

Negroes Answer Terror with Arms, Wave of Protest

by Jack Arnold

The lynch murder of Mack Charles Parker, a 23-year-old Negro held in a jail in Poplarville, Miss., on flimsy charges of having raped a white woman, represents a new outburst of the wave of terror being directed at the Negro people in the United States. This wave of terror is the racist answer to the growing and impressive list of mass protests and victories rolled up by the Negro people in their struggle for full equality and civil rights.

This terroristic attack, instead of having the desired effect of intimidating the Negro people, is having just the opposite effect. Already the Negroes are answering back with armed defense guards, student strikes and even plans for a March on Mississippi.

Just a few days after the lynching of Mack Parker in Mississippi a young co-ed attending A. & M. University in Florida, was kidnapped and raped at knife point by four men. The students at A. & M. University carried out a strike action and conducted mass rallies forcing the grand jury to act for the indictment of these men.

WHITES FREED

The reaction of the Negroes in the South has been intensified by the racist justice handed out by the courts.

Asbury Howard, a Negro union leader, was jailed for the crime of proclaiming that Negroes should have the right to vote. His son is now serving a sentence on a chain gang for defending his father from a mob on the courthouse steps.

On May 4 in Monroe, N.C., a white engineer, B. F. Shaw, who had brutally kicked and beaten a Negro hotel maid, was freed of all charges by an all-white grand jury.

The following day a white man was freed by a jury of the rape assault on a Negro mother even after a white woman who had witnessed the brutal attack testified against him.

In view of this racist administration of justice the Negro movement of today is faced with a serious question. This question could mean the life or death of the movement. In what manner should the Negro deal with the violent attacks against him and how can he best continue to pursue his fight for freedom?

One of the answers to this question was suggested by Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., NAACP, when the

said: "We must defend ourselves, our women and children even if it becomes necessary to die or to kill." It was for expressing this idea of "meeting violence with violence," or in other words, armed self-defense against the racist murderers, that on May 6 Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, sent Williams a telegram directing him to suspend acting as president of the Union County NAACP unit pending a consideration of the charges against him.

WE MUST FIGHT BACK

Already the statement by Williams and the action taken against him by Wilkins has aroused a debate in the Negro movement. The New York Amsterdam News on May 16 ran on its front page a large headline quoting Williams' words: "WE MUST FIGHT BACK." It also indicated that it was opening its pages for a full discussion on this question. New York councilman Earl Brown opened the discussion by coming out in support of the concept of self defense.

In an editorial dated May 6 the New York Age deals with the question in a clear fashion. "Few will deny that Mr. Williams spoke the feelings of the overwhelming majority of American Negroes. Whether Mr. Wilkins likes it or not, a whole lot of Negroes are beginning to get rather tired of being killed, raped, and blown apart with the courts doing nothing about it. At the same time we're unalterably convinced that Mr. Williams did not mean for Negroes to organize themselves and go marching on some white folks' home . . . We do think, however, that Mr. Williams is urging Negroes to defend themselves in their homes or in the streets whenever they are attacked. God never meant for anybody to lay down and allow themselves to be destroyed. Don't you know that if more Negroes had defended themselves, there would be less lynching today."

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THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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Hand painted signs at the recent Youth March in Washington illustrate the spirit that will force back the racists who are today terrorizing the Negro.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM FIGHT LOOMS:

SLATE Sweeps in at U. of Cal.

by James Robertson

BERKELEY, Calif.—Students at Cal topped off their most vigorous year in a decade by electing a SLATE candidate, Dave Armor, to the powerful post of student body president.

Armor, in the surprising upset, is the first non-fraternity president in many years and is pledged to carry out the militant SLATE program which includes: ending discrimination in housing and employment; student action on off-campus issues full civil liberties for all students; removal of the three non-student representatives' votes on the student executive committee; no censorship of student publications; abolition of all loyalty oaths; student representation on the Berkeley city council; abolition of compulsory ROTC; and a host of material improvements in student wages, medical facilities, fees, housing.

How much of this fine program will be carried out is uncertain. Several things stand in the way. SLATE's hold on the executive committee will be precarious at best with only four of five actual SLATE members on ex-com this coming fall out of 18 voting members, or out of 15 if the non-

students can be knocked off. Thus middle of the roaders will hold the balance of power despite the very influential role of the student president.

In addition the University administration can be expected to supplement its previous "hard sell" policy of repression and reprisal with blandishments aimed at softening and splitting the SLATE representatives. Finally a move is afoot to eliminate the graduate students from participation in student affairs.

FACULTY VS. REGENTS

Side-by-side with the abrupt shift in student life a hassle has broken out setting the faculty's organized body, the Academic Senate, against the Board of Regents, the University's controlling body which in California consists in the main of the state's leading capitalists—in oil, press, agriculture, banking, aircraft—together with a lesser number of their bipartisan political henchmen.

Last October the Academic Senate in its "Academic Freedom Resolution" stated that it is impermissible for a teacher to inform on the statements his students make in classrooms. In recent weeks a ruling by the General Counsel of the Board of Regents declared this resolution "nullified" on the grounds that the Regents have given the faculty no authority to adopt such binding resolutions. The next move is up to the faculty.

Thus the shape of future struggles looms: the students and teachers in opposition to the Regents and administration. A giant step has been taken at Cal this year; one which regains the ground lost during the great loyalty oath fight of 1950 which resulted in the purge of literally dozens of faculty members and which brought down the night of cold war conformity on the campus.

BRIGADE COLLAPSES

Another sign of the changes occurring on the Cal campus is the recent collapse of a last gasp re-

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Naked Face of the Police: Strike-breakers, Racists, and Criminals

by Evelyn Sell

(Detroit corresponding editor)

Young Americans are taught, almost from birth, to respect and emulate policemen. Recent reports released by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Bar Association, the American Civil Liberties Union and the daily newspapers indicate, however, that if American youth actually did emulate the police, they would break more laws than they would uphold.

To get a true picture of a police force in our capitalist United States you can multiply the following examples by tens of thousands, by scores of years and by points east, west, north and south:

From Dawson, Georgia last year came a story of police atrocities which terrorized the entire Negro community. Negroes shot, beaten, youngsters jailed—and the chief of police claiming "All this

trouble is caused by those communists!"

Steel workers from the McClouth Corporation plant in Trenton, Michigan, recently protested against unsafe working conditions which led to the deaths of three workers during the previous 21 days. When a picket line formed at the plant gate, a detail of police armed with riot guns and tear gas came on the scene to disperse the workers.

A CANDY BAR WRAPPER

In New York recently a student dropped a candy bar wrapper on the floor of a subway train and refused to pick it up when commanded to do so by a shabbily dressed man sitting next to him. The student was then dragged off the train by this "gentleman" who proceeded to beat the youth and call a patrol wagon to haul the student off to jail. The shabby man was one of "New York's finest." The student was charged with "felonious assault, resisting arrest and littering."

Add to the above examples the countless items about police being caught with their hands in the cash register or being paid protection money by criminals, and the "guardians of the law" prove to

be among the worst offenders against the law as well as against every concept of democratic freedoms and human dignity.

The contradictory aspects of American law and the arm of that law, the police, flow from the fact that our legal system (as every aspect of our society) is a servant of the capitalist class while at the same time it has been forced to extend the civil liberties and legal protections first demanded by the rising bourgeoisie to the population as a whole.

In theory all American citizens are equal in the eyes of the law and are guaranteed to be innocent until proven guilty. All sections of society are supposed to receive equal protection under the law. In practice, however, working

people and members of minority groups are considered by the police as being guilty until proven innocent. They are arrested illegally without warrants being issued or even without reasonable suspicion of criminal activity, are held incommunicado for periods prescribed by the law books, are forced through threats or actual physical violence to "confess," are made to ransom themselves from jail through bonds although their arrests were illegal to begin with, and are taught through experience to regard the police not as protectors but as strike breakers, racists and enemies.

ILLEGAL ARRESTS

The American Civil Liberties Union noted in Chicago and the

(Continued on Page 4)

THE TIBETAN BRIGADE:

Crocodile Tears Stain the Monkscloth

(The statement below was issued by the Eugene V. Debs Club of Berkeley and the East Bay Young Socialist Alliance and distributed at the University of California. The formation of a group called the Tibetan Brigade, also at Cal., elicited the tongue-in-cheek response (see box below) of Columbia student Martin B. Margulies which is reprinted from the April 10 Daily Spectator).

A hue and cry has gone up throughout the "free" world and especially in the United States over the latest alleged atrocity of the Chinese (Communist) government. This "atrocity" is the attempt, assured of final success, to reestablish Chinese dominance in the face of revolt planned and led by the Tibetan priestly and land-owning classes.

The situation is clear enough in broad outline. To their discredit, the Chinese government has attempted to conciliate with the Tibetan feudal classes for the past eight years. At the same time, as the product of a revolutionary upheaval, the Chinese regime brings with it certain reforms. These reforms, such as rudimentary education, threatened the age-old system of oppression of the peasants by the native rulers. These latter worthies, headed by their "god-king," felt undermined, and while they still had at least a measure of popular support staged a coup which ran into Chinese military resistance.

As an aside to those in the West who profess to admire the quaint devotion of the more backward in Asia to their religious leaders, let it be noted that these condescending attitudes went out with the "humble, devout" French serf of before 1789 and the "carefree, contented" Negro slaves in America. Oppression and obscurantism that lead to blighted and shortened lives are vicious. The path of human betterment is through increasing men's understanding and control of their universe, not by use of rosaries and prayer wheels.

Several defenses have been put forward in favor of the Tibetan feudalists. (1) "Freedom and democracy"! When in the last two thousand years have the Tibetan people voted or been asked about anything? The very revolt was in part against the eventual possibility of that sort of thing.

(2) "Another Hungary". In Hungary the revolution fought to go forward, seeking to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy (the brothers of Mao and company) in favor of rule from below and for socialism, and against the old order of great landed estates, privately owned factories, clericalism, and political rule by Admiral Horthy's fascist gang.

(3) "Self-determination" might have been a serious basis for deciding in favor of Tibetan independence could someone figure out how the Tibetan people are to express their choice in a nation where the "god-king" gives all the answers as well as asks all the questions. But in reality this aspect is without meaning.

The real choice for Tibet if Chinese control were thrown off is not independent nationhood but subject dependence on American arms, money and advisors. One has but to look at the other reactionary and feudal regimes in Asia to see both the reality and meaning of American imperialist domination: the military dictatorships in Pakistan and Thailand, the corrupt "democracies" of Viet Nam and the Philippines, the personal tyrannies in South Korea and Formosa. Not a pretty picture.

The victory of the Chinese Communist government is clearly the progressive choice in the present contest. However, to recognize this is not to whitewash that regime. But even in its distorted way it is part of great and positive changes on the Asian mainland, changes that eventually will be the Maoists' own undoing. Through these

very achievements the regime will be overthrown by the mass of people anxious to rule their own destinies without the intervention of a privileged elite. That is the future; the Tibetan monk-rulers are the past.

But what about the hue and cry in America? How easily fine words are twisted to meet the needs of American "world leadership"! How morally corrupt our public figures are, men whose political complexion runs the entire respectable spectrum. Nationally a pro-Tibetan committee has been set up ranging in composition from the Formosa lobby mouth-

piece, Henry Luce of Life-Time-Fortune, to Norman Thomas, accurately described as "the State Department socialist". At California, the self-styled "Tibetan Brigade" has sprung up and in its publicity seeking fashion faithfully echoes the rhetoric of their elders.

All this noise in a country that backs dictators the world over and as in Guatemala forcibly puts puppets into power with plots staged by the Counter Intelligence Agency. And at a time when, to take a most outstanding example, in Algeria, a whole people have been waging a desperate, bloody war for years against fascist colonials and an imperialist army supplied with American arms.

Here is hypocrisy of world-historic proportions. We socialists say: no thank you!

While the Peoples Army marches inexorably across Tibet, and the hamer and sickle casts its gloomy shadow over the holy city of Lhasa, forty intrepid students from the University of California have taken up arms, and are ready to defend the remote freedom-loving nation.

They call themselves the Tibetan Brigade. They're young, they're eager, they're filled to the brims of their young hearts with hope and idealism.

What's more, they're Americans. And as was proved in Korea, one red-blooded Yank is easily worth fifty or so Asians.

Some time last week, these hardy theocrats sounded a call to color across the timorous, complacent college population of a smugly prosperous America, in search of more help.

"Do you want another Hungary . . . Will you volunteer to fight? . . . Are you rich? Then give us the airplanes to India? Poor? Then volunteer . . ." reads their manifesto, which has been mailed across the length and breadth of the nation.

No longer, then, must we sit helplessly in our seminars, raising impotent voices against the foes of freedom.

By joining the march, we can instead fulfill our Manifest Destiny. The stars and stripes will fly over the barren wastes of Asia. The Bear of the North and the Monkey of the East will be beaten into submission—for who can doubt that, with Tibet recaptured for the Free World, these red-blooded yanks and their companions will invade China, and then proceed into Russia by way of Siberia?

For Freedom, Buddha, and Chiang-Kai Shek! to arms! Besides, you get to see the Himalayas.

Ceylonese Youth Back U.S. Negroes

COLOMBO, Ceylon — Socialist youth here have issued a call for support throughout the world to the struggle of Negro youth in the Southern United States for integrated schools and full equality.

The annual All-Island Congress of the Sama Samaja Youth Leagues, with 5,000 delegates present representing over 48,000 members, passed a resolution which stated that it "considers the color bar and the denial of equal civil rights to colored people in the U. S. A. especially in the provinces of Alabama and North Carolina as an insult to humanity and condemns such discrimination.

The resolution further states:

"This Conference wishes every success to these people who cannot send their children to the same schools as the whites, who cannot travel in the same buses as the whites, and who are thus compelled to live as those of a lower strata in society, in their struggle to obtain elementary human rights. This Conference calls upon the world proletariat to direct their weapons at the capitalist class and foil its treacherous attempts to support the decaying capitalist system by rousing up racial, linguistic, religious, caste and colour lines in various countries and various times to divert the attention of the masses and thereby cover up their inability to solve the basic economic problems of their countries."

Other resolutions passed by the Conference attacked the present capitalist government of Ceylon

for being incapable of solving the problems Ceylon faces and called for an LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) government to bring socialism to the country. The LSSP, to which the youth leagues are affiliated, is a revolutionary socialist party in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

In the spirit of international solidarity of socialist youth of all lands the YOUNG SOCIALIST sent fraternal greetings which were read to the Conference.

SLATE . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

actionary effort—the Tibetan Brigade (see page 2 for a statement on Tibet and the reaction of a Columbia student to the Brigade).

Recently, the Tibetan Brigade's chief, one Blackmore, decided to close up shop and sadly removed his "Brigade Headquarters" sign from the window at Oxford Coop living group. This move, made in the aftermath of a bitter debate between the Brigade and the E. V. Debs Club which went a long way in dampening the self-confidence of the Brigaders.

This action followed extensive publicity reporting support for the Brigade from individuals on a number of campuses, training program including "rock-climbing, parachuting, judo and demolition tactics" and finally support from a "united front" in New York including State Department socialist Norman Thomas and none other than the "freedom loving" Henry Luce.

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HERBLOCK

POPLARVILLE, MISSISSIPPI, U.S.A., 1959

Lynching . . .

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The answer to the other half of the question, that is, how to best continue to push for Negro rights, can be seen in the mass actions already taken by the Negro movement. Such actions as the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington and the Washington Youth March for Integrated Schools are a step towards achieving the ends we have set our sights on. But these actions must not be watered down by pretending they are something other than what they are—a mass protest against the bi-partisan government which fails to and indeed cannot move to eliminate racial segregation and prejudice in these United States.

DEFENSE GUARDS

What then must the supporters of the Negro movement and especially those youth who support the movement do in order to further the struggle? First, it seems quite obvious that wherever a Negro community faces terrorist attacks its members must heed the words of Williams and organize themselves into defense guards. This tactic was used successfully by Williams and the community as a whole in Monroe in July, 1957, and succeeded in turning back an assault organized and led by the Klu Klux Klan. This method of defense was used a short while later by the Lumbee Indians in North Carolina when they ran off a huge gathering of the Klan on their reservation.

Secondly, we think it is necessary to further increase the militant nature of the mass action tactics that are coming into greater use. One important aspect is that these movements cannot afford themselves the luxury of witchhunting. They can't achieve cleanliness in the eyes of the racist no matter what they do.

We must have another Youth March on Washington and it must be bigger than the last one and more effective.

The Negro movement should consider taking independent political action by running candidates of their own. These candidates, by not being tied to the machines of the Demo-Dixiecrat and Republican parties, would be able to take a more forthright stand on those issues affecting the Negro people. They might also consider unifying with labor in the formation of a party based on a platform of labor and civil rights planks.

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SCIENCE FICTION CORNER:

Who Says Martians Are So Smart?

by A. Robert Kaufman

(Baltimore Corresponding Editor)

A funny thing happened to me on the way to the theater recently. I was walking through a rather deserted section of the wealthiest country of the world, when I spotted a very bright glow in the East. Checking my watch, I realized that it wasn't December—so I resisted the early compulsion to fall to my knees.

As the object zoomed closer I saw that it was a saucer-shaped vehicle with identification letters on its underside reading "EARTH OR BUST."

I froze in understandable terror as the thing landed just a few feet from me. After a few moments, a little man came out of the saucer wearing a typical Martian outfit equipped with antennas and so forth. After a moment's pause to exchange brands of cigarettes (he was a thinking man) we launched into a conversation.

"Well, how are the crops?" he asked.

"Terrible," I replied.

"Why don't you try irrigation, mechanization and other modern methods of agriculture?"

"That's just it, we have—and the results are terrible."

"I don't dig you, bud: with these methods aren't you able to produce more?"

"Sure—we produce more than we ever produced in Earthly history. That's just the trouble—we produce too much."

"Well—what do you do with it all?"

"We store it in bins and ships and warehouses."

"Isn't it rather expensive?"

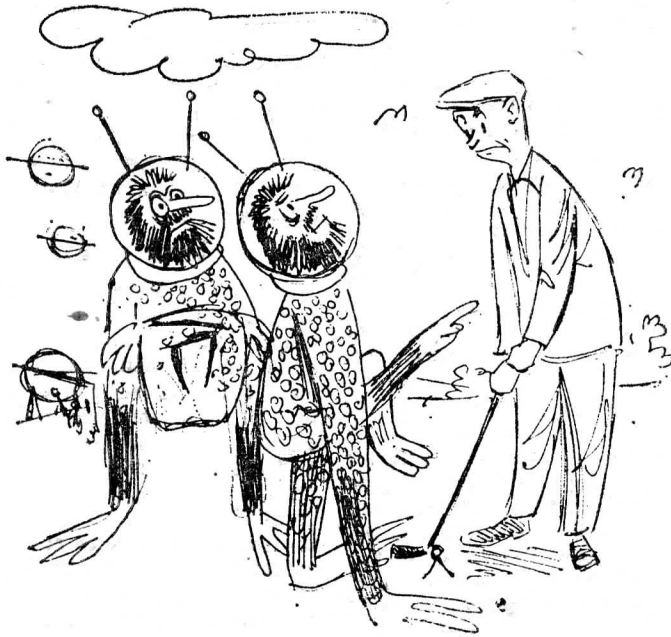
"Oh, wonderfully so! We have billions invested in surplus crops. The storage costs alone are over a million dollars a day."

"What so wonderful about that?"

"It keeps the economy strong."

"You must have the most industrious farmers ever known. Wouldn't it pay you to have them produce less?"

"We've already thought of that. We give added incentive to farmers for producing less."



—Frank X. Boyle (co-creator of Barnaby).
"Take Us to Your President!"

"I must have heard you wrong. You said that you paid farmers for producing less. That of course is ridiculous. What you meant to say is that you pay them for producing more?"

"No—you heard me right the first time. We pay farmers for producing less. We pay them top value for land they don't farm."

"I must admit, it's one way to reduce production."

"Wrong again. The farmers just put more in the remaining acreage and produce even larger crops than before."

"With a situation like this—everyone must want to take up farming. Your farm population must be increasing rapidly."

"On the contrary—we have less than half the farm population we had in 1900. Its fall is steadily increasing."

"Those remaining must have it pretty soft."

"Not so—most of them hardly manage to meet the mortgage payments. Most of the farm products are sold by a mere nine per cent of our farmers."

"That nine per cent must be able to provide well-paying jobs

for many a farm hand."

"It's true that they hire most of our farm laborers but the average wage is about 66 cents an hour and, due to seasonal fluctuations, many can find work for just a few months out of the year. The entire average annual income is about \$1,000 a year."

"Well, at any rate, with all that food you produce, you've certainly licked the problem of undernourishment."

"On the contrary, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, one fourth of our population, about 12 1/4 million, are unable to afford an adequate diet."

"Why then isn't food given to them?"

"That would ruin the market. This is a free economy. We can't give things away."

At this point the Martian ran back into his saucer, shaking his antennas as he went. While I thought it was rather rude of him to break away from the conversation when we were just getting gong, I wasn't too sad. He sure didn't understand a thing I was saying. The Martians must be an inferior race.

LETTER FROM MOROCCO:

A King Presides Over May Day Demonstration

by Shane Mage

CASABLANCA, Morocco — May Day here was something really spectacular. To begin with, it's a national holiday. The celebration is organized by the union, and presided over by the King. In Casablanca the main thing was the parade of the UMT (Moroccan Workers' Union). The line of march was somewhat over a mile and a half, and from a very clear early hour the sidewalks along it were packed.

The speeches by the Minister of Labor, Mahjoub, and Mohammed V, were pleasantly short. Naturally there was a certain divergence between the speeches: Mahjoub spoke of the struggles and rights of the workers; the King, after coming out solidly in favor of Social Progress, emphasized their duties and responsibilities. But this conflict, which is someday going to break out into the open despite the Moroccan left-wing's efforts to neutralize the King (and even take advantage of his fantastic popularity) by repeated proclamations of loyalty, is still a future eventuality. This May Day Mahjoub and the King spoke from the same platform, and the UMT paraded to the music of the Royal Guard.

I can't possibly describe the pa-

rade adequately. Youth played a big part. The vanguard of the parade was formed by the "Jeunesse Ouvriere Marocaine" (the UMT's youth affiliate) and throughout there were good numbers of students of all age levels. The Moroccan students' union works very closely with the working-class youth movement. Recently on the initiative of the UMT youth a "Federation of Moroccan Youth" was formed including all important youth groups (including specifically Jewish youth organizations).

The bulk of the parade was, of course, made up by workers. The union representing each profession sent a delegation which paraded behind the float. Each of these floats represented the activity most typical of the trade and most of them showed the imagination and ingenuity that workers are capable of when they are acting for themselves.

The phosphate miners of Khouribga, for instance, paraded in their blue miners uniforms and their float represented a mine shaft with the workers extracting the phosphate which is one of the principal riches of the country (and which is mined by a government-owned corporation). The restaurant and hotel workers float represented a restaurant with

waiters serving satisfied "customers." The workers of the courts acted out a courtroom scene, with a guilty defendant arguing back to his judges. The workers of the port of Casablanca paraded behind a tugboat proudly named "Unity." The union of workers at the U.S. air bases here marched under a banner demanding the evacuation of those very bases at which they make their living!

This is a young country in more than one way—its independence dates for little more than three years, and the "average" Moroccan is around 21 years old. The labor movement has the defects of immaturity, above all, an empirical and even opportunistic attitude toward the state apparatus, the King and the few "progressive" sections of Moroccan capitalism.

In return it has an abundant supply of the virtues of youth—idealism, spontaneity, enthusiasm, self-confidence. I've gotten to meet the cadres of the UMT all over Morocco, and I really like and respect these people. They're all socialists, though not yet Marxists—that will have to come through their own experiences. I only hope that the process won't require another ordeal like that of 1952-1955 which led to the independence of the country.

Youth Notes

NUCLEAR TESTS: During the "Debate Days in Detroit" sponsored by Wayne State University 62 per cent of the high school students in the audiences listening to debates on nuclear testing opposed their continued testing. However 73 per cent of the adults in the audiences favored continued nuclear testing. . . . A new report by a group of American scientists shows that the amount of strontium 90 in the bones of American children has doubled between 1955 and 1957. . . . A team of Swedish scientists has conducted investigations which suggest that strontium 90 may be 60 times more deadly than the Atomic Energy Committee Commission assumes. This information comes at a time when the AEC has doubled the safety limit on strontium.

CAMPUS NEWS: Growing student opposition to compulsory ROTC at Michigan State University has been noted in the Detroit newspapers. A group of students there are conducting a petition campaign against compulsory ROTC and the AAUP is reported also to favor voluntary ROTC. . . . A move by the administration at New York University to remove the faculty advisor to the student paper Square Journal and replace him with the dean of students has been labelled by the paper as "creating an atmosphere favorable to censorship." . . . The recently hotly contested student elections at CCNY have been invalidated because of alleged ballot stuffing. It is doubtful if new elections will be held before fall. The membership list controversy at CCNY seems to be destined to continue for a while yet. As the term comes to an end the General Faculty adopted a proposal which would continue to require full membership lists for all organizations. . . . The Associated Students of the University of Colorado have taken up the cudgels for the rights of students to vote in municipal and state elections.

ON THE LEFT: Jim Lambrecht, chairman of the New York Young Socialist Alliance, has just completed a successful midwest tour during which he spoke at Toronto, Oberlin College, Antioch College, Earlham College, University of Chicago, Wayne State University, Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin (Madison) and the University of Minnesota. He reports that newly formed student socialist clubs are thriving on these campuses, some with as many as 70 members. His experiences at Earlham College graphically illustrate the divergent forces on the American campus. As he walked across the campus to the meeting place of the Earlham Socialist Discussion Group he was followed by a long procession of students in Klu Klux Klan sheets carrying flaming torches. They were led by a student in a white sheet playing the national anthem on a bugle. Needless to say the liberal and socialist students rallied in opposition to this demonstration and a discussion continued for many days on the campus. . . . Roosevelt University in Chicago now has a socialist discussion group which is sponsoring a series of informal discussions on socialism. . . . The Young Socialist Club of Philadelphia is sponsoring a meeting on "Black Africa on the March" on May 22. . . . Over 200 students attended a debate on "Capitalism or Socialism" and over 250 students attended a debate on the Vienna Youth Festival, both sponsored by the Eugene V. Debs Club at UCLA. Also in Los Angeles the Young Socialist supporters have been sponsoring a series of classes on "Socialism and Democracy" . . . The New York Young Socialist Alliance has a new hall which also serves as an office of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. It's at 45 E. 7 St., just a half block from Cooper Union. We have a good selection of labor and radical books on display and everyone is invited to visit and browse.

LABOR FRONT: The president of the New York City Board of Education, who is also president of Beth Israel Hospital, has been accused of recruiting students at Stuyvesant High School to act as strike breakers during the current hospital strike. Pressure from the union forced a stop to this. In addition a number of Stuyvesant students protested and announced their solidarity with the striking hospital workers. Earlier in the spring an attempt was made to recruit strike breakers from Rutgers University to man the New Jersey Turnpike during a walkout. This action also brought strong student opposition. . . . Ewen Clague, commissioner of labor statistics, testified recently in Washington that he expects a flood of young workers into the labor force in the mid '60s and fears unemployment at that time.

WORLD YOUTH: Classes have finally been resumed at the University of Havana which had been closed since November 30, 1956. The Federation of University Students has been busily screening the faculty to weed out Batista supporters. So far the students have dismissed thirty professors. Thousands of veterans of the war against Batista are attending classes and the University is being run by the students themselves. . . . The University of Witwatersant in South Africa closed for a day in silent protest over the barring of Negroes from attending the school.

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BOOKS AND IDEAS:

Schlesinger Records All But Sees Nothing

By Bert Deck

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Coming of the New Deal," Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958. 669 pp., \$6.75.

Perhaps the saddest commentary one might make on the current state of American historiography is a brief description of the popularity of the Harvard historian, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

His books find their way on to the most respectable best-seller lists and are recommended as necessary reading in post graduate courses on American history. Legend has it that his lecture room is filled to capacity and that his dissertations are studded with brilliant gems of insight and wit. There is no doubt that he deserves the title, "The Fair Haired Boy of American Liberalism."

What can one say about the level of an academic world that accepts as history clever biography and superficial psychological anecdotes? Certainly "The Com-

ing of the New Deal" is no more than that: delightful bedtime reading but far from a rigorous scientific analysis.

THE FACILE PROFESSOR

For Professor Schlesinger is a strict conformist! What might appear to be boldness of thought is discovered to be nothing more than a facile style, and thus he truly belongs to the liberals. He never once steps beyond the bounds of the pragmatic school, treating great events as accidents of personality and products of the whims of talented individuals.

Leon Trotsky, who knew something about the writing of his-

tory as well as the making of it, had this to say about such "history:"

"The purely psychological school, which looks at the tissue of events as an interweaving of the free activities of separate individuals or their groupings, offers, even with the best intentions on the part of the investigator, a colossal scope to caprice. The materialist method disciplines the historian, compelling him to take his departure from the weighty facts of the social structure. For us the fundamental forces of the historic process are classes; political parties rest upon them; ideas and slogans emerge as the small change of objective interests. The whole course of the investigation proceeds from the objective to the subjective, from the social to the individual, from the fundamental to the incidental. This sets a rigid

limit to the personal whims of the author."

Professor Schlesinger is certainly aware of the existence of social forces, and makes ample reference to them. However, he treats them as mere backdrops before which the real makers of history, the stars, perform.

ENTER LABOR

Of all the happenings of the 1930's the most significant event which fundamentally changed the course of America, and therefore world history, was the organization of the modern industrial union movement. Gone now are the "fireside chats" and forgotten are the manipulations of the Supreme Politician. The brilliant patchwork schemes to cure an ill system proved in the main to be either inconsequential or unconstitutional. All have passed into the footnotes of learned history, but the modern labor movement exists as a permanent product of those days and moves events in a thousand complex ways. A real history of the 1930's, which explains subsequent developments, would have to focus first of all on the new class relations established by the class struggles of the period.

Yet, Schlesinger in his "The Coming of the New Deal" devotes only some 50 out of 600 pages to the new labor movement; and of these, only six actually deal with the struggles of the American working class. Even when he deals with the labor movement as such, his main concern is with personal anecdotes about John L. Lewis, William Green, Bill Hutcherson and other "stars" of this little theatre.

Notwithstanding the pro-Roosevelt bias of "The Coming of the New Deal," the author has gathered information which can be of use to the young generation. It is quite clear from the data which Schlesinger has accumulated that the main concern of Roosevelt's first administration was to re-establish public confidence in American capitalism after the crash of '29. The first act of the new administration was to reassemble the shattered banking system and return it to the hands of the bankers. Roosevelt ran through Congress the Emergency Banking Act in less than eight hours and in a "Fireside Chat" to the nation enunciated "Let us unite in banishing fear." While the banking system was saved for the bankers with fantastic speed, bills to establish the 30 hour week to halt unemployment were conveniently killed in Congress.

The record, even as Schlesinger has deduced it, shows that concessions to labor were forthcoming from Roosevelt only when it organized independently on the economic field with the implicit

threat of independent political organizations.

ORIGINAL SIN

The disastrous sin of systematic class collaboration in politics was committed in those days by the leaders of the new labor movement. (They were permitted to do so only by the acquiescence and cooperation of the Communist and Socialist Parties who then had an important influence).

The sin of the fathers is visited upon the sons.

Roosevelt weened these leaders away from the traditional position of no confidence in capitalist politicians and absorbed them into the capitalist state apparatus via the mechanism of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Thus he made his greatest contribution to the capitalist class which he politically represented. He helped forestall for a whole generation the separate political organization of the working people into their own party, preserving the United States as the only major country in the world still maintaining this antiquated political structure. And yet, there are labor and socialist leaders of today who yearn for the coming of the new New Deal almost as much as a criminal yearns to return to the scene of his crime.

Roosevelt's New Deal eventually became the War Deal and Truman's Cold War Witch-hunt. A search for a "New Roosevelt" today is utopian. The colossal demogogy of an F.D.R. could have its effect only in that transitional period when the American labor movement, young and inexperienced, was first becoming aware of itself as a separate entity. Although the union leaders may be able to maintain the labor-Democratic coalitions for a period to come, never again will a capitalist politician be able to pose as a social worker uplifting the downtrodden. Labor is potentially too powerful in relation to the capitalist class to long accept the position of a poor relation. It no longer needs to plead for its rights. It now has the power to demand them and by so doing win the rights for all the working people.

VIENNA YOUTH FETE:

U.S. Festival Delegation Largest Ever!

by Nora Roberts

Despite U. S. State Department consternation, warnings, and the organized reaction against the VII World Festival of Youth to be held in Vienna this summer, a larger American representation is expected than at any of the previous events. Congressman Chester Bowles of Connecticut explained it this way: "There are going to be about 20,000 American students in Europe this summer and a very high percentage of those students are going to start for Vienna along about the last of July regardless of what their parents, their cousins, their betters, their wiser, older people, the State Department, or anybody else says about it." The official delegation from the U. S. is estimated at 400, going way over the 80 who went as delegates to the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival.

The increased interest aroused in this year's youth fete has caused an uproar on many of the nation's colleges and universities. An attempt by students at the City College of New York to send an official delegation from the school drew the wrath of President Buell Gallagher and representatives of the student government who stated: "... this event will serve as a Communist front for propaganda activities."

The controversy was also carried on at the Universities of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles, Antioch, Oberlin and Madison. To encourage students who want to carry on a vigorous pro-West, pro-State Department, anti-Soviet Union propaganda campaign at the "World Festival for Peace, Friendship, and Understanding" the Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival has been established with government sanction in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Its purpose is to discourage American students attending the fete who want to carry this cultural business a little too far for the U. S. government's tastes.

However, it will be easier for Americans to attend this conference as it will be held in a neutral rather than a Soviet block nation for the first time. This means that students will be able to participate in it with the regular visas provided for travel abroad. The Austria location also eases the minds of many Americans who would otherwise be afraid of being witch-hunted when they return to the United States.

A feature of the youth demonstration for peace disturbing to the U. S. State Department is the

large participation of students from colonial areas. Large delegations are expected from West and South Africa, Algeria, Tunisia, Burma, Sudan, Iraq, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Morocco, Japan, and the Philippines. Many of these students will have their first opportunities to exchange views with people from other lands at the festival. Also disturbing government officials is the fact that people from these areas will be able to participate with no discrimination and with no strings attached.

Austrian students have offered the greatest opposition to the

festival outside of U. S. reactionary elements. However, these students have not been able to exert enough pressure on the Austrian government to make it change its stand of opening Vienna to youth from all over the world including many from the Soviet Union and its allies.

While these festivals may not be the most effective means of bringing about world peace, they do tend to lessen the effectiveness of cold war propaganda and create a friendly atmosphere among youth from East and West and this is what the U. S. State Department is so fearful of.

The Naked Face of the Police . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Detroit Bar Association noted in that city that one-third of all arrests made by police in those cities were illegal. When these charges were published in Detroit newspapers Circuit Judge O'Hara declared that "if citizens knew their legal rights they could virtually put the police department out of business and possibly bankrupt the city through damage suits." It seems that the police arrest in order to investigate, a procedure contrary to both state and federal statutes which state that investigation must precede arrests. They also make arrests without warrants being issued by the court and without actually witnessing a crime being committed, which are the necessary legal requirements for a bone fide arrest.

It was found in the Chicago report that these procedures, also, encourage the use of the third-degree and greater physical violence on the part of the police. The Detroit branch of the NAACP reported several months ago on a study made of police brutality in the Negro community. The most frequent types of police misconduct include: physical assault, insulting epithets, the common use of profanity and the reference to the complainant's race in a derogatory manner, the indiscriminate searching of citizen's pockets and wallets on public streets. When citizens question the violation of their rights the officers resort to physical assault followed by arrest, the search and destruction of property without a warrant in citizens' homes, the prevalent indication that the complainant has no right which he (the police officer) has to respect, the intimidation and abuse of inter-racial couples, hostile references to the NAACP in an effort

to intimidate complainants, the indiscreet and common practice of stopping women on the street and accusing them of prostitution or of writing numbers.

THE NAKED FACE

Our police force is the naked face of our capitalist government, the base upon which the protection of private property, capitalist private property, rests. Elected representatives go in and out of office but the police force and police procedures remain untouched by voting procedures, by recall or impeachment. The crimes of the precinct cop, however, are more than matched by a Faubus (the champion of mob rule) or a Truman (who declared a "police action" in Korea that resulted in thousands of dead American youth) or those now responsible for the continuation of the stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons which push all mankind not only to the brink of war but to the brink of doom. With such encouraging examples is it any wonder that each individual police officer becomes a law unto himself? Is it any wonder that they lack concern for fundamental personal rights?

That is our police force in action and inaction. That is law in our capitalist society. When the working class succeeds in stopping the criminals in the police department and the other departments of our government from stealing away our liberties, our rights and our lives, it will have little trouble coping with the criminals stealing out of cash registers. Anyone who would steal or plot physical violence in a socialist society, where poverty, war and inequality will be eliminated, would obviously be more needful of hospital care and a good psychiatrist than a jail cell and a brutal cop.

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

by SHANE MAGE

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