

Berkeley Students Fight Speech Ban; YS Hits New Areas

by Tim Wohlforth

(Tim Wohlforth, editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, is currently on a nationwide barnstorming tour in the course of which he will speak at some 45 different campuses. The following report is based on the first leg of the tour during which Wohlforth spoke to students from San Diego State College, University of Southern California, Los Angeles City College, UCLA, University of California (Berkeley), University of Santa Clara, Reed College and Portland State College.)

SEATTLE—This tour is in many ways a pioneering venture. This is not simply because I am bringing a new publication, the YOUNG SOCIALIST, the product of the fresh regroupment of socialist youth forces, to a larger audience. It is because I am bringing socialism itself to thousands of

DENITCH-WOHLFORTH DEBATE on socialist morality, regroupment, and approach toward foreign policy—page 3.

young people who have never heard a socialist speaker in their lives.

It is therefore quite natural that the first three weeks of the tour should be marked by a number of "firsts." When I spoke to 150 students at UCLA on "Marxism—Science or Religion" I was the first socialist to speak on that vast campus since the revision of rules last year which liberalized regulations regarding student rights. A socialist group, the Eugene V. Debs Club, has been recognized as an off-campus group which can use campus facilities for its speakers.

Elsewhere in Los Angeles, I was the first socialist in many years to "soapbox" in front of Los Angeles City College and the University of Southern California. At LACC over 250 students stood around and listened, argued and heckled for three and a half hours as we discussed American troops in Lebanon, the war threat in Quemoy and Matsu, Little Rock, socialism vs. capitalism and so forth.

In the Bay Area, I had the most unusual experience of the tour so far. I spoke on Marxism at a Catholic college, the University of

Santa Clara.

Close to 10 per cent of the student body turned out to hear a discussion on Marxist philosophy and ideas. The reaction of the audience was not too different from the average American secular college except for a little greater pre-occupation with ethical questions and an occasional freshman who would ask you with a straight face: "Do you believe in Adam and Eve?"

A couple of the Fathers, who seemed to be Christian socialists, explained that a small revolution had taken place at the College before speakers of a controversial nature were allowed to be heard. (Continued on Page 2)

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

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IN THE YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATION Oct 25, thousands of Negro and white students demonstrated against segregation and expressed solidarity with their heroic brothers and sisters in the South. They hope that scenes like the above (teenagers in a Louisville school lunchroom) will soon be commonplace. For a full report of the Youth March by a participant, see the next issue of the YS.

SIX OR HALF A DOZEN?

Donkey Balks at Integration, Liberal Goals

by Daniel Freeman

"You really want to know how I'd like to vote?" said a Negro mechanic in Cleveland. "I'd like to vote for the whole United States Supreme Court, that's how I'd like to vote. When it comes to this integration and civil rights stuff, neither party is worth a damn."

A New York Times survey of seven states revealed that increasing numbers of Negro voters shared this conviction. Can integration, or other liberal goals, for that matter, be brought about by the two major parties? That is what Daniel Freeman, student at Columbia University and YS Corresponding Editor for New York, seeks to answer in the following article.

The election season, more than any other time, calls on the politically aware person to "take sides," to consider the consequences of his vote and support. Socialists have always considered a vote for the Democratic or Republican parties a vote for a decaying capitalist system. They have seen as a necessary step on the road towards socialism the formation by the working class of a party of its own, a labor party, which would give voice to all those

who have nothing to gain from the status quo.

But what about the liberal, who sees an election as a contest of immediate issues? He must ask himself: can the Democratic or Republican parties realize even the minimal liberal values which socialists and liberals hold in common as necessary? This area of agreement includes civil rights for Negroes and other minorities, civil liberties of speech, press, as-

sociation, the rights and welfare of labor, and peace.

One argument often heard from liberals and some who describe themselves as socialists is that the Democratic Party should be supported as the "lesser evil," or, as this tendency dubbed itself in 1956, "Sadly for Adlai." While the Democratic Party does have the aura of liberalism about it, it also contains the most militaristic and Negro-hating members of the Congress. The Northern liberal's vote for Humphrey or Douglas is also a vote for Eastland. When the Democrats capture Congress, Eastland and his ilk become the chairmen of the committees concerned with labor and civil rights legislation. This Jim Crow, labor-hating wing of the Democratic Party is the most unified and most powerful element of the party.

THE BLIND LEAD

The Democratic Party is nothing more than a coalition of these Southern reactionaries, urban political machines and the labor bureaucrats, who, like the machine bosses, attempt to "deliver" the votes of the workers to the party. We thus observe the curious contradiction of labor "leaders" leading labor into the hands of those who stand for the open shop, against the minimum wage, for the Taft-Hartley Law; of Negro "leaders" placing the Negro people in the hands of those who are today fighting a last-ditch battle against racial equality.

Labor's support to the Democrats is rarely repaid in kind, either by the northern liberals or by their political creditors, the machine bosses. In Michigan, Governor Williams, the darling of the liberals and of Walter Reu-

ther, has often proclaimed his "neutrality" as between capital and labor. But is it not a principle of liberal democracy that government should represent the majority? Williams' neutrality has also extended to his refusal to take a part in important primary fights in Michigan this year, notably those involving representatives of the labor movement.

A similar situation exists in New York state, where Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, riding the crest of an anti-Tammany revolt by the Negro people, easily defeated his DeSapio-backed opponent. But the final result of his attempt to "reform" the Democratic Party is the spectacle of Powell leading his followers back to full support of the corrupt machine which tried to knife him. Powell has now announced his support of the full slate of DeSapio-picked Democratic candidates.

ADLAI, THE SOUTH'S FRIEND

A final illustration of the sell-out by northern liberals to the forces of reaction and racism is Stevenson's 1956 campaign. For the sake of "party unity," Stevenson and his liberal camp-followers took such a weak position on civil rights that many Northern Negroes voted Republican. Meanwhile, a campaign poster circulated in Florida during the primary campaign showed a picture of Stevenson with the following caption: "Florida and the South NEED A MAN OF MODERATION . . . a man friendly to the South . . . Adlai Stevenson has shown more understanding and consideration of the South's problems than any other candidate for President." It is common knowledge that a principled attempt to act on civil rights, rather than just talk about it, would rip the Democratic Party apart.

Since 1946, the two capitalist parties have had solid bipartisan agreement on questions of foreign policy and civil liberties. As stated

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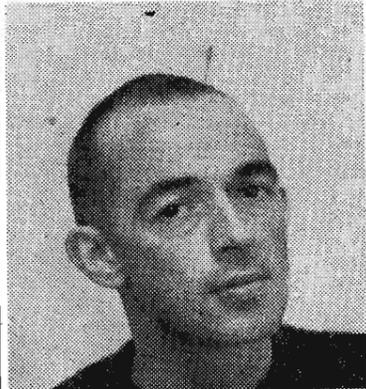
U. of Wash. Student Runs as Socialist

by Ted Lane

(Below is an article by a University of Washington student on the current campaign of Jerry Barrett for state office in Washington. A Barrett Campaign Committee has been formed and a headquarters set up in the University district. Some 40 young people are already participating in this committee. Plans are being laid to reach the 7,000 registered voters in the area and the student body.)

Jerry Barrett, senior in history at the University of Washington, having earned a reputation as a defender of academic freedom and civil liberties, was nominated by a convention of independents, socialists and liberals to run for the State Senate in the 32nd (University) District. Barrett, 28-year-old Korean War Veteran (paratroops), accepted the nomination of the "United Liberals and Socialists" saying he would campaign "as a socialist."

The candidacy of a University student as a socialist would have appeared to be impossible until very recently. From time to time in the last ten years Seattle, and particularly the University of Washington, has achieved prominence as a center of many controversies involving the issues of academic freedom and civil liberties. Barrett's initiation into politics



JERRY BARRETT

was his participation in the campaign which opposed legislator Albert Canwell's bid for re-election. This campaign contributed decisively to Canwell's defeat. Al Canwell, chairman of the State

Un-American Activities Committee, said his aim was "to clean out the reds" at the University. Several professors were dismissed, put on probation, and defamed.

The culmination of the trend of McCarthyism came when the University President, Dr. Henry Schmitz, refused to allow Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to speak on the campus as a Walker-Ames Lecturer in the course of his tour of Western universities. The response of a few people interested in civil liberties resulted in a series of protests which were instrumental in reversing this trend.

Jerry Barrett was one of these people. He wrote the petitions which were signed by nearly 2,000 students, faculty members and residents of the area in a three-day period of canvassing. He and four or five others organized a meeting which overflowed one of the lecture halls, and formed a committee which went to the State Capitol in Olympia to protest to the Congress.

Jerry Barrett, ex-paratrooper lieutenant and National Maritime Union member is tall (6'2"), lean,

(Continued on Page 4)

Hallinan Stands Pat: Army Says "No"

BERKELEY, Calif. — Patrick (Butch) Hallinan, one of the leaders of SLATE (student anti-fraternity group) at the University of California here, has been declared ineligible for service in the U. S. Army.

The sole charge against Hallinan was that he was "unable to refute a close and continuous association with two persons identified with Communist front organizations." The persons in question were—his mother and father, Vincent and Vivian Hallinan. Vincent Hallinan was formerly vice presidential candidate for the Progressive Party and his wife worked with him in this and other liberal and socialist endeavors.

It all began, Butch Hallinan told the YOUNG SOCIALIST, when he refused to sign a loyalty oath presented to him at the time of his pre-induction physical.

Butch felt that it was none of the Army's business what organizations he had or had not been affiliated with during his civilian life.

The Army immediately began an investigation, conducted with the cooperation of the FBI, during which it questioned some 150 friends of Hallinan. Almost all of those questioned testified to the loyalty of Butch. At no time did the Army accuse Butch of having any "subversive" affiliations or views even though Butch openly admits to his socialist views which he shares with his father.

Following the investigation the Army wrote Hallinan a letter stating that he would be declared ineligible unless he came to a hearing and "refuted" the charges of "close association" with his parents. He refused to attend any such hearing or in any way be

put in a position of disassociating himself from his own parents. Finally the Army sent Hallinan a letter disqualifying him from military service. "I expect to get reclassified 4F any day now," Butch said. He stated that he did not know whether the new classification would be marked so as to distinguish a "political" 4F from a "physical" 4F.

The Hallinan case emphasizes the complete absurdity of the military "security" system. That the military should be allowed to investigate the political affiliations of young civilians shows both the extent to which we have departed from our traditional civil libertarian traditions as well as the growing influence of the military in all phases of American life. Surely the only sensible solution is to abolish the entire Army "security" program.

YS Tour . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

I was the first Marxist or atheist to speak on God's rather opulent little acre in the hundred years of its possession by the Lord's agents on earth.

SATHER GATE CLOSED

Another first of the tour, however, was not quite so heart-warming in its implications. At the University of California Berkeley campus I was the first person to ever be denied permission to speak at Sather Gate, the Hyde Park of Cal.

While at Berkeley I visited Dean Strong and asked him for specific permission to speak at Sather Gate and he specifically denied this to me. He suggested

instead that I speak a block away at a noisy intersection where the likelihood of a section of the student body being run over was rather great.

Sentiment is extremely strong on campus that Sather Gate be reopened. The ASUC executive committee, which represents the student body, has unanimously asked the University officials to ask the Regents to allow free speech in this area. The editor of the Daily Cal told me his paper supported this demand. SLATE, the anti-fraternity group, is strongly for this proposition.

Supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST in the area are urging that if the Regents turn down the students' request that the students organize a free speech fight, with one speaker after another getting

up at Sather Gate and defying arrest for practicing free speech.

SLATE MAY WIN

While at Cal I got a chance to attend a SLATE meeting and to talk to some of those active in SLATE. There seems to be a very active interest in SLATE on campus this Fall. The chances of this group sweeping the next elections and taking over all the seats on the ASUC exec look very good. Certainly the idea of SLATE, a student political party dedicated to the abolition of fraternity domination and the establishment of a truly representative student government, should be tried on other campuses.

One of the most enjoyable features of the tour so far has been talking together with other young socialists in the various cities I visited. In Los Angeles I spoke before the Conference of Young Socialists, a city-wide group which is open to all young socialists no matter what their political views or affiliations may be. I spoke to a similar group, the Mark Twain Club, in San Francisco. These clubs seem to be doing a fine job of bringing together the somewhat scattered socialist youth forces in these local areas, providing an opportunity for these socialists to discuss and to carry on actions

where there is agreement, and to reach out to new people interested in socialism.

REED CLUB THRIVES

At Reed College in Portland, Oregon, I spoke before a very interesting and dynamic group, the FOCUS Club. Close to 100 people out of a student body of 600 turned out for the talk. FOCUS began some ten years ago as a branch of the Young Progressives. It was one of the few local groups that was able to survive the demise of that organization and to keep a radical tradition going on the campus.

Presently FOCUS is made up largely of socialists and those in-

terested in socialism and considers bringing left-wing speakers to the campus to talk with students one of its main tasks. Certainly the growth of clubs like this on campuses throughout the country would be a most valuable thing. It would provide the opportunity for the American student to hear more than one side of the question.

Having spoken to over a thousand young people from San Diego up to Portland, I feel I can make one or two generalizations about politics and the American student. The American student is a long way from a socialist or for that matter a militantly liberal consciousness. He is terribly isolated from the rest of society. He knows little or nothing of the life of the American workers, the Negro people and the poor farmers who together make up the majority of this country's citizens.

APATHY DECLINES

However, the American student is curious. He wants to hear a socialist point of view. He resents those who tell him he can't hear other views. A number of students are even willing to stick out their necks to see that a minority point of view is heard.

Also, one can notice the beginnings of political awakening on campus. Attendance at socialist meetings is larger than a year or two ago. The number of young people who are seriously considering a radical solution to the world's problems is on the increase. Occasionally students organize on a larger scale as witness the development of SLATE. In fact, when I visited Portland State, a new college with virtually no political past, I met a student who ran against the fraternities there and came within 10 votes of winning.

The American student is by and large docile, apathetic and isolated from his fellow men. However, small but important currents of opposition can be noted. It is in these pockets of opposition, of life and of critical thought, that the future of the American student can be seen.

Young Socialist

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TIME TO LAUNCH THE BIG ONE

Youth Notes

NEW YORK CITY—Over 200 students heard Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., speak on integration from a sound truck near the City College campus. The Marxist Discussion Club had invited Davis, a Communist Party leader and Smith Act victim, to speak on campus, but a 1957 ruling bars any persons convicted under the Smith Act to speak at any municipal college. Several busloads of City College students are participating in the Youth March for Integration.

BOULDER, Col.—The Colorado daily reports that the YOUNG SOCIALIST is again in the news at the University. Last spring the YS, with the support of the campus paper and the state Civil Liberties Union, won a battle against the university administration for the right to distribute the YS on campus. In an editorial, entitled "Return of the Radicals," the Daily took issue with an opponent of the YS distributions: "Whether or not the YOUNG SOCIALIST is worth reading is not the issue . . . the basic question stands: Should college students be free to read what they wish? The answer, of course, is that any student must have free access to all controversial material."

AUSTIN, Texas—By an overwhelming vote of 17-1, the student assembly at the University of Texas approved a resolution asking that integration be extended to restaurants, cafeterias and other facilities near the University campus. . . . A student-run poll of high school students in Little Rock revealed that 71 per cent were for the re-opening of schools even if it meant integration. . . . At Van Buren, Ark., a white high school senior told the

pro-segregation school board, "Negroes have a right to attend school just as much as anybody" . . . UCLA has just appointed the first Negro to its faculty. Prof. J. T. Gier, a graduate of the Berkeley campus, was given a two-year appointment in engineering. . . .

NEW YORK CITY—The latest communique from Youth March Headquarters tells of the tremendous response to the Call to Join the March. Over 60 buses have already been pledged by unions, high school and college, neighborhood and fraternal organizations. Rallies have been held at almost all the city campuses and activity extends to Yale University, Temple University, NYU, St. Johns, Queens, Vassar, Swarthmore, Bard, Long Island University, and many others. The original estimate of only 1,000 participants in the March appears in retrospect to be ridiculously conservative. Students are coming from Southern, Eastern, and Mid-western schools by bus, car, scooter and plane to demonstrate for integration of the schools, North and South.

CLEVELAND—A socialist conference "To discuss the significance of the 1958 elections and meet the question: Where do we go from here?" is to be held here Nov. 28-30. The YOUNG SOCIALIST has expressed its support of this conference, to which all established socialist groups and a number of individuals have been invited. . . . Students at Oberlin College have formed the Oberlin Socialist Club, the first socialist club on campus since the demise of the Debs Club a few years ago. The club will sponsor a meeting for YS Editor Tim Wohlforth.

DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY

Students Push Venezuela Forward

by Pete Camejo

(The writer of this article is a student at Massachusetts Institute of Technology who visited Venezuela recently).

On January 23, 1958, Venezuela changed overnight from dictatorship to democracy, a democracy which stands unquestionably the best in the western hemisphere.

Venezuela remains in a state of revolution. Its labor movement, organized in less than six months, is united and militant, and has already conducted a general strike to protect its interests.

The students of Venezuela have taken the leadership, both ideologically and physically, in moving the nation out of its feudalistic economy and culture. The youth movement stands today as probably the most independent and militant organization of its kind in the world. The student organizations of Caracas U. and U. of Merida both required all professors to agree to cease teaching in case of a return to military dictatorship. They have done an enormous part of the work in unionizing workers, forming the political parties, and acting as a militia in the interest of the working class.

Eighty per cent of the university students of Caracas are either in the Communist youth or the Democratic Action youth, of which 90 per cent are militant socialists. Among the students the

supremacy of socialism over capitalism is unquestioned. The only question is the best path to achieve socialism.

U.S. TANKS PROPPED DICTATOR

The most immediate problem for all is to save what has been won, political democracy, so as to be able to continue the Venezuelan revolution. The main opposition to a democratic government comes from the upper class and the American business interests. It is widely known that the United States provided the dictator Jimenez with all his needs, tanks, guns, jets and money. During the early January attempts to overthrow Jimenez, the FBI used its contacts with the Canadian Embassy to keep the dictator informed of underground activities, which led to innumerable deaths in the attempt to overthrow Jimenez.

If the election to be held in November succeeds in replacing the existing Junta, an enormous step shall have been taken on the road to a socialist society. The elected government will undoubtedly be socialist, and the democratic process of the ballot will have been achieved.

YS Editor Answers Questions About Socialism

by Tim Wohlforth

During the last three weeks I have spoken to American students on about every type of campus. I have spoken to students at low tuition or tuition-free city colleges, at the mammoth state universities of the West, at a Catholic institution, at high-tuition, wealthy schools, and at a small liberal arts school with a left-wing reputation.

Out of the literally hundreds of questions I have attempted to answer in the last few weeks, I have selected a few of those most frequently asked, questions which come up inevitably at every meeting, to be answered in the columns of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Q. What you say about socialism is all very fine but what will happen to individual initiative under socialism? You speak of constant change and development in history. However when you get to your socialist society there does not seem to be any change and there is nothing but conformity and homogeneity.

A. The myth of individual initiative or enterprise is probably the oldest of the many capitalist myths. While in the early days of capitalism there was at least some reality to the idea that individual initiative was the cornerstone of capitalist development certainly by now it is pure make-believe. Under modern capitalism individual initiative is suppressed, not encouraged. The intelligent person, the artist, the writer, all are subjected to the pressures of conformity.

In addition upward mobility is on the decrease. By in large the rulers of today's monumental industrial empires are the children of yesterday's rulers. Regardless of one's personal abilities I would

not suggest to someone that they embark on a career to become a millionaire without several hundred thousand dollars and a "good" background to begin with.

INEQUALITY UNDER SOCIALISM

Socialism will not be a stagnant society but quite the opposite—a dynamic one. It will not be a society of conformity. The realization of the goal of economic plenty, of economic equality is not the end of social development but rather the beginning. It means that man for the first time in history can devote himself to more than simply filling his belly and getting a roof over his head. Economic equality will lay the basis for inequality—inequality not of physical possessions but of different interests and abilities.

Socialism will allow man to go beyond the beast—to devote himself to the development of the human personality in all its ramifications—something which has been barely tapped in previous societies.

Q. Isn't Russia what happens when you try to get socialism? They don't have any equality there. There the bureaucrats run everything. The worker is worse off than here.

A. Yes, you are right, we must look to the Soviet Union for a concrete test of the viability of socialism. What we see there is a very contradictory picture. On the one hand we do not see the

infinite blackness and evil that the American press presents to its readers in order to scare them into support of American imperialism. On the other hand we don't see simply thousands of contented workers happily proceeding to build socialism in the Socialist Motherland.

The Soviet Union proves one thing—the viability of the planned economy. The great achievements of the USSR cannot be made any the less important by ignoring them as the capitalists try to do. The USSR is developing at a pace that will shortly outstrip the U.S.—the greatest of the capitalist nations. Thus we see in flesh and blood that the social method of production is practicable.

In addition the USSR shows us that it is possible for a major power to function without trying to dominate the world. Certainly today when U.S. battleships are three miles off the coast of China we must realize who is the real aggressor in the world.

SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

However on top of the progressive economic system has grown up a repressive bureaucracy which lives and acts much like the capitalists do. This bureaucracy is quite the opposite of the great socialist ideal. That it came into existence is not surprising to socialists for we have always held that under conditions of scarcity and economic backwardness inequality and oppression are in-

evitable. Only if the socialist revolution had been victorious in the West could the Soviet workers have been spared this fate.

However today the Soviet workers are taking care of this situation themselves. This is the mean-



YS Editor addressing Los Angeles City College students at outdoor meeting.

ing of Hungary and Poland. The workers, however, do not need the "help" of Dulles. In fact they stated clearly during their struggles that they wish to preserve the planned economies of their countries and to go on to democratic socialism.

Q. You socialists appeal to the workers of this country for their support. But aren't the workers content? They live better than most middle-class people. They certainly aren't interested in class struggles and things like that.

A. The American worker is no

socialist or radical. However neither is he a "contented" member of the middle class. In order to live he must work for others and have others determine the amount he will get paid and the amount of work he will do.

WORKERS MUST FIGHT POLITICALLY

Already today one can see the effects of the speedup on the workers as the bosses try to keep ahead of the game during a recession period by trying to get more work out of the workers. Also the workers see the attempts of the bosses to deprive them of union protection through so-called "right to work" bills. Here on the West Coast in the states of California and Washington a great political battle is being waged between the bosses on the one hand and the workers on the other over various "open shop" propositions which will make collective bargaining as presently carried out illegal.

Yes, many workers live better than they used to. Some own homes and cars on credit. But a few months out of work and it all disappears. With credit buying it only takes a short time for your "middle class" worker to lose everything. A worker in such a position will fight. He will find he needs to be organized politically as well as on the job. He will reject the "company unions" in the political field—the two capitalist parties—and strike out in a socialist direction by forming a party of labor. Then there will be very little talk about our "middle class" worker. In fact people will begin to talk of our proletarianized middle class.

Youth Meet in NYC To Plan Vienna Festival

by Nora Roberts

Vienna will be the gathering place of the world's peace-loving young people next summer. The seventh world festival of youth expects over 18,000 participants from all corners of the earth to come to its bi-annual round of culture and sports events

The purpose of the festival is to promote a better understanding among people of the world in order to break down national barriers. It is felt that if the youth of the world express the desire to get to know one another, an end to war will be possible.

At the festival, each delegation presents a cultural program showing a sample of life in its country. Although there are competitive sports games between the different national teams, the emphasis is on fair play and not on victory. Besides the festival events themselves, participants will have a chance to discuss with students and young workers from all parts of the globe.

Transportation costs are expected to be, at the most, \$400 round trip. There is also a registration fee of \$5 per day for the ten-day stay which covers room, board, and minimum transportation costs in Vienna itself.

The United States delegation plans, for the first time since the festival's inception, to present a well-rounded program representing American life.

A conference was held on October 4 to set up a national organization to prepare the 400 young people to go to Vienna from America. Local committees have been set up in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York to handle area participation.

The national headquarters is to be established in New York. No office has been found yet, but those who wish more information may contact Joanne Grant at 27 West 84 St., Apt. 12, New York, New York.

TWO VIEWS OF SOCIALISM:

Denitch, Wohlforth Debate Unity, Program

by Rose Myland

BERKELEY, Calif. — On Wednesday, Oct. 1, at Stiles Hall, the University YMCA, approximately 70 students heard two sharply and fundamentally contrasting views of socialism. One was presented by YOUNG SOCIALIST editor Tim Wohlforth; the other by Bogdan Denitch, former field representative of the Young Socialist League, who spoke for the Young Peoples' Socialist League of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. The debate was moderated by Carey McWilliams, Jr., a graduate student and active

member of SLATE (a student anti-fraternity party).

Wohlforth, who spoke first, pointed to the hostile attitudes of the SP-SDF towards socialism, towards other socialist and left-wing forces, and towards socialist morality. The attitude becomes clear in the international document of social democracy, "The Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism." This document has two major anti-socialist points: 1) "But democracy has the right and duty to protect itself against those who exploit its opportunities only in order to destroy it." This

implies governmental suppression of the Communist Party and other serious critics.

2) "Peace can be secured by a system of collective security," which necessarily means support of NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, the military arms of American imperialism. The SP-SDF attitude is clear: the main enemy of American socialism is Communism (Stalinism). The central thesis of the YS Editor was that the main enemy of the American workers and American socialism is our own ruling class here at home.

Bogdan Denitch explained this very "easily." He pointed out that the "Aims and Tasks" document was written so that other Socialist Parties throughout the world could agree with it. He cited the English and Japanese Socialist Parties, but neglected to mention Guy Mollet and the French "Socialist" Party (SFIO) which just supported De Gaulle's rise to power. He also stated that all the parties adopted the resolution with little face-saving disclaimers such as was adopted by the YPSL recently. (See the report of the recent YPSL convention in the October YOUNG SOCIALIST).

SOCIALIST "COOPERATION"

Wohlforth then told the audience about the things the SP-SDF had done to hamper and block other socialist forces. Item: the hurried consultation between the arch reactionary, William Rusher, publisher of the National Review, and Sam Friedman, New York State Secretary of the SP-SDF and Herman Singer, editor of the Socialist Call (official organ of the SP-SDF). The result? Rusher backed down at the last minute from a scheduled debate with Tim Wohlforth because the YS was not, according to Messrs. Fried-

man and Singer, any more deserving of the name "socialist" than are the Nazis.

Item: the SP threatened the Independent-Socialist Party of New York State with court action because it was planning to call itself the "United" Independent-Socialist Party. A discussion between SP-SDF leaders and representatives of the ISP revealed that what the SP-SDF really objected to was the use of the word "socialist" by the ISP, who dared to infringe on the SP's self-appointed monopoly of the word.

Item: the insistence of the SP-SDF that the Shachtman group disclaim its past in order to crawl, chameleon-like, into the SP.

Denitch brushed these off by sleight-of-hand magic as silly, inconsequential things.

FOR SOCIALIST UNITY

Wohlforth concluded his presentation with a question: "Why can't we have a real unity of anti-imperialist forces? An organization open to all young socialists regardless of their views or affiliations, who can write and speak as they believe, without face-saving devices, for real democratic socialism?" He asked the YPSLers, "How can you go along with the 'Aims and Tasks' pamphlet? Why can't you be open and unafraid to break with the status quo?"

After brushing off the treacherous acts of the SP towards other socialists, Denitch expounded a short history of the radical movement. He explained that the reason the SP-SDF was the future socialist movement in this country was that it is against the most totalitarian system in the world, Russia. And it made this clear to the American worker.

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

Wohlforth, in his rebuttal, (Continued on Page 4)

YS Supporters Respond to Fund Appeal

by Allen Taplin

Business Manager, YOUNG SOCIALIST

American youth need a socialist newspaper! This was the belief of the editors and supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST back in October, 1957, when the first issue came out. And today this is the belief of many thousands more of America's young people who have been introduced to socialism through the pages of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

The expansion projects launched by the paper at the beginning of its second year have already begun to pay off. The national barnstorming tour of editor Tim Wohlforth has already brought the newspaper, with its program for a united, militant, and independent socialist youth movement, before thousands of young students and workers on the West Coast.

Our readers and supporters are all young people, workers and students, none of them well off. It is their contributions, in money and effort, that keep the paper going. Right now they are digging deep to raise the \$1,200 needed in our fall fund drive. With one month of the campaign period gone by, \$405 have come in, one-third of the goal. Contributions have been received so far from groups in Baltimore, the Bay Area, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and the Twin Cities. And pledges have been made by supporters in Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Denver, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Seattle, Toronto, and Vancouver.

We ask all our readers to pitch into this campaign and help make the fund drive a success. Contributions can be made through YS supporters groups in the cities named, or directly to the newspaper.

For information on how you can help with time and effort, as well as money, write to us and we will put you in touch with a YOUNG SOCIALIST supporter group in your area.

CAMPAIGN ROUNDUP:

Young People Help Bring Socialist Ideas to Voters

by Barbara Doritty

Socialists throughout the country are uniting to present a socialist alternative to the major parties in this fall's elections. Students and other young people are working actively in this effort.

In New York State the Independent-Socialist Party election campaign is in full gear as the YS goes to press. A recent rally drew a crowd of 400 to hear the candidates and two guest speakers. The various groups that have united together in New York have put forward socialist objectives, declaring that "wars, depressions and exploitation of minorities cannot be ended in an economic system run solely for profit and not primarily for the people's benefit."

YSA STREET RALLY

The campaign has received an encouraging response among young people. The new party called a meeting Oct. 16, attended by students from several schools and colleges in New York City, to discuss ways of furthering the campaign on campus.

The Young Socialist Alliance has already held a street rally at

Columbia University, where a total of 300 students shivered in the cold rain to hear socialist views. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, was the featured speaker. A lively discussion followed her talk. Meetings have also been scheduled for City College, Bronx Science High School, and elsewhere.

CHICAGO, DETROIT PLANS

A unity of independents and socialists has been formed in both Seattle and Chicago. (See write-up on the Seattle campaign, p. 1.) The United Socialist Campaign in Chicago has begun its fight for independent political action, calling for withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil, an end to war preparation, and Negro representation. It also calls for the 18-year-old vote.

In Detroit, young workers and students have organized a Youth Committee for Socialist Candi-



YS supporters help Muriel McAvoy, Petition Manager for the Independent-Socialist Party, check petitions in the Young Socialist Alliance headquarters.

dates. The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party are on the ballot in Michigan. The group recently sponsored a "Meet the Candidates" reception at which candidates from both parties met

and discussed their politics? Although there will be no socialist candidates in Ohio and

California in November movements are under way for united socialist political action in both states. In California, Washington, and Ohio, socialists are campaigning against the "Right-to-Work" laws which are on the ballot in all three states.

In spite of unsuccessful attempts in other states for united independent socialist action the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party are on the ballot.

Socialist electoral developments throughout the nation give real promise that 1960 will witness an impressive united socialist effort nationally behind a presidential ticket. Young people no longer want to put up with the evils of the two parties. Now is the time for the young people, students and workers, to carry the banner for socialist ideas. As students and workers, it is up to us to engage in activities which will make the socialist future a reality.

Donkey Balks . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

by Truman, and continued by Eisenhower, this has meant cold war and militarism, witchhunt and thought control. Despite liberal criticism of "brinkmanship," the institutions of the cold war, such as NATO and the Baghdad Pact, were developed by Truman and Acheson. The support of reactionary dictators for the sake of the "defense of the free world" was initiated by Truman and Acheson.

While liberal politicians criticize the alliance of this country with dictators, they always agree that we should and do have a bipartisan foreign policy. They criticize Trujillo, Batista and Chiang but are never able to bring themselves to oppose aid to these defenders of the "free world."

When not a single voice is raised in the Senate against the Marine invasion of Lebanon, could it be that this bipartisan foreign policy is dedicated less to the preservation of freedom than to safeguarding the ever-increasing need for profits by a small number of capitalists?

"CHIANG WILL PASS"

In an article in the New York Post (September 15), columnist Joseph Barry attempts to pin the rap for this foreign policy on one man, Dulles. He fails to note that Dulles is simply adhering to the suicidal policy of "containment" enunciated by Acheson. He does, however, aptly describe this bipartisan foreign policy: "Now we have appointed ourselves a permanent police force with the task of quarantining Communist China until Communism passes, oblivious to what is so obvious to the rest of the world—Chiang will pass from the Chinese scene far sooner than Communism."

"As ye sow, so shall ye reap."

Dulles is now reaping the fruits from the military and economic alliances sowed by the Democrats. Meanwhile, the people of the world stand in danger of falling into the abyss of nuclear world war unless they take the power of controlling the world's destinies out of the hands of big business and its American political representatives, the Democratic and Republican parties.

It is sometimes said that a socialist or "third party" should not be encouraged because our government is based upon the "two-party system." There is indeed a kernel of truth in this statement. The idea of two parties has a certain symmetry derived from the tendency of class society to polarize into "haves" and "have-nots." In modern capitalist society, this polarization is the conflict of the working class and the capitalist class, which are irreconcilably opposed. This struggle, essentially economic, drives the capitalists to turn increasingly to the state

apparatus in order to maintain their hegemony, and thus their profits.

Thus, almost any economic question becomes for the worker a political question, since his material interests force him to political measures. It is precisely in this modern class struggle that labor, in its own self-interest, must raise the banner of the liberal goals against those who, in their self-interest, have consistently attacked them.

While a mass party of labor has yet to be built, the necessity of the political organization of the working class is nonetheless vital. In the coming election it is the socialist candidates who call for the formation of such a party. It is therefore understandable why the socialists are the only proponents in this election of real civil rights and liberties and of an end to the imperialist foreign policy.

For one who holds dear the liberal goals, the socialist vote becomes his real alternative.

Barrett Campaigns as Socialist

(Continued from Page 1)

and independent. After refusing to sign the loyalty oath, he was discharged "under other than honorable conditions" from the Officers' Reserve. Yet one of his former classmates of Infantry OCS made the remark that he thought Barrett was the most RA and "gung ho" soldier he had known. Barrett, presented with this contradiction, reflected, "keeping my bills paid in full makes me feel that I can complain about the merchandise." Barrett has helped preserve that right for himself and others. He has participated in many activities which have materially aided the fight for personal liberties in Seattle.

NEW SOCIALIST CLUB

Encouraged by the initiative of such students, many professors refused to sign a loyalty oath required of all the University Staff. Their refusal led to a court battle which ended when the State Supreme Court declared the Washington State Loyalty Oath unconstitutional. In January 1958 the students organized the first

socialist club on the campus since the Young Progressives in 1947. The activities of the last six months: a peace walk with the Quakers, a protest meeting against continued nuclear bomb testing, the speech of a Smith Act defendant. Now it can be added that a University student socialist is running for the Senate from that district.

The convention which nominated Barrett was composed of many divergent Socialist and left wing groups, including pacifists, liberals, civil libertarians, members of the Socialist Workers Party, dissident Communists, and independent socialists like Barrett who have never belonged to any political party.

With this convention, the effort to unite the left on particular issues took a major forward step. The convention declared its intention to make Seattle ring with the cry for peace, civil rights, and greater equality. The platform attacks the rule of the big businesses and the big parties in the United States.

Attorney Jay Sykes, the candidate running against the "little Senator from Boeings," Senator Henry M. Jackson, said that the convention was doing something unique in the history of the state, and perhaps in the history of the nation, in welding socialists and non-socialists together around a single slate.

Debate . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

showed that Denitch was unconcerned about the program around which a unity should take place. The YS editor felt that the crucial thing is to stop World War III and that the driving force towards that war is American imperialism. He hit the YPSLers for being so anti-Soviet that they forget who the real enemy is.

Although Wohlforth believes that workers democracy and socialism cannot be established in Russia without a political revolution against the bureaucracy, he pointed out that the Soviet Union has many very good and progressive aspects which must be defended against imperialism. "Remember," he said, "the battleships which are three miles off the coast of China are American ships; Russia's are not three miles from California." In spite of Denitch's great concern about someone being friendly to the Soviet Union, his organization dissolved into a group which capitulates to the policies of the State Department.

MacDonald Leadership Shuns 30-40 Fight; Young Workers Face Unemployment Problem

by Neva Kecsemeti

The young workers who are the majority of the 250,000 unemployed in steel looked to the United Steel Workers ninth constitutional convention for an answer to the number one problem facing them, unemployment. Unemployment has become a tragedy to the young workers and their families who have now exhausted their unemployment benefits. Many receive small Supplemental Unemployment Benefits which do not begin to pay for the necessities. In many states workers are denied S.U.B.

The convention showed clearly that steelworker president James MacDonald feared a discussion on the important issues and deliberately kept the convention aimed at the Dues Protest Movement. Certainly the convention spent a disproportionate amount of time on the Dues Protest Movement, which was extremely weak before the convention began. The Rarick leadership did not defend itself against the charges made against it: suing the union for a million dollars without going through the channels of the union, and supporting the "right to work" laws.

Under these conditions, many delegates found it impossible to come to Rarick's aid.

SHAM OF DEMOCRACY

However, MacDonald was haunted by 200,000-plus votes that Rarick polled when he ran for president, and had to conduct a vicious struggle against him. His bureaucratic hold has been weakened by this strong protest vote. This weakness was illustrated by the frequent meetings he had with the executive board during the convention, an innovation. MacDonald is in deadly fear of any opposition in the union, although he boisterously thumps his chest trying to prove he has nothing to fear.

The convention, which was described by capitalist politicians such as Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts as a show of democracy, allowed a few dues protesters the floor but only under the most repressive conditions. Although MacDonald received a formal vote of support, it was clear that many of the delegates could not stomach this sham of democracy, and the workers in the plants are surely not going to fall for this line.

One delegate was able to raise the issue of unemployment. A very rugged militant delegate free from the domination of MacDonald or Rarick spoke very powerfully on the need for 30-40 (30 hour week at 40 hours' pay). He emphasized this was the answer to the bosses all-out attack on our union—to fight for 30-40. This would bring the unemployed back into the struggle against the bosses by giving them something to fight for. The response to this delegate was very good and several other delegates came over to him to discuss what could be done.

The leadership of the union also realizes the steel bosses are on the offensive. This is the main reason why they have deserted the policy of "mutual trusteeship." But their resolutions signified that the union bureaucracy is not for getting very tough. Their resolutions dealing with wage policy are all general and do not deal specifically with 30-40 or other specific sections. However, room was left to continue to fight for the shorter work week at the same weekly pay. This struggle by the unions for 30-40 is a life and death issue to every steel worker.

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