

# Pressure Mounts In Opposition To Campus Witchhunt

Student pressure is mounting on campuses across the country in opposition to the witchhunting regulations imposed on college life over the past few years.

While we are still a long way from re-establishing full-blown civil liberties and untrammelled discussion and inquiry on the campus, the witchhunters of the right are finding themselves weaker and more isolated than in the past.

These are the conclusions drawn from a special YOUNG SOCIALIST survey covering Columbia, CCNY, Brooklyn (all in New York City), Temple (Philadelphia), Wayne (Detroit), Antioch (Yellow Springs, O.), University of Chicago, Roosevelt (Chicago), University of Wisconsin (Madison), Denver U., University of Colorado (Boulder), UCLA (Los Angeles), and the University of California (Berkeley).

An example of the change in campus climate is the recently concluded election at the U. of Chicago. The Independent Student League, one of the campus political parties, launched a red-baiting campaign against the traditionally left-liberal Student Representative Party.

## RED-BAITING AT U. OF C.

One ISL leaflet posed the following questions: "Do you want a Communist America? Then vote SRP." "Do you want a Student Government whose main function is writing letters to the Russian Embassy? Then vote SRP." The issue, of course, is completely fraudulent. The "evidence" utilized by ISLers, when pressed, rested primarily on two facts: that the SRP-dominated Student Government in 1952 initiated and carried through a program of student exchange with the Soviet Union which was frustrated at a late date only by the refusal of the State Department to waive the fingerprinting provision of the notorious McCarran Act, and the fact that SRP had added its petition to thousands of others requesting clemency for the Rosenbergs, in the Spring of 1953.

Even though the SRP's campaign was completely disorganized and the ISL literally blanketed the campus with leaflets the SRP won by a heavy majority, thus expressing the students' repudiation of the ISL's red-baiting tactics.

## YS AND WITCHHUNTERS

The reaction on campuses across the country to the sale and distribution of the YOUNG SOCIALIST also is a sign of the awakening of youth. At UCLA

## Court Dismisses Case Against YS Salesman

NEW YORK—Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance recently won an important free-speech issue in Manhattan Magistrates' Court when Judge Harry Andrews dismissed charges against them of "distributing handbills" and "littering." They were issued summonses while distributing copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST in front of Hunter College.

The New York Civil Liberties Union, ACLU affiliate, was active in their behalf as it has been in several similar cases recently. The NYCLU was also instrumental in having the Police Department issue to all officers a directive that distribution of political literature is protected by the Constitution and local ordinance, and is not to be interfered with.

hundreds of students protested the witchhunting attack on the paper launched by the *Daily Bruin* (see story on this page). When the *Rocky Mountain News*, conservative tabloid in Denver, attacked a YS supporter who distributed papers at the U. of Colorado (Boulder) campus the *Denver Clarion*, student newspaper at Denver University, devoted a front page article to his defense. In an accompanying editorial the *Clarion* stated: "On page one of this issue of the *Clarion* is a story that should never have to be printed in this country. It is the story of an American citizen facing false accusations, distortion of facts and perhaps worse, because he practiced his right to speak and assemble."

The YS is being distributed on (Cont'd. on Page 3, Col. 3)

Young



Socialist

voice of america's future

DECEMBER, 1957

TEN CENTS



This cartoon, captioned "Production Goes Forward," appeared in the Peking People's Daily as part of the government's "rectification" campaign aimed at the problem of bureaucracy in China. See the interview below for one young American's view of Mao's China.

# Student Gives Eyewitness Account Of 'Forbidden' Trip Through China

(Below is an interview conducted by Tim Wohlforth, Managing Editor of the YS with Nina Landau who has just returned from China. Mrs. Landau is one of the 150 Americans who attended the World Youth Festival in Moscow and one of the 41 Americans to visit China following this Festival in defiance of the U.S. State Department. She has been a student at the University of Wisconsin, is married and has a young child. She hopes to return soon to her studies in the field of children's theatre. Mrs. Landau's views are, of course, her own and are offered here as part of the YS's policy to present in its pages the views of youth of many different persuasions and traditions.)

Q.—I understand that you are among the 150 American students who attended the World Festival of Youth in Moscow and among the 41 who after the Festival toured China. Did the U.S. State Department exert any pressure against you and your fellow American students to prevent you from touring China?

A.—We were all handed a mimeographed statement written by former Governor Herter threatening us with loss of our passports, prosecution under the "Trading with the Enemy Act" as well as other more vague threats. Upon return to this country my passport was seized. I was not subpoenaed, however, though the first one of us to return was.

## WHY DID YOU GO?

Q.—What was your main motivation in making the trip to China despite the threats of the U.S. State Department?

A.—I felt that I had the right to travel wherever I wished. I think everybody has the right to first-hand knowledge of the people all over the world. I wanted to see for myself what was going on in the socialist countries.

Q.—Did the Chinese Government put any bars in the way to prevent you from getting as complete picture as possible of all facets of Chinese life?

A.—None. Of course there was a language barrier which was far

more serious in China than in Russia where many people know some English.

Q.—Would you mind describing what areas of China you visited?

A.—We went all over. We went as far North as Chanchun and saw China's first auto factory—

to Darien to see the shipyards. Then we went to Tiensin and visited the head of the industrialist party in China and saw the former pleasure clubs of the foreigners. We went to Peking and looked at all the ancient sites and tombs. I climbed the Great Wall of China which was one of the most memorable events in my life. We went South to Nanking and then to Wiehan—scene of an execution that we investigated and also to Shanghai. We took a two day cruise down the Yangtze.

## THE WORKER'S LOT

Q.—I wonder if you could describe to us the condition of the worker in China?

A.—The workers in China work (Cont'd on Page 4, Col. 2)

# UCLA Students Protest McCarthyite Attack On YS

by Peter Allan

LOS ANGELES — The *Daily Bruin*, UCLA student newspaper, has erected an iron curtain of silence around the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the activities of its Los Angeles supporters, after devoting two weeks and thousands of words in an all-out effort to brand it as "subversive" and "Communist-controlled."

After being challenged publicly to debate the issues raised by their attack on the YS, the *Bruin* editors refused to turn up at an "open chair" debate held near the campus. In a gesture of defiance to the witchhunters, over 100 students attended this meeting. Earlier, hundreds of students had protested the methods of the editors.

The *Bruin*, in screaming head-

lines, had previously sounded the alarm—"Socialists Stir at UCLA," "Radicals Pass Out Colored Circulars," "Young Socialists Organizers' Previous Affiliations Probed." (These headlines were in response to our "subversive" act of distributing the YS at the campus gates.) However, the day after the debate—silence. Even though it had reporters present, the *Bruin* did not report the "open chair" debate.

It has refused to print my reply to its allegations and smears. It has refused to print letters from the Conference of Young Socialists and from the Socialist Workers Party, both of which were attacked. It did not even acknowledge a letter from the YS Managing Editor, Tim Wohlforth. It (Cont'd. on Page 2, Col. 2)

# A Look Beneath The Oily Surface Of The Middleast

by Shane Mage

In mid-October, less than a year after the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt, the Middle East seemed to be on the brink of a major explosion. Syria charged that Turkey was preparing to attack her. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. declared their readiness to intervene with atomic bombs and missiles, transforming the threat of a local war into the threat of world war.

Fortunately, after a tense fortnight the critical situation has relaxed. The Syrian government has stated that it hopes the United Nations and world public opinion will prevent a Turkish attack. Both great powers have expressed the view that there will be no war. Peace has been preserved, at least temporarily.

## THE CRISIS

Nevertheless, the crisis, which is merely an episode in the development of Arab nationalism and of the "cold war," raises questions of the highest importance, which are in no way resolved by the fact that war is no longer imminent. Has real peace been preserved in the Middle East, or has the outbreak of war merely been postponed for a little while? What were the real aims and purposes of the U.S., Turkey, Syria and the U.S.S.R., and what does this tell us about the whole world power struggle? How and why was war prevented in October, and does this show anything about how world peace can be preserved?

What are the basic reasons for the crisis? According to the U.S. State Department, Syria has fallen under the control of "international communism," has become a Russian "satellite" and a menace to the peace and security of the "free world."

## SYRIA IS NEUTRALIST

In fact, since the overthrow of the pro-Western dictator Gen. Adib Shishekiy, Syria has taken a neutralist position in world politics. Far from being "Communist" its government is a coalition between nationalistic Syrian capitalists and the Baath (Arab Resurrection) Social party. In the past two years the Socialists have gained increasing support among the Arab workers, and also among young nationalistic army officers.

Syria has, it is true, become increasingly friendly to the U.S.S.R., while maintaining its own "neutralist" independent attitude in world politics. The reasons for this are simple. U.S. policy on the Middle East has been based on the Baghdad Pact, an anti-communist (holy) alliance of old colonial powers and feudal monarchs. In addition, the U.S. has denied all aid to any country not involved in this reactionary military alliance.

## RUSSIA'S POSITION

In contrast, the U.S.S.R., for (Cont'd. on Page 3, Col. 3)



# Youth Speaks Out!

## Teen-ager Support Isaiah Green

Dear Editors:  
You will find enclosed \$1 for a year subscription to the YS. I'd like to compliment your work especially where the Isaiah Green case is concerned. After reading the story I thought how wonderful it is that there is an existing newspaper that will bring out the **Truth**—how wonderful that the right point of view can be expressed and acted upon. I am sure I will enjoy receiving your publication.

Sincerely,  
J. M. (age 13½)  
New York  
Many Thanks

## Dear Editors:

In my speech to the court before being sentenced under the Smith Act two years ago, I said I was innocent of any crime except writing poems. The Judge gave me two years.

Now I am informed that the Prosecution—claiming "lack of evidence"—has asked the Court of

## Youth Panel Planned For New York Forum

NEW YORK — The American Forum—For Socialist Education is planning a conference on "America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy" to be held at the Great Northern Hotel on Saturday, December 7th. Opening presentations on automation and panels that will deal with labor, culture, youth, socialism and democracy and political action are planned.

Participants on the youth panel include Tim Wohlforth, Managing Editor, YOUNG SOCIALIST and member AFSE national committee; Dave McReynolds; Michael Harrington, Young Socialist League; Tony Ramirez, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Earl Durham, national committee, Communist Party; and Nina Landau who has just returned from China (see interview on page one).

There will be a reception in honor of A. J. Muste on Friday evening, December 6th at the Great Northern Hotel at which Roger N. Baldwin; Russell Johnson, American Friends Service Committee; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; Tim Wohlforth; and John T. McManus, National Guardian will speak.

Appeals to grant my plea for acquittal.

I take it that this is a vindication of my original plea (not guilty of conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government) rather than a judicial finding that I am innocent of the crime of poetry.

With this qualification, my thanks to those readers whose support over the past four years helped win my case.

Walter Lowenfels  
Mays Landing, N. J.

## Voice From England

Dear Editors:

I am a member of the Labour Party Youth Section, which was Whether seeds of Socialism can take root in such a stony field as the present day British Labour Party only time will tell, but with the Party so desperately anxious to attract youth to replenish its aged legions there seems hope.

I hope to hear from you on your side of the Atlantic soon.

Yours Fraternally,  
J. P.  
Kent, England

## Students Hit Attacks On YS

(Cont'd from Page 1, Col. 4) has denied space for letters or comment from other students on the subject.

When a reported from the **Daily Californian**, Berkeley student newspaper, called the **Bruin** office to inquire about its treatment of the controversy, Editor-in-Chief Ted Robinson replied darkly that "private investigations" were going on, and hung up.

The **Bruin** editors, in their valiant attempts to "shed light on the Young Socialist movement" (as they put it), have not seen fit to quote from any articles or editorials in our paper.

### NOW SOCIALISTS ARE THE ENEMY!

This did not prevent Editor-in-Chief Robinson from pointing grimly to that "potentially dangerous combination . . . the mixture of youth and intellect," and warning that "now more than ever before the individual campuses have to be constantly alert for the movements of this type, for the enemy now is one who fights on a psychological and sociological battlefield."

For "proof" of their accusations of "subversion," City Editor Tom Welch fastened upon several new stories in the YOUNG SOCIALIST which reported that young people of various socialist affiliations were cooperating throughout the country in socialist discussion forums and free speech demonstrations. Welch then dishonestly made it appear as if this YS coverage meant its endorsement of the views held by the different socialist organizations mentioned. He proceeded to quote the California un-American Activities Committee reports against the Communist Party, the Socialist

Workers Party, the Labor Youth League, and the Young Socialist League, as "evidence" that the YS was "subversive" and "advocated force and violence."

The Second U.S. Court of Appeals in 1951 termed the subversive list "a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney-General. . . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed organizations."

**ATTENTION LOS ANGELES READERS—The Conference of Young Socialists, a new independent organization including youth of various socialist points of view, plans an active educational program in coming weeks. Call AN 3-1533 or NO 1-3753 for further information.**

As for the un-American Committee, its reports bulge with allegations so fantastic that even the conservative UCLA administration pays no heed to it, since a number of current professors on campus are named in those reports as "pro-Communist," in addition to such notables as Lena Horne, Gene Kelly, Charles Beard, and Lincoln Steffens. The Committee's erstwhile chairman, Jack Tenney, is a prominent anti-Semite, Red-baiter, and personal friend of Gerald L. K. Smith, America's Number One fascist demagogue. These are the authorities for the **Daily Bruin**!

The reaction on the part of UCLA students to this attempt to invoke the ghost of McCarthy on campus gave the editors a swift and stunning blow. "For the past four days," admitted Magazine Editor Pete Hasci petulantly, "outspoken reaction has been to the affect that the **Daily Bruin** 'slant-

## Young Socialist

Tim Wohlforth, Managing Editor  
Bert Deck, Business Manager

Editorial Board: Bert Deck, Harold Kamm, Shane Mage, Gil Turner, Tim Wohlforth.

Corresponding editors: New York—Richard Dehaan; Philadelphia—Arthur Phelps; Detroit—Evelyn Sell; Chicago—John Worth; Minneapolis—Tom Leonard; Denver—Leonard Hodgett; Los Angeles—Peter Allan; Bay Area—Marion Syrek, Jr.; Seattle—John Severn.

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## Meaning Of Two Revolutions

November 7, 1957—Forty years ago today the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the landlords, bankers, and militarists who had ruled Russia for centuries. In place of the old rulers they constructed a new kind of state. The rich and well-born were cast down from the Olympian heights of power. And in their seats—the workers' council, the democratically elected soviet of workers deputies, the world's first socialist government.

November 7, 1957—One year ago today the Hungarian workers and peasants were fighting a losing battle against foreign tanks. They strove for what the Russian workers had conquered 39 years earlier: freedom, a socialist government, the rule of their own workers' councils. And the foreign military forces which crushed their revolution claimed to do so in the name of—socialism, and the Russian revolution!

What a cruel, cynical joke of history this seems to be! The Hungarian revolution is hailed lyrically by the rulers of the "West," the worst enemies of socialism and of the Russian revolution. The men who surrounded the infant Soviet Republic with a "cordon sanitaire" of steel and fire, who hailed Hitler and Mussolini as bulwarks against Bolshevism, who stood by with smiling "neutrality" while Franco murdered freedom in Spain, whose hands are still stained by the crimes of Algeria, Suez, Guatemala—the "Free" world gleefully hands its poisoned bouquets to the freedom fighters of Hungary. And at the same time, under the light of an artificial moon the conquerors of Budapest toast the Russian revolution.

But the story does not end there. The heritage of the Russian revolution is proving to be a curse to the Kremlin bureaucrats who have stolen it as well as to the capitalists who have always fought it.

Today young minds throughout the Soviet bloc are looking back to the Russian revolution, and demanding to know the **truth**: the true facts about the revolution, its leaders, and the causes of its degeneration; and the true ideas which inspired the revolution.

What they are finding and will find is a more deadly weapon than all Khrushchev's missiles—the simple idea that the working class can and should rule society through its own elected representative bodies, the workers' councils.

In their revolution, the Hungarian workers put this idea into practice, and created their own councils as organs of political power. Their revolution was, in the highest sense, a continuation of the Russian revolution. The identity between these two inspiring historical events cannot be expressed better than it was by the workers' council of Dunapentele in an appeal to the Russian soldiers:

"Your state was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have freedom. Today is the thirty-ninth anniversary of that revolution . . . the Hungarian people are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917.

"Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

ed its news reporting' [and] . . . smeared the good names of several UCLA students whose only aim was freedom of intellectual pursuit." Numerous letters from students entirely unconnected with the YOUNG SOCIALIST have accused the editors of "betrayal of journalistic standards," "sensationalism," "hysteria," "yellow journalism," and "McCarthyism."

## Book Backs FBI As 'Scientific' Witchhunters

by Richard DeHaan

Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story, "A Report to the People."* New York: Random House, 1956. Foreword, J. Edgar Hoover. Pp. xiii+368.

This large and handsome volume constitutes, Mr. Hoover points out in his foreword, the first work containing "in a single volume the real story recounting the FBI's birth, development and struggles." As such, it necessarily takes responsibility for the entire 50-year history of the Bureau. The author of the book states the central dilemma of the FBI, and indeed of the police force in any democracy: how to enforce the law while at the same time respecting civil rights and liberties. That the FBI has overcome this dilemma is the principal theme of Whitehead's book.

### JAZZY JOURNALESE

Our author writes in the tradition of jazzy journalese, with a veritable mastery of the innuendo and the half-truth. As but one example we may consider his treat-

ment of the Industrial Workers of the World. He repeatedly cites "alleged attempts at sabotage" by the IWW, and documents the "wide suspicion that the IWW was being financed by enemy [German] money." He has not a single word to say on the truth of these allegations; in the morality of journalese the imputations are justified and protected by the fact that they were "reliably reported."

Likewise pitched on the journalistic level, the book's political theory would disgrace a college freshman. Here is Whitehead recounting Hoover's ratiocination on the subject of Marxism:

"Few people at first could even grasp the sweep of the Communist vision. It was a conspiracy against history itself. It was a conspiracy to destroy totally and completely the religion, governments, institutions and thinking of the Judaic-Christian world, the Buddhist world, the Moslemic world and all religious beliefs . . . Here was the most evil monstrous conspiracy against man since time began—

the conspiracy to shape the future of the world on the basis of cold, 'scientific' social formulas conceived in the brain [sic] of a few Communists [pp. 41-31]."

The FBI, Whitehead argues, is able to combat such menaces without infringing civil liberties principally because of one theoretical attribute: under the enlightened leadership of Hoover, it has removed itself from politics. The vigilante raids of earlier years have been supplanted by criminological science; the ward-healing of William J. Burns and his cronies by a small army of "college-trained flatfeet."

While most will concede that loyalty investigations are to be preferred to lynch parties, this does not gainsay the fact that the latter system is every bit as "political" as the former, and that the FBI does a better job of regimentation than sporadic popular action ever could. The FBI has 141,231,773 fingerprint cards on file, which in the civil section of the file represent 60,753,062 persons.

The Bureau exercises political power in a number of ways, among them the following: First, its activities vis-a-vis other political movements far transcend that of mere information-gathering and, as many heretics have cause to know at first hand, customarily develop into harrassing and oppositional political tactics. Second, the FBI requires effective political organization simply to perpetuate itself and its bureaucracy of more than 14,000 persons—not one of whom has ever been elected to his job or subject to Civil Service requirements or other public control.

### FBI AND POWER

Above all, however, the FBI owes its life to a network of sympathizers in high places in government, not the least of which has been, as Whitehead proudly points out, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Fourth, and most important, the FBI conducts a continuing ideological campaign on a national scale against all political heterodoxies whatsoever.

The success of this campaign

may be measured by the frequency with which we hear repeated, not alone by reactionaries but by liberals and "socialists," the favorite FBI dogma, to wit: There are groups of persons constituting a breed *sui generis*, not a political party but a conspiracy which is therefore legitimately deprived of the perquisites of political life and communication with its contemporaries and competitors.

### THE UNTERMENSCHEN

At the height of McCarthyism, those few intellectuals and liberals who opened their mouths at all did so to point out that such unscientific vigilantism did not serve the purposes to which it was directed, that there were already in existence rationalized, scientific groups and laws which could carry the battle more effectively and more tellingly against the common enemy. The FBI is such a group par excellence.

It is this consideration, this kind of "anti-McCarthyism," which is responsible for the fantastic success of Whitehead's book and of this view of the FBI.



A Probe Into Its Past:

# Has The NSA A Future?

by Harold Kamm

Ten years ago a hardy, idealistic band of youths wanted to put the point of view of the American student into some kind of organized form, to make it known that students had a point of view, that they were a large group of people charged with responsibility for the country's future and with ideals as to how American society should function.

Inspired by the work being done by national unions of students in other countries, this group met at the University of Wisconsin late in the summer of 1947 and founded the United States National Student Association.

Ten years later, with a membership of over 300 schools constituting over 25 per cent of the college population, NSA is regarded as the most representative spokesman of American students. Over the past decade, how has the NSA played this role and where is it going?

### NSA AGES

Today NSA has come of age. Its programs deal with student international relations, with national affairs as they bear on student aims, and with problems of student government.

Yet, NSA seldom speaks out on national and international issues with more than a feeble whisper. While annual congresses grind out reams of resolutions filled with pious platitudes, NSA carries on little genuine lobbying as a special interest group. Although it is recognized by professional educational associations, its cooperation with these groups is usually on a step-child basis.

But this has not always been the case.

### ONCE MILITANT

Born to rough and tumble times, NSA served as a key vehicle for vigorous political protest against mounting attacks on civil liberties and attempts to gear the academic community to the cold-war drive. It also agitated against all forms of Jim Crow, so militantly, in fact, that many Southern white schools were forbidden to join by their administrations.

Steadily deteriorating international conditions and the rising witchhunt were soon felt, however. NSA split from the International Union of Students on the grounds that it was Communist-controlled and echoed the Kremlin line. The short-lived militant phase came to an abrupt halt, and the NSA leadership, taking a cue from their liberal elders, proceeded to stifle left-wing elements in the ranks to avoid being labeled "red."

NSA began to function practically as an arm of the State Department in its dealings with foreign student unions, adhering to its line as closely as the IUS followed the Kremlin. Southern and small Catholic colleges flocked to join and the movement came under control of a bloc of cold-war liberals and representatives of the Catholic schools.

At national congresses during these years, the leadership usually handed down a program for rubber-stamp treatment and squelched any opposition through skillful cloakroom intrigue.

### WITCH HUNT DOMINATES

Yet this period, which witnessed the darkest days of the witch hunt, was not completely blanketed by reaction and fear. Militant elements occasionally did manage to overcome the prevailing tide and push through congress resolutions rejecting UMT and attacking McCarthyism in relatively strong terms. But they increasingly displayed a tendency to let the liberal respectables in the national leadership call the signals and were forced to rely

upon them for "minimal concessions."

Thus, for example, while the 1954 congress held that the only standard for judging a professor was his professional competence, it went on to declare that membership in the Communist Party automatically "extinguishes the ability of a professor to be professionally competent!" Such were the result of "liberal compromise."

The logic of cold-war liberalism also dictated a paranoid apprehension of anything connected with "the Russians." At congresses during the 1950-54 period, the national leadership worked overtime in backroom caucuses to beat down any resolutions even suggesting the remote possibility of exchange with students in the Soviet orbit.

### THAW BEGINS

Visible signs that NSA was pulling out of its long retreat first appeared in 1955, reflecting the slow thaw in the college community as a whole. The congress that year, held immediately after the Geneva "Summit" conference, noted the slackening of international tensions and passed a resolution favoring exchange with students in Eastern European countries.

The pattern of congresses for the past two years has been relatively the same—a certain let up in the reaction showing through an over-riding conservative mood.

### WILEY APPROVES

In the eyes of Sen. Alexander Wiley (R.-Wisc.), NSA's most vital role is that of providing "responsible leadership" for the nation's future. Certainly the stamp of approval from one of the worst reactionaries in the Senate proves that NSA is now respectable and that all old charges from the extreme right of "Communist taint" are sheer hogwash.

Yes, the liberal student statesmen who have piloted NSA can claim respectability. But if they have won that fight, it is a hollow victory. For, in the process, their liberalism has been stripped of all progressive political content. Their proud boast of mixing "idealism and practical politics" has degenerated into the politics of cynical manipulation. And in their protest to this charge—that NSA is supposed to "reflect" the sentiments of students, conservative and apathetic as they may be—they are practicing a form of tailism that leads only to sell-out and inaction.

### DISSENTERS PRESENT

To those demands for principled stands on academic freedom and desegregation raised by a tiny but determined dissenting minority at recent congresses, they have thrown up the demagogic line of "student unity" with foreboding warnings of mass disaffiliation by Southern and Catholic schools "if stands on these issues are too strong." Thus, they have found themselves blocking with Southern racists and the cave-man right to stymie the small force whose views express a genuine concern for the responsibility of the student as a citizen.

Two roads are emerging before NSA: one points the way to a relapse into stagnation and conservatism; the other leads forward to a fresh and growing concern with the problems of students as citizens with a unique and progressive role in American life and the international community of students.

If the NSA is to live up to its responsibilities it must take the latter road and take a firm stand on civil liberties, on integration and on the basic political problems of facing the world.

# A Look Behind the Turkey-Syrian Crisis

(Cont'd from Page 1, Col. 5)

its own reasons, has expressed friendship for the Arab independence movements, and has offered very generous economic aid to Syria. According to the New York Times (Nov. 3) this aid amounts to some \$400,000,000 "to be paid off in twelve years at only 2 1/2% interest." This money is to be used for "vast dams and irrigation schemes, power projects all over the country, railroads, bridges, roads, and a detailed map of

the territory." Friendship for the U.S.S.R. has thus been a paying proposition for the Syrians, both economically and politically.

At the time of the Suez aggression, the Syrian oil workers destroyed pumping stations on the oil pipelines which carry much of the oil for Western Europe. This dramatic demonstration of Syria's solidarity with the Egyptian people was sufficient to persuade most American newspapers that the Syrian government was

indeed, "Communistic."

### IKE'S DOCTRINE

Last spring, the "Eisenhower Doctrine" was proclaimed, pledging the destruction of any "Communist" state in the Middle East. Immediately the king of Jordan staged a coup d'etat under the protecting guns of the U.S. Sixth Fleet. He arrested the democratically elected government and parliament, and dissolved trade union and political parties.

It proved harder to carry through the "Eisenhower Doctrine" in Syria, where there was no king. Members of the U.S. embassy staff were kicked out of the country on charges of conspiring with right-wing politicians to overthrow the government. In August Gen. Bizri, a socialist, was appointed chief of staff, and suddenly an immense howl went up from Washington—this was the decisive "Communist coup" in Syria.

The crisis was real, and the threat of war was terribly ominous. Just how real and ominous was indicated by New York Post reporter Robert S. Allen on Oct. 18:

"Following are a few significant happenings in this perilous cockpit:

"Turkey has mobilized three army corps on the Syrian border. Certain other forces are also on a combat footing.

"The U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean has received 'war alert' orders from the Joint Chiefs of Staff... a number of unannounced military measures were set in motion."

These were preparations for war, make no mistake about it. And the attacker would not have been Syria, whose army is 1/10th the size of Turkey's.

Why did the prepared attack on Syria not take place? Three things happened: Syria appealed to the U.N. charging Turkey with preparing aggression and calling for the establishment of an international fact-finding committee, all the Arab states declared their solidarity with Syria and promised to fight on its side in a war, and the U.S.S.R. threatened to aid Syria if attacked.

### THE ARAB'S POWER

These events symbolize important aspects of world politics today. The efficacy of the Russian threat shows that the relative military strength of the "Western" camp has declined considerably. The stand of the Arab states shows the power and growth of the colonial revolution in the Arab world. You may be sure that Saud, Faisal and Hussein have less than no sympathy for Syria. But they realize that the sympathy of the Arab masses for Egypt and Syria is so great that they dare not refuse to defend them.

And the Syrian appeal to the U.N.? It casts priceless light on the real ability of this organization to preserve peace. Syria's request from the U.N. was, after all, quite modest—an investigating committee to determine the truth of the charges against Turkey. Why should anyone be against the discovery of the real facts? If Syria's charges were false, wouldn't this commission expose them?

But somebody evidently had something to hide—for the U.S. and Turkey opposed the Syrian proposal, and by various "diplomatic" maneuvers lined up such a crushing majority against it that it could not be passed.

Finally, we all should be aware that the crisis is not really over. The plots against Syria still exist: the Turkish Army, the 6th Fleet, and the CIA are still on the scene. As long as imperialism and its instruments exist, peace in the Middle East (and in the world) will not be secure.



Part of a demonstration this spring in Jordan against America's designs in the Middle East. The banner reads: "The people in cooperation with the Army demand formation of a strong national union government that would reject the Eisenhower Plan and achieve confederation with Syria and effect purge in the internal front." See article starting on page one on Middle East crisis.

# Pressure Mounts on Campus In Opposition to Witchhunt

(Cont. from Page 1, Col. 2)

campuses throughout the country and as far away as the University of Alaska (Fairbanks).

### I SPY

The Berkeley campus of the University of California experienced an unusual example of the will of the American student to stand up to harassment. A reporter of the student paper, the Daily Californian, noticed a strange sight at an open air meeting just off campus at which Bogdan Denitch of the Young Socialist League was speaking. A young gentleman was carrying a briefcase with a little hole in one end of it. He had one hand down under the zipper and he kept fiddling with something. This caused so much attention that he was forced to leave. He was trailed to a special unregistered car with a police radio in it from whence he got another camera. He finally got so embarrassed at the amount of attention he was receiving that he was forced to leave—by streetcar as he did not want to admit any connection with the police car. Thus the tables were turned and the hunter was hunted.

### ACQUIT LYLER

We learn from Detroit that Bolza Baxter, Jr., former chairman of the Michigan Labor Youth League, has been acquitted of contempt of Congress charges on the basis of the Supreme Court's Watkins decision. Baxter was indicted in 1954 when he refused the House un-American Activities Committee's order to turn over the LYL's membership lists, financial records, and minutes. This is the only case of the whole witchhunting period involving the demand for the records of youth organization.

As another example of the progress being made in the struggle for the free and untrammelled expression of oppositional views on campus, a number of

socialist clubs have sprung up across the country.

At City College (New York) a Marxist Discussion Club is now back on campus after a fight against compulsory membership lists (see article on page 4). While there still exist a number of difficult regulations on the campuses of the University of California, political clubs are now permitted on campus. They were previously forbidden under the infamous "Rule 17." Berkeley reports the existence of a Social Renaissance Club, and at UCLA the Eugene V. Debs Club is seeking to meet the requirements. In the height of the witchhunt Wayne University (Detroit) forced the Young Socialist Club off campus. Today a move is being made by several students to gain recognition for a "non-action" discussion club.

Several socialist clubs exist on the University of Chicago campus and clubs are reported at Temple (Three Arrows Club), Antioch (Socialist Discussion Club), Columbia (E. V. Debs Club), and Brooklyn (E. V. Debs Club). Young socialists at the University of Wisconsin are building a broad club on the principles of the American Forum—For Socialist Education.

Thus we see the climate of the American campus is changing for the better, though many of the main institutions of the witchhunt persist. Teachers who were dismissed at the height of the witchhunt have yet to be rehired and many students still fear joining anything lest it hinder their future careers.

The smaller campuses and the Southern campuses, which are not covered by this survey, have yet to feel the effect of this change. It may take sometime before these outlying places again play a role in the political and intellectual life of the American student body.



## Reflections On Mutnik:

## Science, Technology And The USSR

by A Young Scientist

The dramatic appearances of Sputnik I and Sputnik II have come as a shock to the general public of the United States, and, to varying degrees, also to the majority of scientists, who should have been better informed.

By itself, it is certainly a scientific achievement of the first magnitude. But, like all great events, it has come as the vivid culmination of a series of unheeded, undramatic steps — in this case the day-by-day technical innovations and developments in a thousand fields that constitute the scientific and industrial base of a modern nation—that are the irreversible guarantors of change.

To the observer of Soviet affairs, the Sputniks are primarily important in that they are a striking indicator of the extent to which these molecular processes have gone.

## U.S.S.R. ADVANCES

For the Sputniks clearly show that in many, though by no means all, crucial scientific and industrial categories, the Soviet Union has attained a level comparable, and in some sectors, superior, to that of the United States. Her system of higher education, at least from the point of technical studies, is probably the finest in the world, and is at any rate the most extensive. This is considered so serious in the United States that Dr. Edward Teller, the famous physicist and not a socialist, has declared that if the present state of affairs continues in American education, we shall have definitely lost the scientific lead of the world in ten years.

Yet even the most cursory study of the Soviet economy reveals the extreme unevenness of its development, the contrast between the sleek jet transports and the muddy peasant villages, the ultramodern scientific laboratories, and the abysmal, overcrowded quarters in which the majority of the swollen urban population lives.

A hundred observers have commented upon these contrasts, and have been puzzled by them, or have attempted to exorcise away one-half of the picture. Some present the Soviet state as a bureaucratic oriental despotism, sinking in a morass of waste, inefficiency, corruption, and discontent; others as a dazzling modern nation that forty years ago cut the umbilical cord that bound it to the past, and has since rationally solved the significant economic and political problems of a modern nation, with the anomalies noted above appearing only as loose ends that are quickly being tied up. One need hardly remark that this intellectual cleavage of viewpoint approximates the political cleavage of the Cold War.

## NO CONTRADICTION

Yet there is no contradiction in these contrasts; they are equally significant aspects of the Soviet society, and have roots which go back far farther than the October Revolution. To neglect one aspect or the other is to neglect the reality of the situation, which is to be found only in their fusion.

The swift advances of Soviet technology and science have in a very real sense been built on the shoulders of the peasants; and built without their political consent.

Here is perhaps the deepest reason for the existence of the Communist dictatorship and bureaucracy. When the revolutions in the advanced nations of western Europe, whose vast industrial establishments were expected to provide the economic base for the development of socialism in backward Russia, failed to materialize after the first World War, the prospects for the development of democratic socialism in the Soviet Union were dealt a fatal blow.

In spite of the great progress revealed by the Sputniks, the present economic situation of the Soviet Union does not transcend the limitations on its development laid down at that time. The revolution in China and the military conquest of eastern Europe have enlarged the domain of the problem without solving it.

It would require at least several decades, at the present rate of development, before the Soviet bloc (including China in particular) could undertake the construction of a democratic socialism, much less serve as a source for the huge amount of surplus capital which the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa so desperately need. There is but one nation which stands at that point now, and it is the United States.

In a paradoxical sense, both world capitalism and the communist bureaucracy owe their con-

tinuing existence to its affluent economy. No capitalist state is really viable today without the active support, military and economic, of American capitalism; no communist bureaucracy could maintain itself for much more than a year in the face of an American labor government — a rigorously democratic incorruptible, socialist government, serving the deepest interests of the American people, and devoting its surplus capital to the underdeveloped regions.

Insofar as this is true, only a labor government is capable of "winning" the Cold War, for it would resolve it in no selfish or chauvinistic sense. Shelley said that the poets were the unacknowledged legislators of the world. We can paraphrase with justice and say that America is the unacknowledged leader of the world's socialist movement.

## Student Tells Of Life In China

an interview

(Cont'd. from Page 1, Col. 4)

six days a week. I spoke to a woman worker through an interpreter and she told me that they have no real vacations yet. They have to work throughout the year with no break except for one or two single days off. I was surprised at the number of women among the workers. Most of them were doing what looked to me like skilled work. Unlike the Soviet Union

I did not see any women engaged in heavy labor—just the lighter forms of industrial work.

Q.—What was your impression of the living conditions of the Chinese workers?

A.—They were appalling to an American. However when you talk to the people they compare them with the past and all feel that they are greatly improved as compared with before the revolution. Most people live in one room houses with a number of people in each house and with mud floors. The houses are kept very clean. They are trying to build new housing. Before the revolution many people had no place to live. Now at least they have some place.

## FREEDOM AND DEATH

Q.—You mentioned earlier that you were at the scene of an execution. You also stated that the young people in your party visited the scene and investigated it. Could you please tell us about this?

A.—The execution occurred at the scene of a student riot at a junior high school outside Weihan. The students were protesting because so few of the students would be allowed to go on to a University. They were demanding a larger quota be set for the school. However as the protest got under way, we are told, placards appeared attacking the government. Most of the students then dropped out of the protest and only 16 remained. The execution was of three people charged with leading the demonstration which was characterized as counter-revolutionary. These were the school's vice principal, a teacher, and a recreation worker. A number of us went to the scene and interviewed the people in the town. Most felt that these people were guilty of what they were charged with.

Q.—As you know prior to this

incident you describe Mao made a speech in which he stated, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." Since that date there have been reports to the effect that those who expressed really critical views are being attacked. This is true not only of those who might be called "rightist" or "counter-revolutionary" but of sincere socialists who disagreed with the government. What do you feel about the execution in this case of three people for supposedly expressing "anti-government views?"

A.—I don't approve of capital punishment. We visited the prisons in China and found that the emphasis there was on rebuilding the person. They should have used this method in this case instead of execution. However the important thing about the incident is that when we raised questions about the execution they led us to the spot and let us interview people. Would the U.S. government have allowed students from China or the Soviet Union to interview the Rosenbergs at Fort Monmouth?

## A 'RIGHTISTS' RIGHTS

Q.—What is your feeling in general about the campaign against the "rightists?" I have heard reports that this is just a blind for attack against all critics of the regime—even firmly socialist ones. Isn't this campaign a denial of the "hundred flowers" idea?

A.—I found that discussion was taking place everywhere and that criticisms were being made of the

party and the government. However all Mao asked for was constructive criticism. Persons were using this atmosphere of criticism in order to attack socialism itself. They made their views appear as if they were simply honest criticisms of the regime.

Q.—What do you mean by "attacking socialism itself?" Is a view that opposes the Communist Party but supports socialism such a "rightist" attack?

A.—I feel that the government would consider any view which attacked the leadership of the Communist Party as a rightist view. Most criticism came from the intellectuals and not the workers who support the regime.

## THE CHINESE WOMEN

Q.—As a young housewife I know you are especially interested in the place of women and their problems. Would you mind telling us your impression of the life led by the Chinese women today?

A.—The older women I saw had deformed feet and many of them had trouble walking. The young women walked with strong, athletic healthy strides. Before the revolution a father would sometimes sell his daughter to the landlord to pay the rent. Today this is all illegal. Women have all kinds of jobs. Housewives are organized on the block level and many of them are learning to read and write through their organizations. The Chinese women don't wear makeup except for actresses. They usually wear plain pants and a smock.

Q.—What are the Chinese children like?

A.—They followed us wherever we went—sometimes as many as 100-200 of them. We were objects of curiosity to them. They would come up to us and pinch us to see if the strange white pigment would come off. Many times little babies would cry upon seeing us, we looked so strange to them.

Q.—In general, what would you say was the attitude of the Chinese people towards the Americans?

A.—The students wanted very much to have exchanges with the West so that they could visit our country and we theirs. Everywhere the people expressed friendship towards us and the American people as a whole. This was also true in the Soviet Union.

## Large Student Protest Dooms Membership Lists At CCNY

by Earl Owens

NEW YORK—After introducing and steadfastly enforcing compulsory membership lists of campus clubs at City College of New York, Dr. Buell Gallagher, College president, has come out for their abolition.

Dr. Gallagher, self-proclaimed liberal, came out against the lists only after student pressure and initiative had made the entire witchhunting procedure impossible to enforce.

Three years ago, the same Dr. Gallagher, in the height of the witchhunt, pushed through a ruling requiring all clubs to submit membership lists to the college administration. His obvious intent was to get rid of the Young Progressives of America and the Marxist Discussion Club. But his plan backfired. Not only the two above clubs but also the Students for Democratic Action and the Young Democrats were forced to leave the campus rather than sub-

mit lists. The result was that at one time the only political club on campus was the Young Republicans.

This term the college chapter of the NAACP decided to dissolve rather than hand in membership lists. And Buell Gallagher is a member of the national board of the NAACP!

Meanwhile, a referendum of the student body was held. The result was an overwhelming majority against the lists. The two college newspapers and the Student Council came out against the lists. Students began to wear small buttons with the inscription, "Stop the lists."

Finally, the Student Council, in reaction to the forcing of the NAACP off campus, worked out a plan that made the lists ineffective. It arranged for eight students to sign the membership lists of all clubs that request it, whose names together with the names of four officers are handed over to the administration. Five clubs had already taken advantage of the arrangement, thus making the whole witchhunting provision ineffective.

## AN EFFIGY

There is still another incidence of the witchhunt at CCNY and the role of our "liberal" Dr. Buell Gallagher. An effigy with a rope around its neck hangs from a tree on the campus of New York's City College. Students gather and look. Someone notices a name scribbled on the effigy—Jake Rosen. This is no prank. For Jake Rosen has been charged with the "crime" of dipping the American flag of Khrushchev at the World Festival of Youth in Moscow. Although those responsible for hanging the effigy have not been found, it is known who has been behind the furor against Jake Rosen . . . one Buell Gallagher, President of City College.

It is Buell Gallagher who at the National Student Association Congress last August and in issue after issue of the two college newspapers has been mainly responsible for the witchhunting of Jake Rosen, although Rosen has not committed any infraction of college rules.

Recently, this writer was fortunate enough to speak with Nina Landau, one of Jake Rosen's fellow participants at the Youth Festival. "Jake Rosen never dipped the American flag," she asserted. "He furled the flag as a patriotic gesture. We were very shocked to read later that he dipped it."

## FREE SPEECH

Buell Gallagher has also been an ardent fighter in the cause against free speech. Last term John Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker**, was prohibited from speaking at City College, although he had been invited by an agency of Student Council.

This term the Marxist Discussion Club invited Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, People's Rights' Party candidate for City Council to speak at an election forum together with candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Despite the fact that the above ruling has been waived in two cases, one of which involved a segregationist, she was not allowed to speak.

Dr. Gallagher, a typical "professional liberal," has done his best to destroy political life at City College. If he has not been completely successful, if students still speak out and fight back for the right to organize their own clubs, to hear the speakers they wish to hear and to travel wherever they wish, no one can blame Dr. Gallagher for not trying.

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