the march. Apart from all the dozens of local groups of the C. N. D., there were groups of students from almost every University and College, local Labor Parties, the Progressive League, many religious groups, the most numerous being the Quakers, Communists marching under Peace Committee banners, professional groups and many other organizations, apart from those taking part simply as individuals. Supporters of the Newsletter marched under the Socialist Labour League banner, one of the most impressive in the march, displaying the slogans, "No work on H-bombs!" "No work on rocket bases!"

We reached Reading at about 7:30 p.m. and the marchers dispersed, most of them to local schools and church halls where they were to sleep. By the time the march reached Reading, it had grown to over 5,000 and the town turned out in force to meet us. The next day over 4,000 again started off on the next lap of the march, this time a journey of about twenty miles. Those marching were very tired by the time Slough was reached at about 8:00 p.m., and were incensed by the action of the police, who diverted the march around the back streets so that some of the effect would be lost on those people waiting to see how many there were.

**THE RAIN CAME**

We set off from Slough the next morning and then the rain came. It poured all day long without a stop, but although marchers were wet through after a few hours, nearly 3,000 stuck it to the end and reached Chiswick, the stopping place for the night. We were now in London, and on Easter Monday, the march continued during the morning, stopping in Hyde Park at lunch-time, and finally ending up in Trafalgar Square at about four o'clock. Many thousands more joined us on the last stage of the journey until finally when we marched into Trafalgar Square there were

15,000 of us, welcomed by many thousands more.

The demonstration surprised everybody by its magnitude. The capitalist press certainly had a shock. Last year it hardly featured the march to Aldermaston, which took place then, but this year no paper failed to report fully on the march.

The fundamental weakness of the march was, however, that it was composed almost entirely of middle-class elements. There were very many students, and very few workers. In fact there were no trade union banners until the last day, and then only a handful. This means, of course, that the Government will not be seriously worried by the demonstration, although it convinced many ordinary people who watched us pass that they should do something to help. The Government will only be influenced when it realizes that the working class as a whole is prepared to fight against nuclear weapons and to back up its protests with strike action. If the workers were to black the H-bomb and the bases—hold up work, stop supplies, withhold their labor—the government would be powerless. This is the course of action that marxists must fight for in the Labour Movement.

The attitude of the Communist Party this year was interesting. Last year its daily paper, *The Daily Worker*, hardly mentioned the march to Aldermaston at all and members of the Party were certainly not encouraged to participate in it. This year, however, the *Daily Worker* urged as many of its readers as possible to take part in the march. In fact many did so, but the hypocrisy of the Communist Party on this question is obvious as it does not support unilateral disarmament, and the whole object of the march was to promote this policy.

**NO POLITICS**

A great weakness in the effectiveness of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is its insistence that it remain non-political. To all who think about the matter, and certainly to all Socialists, this is an impossible situation. The H-bomb can only be abolished by political means. If we want to get rid of the H-bomb, we must get rid of the rotten system which has produced it by establishing Socialism.

Although the march has done nothing to change the policy of the Government, we believe it has awakened many people to the dangers of nuclear weapons. We sold over a thousand copies of the "Newsletter" to marchers and people watching, also a "Newsletter Aldermaston Special" which outlined a marxist policy in the struggle against the H-bomb.

We continually stressed to all those we talked to that all who wished to do away with the H-bomb should enter the mass Labor Movement and fight for their ideas there. They should make sure that local Labor Parties do not select any candidates who do not support unilateral disarmament and should press demands for industrial action by workers to force the hand of the government on this issue. If not, the campaign will continue to be ineffectual and we shall deserve the remark of one passer-by in Reading, who, when her companion asked what all these people were marching together for, said, "Oh, I think they're making a film or something."

**CCNY . . .**

(Continued from Page 1)

It was indicated that there would probably be two political parties on the campus, owing mainly to the feeling of some that defense of "purity" of CCNY from allegedly "anti-democratic" forces was the major task at the moment. A new student party was organized recently by most of the same people who initiated the Democratic Forum and Union. The Party of Liberal Students (PLS) and DFU are now rival parties, and presumably will run separate candidates in the May Student Government elections. The two parties agree on basic issues, such as the speaker ban and the membership list controversy. It is unsure, however, as to how much cooperation can be expected. The PLS has not indicated any desire for cooperation.

The red-baiting activities at CCNY uptown have spilled over on to the CCNY downtown campus with the appearance of an article entitled "A Clear and Present Danger" in the *Ticker*, the downtown campus paper. This article argues, by some strange logic, that because of the rise of McCarthy and the witch-hunt in the past period it is now possible for the "Communists" to take over the student government. Far more important the article bears out our conviction that President Buell Gallagher has taken more than an academic interest in the current CCNY student political developments.

The article states, "although he will not admit it, President Buell Gallagher has quietly and effectively given support to members of the Party of Liberal Students. Understandably, Dr. Gallagher cannot take sides in campus political issues. But it is a known fact that the President was none too happy with the prospect of a pro-leftist student government that could cause irreparable damage to both the College, and to himself as well. In addition, the Board of Higher Education has never been known to treat ultra-leftists with a great deal of sympathy."

The students will have a chance in the May elections to show their independence by electing representatives to the Student Council who are more interested in fighting for the students interests than in any possible "damage" they might do to President Gallagher.

# Young Socialist

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May, 1959

## After the Youth March?

On April 18, 26,000 young people from high schools, colleges, trade unions, NAACP youth councils, and church groups gathered in Washington, D.C. in support of full integration of the nation's schools. This was the largest gathering of youth for a political or social purpose in the history of our country.

In spite of the number of young people who felt strongly enough about integration to make the trip to the Capital and the millions across the nation they represented, the actual effect of the march on the government and public opinion was not very great. The President did not feel it necessary to be present. The only member of Congress of either party present was Representative Diggs, a Negro from Detroit who could only promise that he would insert something in the *Congressional Record* about the receipt of 400,000 petitions from the marchers. The press largely ignored the March or buried the story. The only New York paper to report the March was the *New York Times* which put the story on page 64.

That the President, Congress and the commercial press wish to ignore us did not come as a surprise to most of the marchers. We did not expect a warm response from either major party or their press. That is why we felt it was necessary to march in the first place.

But we expected that the weight of our numbers would force Congress and the press to pay attention to us. However, the force of our numbers was vitiated by the way in which the March was organized. We marched not through the center of Washington where the citizens could see our banners and our strength but rather through the center of the Mall where almost nobody noticed that we were there. We marched not to the White House or the Capitol building where the forces we wished to influence were located but rather to a monument dedicated to our first President who wasn't in much of a position to do anything about our present plight and who was a slave-owner anyway.

Following the March we listened to speech after speech from our elders who seemed more interested in proving that they were harmless to the Government than in effecting our goal of integrated schools. A. Philip Randolph even felt it was necessary to drag in the cold war and to urge the audience to destroy radical literature handed them, a statement much too reminiscent of book burning for our taste.

Now is the time to learn from our experience so that the next March can be more effective. We proved on April 18th that we could mobilize a sizable section of American youth around the issue of integration. We must start right away to plan for the next March. It must be bigger than the last but even more important it must be organized so as to be more effective.

We should organize local Marches prior to the Washington March as was done this time in Los Angeles and Minneapolis. This way we can put pressure on all levels of government from the municipality to the President. We should march through the center of Washington and let our ranks be swelled by the bystanders that join us. We should march to the White House and march around and around it 50,000 strong until the President sees us and gives us a concrete promise of executive action on integration. When we meet to hear our leaders let the young as well as the old address the meeting. Let us hear the youth themselves speaking out. It is our March and we should be allowed to be its spokesmen.

April 18 was a fine day for American youth. Every young person who participated in the March can be proud of his role. The next March shall be bigger and more effective. They will listen to us but only when we show them that we are so strong they cannot afford not to listen to us.

## Where We Stand

(This statement was passed at the Detroit Conference of Young Socialist Supporters. See discussion on page 4).

This Conference of YOUNG SOCIALIST Supporters approves the general line of the editorial policies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST as they have been expressed on specific issues in its editorials. The major points of policy can be summarized as follows:

1. For a labor party by the union movement. As an immediate goal, for independent political action through united and independent socialist electoral opposition to the two capitalist parties.
2. Unconditional backing of the fight for full equality by the Negro people and other minorities.
3. Militant opposition to the entire witchhunt with special focus on the witchhunt on the campus and the political screening of youth in connection with military service.
4. Support to the colonial peoples' struggles for freedom and independence. For the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from foreign soil.
5. Advocacy of workers' power as the only progressive alternative to the capitalist drive toward military dictatorship and fascism, a drive recently illustrated by General de Gaulle's placement in power in France.
6. Support to struggles for workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and Peoples Republics such as the Polish and Hungarian workers' revolution. Opposition to attempts of imperialism to reestablish domination over this section of the world.
7. Against further nuclear tests and the build-up of the U.S. war machine. The success of the struggle against the capitalist war danger and for world peace depend upon the success of the struggle for international socialism.
8. For the regroupment of revolutionary socialist youth into an independent, broad and militant national youth organization based on the editorial policy of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

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# 7,000 Unionists Protest Jobless Plight At AFL-CIO Washington Conference

by Nora Roberts

WASHINGTON, D.C. — While President Eisenhower was playing golf in Augusta Wednesday, April 8, 7,000 AFL-CIO delegates met in Washington to demonstrate against the administration's failure to help the nation's nearly 5 million unemployed.

The conference signified a step forward by the labor movement today. The unemployed are now being organized by the unions. In the 30's the trade unions never attempted to organize the unemployed.

This demonstration, brought about by the pressure of the unemployed in Detroit and elsewhere, was to have been a mass protest rally—a real march on Washington—to put forward militant demands that the unemployment problem be alleviated.

However, by the time Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers and Vice-President of the AFL-CIO, responded to the pressure and discussed a demonstration with his President, George Meany, in Puerto Rico, the march on Washington had turned into a meeting at the capital's National Guard Armory with only 15 cities invited. Buffalo, with 12%

of the working force out of work, was not included in the convention.

Delegates were for the most part handpicked, and carefully screened to keep out "leftist" elements. As a result of the union leadership's attempt to regulate the delegates, only about one-third were actually unemployed. The one notable exception to this was Detroit. Mass unemployed rallies, meetings, and demonstrations were held by the UAW members to raise money for unemployed delegates. The union had been given a quota of 900 delegates—it sent 2,000.

Unfortunately, the spirit prevailing among the Michigan delegations was not the one that dominated the conference. The slogan, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, on banners, signs, and buttons on every auto worker's lapel, contrasted with the "for a 35 hour week" buttons worn by business agents and shop stewards from New York.

"30 for 40" adopted by the UAW at its last national convention, was not raised once on the platform of the conference. Even Reuther, who made many militant statements regarding the plight

of the unemployed and what the administration is doing about it, did not raise his union's demand as a possible solution to the unemployment problem.

In his criticisms of the Administration Reuther did not say one word against the Democratic Party which has a large enough majority in Congress to over-ride the President's veto. The Democrats have had a majority for some time and are as responsible as the Republicans for the refusal of Congress to extend unemployed benefits for the full period of unemployment.

After listening to Meany and Reuther deliver the key speeches and various union leaders from distressed areas talk about the sad lot of the unemployed the delegates were asked to sit patiently while five congressmen from both parties including Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson, expounded their do-nothing policies which would not alleviate the problem the delegates had come to Washington to protest. Two resolutions, neither of which included the demand for 30 hours' work with 40 hours' pay, were adopted before the delegates were sent home to take the problem up there in "meet the unemployed" meetings.

The next day the Executive Committee of Students took a stand against Stricklin and in support of SLATE. But Stricklin requested (taking up the cudgel from Stone) an injunction against SLATE for "illegal campaigning." After a heated discussion, the Executive Committee recognized the privilege of students to organize as campus political parties. This was another victory in the ever-continuing struggle of SLATE and students to speak freely.

### HUMOR OUTLAWED

While SLATE was being attacked, the editors of Pelican, the student humor magazine, resigned and formed their own magazine. Their magazine concluded that the University cracks down on all attempts to be creative . . . and objects to the right to laugh at sex, politics, and religion.

An unexpected boost to the SLATE cause occurred when an informal opinion by the State Attorney General's Office confirmed that SLATE campus political party cannot be prohibited from engaging in off-campus political activity. In bitter irony on the same page as this was reported, it was announced that Dean of Students Stone had just won in the city election.

Lest there may be any "satisfaction" with the state of conditions at U.C., a closed-door committee on Student Conduct continues to investigate the "rally." The prosecutor-chairman is a professor. He said the purpose of the committee was to investigate the rally, find out if any University regulations were violated, and, if so, to determine the guilty parties and take appropriate disciplinary action.

Thus our noble professors, so zealous for their academic freedom, serve as prosecutors for the bureaucracy of the University. With campus elections coming up soon, SLATE has become the pivotal point. The students must decide either to vote for student freedom (SLATE) or for Papa Bureaucrat and his gladhand cohorts, the Fraternity fellows.

As a close, let us make a collection ("truth dollars") and get the State Department to broadcast the "Voice of America"—the voice of freedom into the living rooms of all the Chancellors, Deans, Presidents, etc.—all in jest of course.

# Youth Notes

NEW YORK: In commemoration of Academic Freedom the Queens College Faculty Commity on Student Activities and Services has made a proposal to ban both student newspapers, Rampart and Crown, and replace them with one newspaper with an editor-in-chief selected by a faculty committee. There will also be a faculty adviser selected by a faculty committee to give "guidance" to the paper. The future of the two literary magazines, Spectrum and New Poems is also being decided. Evidence points to the proposal's adoption to the College's Faculty Council. Almost every other college newspaper in the city is outraged by the censorship and student demonstrations are being organized to protest to the Mayor, Board of Education, and the Queens College Faculty Council.

GOD AND MAN AT COLORADO: The University of Colorado Administration's proposal that a Religion Department be established here is confronting a good deal of opposition. The local chapter of the ACLU in looking into the constitutionality of such a move, argues that the department would be illegal according to the Colorado Constitution which states that "No public funds whatsoever shall be used to support any church or sectarian purpose. No religious or sectarian material shall be taught in public schools." Commenting on the University's appeal that it is "behind the times" because of its lack of a Department of Religion, a Unitarian Minister says: "We (the University) have resisted sectarian pressures more strongly than other schools, and so are an outstanding example of sanity in the mad rush for piety that has characterized this nation over the past few years."

ON THE LEFT: Peter Buch, the Young Socialist supporter who was running for Los Angeles Board of Education this Spring, received 22,642 votes. This was close to six per cent of the total vote and a high mark for a socialist candidate in the area in recent years. . . . The University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia now boasts a young socialist club, the Independent Socialist Club. It has been organized on a non-exclusive basis and plans a series of educational activities.

## 26,000 Youth March for Integration . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

march were shepherded into the city in groups with police escort. Even so when they went through the Negro sections of the city they were met with cheers. The march was held in the center of the Mall where it could not be noticed by the citizens of Washington or many tourists. The daily press generally did not mention the country's largest youth demonstration or buried it as did the New York Times.

The marchers listened to several speakers among them Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, the Rev. Martin Luther King, and Tom Mboya, of Kenya, one of the leaders of the great African freedom struggle.

Generally the tone of the

speeches and their content offered nothing new. It was only at moments of the expression of some sort of militancy that the crowd responded. Bayard Rustin, one of the organizers of the march, brought the crowd to its feet.

"On October 25 we came here 10,000 strong and didn't see anybody. We said we would come again, and again, and again, and again.

"We doubled the number and gained admittance. Come with 50,000 and Ike will be in Washington. When we come with 100,000 Congress will sit in special session. With 200,000 the Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court will all be in Washington."

## SLATE . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

not students could discuss anything.

That night SLATE announced that it would definitely hold a meeting at noon the next day at Sather Gate (outdoors). Cindy Lembcke, SLATE chairman, stated that the meeting would take place with or without the approval of Dean Stone.

Amidst University policemen, plain clothesmen, reporters, and photographers from most of the San Francisco and East Bay newspapers, a crowd of over 200 students attended the rally for "Student Freedom of Speech."

The crowd heard Cindy Lembcke, chairman of SLATE, Dave Armour, ASUC representative, and many others. Criticism centered around the banning of the two rallies and on recent University action to prevent University groups taking stands on off-campus issues.

### INVESTIGATE STUDENTS

The meeting was completed without any arrests or stoppage. Students led by SLATE had won the first round of the struggle against the administration and for freedom of speech.

Another factor appeared on the tense California scene. The ASUC



CINDY LEMBECKE  
(Chairman, SLATE)

President, Bill Stricklin, (whose "independent" thinking strangely coincides with bureaucrat Stone's) called for a noon open-air meeting "duly approved by the Dean."

The next day, this "student" representative called for the withdrawal of SLATE recognition (and the subsequent loss of campus facilities).

## Michigan State Students Form Socialist Club

by George W. Cooke  
(Treasurer, MSU Young Socialist Club)

EAST LANSING—The Young Socialists Club of Michigan State University has been granted a one year provisional charter by the MSU Student Congress after months of hard work by club members and periodic setbacks by the Student Government.

The MSU Young Socialists Club, one of the newest and most active groups on the campus, has held weekly meetings since last fall sponsoring public lectures on the history and contemporary problems of socialism given by outstanding professors.

Although several area newspapers gleefully reported that the MSU Young Socialists were grounded through technical difficulties and organized opposition from R.O.T.C. and veterans groups

the MSU Young Socialists Club is very much alive today.

The initial defeat of the MSU club came when the Student Government suddenly rejected the club's petition for a charter on the grounds that graduate students should be excluded from charter membership. Later, enough undergraduates signed the list to meet the requirement. Although students were informed that their names might end up in F.B.I. files and be used against them in future job discrimination, 25 students signed the charter.

In the debate preceding the vote on the bill to grant a provisional charter to the group, members of the Student Congress noted that the MSU Young Socialists have been much more active than most of the chartered campus clubs and that the Young Socialists serve a needed function in the University.

# A GIFT TO YOU

Two Special Issues of THE NATION  
On the Burning Problem of Our Time: Peace

Within the last few weeks, The Nation has published two special issues, each devoted exclusively to the problem of solving world tensions and substituting a true peace for the Cold War.

The first issue, published February 21, is called "If We Want Peace—" and deals primarily with the political aspects of the problem as seen by five expert observers.

The second special issue, dated March 28, is the economic counterpart of the first. For its preparation, Paul A. Baran, Stanford University economist and author of *The Political Economy of Growth*, secured the cooperation of a brilliant team of economists. The editors of *The Nation* have no hesitation in calling the result the keenest, one of the most incisive analysis of the relation between the Cold War and our national economy that has been printed in any magazine in recent years.

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**'YOU MAKE TWO FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS':**

# Peace, Socialism and the American Youth Movement

Dear Editors:

As members of the Wisconsin Socialist Club we support all appropriate efforts for building a unified socialist youth movement in the United States committed to democracy, world peace, the spread of socialist consciousness particularly among youth, the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and against world capitalism in general, and for the socialist transformation of the United States.

The *Young Socialist* has made many fine contributions in this direction. But in the spirit of fraternal criticism we should like to express our belief that the *Young Socialist* has made two mistakes of a most fundamental nature, which can only retard both the establishment of a united socialist youth movement and the cause of world socialism as well. The first is what we consider to be an ideological error, the second an organizational error. In a communication of this scope and limited length we cannot attempt comprehensively to develop each point we make, but we consider it of value to make our position known to you and your readers.

## PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The basic ideological error is the position of the *Young Socialist* and some of its prominent contributors on peaceful coexistence. This position apparently rejects peaceful coexistence as a policy of international class collaboration and betrayal of the world socialist revolution. This represents either a confusion of "class war," the struggle of the working class in alliance with other democratic strata for progressive social change, with military war between states, or else an inaccurate interpretation of the meaning of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence among states with antagonistic interests in the present historical epoch offers the best possibility for diminishing national chauvinism, and revitalizing political democracy by discrediting the "foreign menace" bogey. It also offers the optimum conditions for class struggle. It means pressure for the liquidation of the arms economy, which has been essential to maintaining the political and economic viability of western capitalism; it means better conditions for anti-imperialist struggle throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America; it means the collapse of reactionary military pacts; it means the conditions for the further development of socialist democracy and broad social and economic progress in the socialist nations. In short, peaceful coexistence, in all its ramifications is the most effective program of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

This is the meaning of peaceful coexistence as conceived by Khrushchev and the leaders of the socialist nations. It is not the "class collaboration" concept insisted upon in the pages of the *YS*, and as demonstrated in its statements and policies. Particularly revealing in this connection is the recent series of articles by Walter Lippmann describing Khrushchev's conception of peaceful coexistence: that the western nations must accept and bring themselves into harmony with the 20th century movements for revolution and social progress not only in Asia, Africa, Latin America, but within their own countries as well; that given a period of peace the people

throughout the world will choose and be able more effectively to struggle for socialism against capitalism and imperialism. As Bruce Benton of the *New Statesmen* (March 7, 1959 p 326) points out, "Khrushchev's policy of competitive coexistence is based on four points: the existence of a system of socialist states, the struggle of the colonial peoples which weakens the imperialist positions, the struggle of the working-class movements inside the capitalist system (including that of the social-democrats), plus the internal contradictions of the capitalist system . . ."

The ruling segments of finance and industrial capital in the United States comprehend peaceful coexistence in precisely this way, and remain resolutely determined to keep the cold war running hot; their spokesmen and policy makers plan on "settling down" to a 100 years or more of cold war. Their gravest fear is an equally determined mass movement for peaceful coexistence. To support peace but oppose the words "peaceful coexistence" is therefore either engaging in petty fogging semantics, or belaboring under a fundamental ideological error, from the point of view of anti-imperialism and socialism.

## DETROIT CONFERENCE

With respect to what we consider a fundamental organizational error on the part of the *Young Socialist*: A conference of "Young Socialist Supporters" recently announced a program and the organization of a socialist youth group, declaring that the program and the group constitute the basis of a unified socialist youth movement, or the movement itself. Procedurally and structurally, this is organization from above, (which many of the "YS Supporters" have sharply criticized Communist parties and governments for doing). This action cannot be considered a constructive contribution toward achieving a unified socialist youth movement in the United States, first, because the convention at which the action was taken was not nearly so representative as the convention of a year ago which was unable to agree upon the establishment of a national organization with a common program, and second, because the operating socialist clubs on campuses and in communities throughout the nation were not represented and therefore not involved in shaping the program or establishing the organization. If a genuine united socialist youth movement is to emerge in the United States, it must be done on the initiative of these socialist clubs, by a convention representing them, whereby they participate in the shaping of a common program and the establishment of an organization.

The "Young Socialist Supporters" convention was clearly not of this character. A genuine unified socialist youth movement, in our judgment, will have to be based upon mutual respect and cooperation among representatives of varying socialist perspectives, without recriminations or imputations of insincerity or inability to think freely against those who disagree with *YS* policy, ours, or others! It should also avoid pseudo Left phrase making plus the substitution of revolutionary words for mature socialist content.

We are able to report that the Wisconsin Socialist Club has been and is glad to circulate the *Young*

socialist among its members and other interested persons, just as with all other socialist literature, but it does not consider itself a "Young Socialist supporter." To the extent that the club has been successful, it is because it attempts to present socialism as a compelling alternative to capitalism, and to explore seriously the manner in which socialists may once again, as socialists, enter the mainstream of the political life of the people of the United States, and because it has avoided intramural quarrels while accentuating the possibility and advantages of unified socialist action.

Fraternally,

Saul Landau  
Ronald Radosh  
Steve Scheinberg  
Marty Sklar

## Reply

Dear Comrades:

We welcome the opportunity offered by the letter from the Madison Young Socialists to discuss some important theoretical and political questions facing socialist youth. We further welcome the fraternal spirit in which these young socialists present their views. The *Young Socialist* has, since its first issue, offered its fraternal help and support to clubs such as the Wisconsin Socialist Club even when such clubs do not wish to endorse the *YS* and its views. We present our views on the questions raised by the Madison letter in this spirit.

## PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The question of "peaceful coexistence" raised in the Madison letter is a highly important one. However, much of the discussion centering around this issue has been confused by the different content put into these two words—peaceful coexistence—by different individuals and political movements. Rather than have an abstract discussion that will lead to further confusion, we will discuss "peaceful coexistence" as conceived by Khrushchev and the leaders of the Soviet Bloc.

We are in basic disagreement with Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" which we feel rather than furthering peace in the world is hindering it.

Basically, there are two approaches within the socialist movement to the question of peace. One holds that we must first get peace and then, within a peaceful world, work for socialism. The other holds that we must establish socialism in order to have peace and that the struggle for peace is integrally related to the struggle for socialism. We hold the latter view.

Khrushchev, on the other hand, proceeds from the former view. His foreign policy is based on seeking for a stabilization of the status quo as the road to peace. He hopes that through some sort of "arrangement" with the capitalist powers he can stave off war and develop the USSR in peace. He subordinates the independent functioning of the Communist Parties in all lands to further this general strategic aim.

Thus, during the period when World War II was in preparation, Khrushchev's predecessor, Stalin, first sought an alliance with the "democratic" capitalist nations such as France and England as a "popular front" against Fascism. Every CP in the world gave up any plans for pushing for a socialist reconstruction of its coun-

try and rather formed alliances with its native "democratic" capitalists.

However, this attempt at "peaceful coexistence" didn't work and Stalin felt these "democratic" imperialists were preparing to use Hitler to smash the USSR. So he signed the famous Stalin-Hitler pact aiming at "peaceful coexistence" with fascism. Every CP in the world turned its fire on France, England, and America and white-washed "peaceful" Hitler. This policy of "peaceful coexistence" was, in our opinion, one of the causes of World War II as it prevented the working class in the period of the 30's from coming to power and thus wiping out the basis of war.

More recently Khrushchev has been carrying out a similar policy of vainly trying to offset World War III at the expense of the struggle for socialism. Thus, for instance, in India which has signed a peaceful coexistence agreement with China, the CP refuses to fight Nehru head-on and carries on in CP-controlled Kerala a blatantly reformist policy which would make our Milwaukee-type "sewer socialists" green with envy. Under no conditions does the CP in any colonial country push for a workers' and peasants' government as the fulfillment of the national revolution, not even in Indonesia and Iraq where the mass of the people support the CP. Rather the CP subordinates itself to national bourgeois rulers who, because of their inherent weakness, are willing to "peacefully coexist" with the Kremlin.

The same general policy is applied in the advanced countries so that in France the CP even supported Mollet when he prosecuted the Algerian Revolution for the capitalists in hopes of influencing the social democrats in the direction of "peaceful coexistence." In the U.S. this line takes the ludicrous form of supporting the war-mongering Democratic Party. No matter what form it may take in any individual country the content is uniform—and it is in frank language "class collaboration."

Khrushchev, of course, does not believe he can carry out this policy without making some accommodations for the colonial revolution. This is the meaning of his declarations to Lippmann on revolution being part of the status quo. Rather than aggressively leading the colonial revolution to its logical socialist conclusion, however, the Kremlin prefers to keep it "within bounds"—bounds that the capitalists will "tolerate" if not actively favor.

This world-wide policy of class collaboration in the guise of a fight for peace hampers the real struggle for socialism and peace. It will lead as inevitably to a third World War as the policy in the 30's led to the Second World War unless this policy is aggressively fought within the socialist movement and replaced with a fighting socialist policy of working class struggle.

These are our views on "peaceful coexistence." We have no quarrel with those who use the term as synonymous with the socialist struggle for peace. But we do have basic differences with the policy of "peaceful coexistence" as worked out in life by the USSR and supported by the CP's of the world.

We therefore do not favor the use of the term "peaceful coexistence" which could imply the policy on peace we advocate is the same as that fostered by Khrush-

chev. Rather we support such immediate concrete steps in the direction of peace as: a) unilateral abolition of nuclear tests; b) removal of all U.S. bases from foreign soil; c) recognition of People's China and long term loans to help the economic development of People's China and ease the tasks of the working people and peasantry of the country; d) support to the colonial revolution. At the same time we advocate the replacement of capitalism by socialist regimes in order to remove the basic cause of war—the capitalist system itself.

## DETROIT CONFERENCE

The *Young Socialist* has consistently supported every attempt to unify the socialist youth forces in the United States. Our supporters played an important role in the formation of new broad socialist clubs throughout this country. We were instrumental in bringing about the Midwest Conference of these clubs held in Chicago a year ago February. We have taken an active part in the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education and in every effort for united socialist electoral activity. In addition, we have done what we could to help the formation of socialist clubs on campuses. In fact, we continue to publish a directory of such clubs so that interested young people will be able to find a socialist youth group to participate in.

After a year and a half of publication and active socialist work, the *YS* has attracted around itself a body of young people who support the paper financially and who agree with the basic political viewpoint of the paper. We felt that we should formalize the control of the paper by these people—its supporters. We therefore called a conference in Detroit for this purpose. At this conference we adopted a basic political policy statement (see page 2), organized our supporters and advanced the conception of launching a full fledged independent youth movement in this country. It was our opinion that such a youth movement must have a political program if it is to have the cohesiveness to function at all. We offer as a basis of such a program our policy statement. We feel this is a very broad statement that can include a number of different points of view. However, we feel it is a principled statement which makes clear our basic socialist convictions and our solidarity with the working people of all lands in their struggles.

We therefore feel that your criticisms of our actions flow from a misunderstanding of them. We have not set up any definitive organization. We do feel, however, that our supporters will play an important role in any future united socialist youth movement. And, finally, we suggest our program as a basis of discussion as to the political program of such a movement. We would like to hear any views you may have on this program or any alternative views you may favor.

In the meantime, we can all continue in our joint project of bringing socialist ideas to the American student and struggling against the disastrous course of the U.S. government in world affairs.

Fraternally,  
Young Socialist  
Editorial Board