

# Visitors to China Demand U.S. Govt. 'Return Passports'

The Passport Division of the U.S. State Department has granted hearings on the return of passports to the young Americans who visited China recently. The first hearing is scheduled for January 27. This action followed the threat of court action by the lawyers of some of the young Americans unless hearings were granted immediately.

At least 16 of those who visited China are now appealing for the return of their passports. Another 24, still abroad, have had their passports canceled by the State Department and their stay in other lands threatened.

Jake Rosen, one of the 42, describes the issues involved in the case in an interview with the YOUNG SOCIALIST. Rosen, a student at City College of New York, has received nationwide publicity as the person who allegedly dipped the flag to Khrushchev at the World Youth festival in Moscow. This accusation raised such hysteria that Rosen was hung in effigy on the CCNY campus. Jake Rosen denies the charges, as do others who were with him in Moscow.

## WHY GO?

Q. Jake, why did you go to China in spite of the State Department ban on such travel?

A. There are many reasons why each one of us went to China. We all felt that the State Department has no business telling us where we can or cannot go. However, we went, not because we were forbidden to go, but because we wanted to see China for ourselves.

Q. Would you please tell us the sequence of events which followed your trip to China?

A. We left China in two groups, one by plane and one by train. I went with the group that went by plane. When we arrived in Moscow we were met by an official of the U.S. Consulate who asked to see our passports. He then told us that they were good for only 60 days and that if we stepped into a U.S. Consulate they would be stamped "good only for return to the United States."

Q. What happened when you arrived in the United States?

A. I was met by an immigration official who took away my passport.

## A SOUVENIR

Q. I understand that some of those who went to China refused to hand in their passports to immigration officials upon their return. Is this true?

A. Three refused to hand their passports over. They were detained by immigration officials for a short time. One returned his passport but the others stuck it out and they were finally released. Of course their passports are no good except as souvenirs.

## WE ARE FIGHTING

Q. Are you and the rest of the young people who went to China doing anything about this seizure?

A. As far as I know everyone who has so far returned to the U.S. has consulted a lawyer and is now fighting for the return of his passport. Two lawyers, Stanley Faulkner and Leonard Boudin, are attempting to get hearings for the people involved before the passport board of appeals. The State Department seems to be deliberately stalling. They hope to stall until the passports expire and then we will have to fight to get new passports. They feel they will have a stronger legal case that way. The two lawyers are threatening to get a court order forcing the State Department to

give us a hearing. Once we get a hearing and if we are turned down we will take it to the highest administrative body within the passport division and then, if necessary, into the courts.

Q. What is the significance of your case to the young people of this country?

A. It is significant to everyone, not simply young people. However, since young people tend to travel more and explore new places and countries it would be of special importance

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# Girl, 17, Dies of Bungled Abortion; Where Does the Guilt Really Lie?

by Judy Mage

"Girl, 17, Found Dead; Victim of Bungled Abortion." So read the headlines in the New York papers one chilly evening this past December. Reading further we could learn more of the grim, typical story: the unwanted pregnancy, the helpful boyfriend, the "surgeon"—in this case a hat-check girl—the operation on the floor of a hotel room, death within the half hour, a secret burial in a trash-filled grave; and then, discovery, and the charges of manslaughter.

Yes, another tragedy, another victim—of what? Of a "bungled abortion," of a hat-check girl operating on a dirty floor with crude instruments? Or rather, another victim of that law which illegalizes this operation, transforming what could be relatively safe and minor surgery if performed under strict antiseptic conditions by a trained physician, into a dangerous, often crippling, and sometimes fatal affair.

## HOW MANY VICTIMS?

How dangerous? Experts estimate that from 100 to 150 women and girls die each week in the United States as a direct result of "criminal" abortions. Estimates of the total number of illegal abortions which occur in this country each year vary from the conservative approximation of 330,000—about 1,000 daily—to as high as two million.

It is of course the poorer women and girls who are the chief victims of the "kitchen" abortion, also known medically as the "suicide abortion." Those with more money to spend are much more apt to find a "real" doctor who can supplement his income considerably in return for undergoing a certain risk. Going prices, according to a study made two years ago, ranged from \$250, a low average for physicians, up to \$400, \$600, and well over \$1,000.

Particularly shocking to anyone who does any research in this subject, is the discovery that between eighty and ninety per cent of the illegal abortions are performed, not on wild-eyed, delinquent teenagers (or even on nice, naive teenagers, as the 17-year-old described above), but on married women, most of whom are already mothers. In addition, some researchers estimate that half the criminal abortions are performed on women who aren't even pregnant.

## LEGALIZE ABORTION

What is the solution? There are some countries which have advanced to the point of permitting abortions on other than "therapeutic" grounds. In Denmark, Austria, Cuba, Switzerland, the Soviet Union (after a throwback of 20 years), Sweden, Japan, and a few other countries, legal grounds include economic, psychiatric, eugenic and other social factors.

In the United States, opponents of any "softening" of the abortion laws summon up a number of arguments, but there are two which stand out above the rest. The first is maintained in particular by the Catholic Church, which argues that since an embryo is a "living person" it would be a sin to take its life. One might question the consistency of this pure-minded organization which stood by quietly while unbaptized embryos were

destroyed in great quantities at Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and which has justified and continues to justify the murder, in big and little wars, of hundreds and thousands of "living persons" who happen to be outside the womb.

## GUARDIANS OF MORALITY

The other argument, also advanced by the Church but by many others as well, concerns the torrent of promiscuity, especially among youth, which would presumably result if the fear of pregnancy were removed as a deterrent. But by what right do these people declare themselves the arbiters of what is right and wrong? Who elected them? Why not let young people decide for themselves what their standards of sexual morality should be, rather than impose someone else's standards upon them?

It is true that legalizing abortion is not the complete answer. Even more important is the encouragement of a form of "preventive medicine"; i.e., birth control. Although disseminating birth control information is not illegal in most of the U. S., the major agency in this field, Plan-

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# Young Organizer Describes Racism, Unionism in South

by George Payne

(The writer of this article is a 23-year-old unionist from New England just returned from a period of union organizing in the South).

One of the central impressions that I have gathered from my work in the South is that the trade union movement, with all its weaknesses, is, in the long run, as great a threat to the existence of segregation, as school integration.

Most AFL-CIO unions, however, (though I can speak specifically only in regard to the union that I am with) seek, in the South, to

avoid any head-on clash with the race issue when conducting an organizing drive. It is felt that bringing up the race problem, however indirectly, would only play into the hands of the employers and reactionary elements and cripple the union's efforts.

## EDUCATE LATER

The doctrine of the average AFL-CIO union organizer in the South today is therefore—avoid any initial clash over the race issue, get established first, educate later. Of course there are exceptions. The Packinghouse workers, I understand, has a policy of meeting race problems head-on in their

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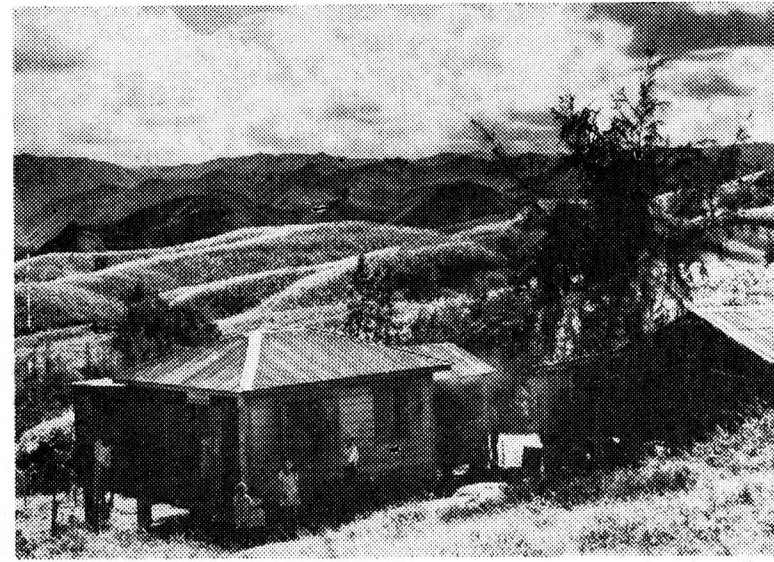
# THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

Ten Cents

Voice of America's Future

Vol. 1, No. 5

FEBRUARY, 1958



(Puerto Rico Office of Information)

This home of a foreman on a sugar plantation in Puerto Rico is considered a "Better Than Average Rural Home." An article on America's own colony by a student from Puerto Rico appears on page 3.

# Opposition Fights Fraternity's Grip Over Berkeley

by James Robertson

BERKELEY, Calif.—A challenge to fraternity domination of the student-body government at the University of California came to a climax in early December. After an election campaign the like of which has not been seen for at least a decade, the informal Greek letter-alumni-administration coalition managed to retain complete control despite a 40% vote to THE SLATE, as the opposition running on a common platform was called.

The foundation for eventual removal of student government from the hands of its present conservative and unrepresentative directors was laid several years ago by the University's controlling Board of Regents. The Regents for financial reasons changed regulations so that every student could vote and participate in student body affairs. Formerly such participation was limited to that half of the students who could afford to lay out fifteen dollars a year for the privilege. Thus the Regents, bastion of downright reaction that they are, made a reality out of the radicals' demand of many years standing that every student be able to vote.

## THE SLATE'S SLATE

In the election itself the issues involved and tactics employed covered an extraordinary wide field. Mike Miller, the most prominent SLATE figure, opened the campaign by resigning from the student executive committee in protest over that body's refusal to go beyond activity appropriate to a business corporation's board of directors. Then the issue was raised of removing the faculty, alumni and administrative representatives who hold voting posts on the student executive committee.

National Student Association became involved with two proposals advanced: one by SLATE people to strengthen NSA; another by opponents to remove it entirely from the Cal campus. For working students SLATE proposed to raise the minimum wage of those employed on and around the campus.

SLATE came out for denial of student facilities to campus groups which racially discriminate—that is, the fraternities and sororities; for using the pressure of student opinion to support struggles against racism not only on its own campus, but in the South and in South Africa as well.

## SLATE VS WITCHHUNT

SLATE stood against loyalty oaths, against interrogation of professors about their students by the FBI, for extended use of campus facilities by political groups including socialists, for exemption of conscientious objectors from ROTC; in short, against the witch-hunt and for academic freedom and civil liberties.

SLATE spelled out its program and viewpoint in a whole series of open-air meetings at the University's Sather Gate as well as in 40,000 leaflets, an unprecedented number.

The actual election was complete with skulduggery. At one point the entire SLATE was ruled

(Continued on Page 3)

# Will the 'Recession of 1958' Lead To the Depression of 1958-19??

by Shane Mage

As 1957 drew to a close, lengthening lines in front of every unemployment compensation office in the country told the story. An old story, this tale of increasing unemployment (4 million at the last count), decreasing production, lower living standards for many Americans, the threat of destitution for some (only a few hundred thousand so far—not much to worry about, yet) and a gnawing insecurity for all. An old story, as old as the capitalist system itself. But a new and unexpected experience for the generation which has come of age in the lush prosperity of the past decade.

All the economists agree that the economy is declining, and that it will continue to decline well into 1958. It doesn't take very acute vision to see that. But as to the essential questions of how long the recession will last, how deep it will go, and what should be done to recover from it, the capitalist economists offer us neither consensus nor clarity. Instead we find a vague optimism about a recovery in the second half of 1958—an optimism which seems to be based more on the idea that predicting a depression is "bad for business" than on a considered analysis of economic factors.

But before we can form a clear idea of what lies ahead for the American economy, we must first know the reasons for the present recession. Why should men and machines be idle when the people of this country (let alone the people of the world!) need every bit of wealth that they can produce.

## BOOM & BUST

Most conservative economists would answer this question in these terms: the "business cycle" or succession of economic ups and downs, has always been and will always be a part of the capitalist economic system. What we see now, according to this school of thought, is simply a mild contraction which will be followed by a new wave of prosperity, if the government avoids unwise economic policies.

With the first half of this proposition we emphatically agree. But it is necessary to go a lot farther, and see exactly why capitalism must go through this boom and bust cycle before assurances about the "mildness" of the recession are in order.

The answer must start with the basic characteristic of the capitalist economic system: under capitalism goods are produced for one reason only, for sale at a profit. And a profit can be made only if there is "effective demand" for the goods, only if people are able and willing to buy them at the price requested.

A capitalist "boom" like the one we have been living through for the past decade is a period of economic expansion on all fronts. Production of consumer goods increases mightily. So, to a greater (and decisively important) extent, does production of "capital goods," machines and factory buildings to produce further goods. At the peak of a boom, these "capital goods" provide the main stimulus for business expansion. The "capital goods" in their turn greatly increase the capacity of industry to produce all kinds of goods, both "capital" and "consumer."

However, at the peak of the boom, businessmen suddenly make an alarming discovery. In order that their greatly increased capacity be worthwhile, it must result in greatly increased profits, so that with a much greater invest-

ment they will make the same profit per dollar of investment. But (as all of us have experienced in the past years) the prices of just about everything we have to buy has gone way up. And this is just as true for most capitalists—the cost of everything they have to buy: material, machines, labor, money (interest), etc., has increased as rapidly as have the prices of everything you and I have to buy.

## SQUEEZE PLAY

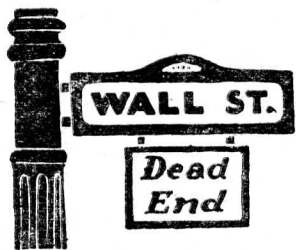
The result is what economists have called the "cost-price squeeze." If a manufacturer increases his prices to make up for increased costs he finds there is no longer enough "effective demand" for his product to sell all of it. So he must decrease his production to what he can sell, and his profits suffer.

When profits, production, and sales are decreasing, few businessmen want to add useless capacity to their plant, or produce unsalable goods. So they stop spending money on expansion, and lay off workers in their own plants. And this contraction has a snowballing effect—"consumer goods" industries can sell less goods to workers who are unemployed. "capital goods" industries can sell fewer new machines to businessmen no longer planning to expand. As the depression of 1929-1940 showed, the consequences of this process can be disastrous indeed.

All the signs of a serious crisis: overproduction, lower profits, decreasing investment, increasing unemployment, are present in the American economy at the close of 1957 (as is clear from even a cursory survey of the N.Y. Times "National Economic Review" of January 6th). So far the decline has been "mild," and if it could be kept at its present level it would be quite tolerable for the capitalist system (though not exactly pleasant for the unemployed).

## THE DYNAMITE KEG

But will the recession stay "mild?" Radiant optimism is very much out of place, for it is clear that the economy may be



in serious trouble. The fundamental reason for alarm is that the decline so far has been mainly a result of a sharp drop in the most important factor of economic growth, capital goods production (particularly steel and machine tools). This decline is only beginning to spread in consumer goods industries like automobiles and textiles. Business inventories have scarcely declined at all. In all past, declines in inventories and consumer goods production have been compensated by increases in capital goods. Today that prop is at best much weakened.

But the real dynamite in the economy lies in the field of consumer debt. A great deal of our past prosperity has been paid for on the installment plan and by mortgages. The burden of debt has expanded continually, right through 1957. If unemployment in 1958 should cause a great increase in foreclosures, repossessions, and defaults, complete economic collapse would be an imminent prospect.

—OR THE PRINTING PRESS? Some economists claim that a

serious recession will be avoided by a great increase in government spending for military purposes. But if a much bigger expenditure should be proposed, one question would still have to be answered—how would it be paid for? If taxes increased to cover the cost, that would merely transfer money from consumers' pockets to those of the government, and not increase purchasing power at all. And if the money could not be raised by taxes, it could only come from "deficit spending" or, in plain English, printing new money to pay the bills. But this runs the risk of a runaway inflation, nor would it help in solving the basic problem of increased costs and diminished profits, due precisely to inflation!

Can we then say that the recession of 1957-8 is bound to become the great depression of 1958-19?? The answer is that we don't know yet, because the recession

is not yet deep enough to test the real effectiveness of such "stabilizers" as unemployment insurance, and because profits, though decreasing, are still high, and expansion, though lessening, has not stopped. But we do know one very important thing: that the causes for a depression are present and that there is thus a serious possibility of a new 1929, a possibility which cannot be gotten rid of by economic hocus-pocus, or assurances that "prosperity is just around the corner."

But for an intelligent and ra-

tional human being, isn't this fact alone enough to condemn our present capitalist economic system? In a country which desperately needs new schools, where many, many, people are still "ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed," in a world which is in dire need of everything America could possibly produce, our fabulous "people's capitalism" offers us a "mild" number of unemployed, useless men and machines, and threatens us with much worse. Is a complete collapse needed to make the lesson any clearer?

Vol. 1, No. 5

401

February, 1958

## Young Socialist

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1.00 a year, \$.50 for six months. Bundle rates: \$8.00 for first 100 copies, \$6.00 for each additional 100. NOTICE: application for second-class mail privileges is pending in New York, N. Y. The YOUNG SOCIALIST is published monthly at 218 7th Ave., New York 11, N. Y. Phone: WA 9-5630. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which are expressed in editorial statements.

## ACLU REPORT REVEALS:

# Civil Liberties Gains in 1957

"Justice for All: Nor Speak With Double Tongue," 37th Annual Report of the American Civil Liberties Union, July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1957. Pp. 113. \$75.

by Richard DeHaan

The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization which socialists have traditionally approached with ambiguous judgment. On the one hand it is, and since 1920 has been, what it calls itself: "the only permanent national non-partisan organization defending the Bill of Rights for everyone—without distinction or compromise." It does yeoman service in the day-to-day struggle to preserve and extend civil liberties, and has been only occasionally fastidious about those whom it defends.

On the other hand, socialists balance their appreciation of this dauntless service by recognition of attendant sacrifices to expediency. The ACLU's tactics have perennially been ultra-liberal and excessively legalistic. It excludes from membership those whom it believes to be "totalitarian." Its leaders view the fight for civil liberties as an integral element in "our national defense," and its principal justification consists in the argument that abridgements of civil liberties hamper the arms race (p. 6).

The year 1957 must be viewed as basically a series of successes for the ACLU and for civil liberties. In its just-published report covering the fiscal year, the Union attempts to evaluate these successes in juxtaposition to the series of defeats which civil liberties also underwent. The ACLU's report is in the context of its own organizational successes: a jump in membership from 10,000 in 1949 to 40,000 in 1957. Civil liberties has become big business in the United States, and the ACLU operates on an annual budget of some \$368,000, holds numerous securities and has a net worth of nearly \$80,000. In addition it enjoys the volunteer services of a network of lawyers in every state and nearly every significant city in the country.

The major victories of the past year are already well-known: the Jencks, Watkins, Sweezy and Smith Act decisions of the Supreme Court; The ACLU participated in most of these epoch-making cases. It draws from their results, and particularly from those of the Watkins case, the logical conclusion: "The House

Committee on Un-American Activities ought never to have come into existence, and ought to be abolished" (p. 6).

At least in the key area of the civil liberties of Communists, the past year appears in balance to have been a decided victory.

In the field of international civil liberties, the ACLU notes little improvement. The report states that "American policy on self-government or independence of colonial peoples is still dictated by cold war strategy, in support of the European colonial powers, reluctant to yield their colonial possessions" (p. 96). And, despite the activities of the Union in the field, the report notes that, "Law for civil and political liberties through the UN has made no progress in the last year" (p. 96). The ACLU's critique of U.S. military administration in the Ryukyu Islands (p. 100) is clear and devastating.

Other issues with which the Union has concerned itself in the past year include academic freedom, rights to private employment, civil rights of Negroes, labor unions, American Indians, movies, radio and TV, separation of church and state, homosexuals, nudists, fluoridation, vagrancy, wiretapping and eavesdropping, lie detector tests, passports, etc.

Despite the undoubted victories and reversals of trends, however, the U.S. remains a country in which victory for civil liberties is the exception and not the rule. The ACLU report notes many deficient areas of civil liberties, and many of these have become so habitual as to be popularly accepted as inevitable. Foremost among them is the continued ex-

istence of the weakened Smith Act, and of the numerous anti-civil libertarian laws of the McCarthyite period. In addition there are widespread practices violative of civil liberties, most of them little known. For example, a committee of the Michigan Bar reports that the police of that state, principally in Detroit, make 20,000 illegal arrests each year (p. 76). In Chicago, a U.S. Customs official announced that, "of the 400,000 pieces of mail received last year from behind the Iron Curtain for delivery in Chicago, 150,000 pieces were held and sent to Washington for further checking"

But the ACLU continues its fight for "Justice for All." The Union's inadequacies are so obvious as to be glaring. It has refused, for example, to accept the case of the New York pacifists who annually decline to take cover during air raid drills on what is to this layman the most tortuous reasoning conceivable (p. 69). In 1956 it refused to support petitions to give Morton Sobell a new trial.

## China Passport Case...

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to them. What is involved is the fundamental right to travel. Either you are allowed to travel wherever you want or the State Department can tamper with and change the Constitution of the United States to suit its purposes. It is a question of whether one is willing to defend the Constitution or see it get kicked around.

## I WOULD GO AGAIN

Q. I understand that the State Department is willing to return your passport if you promise never to go to China again or to any other place proscribed by the U.S. What do you think of this?

A. The State Department doesn't say it will return the passports on this basis, it merely says it might. Anyway I won't promise anything of the sort and I don't think the others who went to China will either. This is evading the central issue here. The government has no right to proscribe certain areas and tell American citizens they can't travel there. If the same circumstances were to occur again as occurred in August I for one would not hesitate to go and visit China.

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STUDENT ANSWERS QUESTION:

# Is Puerto Rico Really Free?

by John G. Lopez  
(The author of this article is a student at the University of Puerto Rico and has been active in the student independence movement there).

Progressive-minded Americans, while showing great concern about colonialism in Cyprus and Algeria, have paid too little attention to colonialism on America's doorstep. The so-called Associated Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a good example of such colonialism.

Puerto Ricans, although nominally citizens of the United States, can vote neither for the President nor for a Congressional representative. The people elect a bi-cameral legislature but the U.S. Congress, in which the Puerto Rican people have no vote, can at any time abolish and change the entire setup.

In addition Puerto Ricans suffer many of the liabilities of U.S. citizenship but few of its benefits. For instance, Puerto Ricans have been tried by Federal Courts for political criminal offenses. At this very moment leaders of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico (not affiliated with the CPUSA) are facing trial under the Smith Act. Puerto Ricans are liable to compulsory military service and in order to study at the University of Puerto Rico one has to serve in ROTC for two years. The Taft-Hartley Law applies to Puerto Rico but the Minimum Wage Law does not.

There are four major parties on the Island—the Popular Democratic, which is headed by Governor Munoz Marin, the Independence, the Communist, and the Nationalist.

## FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Independence Party (PIP) was formed in 1947 by ex-members of the Popular Democrats who felt that Munoz betrayed independence after coming to power on a program advocating it. The PIP polled about 20% of the vote in 1952 but in 1956 it fell to 12%. They believe that independence can be obtained by voting and participation in elections.

There are many good and progressive persons in the PIP but there are also reactionaries and rich landowners who want independence in order to pay lower wages to their workers. It had some labor backing but now it has largely fallen away, leaving the PIP a middle-class party.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico is very small, composed of a few dedicated individuals. The CP occasionally runs candidates on a write-in basis. It may be said to Gov. Munoz's credit that he had not been too eager to per-

secute the Communists, though Puerto Rico has had its share of witchhunting.

## PUERTO RICAN COMMUNISTS

Puerto Rican Communists support independence and generally back the PIP in the absence of their own candidates. However, during World War II they toned this down in order to help the Allies. Also one Communist leader, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, published a book called "Los Derrotados," criticizing the Independence movement as a whole and especially the Nationalists. This book so pleased Munoz Marin that he was awarded favorable press publicity and a prize of \$1,000 by a literary society.

The third important independence movement is the Nationalist Party. It is headed by Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, a lawyer with a doctoral degree from Harvard and a man known throughout Latin America. He is now in prison, serving out a life sentence for allegedly participating in a Nationalist uprising.

The Nationalists do not believe that independence can be brought about by elections and refuse to participate in elections on the grounds that to do so would be to recognize the authority of the United States over Puerto Rico. They are not at all hostile to Americans as such and have a great reverence for Jefferson and Washington as men who also

fought for independence. They claim that the people will show their will for independence by boycotting the elections.

## THE NATIONALISTS

The nationalists have been the victims of intense persecution by the United States and Puerto Rican governments. About 30 Nationalists are in prison in the U.S. for "sedition," including working people with large families who are in a desperate economic situation. Also many Puerto Ricans have been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the Army.

The Nationalists do not claim to favor shooting for the sake of shooting, and acts of violence such as the Washington Congress shooting were acts of individual Nationalists, not planned by the Party. Some of the prisoners, including the poet and university professor, Matos Paoli, in no way participated in the violence.

Socialists and progressive-minded people should support Puerto Rico's fight for independence by demanding freedom for Dr. Albizu Campos (a man who is terribly sick), complete independence for Puerto Rico, and a favorable trade agreement with Puerto Rico.

Here in the United States we should extend the hand of friendship to our Puerto Rican brothers, understand them, learn their language, and thus be of help in their fight for justice, equality and decent treatment.

# Union Organizer Reports on South...

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organizing campaigns, using teams of mixed organizers. This undoubtedly makes things harder to begin with, but has more lasting results in the long run. The trouble with the "education later" approach is that it can serve as a rationale for a more bearable segregation. Thus some progress is made, but white supremacy remains basically intact and able to reassert itself in some more unstable future time.

In the organizing drive that I was on just before leaving the South, we were afraid that if we organized the Negro plant first, out of the company's two plants, one employing whites only and the other Negroes only, the workers in the all-white factory might call us "n—r" lovers and refuse to sign up.

Yet the Negro plant seemed easier to organize, for the colored workers had a better tendency to stick together, seemed more pro-union, and were fewer in number. The white workers were less union conscious and manifested no solidarity, being greatly afraid of the boss. In the colored plant the workers ripped down "colored only" signs over the drinking fountains and none of them squealed about it to the boss; some even boycotted the water coolers when the Jim Crow signs were put back up. While house-visiting the white workers I encountered a number of "antis" (totally anti-union) but I only ran into one anti-union Negro worker in that situation.

But the anti-segregationist will not get very far with Southern whites by indignant moralistic preaching, however just his argument may be. The racist, too, seeks to bring out the "moral and righteous" sentiments in the Southerner's heart, forever portraying the South as the martyred underdog. I feel that it is the more economic approach that will help the Southerner see the light of truth. We must explain to them the employer's device of divide and rule for the sake of maintaining

cheap white labor and still cheaper black labor. The Southerner should be argued with quietly and patiently — the anti-segregationist should utilize the elbow room given by the Southerner's initial warmth and courtesy and appeal to the purely logical common sense of the pay-check-minded worker, and secondly to his higher moralistic sense. Consistency and friendly consideration on the part of the anti-segregationist whites plus clever, bold and well-considered action on the part of the Negro workers seems to be best strategy.

The labor movement needs every bit of help it can get, and is terribly hampered by the "right-to-work" laws and restrictive local ordinances. It is an expensive and painstaking job trying to sign up more than half of the workers in a plant prior to any hint to the employers that union recognition is desired.

The top AFL-CIO leadership, tucked away safely up North, doesn't seem to be exactly trying to break its collective neck in an effort to organize the South. It seems to me, as a socialist, that the fat pay some top AFL-CIO officials get (\$30,000 a year for George Meany and \$50,000 a year for Dave MacDonald) is a needless diversion of funds that could be put to better use aiding in the organization of the South.

## NEED ACTIVISTS

The higher morale, hard-working characteristics, and the efficiency and dispatch of socialist and progressive union organizers could be put to good use in Dixie, as the heyday of the IWW and the communists and left-wingers who helped to build the CIO in the Thirties demonstrated.

## Comments From Around—And About

Don Sherwood, San Francisco TV comic: "How would you like your daughter to marry Governor Faubus?"

Elvis Presley: "I consider rock n' roll the greatest music on earth. It is very noteworthy, and namely because it is the only thing I can do."



(Etta Hulme in Texas Observer)

# Youth Notes

MIAMI BEACH—Representatives of over 750 colleges and universities split over the issue of Federal aid to higher education during the meeting of the Association of American Colleges here. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College and leader of the group favoring Federal aid, stated that private sources could not do the job of financing that which was necessary. "We know from experience that Federal Funds can go to higher education without loss of integrity," he said. The college officials were able to agree, however, on a program of exchange of students and teachers with countries of the "Soviet Bloc." . . . Over 120,000 people watched "Sunrise Semester," an early morning TV course in comparative literature conducted through New York University which has just wound up its first semester. The experiment shows the immense possibilities for educational use of television. . . . The New York City Board of Education reports 5,000 teaching vacancies in the public school system. Both the New York Teachers Guild and the Teachers Union pointed to the poor working conditions in the school system as the cause.

LITTLE ROCK—Some twenty-five to thirty National Guardsmen are still assigned to 24-hour duty around Central High School here. Eight of the nine heroic Negro students are still attending school. The ninth Negro student is under suspension following a cafeteria incident involving two white boys who charged that she had dumped a tray of food on them when they blocked her way. No action was taken against the white boys. . . . A 22-year-old Negro in New York City, under sentence of death in the slaying of a grocer, is planning to appeal the conviction on the grounds that he was tried before an all-white jury. . . . Highlander Folk School, long pro-labor and integrated in the heart of Tennessee, is being subjected to a witchhunting barrage whipped up by Governor Griffin of Georgia. He threatens to publish a quarter million pamphlets at taxpayers' expense branding the famous adult education school as a "Communist training school."

RUSSIA—An interview conducted by Mike Wallace with Dr. Goodwin Watson, Columbia University professor who recently returned from Russia, reveals a good deal about the Russian educational system that we in America could learn from. We reproduced part of it below:

Q. "Do the Russians really take education more seriously than we do?"

A. "Yes, A real faith in education pervades the whole Russian society."

Q. "But this is true of the U.S. too, isn't it?"

A. "Yes, but there's a vital difference in the points of view of the two countries. The Russians assume that everybody can learn foreign languages, mathematics, science, astronomy, psychology. In America, we've emphasized IQ's and intelligence tests, and in consequence, we decide that certain pupils can't learn difficult subjects. The Russians threw these tests out in 1934 because they felt that differences in performance were due more to differences in opportunity than to heredity."

Q. "Well, how does this work out practically?"

A. "Every Russian youngster who shows ability gets a stipend that pays for his education. And if he gets all A's in his work, he gets 20 to 25 per cent more rubles."

Q. "You mean it all depends on the individuals?"

A. "Yes. The point of Russian education is to give everybody the kind of education that makes him stand on his tiptoes and stretch himself to the utmost."

Q. "Isn't Soviet education overbalanced on the side of science?"

A. "No. That's a misunderstanding. Sixty per cent of the pupils' time is spent on the humanities. Pupils are expected to know Russian, a foreign language, plus history and economics, mathematics and science."

NEW YORK CITY—The General Faculty at CCNY has recently passed a resolution urging the Board of Education and the municipal college Council of Presidents to rescind its ban on Smith Act violators appearing on campus. Earlier the CCNY students showed their disapproval of compulsory membership lists for campus clubs by an overwhelming 3-1 vote in a referendum. Two years ago, the last time such a referendum was conducted, students rejected lists by a 2-1 margin. The students approved the principle of exchange programs with Russia by 1904 votes to 741. Also at CCNY, a blow was struck against academic freedom when the New York Board of Higher Education dismissed Professor Warren B. Austin from the college. The popular Shakespearean scholar was accused of falsely denying having ever been a member of the Communist Party. CCNY Student government officials supported Austin, charging the Board of Education with lack of evidence. . . . The Young Socialist Alliance reports a turnout of over 200 people at its showing of Eisenstein's classic "Ten Days That Shook the World."

# Opposition Fights Fraternities . . .

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off the ballot on a technicality until mass pressure forced a reversal. Popular indignation over this maneuver undoubtedly contributed to SLATE's show of voting strength. In the voting itself irregularities came to light with anti-SLATE, Greek letter students admitting that their side engaged in the practice of having students using different student-body cards vote several times each at different voting stations.

The drive for a genuine and full student government has suffered a partial set-back this time amidst the current conditions of a political and careerist student orientation. But with the size of support achieved by SLATE even under these conditions, it was a defeat which promises the victors a grim future.

# The American Road to Socialism—A Discussion

The YOUNG SOCIALIST is printing the following two articles in the hope that they will help contribute to the present discussion now going on among young socialists. Our pages are open to comments by others on this or any other topic.

Steve Martin is a recent graduate of a New York high school and member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Previously he was a member of the Labor Youth League.

Tim Wohlforth is presently managing editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. He was formerly editor of Co-ops In Action (organ of the North American Student Co-operative League), chairman of the Eugene V. Debs Club of Oberlin College, and a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist League.

Both writers express their own views and do not speak for any organization.

## Steve Martin

Feeling that socialism is a better form of organization of society than capitalism, and being concerned with the role that young people can play in bringing socialism about, I wish to present some thoughts on the subject in the hope that they will stimulate further discussion. Let me warn, however, that while this type of discussion is most necessary, it must never be carried on at the expense of discussion and action on the immediate issues of the day.

I think that just as America is a country unlike any that has ever existed, so the achievement of socialism in this country will be carried on in a manner which has never taken place before. I believe that we will reach socialism through a process of economic, political and social evolution.

Marx said that under capitalism there is an ever present tendency toward economic crisis. The history of our country has proven this to be true. There is also in this country a combination of forces which act in opposition to this tendency. Among these forces are the war budget, inflation, and easy credit. These measures stem from the efforts of government and big business, and while they meet with a small degree of success, this success is only temporary.

### ANTI-DEPRESSION FORCE

There is, however, another force which tends to stave off not so much the crisis, but the manifestation of the crisis—that is depression. This other anti-depression force stems from the people and will, I believe, eventually be compelled by the nature of capitalism to become a force for socialism.

It is my contention that an action taken by the government in the interest of public welfare is a step toward socialism. When the demand for public welfare is so great that the government is forced to play an active part, the government is then being inadvertently moved from the normal course of a capitalist government toward the path of a socialist one.

The Marxian analysis of capitalist economy as well as present economic trends indicate that the tendency toward depression becomes more and more acute—due to the fact that the economic props of our economy are proving themselves to be insufficient (or, in light of the changing international scene, unusable). As this tendency develops, the people through their trade union organizations and the existing political parties will demand ever-increasing amounts of federal welfare.

### NEED WELFARE STATE

What this leads to is a welfare state. I think that the economic, political and social conditions of the welfare state are prerequisite to the coming of socialism and a necessary step, as I shall now demonstrate. Let us start with the assumption that no one in this country is going to starve to death if he can help it. We know that Roosevelt's program was fought every step of the way by strong elements in his own party as well as the Republican. We

also know that Roosevelt himself did not, or was not permitted, to go far enough—and what finally got us out of the depression was World War II.

Therefore, assuming that there will not be another war, welfare far beyond anything this country has ever seen will be required to mitigate a depression. The working people who for the most part support the Democratic Party will, in all probability, turn to that party, as they did in the Thirties, and New Dealism will very likely be reinstated to a greater or lesser degree. But the Democrats could not do a complete job in the Thirties and there is no reason to believe that they ever can, unless, of course, the entire structure of that party undergoes a complete transformation. This is because the Democratic Party is backed by the high-finance high-power capitalists who have in the past stood opposed to any social reform that wasn't to their benefit, particularly when such reforms meant that they would be required to lower prices and raise wages as well as pay higher taxes. There is no doubt that the Democrats will make some reforms, but by and large, the economic base of the Democratic or, for that matter, the Republican Party will prohibit them from meeting the full needs of the people.

What this situation eventually necessitates is the development of a labor party by the trade unions. A trade union party can gain and keep the support of the people because it can, by its nature, meet the demands of the people. In the long range, it brings the power of government one step closer to the hands of the people.

The trusts and monopolies are the one power that could stand in the way of and block the actions of such a party. Therefore, in order to stay in existence and successfully carry through a popular program, it becomes necessary that the power of big business be broken through anti-trust acts and similar legislation. This is also an absolute necessity for the peaceful transition to socialism.

### PEACE NECESSARY

A successful welfare program cannot be carried through with over 60 per cent of the national budget tied up in defense. Therefore, a final and lasting peace becomes the first and foremost necessity. What would this mean for socialists? (1) An end to the cold war which has been in the past a primary excuse for the illegal and unconstitutional persecution of the left and which has given rise to the tremendous amount of anti-left propaganda and ill-feeling that has come about since the second World War. It would mean that the whole aura of fear and suspicion that has surrounded the American left could be lifted. (2) It means that through disarmament, the power of the American capitalists to wage aggressive war would be broken. This would affect the success of socialist and nationalist revolutions abroad.

State welfare answers the problem of the people for a limited time. It does not solve the basic economic problems of capitalism

for which socialism is the only solution. Socialism, as I have previously stated, will not naturally grow from a welfare state. It must still be instituted in its own name and with its complete economic program by a party for socialism. Whether a new party



would be in order, or whether whatever intermediate party that may come into existence could be transformed into a socialist party, remains to be seen. In any case, there are still many changes that must come upon the American scene. The road towards socialism is a gradual step-by-step process, no part of which can be skipped or rushed.

Our job begins now. We as young socialists must seek every available method of working with whatever groups—socialist, progressive, liberal, democratic, etc.—which will work with us on whatever socially desirable issue and at whatever level they are willing. Wherever the people are moving to better their conditions, that is the place for socialists to be.

## Tim Wohlforth

The central theoretical task facing American socialists is to discover the way in which socialism can be achieved in this country. This can be done only by a thorough study of American conditions—our economy, our working class and its history—and by utilizing the accumulated experience of the world socialist movement over the last hundred years.

The starting point of any such analysis should be a realization that America's road to socialism will of necessity be different from the road to socialism in other countries—and in particular the road taken by the Russian working class which established the world's first worker's state in

1917. In fact one of the most valuable lessons that American socialists can learn from the Russian experience is precisely the differences between the Russian Revolution and the way socialism will come into being in this country.

In the United States, in contrast to Russia of 1917, the working class is a majority class, not a minority class lost in a sea of peasants. Its specific social weight is far greater and the tasks which confront it far easier than was true in Russia. Our socialist revolution therefore can be achieved far more easily and with much less strain—repressions of counter-revolutionaries, civil war, and strife—than the October Revolution. We will not be faced by capitalist encirclement, for once capitalism falls in America it will no longer exist as a real force on a world scale.

Finally the American working class will not be faced with a degeneration of its revolution such as took place in Russia with the rise of Stalin and the bureaucracy around him. It is one thing for a bureaucratic regime to develop in a backward country where scarcity is everywhere, where the working class is a small minority and has been worn out by two revolutions and an extended civil war in the course of a few short years. It is quite another thing to try to smother worker's democracy in an advanced country that can immediately supply the wants of the people through a planned economy and where the working class is a majority and stands as the most powerful force in the world.

The growth of socialism in America will represent an expansion and flowering of democracy on a new, higher level. The economic inequalities which result in unequal ability to spread one's ideas will be abolished and all those freedoms and liberties which today we are struggling to preserve, at least in part, from the encroachments of the witchhunt will be given real content. A hundred or a thousand flowers will bloom with such vitality that we can tolerate a few weeds, too. The weeds will show by contrast all the more clearly the beauty of flowers.

### NEED DEMOCRACY

In order to achieve socialism, as well as to simply advance their needs today, the working class must have democratically run organizations of their own. The first step in the formation of such democratic organs of expression (which can become the basis by which the workers will govern this country), is to perfect the organizations the workers already possess—the trade unions. Today with the various "probes" of the trade union movement we are all aware of the tremendous lack of genuine workers' democracy in the unions. This is true, however, not only of "corrupt" unions like the Teamsters but also of "clean" unions such as the Transport Work-

ers Union in New York which is controlled so monolithically by Mike Quill that the workers are forced to form craft unions like the MBA (Motorman's Benevolent Association) in order to advance their demands.

All socialists must support the struggle of rank and file trade unionists to turn the unions into democratic instruments of class struggle instead of a means for the advancement of "labor statesmen" and "sweetheart" contracts.

The American workers also lack another element necessary to advance in their fight for better conditions and ultimately for the transformation of America into a socialist society. They lack a socialist consciousness and its expression in an organized form—a political party of labor. It is this low level of consciousness that has led so many to feel that socialism in America is a utopian dream.

### WORKERS LEAP

But, consciousness is not a fixed, unchanging thing. The level of thought among the working class not only changes; sometimes it takes a qualitative leap in order to catch up with the changes in the material reality around it. For instance, objective conditions had been ready from the 1890's onward for the growth of industrial unions.

Starting with 1935 and 1936 the American working class took a qualitative leap forward—it organized the mass production industry into the CIO. Today the trade union movement is 16 million strong and its level of consciousness is on an entirely different and higher plane than that of the workers in the 1920's.

We can look forward in the not-too-distant future to the next great leap of the working class—the formation of a party of American labor. The conditions for such a development have been ripe for years as every new sell-out by the Democratic Party illustrates. With such a party American labor can vie with the capitalist forces for leadership of the middle classes, or as some on the Left call it, for leadership in the "anti-monopoly coalition." The history of the Democratic Party illustrates that an "anti-monopoly coalition" under the leadership and political control of a section of the capitalist class itself is a very one-sided affair. The workers provide the votes and the capitalists provide the program and wield the power.

### OUR TASK

The task of American socialists today—especially young socialists—is, first, political action: to oppose the false policy of the union leadership, to support independent labor and socialist political activity.

Our second task is to engage in discussion and exchanges of views (like this one) leading towards the rebuilding of a socialist movement in this country with a sound political program. Such a movement could do much to promote the formation of a labor party and, when one is formed, to give it a socialist direction and leadership. United action among all socialists can help to prepare an atmosphere on the left conducive to this discussion as well as to advance the basic ideas and progressive actions that we all favor.

Our ultimate task is to build a movement with the ideas necessary to lead the American working class to the completion of its historic task—the destruction of the last citadel of a decaying social system and replacing it with a new vibrant society based not on the rule of man over man but rather of man over nature.

## Who Is Guilty in Abortion Death?...

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Planned Parenthood, finds its greatest organized barrier, again, in the Catholic Church.

However there is another important factor hampering the success of widespread birth control, and that is the absence of any really simple, cheap, and effective contraceptive.

The search still goes on for what is popularly called "The Pill," a substance taken by mouth that would be both safe and reliable in preventing conception.

Planned Parenthood maintains a research program, but the amount devoted to it is extremely small. As one woman involved in this research put it: "We could have the answer within ten years. What we need is a Manhattan Project—a crash program!"

But there is no crash program—and in the absence of adequate birth control information and guidance, in the absence of humane and realistic abortion laws, 17-year-old girls and 35-year-old mothers will continue to fall victim to the "bunglers" knife.