

# NSA Congress Hits 41 U.S. Students For Trip to China

by Bob Himmel

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Most observers agree that the congress just concluded here has been the most conservative one in the National Student Association's history.

Indicative of the climate of the meeting was the slap in the face given by the congress to the 41 young Americans who are now traveling in China in defiance of the U. S. State Department. Instead of supporting these students in exercising their fundamental right as American citizens to travel where they wished, the NSA attacked them for violating "existing regulations."

The 900 delegates representing nearly 1,000,000 American college students ducked taking a firm stand on freedom of the student press. The first Student Editorial Affairs Conference, held prior to the NSA congress, passed a resolution stating uncompromisingly, "The aims of the student press cannot be achieved unless its independence from all forms of external interference or censorship is maintained inviolate and complete."

The college editors, sensing the conservative mood of the congress, simply moved that the resolution be read into the minutes instead of being voted upon. This motion was defeated.

The NSA, while reversing a previous stand in opposition to allowing 18-year-olds to vote, did not go so far as to support this elementary demand. Other major resolutions, such as ones in support of academic freedom and integration, were largely modifications of past positions which weakened the resolutions.

The 100 foreign students who were observers at the convention were virtually unanimous in their condemnation of the failure of NSA to grapple with the real political issues facing the youth. The NSA under a phrase in its constitution, "for students in the role of students," attempted to duck all controversial issues. A Japanese student, who was calling for a firm stand against H-bomb tests, stated, "NSA's favorite principle students as students' seems to us nothing but the pretext for disguising the weakness of NSA's leadership. Leadership should not

turn its back to the questions which necessitate a political solution for the mere sake of maintaining student unity."

### Foreign Students Speak Up

Other foreign students demanded support for the Algerian students being imprisoned by France; the Cuban students who are struggling against Batista; the South American students who find "the suppression of dictatorship to be a precondition of university autonomy and academic freedom"; the African students who demand national independence; and the Hungarian students who "cannot disassociate easily the educational system from the political situation there."

While the students of the world find themselves grappling directly with the basic political problems facing all of us and aggressively fighting for a better life, we American students, as this NSA meeting illustrates, are lagging behind. Let us hope that soon the American student, too, will face up to his political responsibilities.

# Young Socialist

voice of american radical youth

OCTOBER, 1957

TEN CENTS



U.S. delegation enters stadium dancing and waving for the opening ceremony of the Moscow Youth Festival. For an on-the-spot report on the Festival and on the inner feelings and thoughts of Moscow's Communist Youth see the article by Maurice Peltier on page two.

# Negro Youth Defy Rocks, Bottles and Epithets; Face Faubus 'Private Army' in Integration Fight

by George Fennel

Facing an effigy of a Negro girl hanging from the high school's flag pole and a rock-throwing, spitting mob, Dorothy Geraldine Counts, age 15, began her school year in Charlotte, N.C., as the school's first Negro pupil.

In Little Rock, Ark., Elizabeth Eckford, also 15, the first of nine

Negro teenagers to try to go to Central High School, faced Governor Faubus's "private army," the Arkansas National Guard.

In Sturgis, Ky., the site of violence last year, eighteen young Negroes registered at the white high school amid a barrage of bottles, beer cans and epithets flung by a racist mob.

The first mixed classes were held in North Carolina as five young Greensboro Negroes attended elementary school while an angry crowd jeered.

A 24-year-old Negro, Judge Aaron, was beaten and mutilated by a group of white men in Birmingham, Ala., who told him, "This is what will happen if Negroes try to integrate the schools."

As students throughout the country go back to school to begin another term, the Negro youth of the South are facing mobs, troops and threats to their very lives to pave the way for school integration. One reporter describes what happened when Dorothy Counts faced the mob:

"Those on the scene said she bore it with dignity and poise.

"Her worst moments came when she left school. . . 'Spit on her! Spit on her! the mob shouted.

"Dorothy said later most of them spat on her back. At one point a flying stick lodged in her hair. She reached up and brushed it off. She kept walking.

"I expected something, but really I didn't expect it to be like that," she said later. "I wasn't frightened. I wasn't thinking at all. I just went on."

On the other side are the racist mobs, the bitter hatred, the budding John Kaspers who seek fame and power by harassing young children, and above all—we see Governor Faubus. Governor Faubus, in order to gain political power, surrounds his "castle" with troops and floods Central High with armed men.

These reactionary elements are putting up a last ditch fight. All their bravado, their futile attempts at violent coercion, are signs that it is they who are in retreat and who are desperately attempting to preserve an already

changing social system. In Clinton, Tenn., the scene of the Kasper-inspired violence a year ago, integrated classes began without incident this year.

However integration is proceeding at a snail's pace. Not one school has been integrated in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia. Over 2,450,000 Negroes and 7,000,000 whites remain at segregated schools in the South today, over three years after the Supreme Court ruling and nearly a century after "emancipation."

Of the 9,000 school districts in the South 6,000 will remain "legally" segregated despite the Supreme Court decision due to segregated neighborhoods. Of the 3,000 bi-racial school districts 2,300 remain segregated. This year only 23 new districts are being integrated.

Bearing a major responsibility for creating the kind of political climate which tolerates such a slow pace and which gives the racists the confidence to resist even this pace are the two major parties. Just before school is opened in the South, Congress knifed the Negroes in the back by passing a civil rights bill with all the guts removed.

In the Senate, the Democrats, supposedly liberals, led the sell-out. Only nine Democrats voted against both crippling amendments to the bill. The Republicans did not do much better. While young Negroes were facing racist mobs in the South Ike was playing golf at Newport.

What can we, America's youth, do to lend our support to our brothers and sisters in the South?

Students in the North can fight for integration—real integration—in the Northern schools. Most (Continued on Page 3, Col. 4)

## Let Us Build a Movement For All Socialist Youth

EDITORIAL

This past year has been one of crisis—a revolution in Hungary; an imperialist invasion in Suez; a struggle for national independence in Algeria; and a vigorous battle against second-class citizenship on the part of the Negro people in our own country. These events and many others have not passed unnoticed by the young people in this nation. Many of them are beginning to think about the world in which they live—a world which seems to produce an explosion of some kind or other every week.

These young people are looking for a way out—for a solution to the seemingly perpetual crisis which shakes the world. We all wish to see a world without strife and war, a world where one people does not oppress another, and where one class does not exploit another. It is our opinion that the ideas of the socialist movement have much that is worthwhile to offer towards this end. We socialists believe that the crisis the world is in is the crisis of a world social system—of capitalism. Capitalism, once a vibrant, expanding, and progressive force, today is in retreat. In one third of the world it no longer exists. One enslaved colonial country after another has risen to remove the yoke of capitalist imperialism.

However, as capitalism retreats, it does so not without struggle. The fear of war still hovers over the world just as do the radioactive clouds produced by the nuclear tests. Disarmament remains a utopia as the great powers go on poisoning the atmosphere.

The struggle for socialism is not an easy one. It requires that the small people of this world, the oppressed classes—the working people, the farmers, the peasantry of Europe and the colonial world, the small shop keepers—step onto the stage of history and take things into their own hands. Under the leadership of labor the great mass of people in this world are rising to express their democratic will. No one will build socialism for the working class. The workers themselves must democratically take over the management of industry and abolish the entire profit-making system.

(Cont'd. on Page 2, Col. 4 & 5)

## Students Tour China; Defy U. S. Travel Ban

Forty of the 41 young Americans who set out to see China for themselves in defiance of the U. S. State Department are presently touring the vast country, visiting with Chou en Lai, and talking to the people. One of the Americans is returning to this country because of his refusal to relinquish his passport for inspection.

The 40 students face loss of their passports, a possible \$2,000 fine and a five-year prison term upon return to this country. The Government threatens to prosecute the students under—believe it or not—the Trading With The Enemy Act.

Upon leaving for China the students declared: "We . . . reaffirm our belief in the right of U. S. citizens to travel, and . . . state that our exercise of this right is consistent with loyalty to our country."

## A YOUNG DELEGATE REPORTS:

# Discussion Flares In Moscow

by Maurice Pelter

(Maurice Pelter, a 28-year-old shop steward in a London engineering shop, describes below his observations and the conversations which he experienced at the recent Moscow Youth Festival as a member of the British delegation. Maurice had been a member of the British Communist Party for 10 years until he resigned last autumn in protest against the Party leaders' uncritical policy on the Hungarian events.)

All the governments have good reason to be highly disturbed at the results of the Sixth World Youth Festival recently held in Moscow. Youth met at all levels on their own terms, and the resultant ferment bodes ill to all "officialdoms." One person said during a party that each delegate met more Russian people in a single day and had more—and franker—discussions than any Embassy official had been able to do in five years!

The fact that I had recently resigned from the Communist Party and so held no Party card at first embarrassed me. But from my first conversations I soon found out that my new status, "ex-Party member," was the open-sesame to the minds and hearts of many Soviet Party members. For they had followed the recent controversies in the Communist Parties outside Russia and our conversations began to develop a pattern. First would be the "peace and friendship" opening, followed by a general discussion on our work and impressions of the Festival and Moscow; then one would say to me, "What is your political position, are you a Party member?"

"I am a communist but I resigned from the Party some months ago."

A polite silence, then: "Were you expelled? Was there any pressure? Perhaps you had personal reasons?"

"I resigned on political grounds, following the 20th Congress, following Hungary . . ."

Again a silence. Then the Russian said, "Resigning is a luxury. Here it is impossible. Many of us have our personal opinions. Look, could you find time to come home to my rooms? I would very much like to have a talk with you."

All the people I spoke to, many of whom have become very good personal friends, said that I could use freely what they said but they nearly all made one request. This request was to reveal no details that could lead back to persons. As one said, "The sentences are down from 20 to five years. But who wants to spend five years in a Siberian labor camp?"

## The Festival Was Magnificent

The Festival itself was a magnificent success. Moscow was gay, happy and colorful. It was a great pleasure wandering around the crowded streets, viewing the shops, being stopped by the people, talking, eating the tasty ice-cream, drinking the lemonade and fruit-juices so popular in Moscow. For Moscow is a pleasant city, beautiful in its own way.

Throughout the Festival, but particularly the first week, the coaches taking us around were mobbed everywhere in Moscow. Wherever a coach stopped, at a crossing or traffic light, the people rushed into the road to the coach to shake our hands, have a little talk, to hand us presents, even money. This last was just a little embarrassing.

In the main we managed to go wherever we wished—the concerts, the dances, the shows. We visited factories, collective farms, other delegations, museums, the

Kremlin, the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum. The Festival was a huge success.

## We Talked For Two Days!

I was invited to a party one evening. Eventually I stayed at my host's two days and one night, engaging in discussions nearly the whole time!

The party was held in the single sub-let room in which Ivan and his wife Shura lived, ate and slept. Officially the rent for the room and use of outside lavatories should have been no higher than 20 rubles a month. In fact Ivan was paying 200 rubles a month. I was told that this was a widespread practice in Moscow. Many of the other people I met there were being similarly exploited.

Ivan's job was translating foreign novels into Russian. He was about thirty years old, a charming, intelligent man. He had never been very critical of the Party "boss-men" in their actions over

## Belfrage Sees Ferment Among Moscow Youth

MOSCOW — "Astonishing are the events within the [Moscow] University, where Dudintsev's outspoken novel *Not by Bread Alone* and the Hungarian events have intensified the ferment started by the 20th Congress.

"The change may be judged by two recent events: a successful strike against poor food in the commissary, and the appearance on a wall-newspaper board of a group manifesto against distortion of Soviet history, including the role of Trotsky. This was removed and put back again, and finally the expulsion of five students connected with it was announced. A protest against this, which even the university Komsomol leader signed, was successful."

—Cedric Belfrage in National Guardian

Hungary and told me that there had been a bit of an organized rebellion in the Moscow University when the first news of Hungary filtered back to Moscow.

Students of some faculties had refused to attend the lectures for some period of time and the upshot was that a number of students had been expelled, both from the Komsomol [the Communist youth organization] and the University.

Ivan's wife Shura had been expelled. After a long battle with the University authorities, in the main the Komsomol organization, she had been reinstated. Over this period she had become very ill and could not find a job.

Remaining a communist in mind and heart, she had obviously undergone a change of what she herself termed "priorities." She put it in this way:

"Maurice, I know my husband does not agree with me, and perhaps I think just like a silly woman, but this is what I think.

"First of all a man must be a man. Just that. He must walk the street and feel dignified. He must not be afraid of his actions, or of his shadow. He must know that his political ideals and the reality of his society coincide, are joined as one.

"The aim of communism is the complete flowering of the human personality, the expansion of the human mind. Just look at us, wilted flowers, with all our capacities, ill nourished in our society.

"I demand for myself a certain measure of personal freedom, liberty to develop my own self. This is all I demand, but it is a crying

need, for without it I shall die in this cramped, unnatural life."

While Ivan was at work, Shura and I spent the whole of the day in discussions about life in our countries. During the talking she raised the question of Hungary. She had heard, she said, that the Soviet Army had shot down workers and students. Was this true?

I answered yes, and explained that it was communists like herself and her husband . . . who had led the uprising and had been shot. For one moment there was silence and then Shura burst into a flood of tears. I felt upset and was at a complete loss to know what to do.

Still sobbing, she spoke of the Russian soldiers who had been killed, the complete stupidity of the action, her disbelief in the official version of what had happened. Such a thing must never occur again in the name of a socialist country, she said.

Here are some of the conclusions I would draw from my visit: **I Never Met An Anti-Soviet Person**

First, in all my many talks and conversations. I never met one anti-Soviet person. I cannot stress this too much. For all the criticisms given to me, for all the terrible faults indicated, all my friends in Moscow are still supporters of Soviet society. They are and will remain communists.

Secondly, I only found one person who sincerely accepted completely and without criticism the official standpoint. Even he was opposed to Stalinist methods.

Thirdly, uncritical support for all the actions of the Soviet Union has now become a most stupid anti-Socialist stand. The members of the Soviet Communist Party know quite well the faults in their own society and are beginning the battle to overcome them. Any insistence from "communists" outside the Soviet Union that no faults exist is a great hindrance and no help at all to the Russian communists.

The Soviet Union has a socialistic economy. The mass of the population, non-Party and Party, support their social system with varying degrees of enthusiasm and criticism.

The young intellectuals are finding their feet and are probing with keen minds below the facade of official fairy tales. They are examining the structure of the bureaucratic apparatus which runs life in the Soviet Union, drawing their own conclusions and making specific demands for a more honest and critical approach to intellectual problems.

They appreciate that the bureaucracy is a fetter on the forward march of their society towards a communist future and they are working towards methods of struggle which will free them from the mud of the past. But they are not too confident of their abilities as yet and present a somewhat pessimistic view of their own prospects.

The new industrial worker appears far less articulate, less political. The facts of industrial life crowd in and the inevitable demands are beginning to crystallize. The Soviet worker finds himself with no machinery of struggle and has the task of building such an apparatus.

This does not always seem a conscious task, but slowly methods of struggle have appeared and the "silent pressure from below" has gradually begun to be focused. They have culminated in the widespread "Italian strikes" [slowdowns] which have lately hit Soviet industry. In view of this pressure the Soviet bureaucracy

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## For A New Youth Movement

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 2 &amp; 3)

Socialism means the direct control of the basic industries, not by an all-powerful bureaucracy, but by the people themselves through their own organizations and the parties of their own choice. In Hungary, exactly a year ago this month, the workers rose up with the entire nation behind them to demand the removal of troops of another country, the Soviet Union, from their land.

The capitalists' only interest in the struggles of the working people in Eastern Europe is in the futile hope of somehow reestablishing capitalist domination in these countries. We young socialists share the Hungarian workers' abhorrence of any attempt to turn the legitimate struggle against bureaucratic rule into an attempt to restore capitalism.

These are the ideas which motivate the young people who have come together from different socialist groups and different traditions in order to publish the YOUNG SOCIALIST. We hope that this paper can help advance the fight of all radicals and progressives for a better America, and a better, more peaceful and just world. The forward march of America's Negro people; the outspoken demands among students for a restoration of civil liberties and academic freedom on the campus; the world-wide protest campaign against the poisoning of the very air we breathe with radioactive material; the militant actions of the young workers in the shops and factories across the country—these will be events we will report.

We do not claim to offer over-simplified dogmatic answers to complicated questions; we do not think we can solve all problems by slapping ready-made labels on complex events. We promise something far more rare and far more valuable: a realistic approach to the modern world and to the social forces at work in it. Our sole commitment is to tell the truth as we see it.

We also hope to present and discuss the liberating ideas of militant socialism as they relate to the struggles and aspirations of the world's peoples. Our pages are open to all those who wish to discuss these, and any other questions facing young people.

It is our hope that out of this discussion will grow a broad and revitalized militant socialist youth movement that can act in a progressive way on the campuses and in the factories in bringing the ideas of socialism to America's youth. If the YOUNG SOCIALIST can play but a small role in the creation of such a movement, we will feel that our publication venture has been a real success.

## 5 LA Young Socialists Issue Call for Broad Club

LOS ANGELES—Five young socialists representing a broad range of radical opinion have come together to issue a call for the formation of a "unified and independent socialist youth movement" in this city.

They state: "An organization is needed where all ideas of socialism can be discussed openly and freely. This organization should be completely independent of all existing adult groupings, but should restrict no one from membership because of his particular point of view or affiliation."

The young people signing the call include: Peter Allan, member, Socialist Workers Party Youth Committee, NAACP, Eugene V. Debs Club at UCLA and Corresponding Editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST; Gordon Carey, member, Fellowship of Reconciliation and an independent socialist; Jerry Friedman, member Young Socialist League; August Maymudes, former member, Labor Youth League and Jewish Young Fraternalists; and Lea Vida, member, Socialist Workers Party Youth Committee, NAACP and a trade unionist.

For further information call: AN 3-1533.

has given way to a little—new stipends for some students, new norms in various factories for some workers.

Inside the Party itself, an undercover struggle seems to have developed. This concerns itself with the questions of inner-Party struggle and the question of what is a "communist leadership." There is an overwhelming interest in the polemics of the Twenties and how they relate to the problems of the Party in the present period. But it is still very difficult for members to obtain the relevant archives.

In the factory branches, members are openly raising many critical questions regardless of the hostility shown to such questions

by the "boss-men." In general the Soviet Party reflects the overall crisis of leadership which is the central problem of all the working class movements in the world.

This sketchily is the appearance of Soviet life, slightly below the official surface. Forty years after the October Revolution many groups of Soviet people are being slowly drawn into the struggle for the realization of the Revolution's original aims.

They find themselves thinking anew, studying afresh and rediscovering the fundamental traditions of the Party. This, surely, is the beginning of the most hopeful period in the history of the Soviet Union since the Twenties.

# Five Anti-Fascist Sailors Fight Return to Spain

by Peter Allan

LOS ANGELES—"There is no freedom in my country under Franco. I was looking for a country where I would be free." That is how Ginas Martinez explained why he, together with four other young Spanish crewmen of two visiting Spanish destroyers, fled to Mexico last June while on shore leave in San Diego.

A federal judge has ruled they must be returned to Spain under a 1902 U.S. treaty with Spain calling for mutual extradition of deserters, even though the young sailors insist they were not mere "deserters" but refugees from an unhappy, tormented land.

Asked in court what would happen if they were brought back to face Franco's punishment, Martinez replied through the interpreter: "We will get at least six years in prison. Most likely they will shoot us for the truth we have spoken about Franco."

The five youths, ranging in age from 18 to 25 years, were "legally" kidnapped from Tijuana by United States Navy and Immigration officials after the seamen had gone to the Mexican police for help in obtaining asylum. A high-ranking U.S. naval officer, accompanied by a Spanish captain decorated with American friendship pins, put pressure upon the Mexican authorities and tricked the five refugees into signing a statement (written in English which they couldn't understand) calling for their return to the U.S. United States Immigration Department officials then took the sailors into custody back to San Diego and turned them over to the U.S. Navy Shore Patrol.

Just one hour before they were to be placed on the ship and sent back to Spain, the American Civil Liberties Union obtained a court injunction restraining the navy from delivering the young men up to Franco's captains until a federal judge could decide whether they had a right to political asylum.

At a preliminary hearing on July 16, Judge Thurmond Clark ordered the Navy to release the sailors back to the Immigration Service, which now holds the free-

Mexico, the Mexican government has reversed the decision of the Tijuana officials and has publicly offered political asylum to the five seamen.

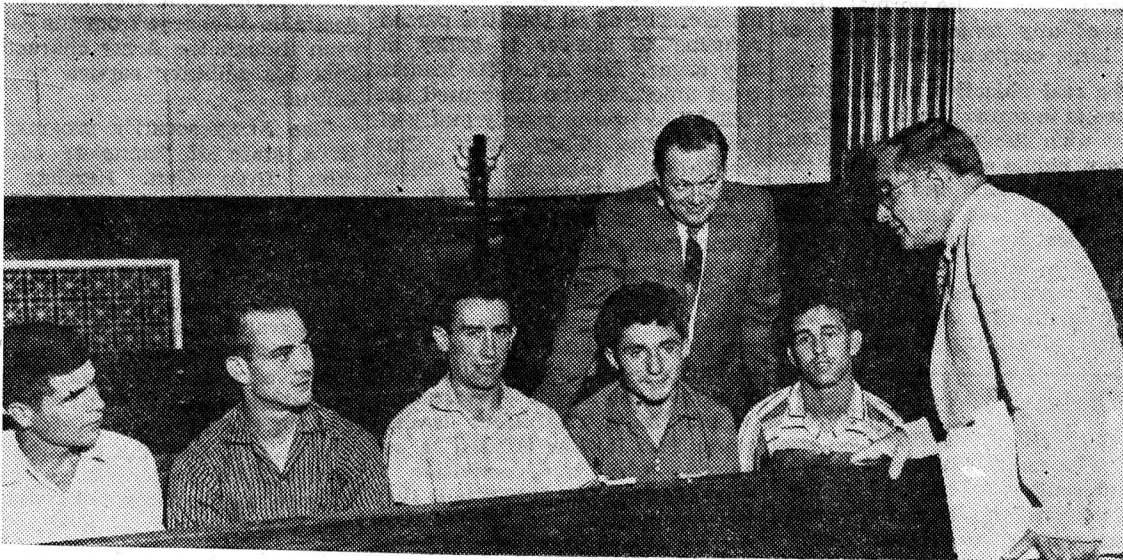
ACLU Attorney A. L. Wirin has declared he will take the case to the Supreme Court if necessary to win for the young refugees the right to be returned to Mexico. In support of the case, he pointed to the readiness with which the

State Department has offered asylum to escapees from the Soviet countries.

Wirin further cited the case of Andrija Artukovich, who was given political asylum here when the Yugoslav government wanted to try him for murdering a million Serbs and Jews while he was the Nazi-appointed Minister of Justice in that country. If the threat of severe punishment in

the native country was good enough reason to grant people like Artukovich and Soviet emigrés political asylum, Wirin demanded to know, why could this not also apply to these unfortunate Spaniards?

It appears, however, that a long, hard struggle is in store for the young seafarers before they finally attain the liberty for which they risked their lives.



These five young sailors left their ships in Mexico to seek political refuge from Franco's tyranny only to find themselves whisked into the U.S. for return to Fascist Spain. ACLU attorneys A. L. Wirin and Hugh R. Manes are pictured here interviewing the sailors. See story on this page.

## New Yorkers Hit Speech Curb Young Socialists Build Forum

NEW YORK—Over 300 persons participated in an open air free speech defense meeting in Union Square recently.

Speakers from the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the newly-formed Young Socialist Forum cooperated in a joint effort to save Union Square as New York's Hyde Park where anyone can say what he or she wishes. The police had attempted to break up a discussion there earlier in the week.

Indicative of the cooperative atmosphere was the statement by George Watts of the CP, solidaryizing himself "with my colleagues from the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party." Gil Turner, speaking for the Young Socialist Forum, stated: "We stand for free speech and uninhibited discussion of the crucial problems of our time."

The Forum, the youth participant in the free speech rally, has just concluded its six-week discussion series, "World in Crisis," during which 60 to 100 young people discussed in an untrammelled fashion one night every week.

Young people from three different socialist groups joined together to organize the Forum: supporters of the *American Socialist* magazine, members of the *American Youth for Socialism*, and members of the Young So-

### Denver Youth Plan Club

DENVER—A group of young socialists in the Denver area are planning to form a young socialist club in order to further discussion among youth of different political persuasions and to bring the ideas of socialism to the young people of the area.

All persons interested in this venture, regardless of their views, are asked to phone Grand 7-8261 in Denver.

cialist League (Left Wing).

Many people who have attended the summer forums have expressed the hope that the forums will continue in the fall. Several have asked, "Why doesn't the Forum turn itself into an organization for all socialist youth, a group that can do things as well as discuss?" In response to these inquiries the YSF has issued an invitation to all socialist youth to attend an organizing meeting.

For further information write: Young Socialist Forum, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or phone WA 9-5630.

## Integration Fight . . .

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 5)

Northern cities contain virtually segregated schools reflecting segregated neighborhoods and the gerrymandering of school districts.

Young workers in the factories can demand that their unions take steps to aid financially the struggle of the Negro people.

Both students and young workers can organize support in the North for the struggle in the South. We can also unite to declare to Congress that we will not tolerate another civil rights bill like the last one! As young people who are not tied to old traditions and old parties we can be in the forefront in the building of a new party—a labor party that can truly express the interests of the working people.

## Ex-LYers Build Twain Club Bay Area Youth Are Active

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—Members of San Francisco's Mark Twain Club, an independent group of young adults interested in socialism, are marking their first anniversary this month with an evaluation of the past year's activities and a discussion of plans for the coming year.

The group began last September with a handful of young people who were determined to maintain their socialist convictions and activities after the dissolution of the Labor Youth League. The club has grown steadily and recently began including members of other tendencies.

Current activities of the group, besides the bi-weekly regular meetings which usually have a guest speaker, include parties, picnics and two regular study groups.

### Berkeley Club Plans

BERKELEY, CALIF.—Recent meetings of the Berkeley Young Socialist Club have included two educational programs, one on "Working Class Conservatism" and another on the Paris Commune.

Members of the club are also involved in the work of the Berkeley Socialist Forum and an H-

bomb protest committee.

Events planned for this fall will include a discussion series on three non-Marxist social thinkers—Thorstein Veblen, J. A. Schumpeter and C. Wright Mills.

Young people in the East Bay area may obtain more information at the Berkeley Young Socialist Club office at 2161 Shattuck Ave., or by phoning TH 5-3011.

### SF Group Expands

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—The San Francisco Young Socialist Club has concluded a summer series on *Revolutions of the Twentieth Century*. Three discussions were held, covering the events in Germany after World War I, the Chinese Revolution in the late 1920's, and the Spanish Civil War.

Plans are now being made for a fall educational series designed primarily to present some of the basic ideas of socialism.

Young people in the San Francisco area who wish more information about club activities may phone HE 1-1523 or MA 1-8498, or write to the San Francisco Young Socialist Club, P.O. Box 3678, Rincon Annex, San Francisco, Calif.

## Wayne Young Socialists Back Negro Candidate For Detroit City Council

DETROIT—William T. Patrick Jr., Negro candidate for Detroit Common Council, has received the endorsement of the Wayne Young Socialist Club. Although 15 Negroes originally filed in the councilmanic campaign the Young Socialist Club selected Patrick because he "is clearly the choice of the Negro community which should have representation at all levels of government."

Despite the fact that Negroes comprise more than 20 per cent of Detroit's population, the Common Council has previously remained a "lily-white" body. This year, for the first time, there seems to be a realistic opportunity to break up this monopoly.

In addition to the support he has already received in the Negro community, Patrick has been endorsed by the Wayne County CIO Council, Ford Local 600 and many other labor and radical groups.

The Wayne Young Socialist Club has its headquarters at 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.

## Philly Socialists Unite In Broad Youth Club

PHILADELPHIA—A broad discussion club including virtually all young socialists in the greater Philadelphia area is being launched in time for the fall semester.

Included in its ranks are members of the Temple University Three Arrows Club, the Student Socialist Society of Philadelphia, the Socialist Workers Party, former members of the Labor Youth League, and various independents, as well as people new to the ideas of socialism.

The club is planning a varied and full schedule of events for the fall and invites all young people in the area to participate. Interested persons should write to Arthur Phelps, 3605 Powelton Ave., or phone EVergreen 2-5035.

### SURVEY REVEALS:

## 93% of Teen-Agers Support Trade Unionis

American teenagers are overwhelmingly in favor of trade unions, a recent survey disclosed. The results of a nationwide survey, as reported in the *Chicago Sun-Times* of August 29, show that 93 per cent of the teenagers interviewed answered a resounding "yes" when asked if trade unions were necessary.

The study, made by the Gilbert Youth Research Company, showed that today's youth is highly in favor of the ideals and goals of organized labor but is critical of some of its practices. About 55 per cent of those questioned felt that most unions were managed honestly; but 35 per cent held that most unions were corrupt. Those who felt a need for a "housecleaning" offered suggestions. "They should select their leaders more carefully," advised one. "Set a definite constitution and stick to it," said another. "Control union heads," demanded another.

Many of those interviewed felt that the entire labor movement had been unfairly vilified by recent attacks on some unions.

Labor lost ground, however, on the question of which side usually was at fault in friction between labor and management. Here 52 per cent blamed labor, 21 per cent blamed management, and 26 per cent blamed both.

Many who blamed labor found justification for the friction. "Labor unions have to protect their position," said a Philadelphian.

## Subscribe Now!

dom-seeking youths behind bars in Chula Vista near San Diego while the ACLU is appealing Judge Clark's subsequent decision on July 19 to deny them refuge.

The hearing on July 19 resulted in four hours of testimony by the five seamen during which they explained in simple, eloquent language how the oppressive and stifling conditions in Franco Spain drove them to seek freedom in Mexico, which does not recognize Franco's regime.

Manuel Rodriguez, two of whose brothers died fighting Franco in the Spanish Civil War, testified how everyone in his village was forced to watch the execution of anti-fascist villagers. Those who refused to attend the horrible spectacle were accused of Communist sympathy and threatened with execution themselves.

Ginas Martinez related how he was forced to join the Falange, Franco's fascist party, in order to attend high school. When he refused to take a personal oath of loyalty to Franco, the school-teachers forced special hardships on him. Upon graduation, he couldn't find a job in his chosen field of commerce.

"A man should have freedom and a right to live," continued young Martinez. "In Spain you work for very little. Only the Falange get more. A man wants enough for his children to eat."

After a great popular outcry in

# Business Interests Use Senate Probe To Spearhead Anti-Union Legislation

by Shane Mage

The "Congressional Investigation" is a peculiarly American institution, which has developed to its full stature in the past few years. For months on end an investigating committee, endowed with the full facilities of press, radio, and television, will present a spectacle combining features of a circus, an auto-da-fé, and a scandal trial. These sensational exposures of an actually or supposedly disreputable aspect of American life always serve as vehicles for an ambitious politician. Often they also serve a deep and significant political purpose.

At present the center of the stage is held by a Senatorial investigation into the organized labor movement. For six months now we have been treated to a steady procession before the TV cameras of labor leaders, prostitutes, labor leaders, gamblers, labor leaders, corrupt public officials, labor leaders, racketeers—and the end is not in sight.

The primary object of investigation thus far has been the gigantic Teamsters Union, the biggest union in the U. S.

The committee could scarcely have found a better target than the Teamsters. In 1941 the socialist leaders of the Minneapolis local who, more than any others, had been responsible for building the union in the great over-the-road organizing drive of the 1930s, were expelled from the union and sent to jail under the Smith Act by the Roosevelt administration. From that time on, there was no voice of rank-and-file opposition to check the growth of a swollen, all-powerful, quickly corrupted bureaucracy.

Today, some 12% of the Teamster locals are "under receivership," which means they are run by an appointed officer—the members are not allowed to elect their own officers. The Teamsters bureaucracy itself resembles a loose confederation in which regional bosses run their own areas like a feudal fief, without serious interference from the national organization.

## The Mighty Beck Has Fallen

Lo, how the mighty is fallen! Only a few months ago Beck, president of the Teamsters Union, was a powerful, prominent "labor statesman," approved warmly by the leading capitalists and by strong forces in the union movement. His position was so respected that at the very moment the committee started to investigate him he was about to depart for an international conference in Europe as an official representative of the U. S. government. Today he has been broken. Why? The answer is that Beck involuntarily found himself the point of collision between two huge forces, and so was crushed.

To understand this we must start with the underlying reasons for this "Labor Probe." The composition of the investigating committee gives a clear picture of its goals. There are eight members of the committee, four Republicans and four Democrats. The chairman is Senator McClellan of Arkansas, a typical racist and reactionary Southern Democrat. Another of the Democrats, Ervin of North Carolina, is also a Dixiecrat.

Three of the Republicans, Goldwater, Mundt, and the late McCarthy belong (or belonged) to the extreme right wing of the G.O.P. (Goldwater in particular has made a strong reputation by his vicious attacks upon the labor movement). Thus the majority of this committee is made up of open enemies of labor.

The last thing in the world

these gentlemen are interested in is cleaning up the unions so that they will be a stronger and more effective instrument in the hands of the workers. Nor are they driven by a sudden moral compulsion to unmask evil-doers (the "crimes" charged to Beck are only a junior edition of the normal practices of any major executive of any large corporation!).

The real objective of this committee is to smear the labor movement with the tar of corruption, to turn public opinion against the labor movement and thus prepare a favorable atmosphere for new repressive anti-labor legislation.

This purpose has received only a minimum of camouflage. McClellan gloatingly taunted Beck

## Worker Is 'Subsidiary' To Union Leaders

"The union leader . . . who represents workers and sometimes manipulates them, seems increasingly to regard what his workers do as merely subsidiary to the job he himself is doing in the larger community. This job may be building the Red Cross or the Community Chest, or it may sometimes be—as the Senate's hearings suggest—participating in such communal endeavors as gambling, prostitution and improving the breed."  
—Harvey Swados in the Nation

with being responsible for legislation "at least distasteful to the large majority of the 15,000,000 members of organized labor." The *Wall Street Journal* reported that "disclosures of union corruption are unloosing legislative demands to curb labor's powers," and quoted an unnamed Administration official by saying, "Six months ago I'd have predicted there's no chance for legislation to bring unions under the anti-trust laws. But now I'm not so sure."

The reason for the exposure of Beck should now be clear. Beck was a friend of "business", and the government was not out to "get" him. But the strategy of the current attack on the labor movement is to start by concentrating on the most rotten sector of labor. Beck's corruption and his prominence made him the indicated and necessary target—the only really high labor leader subject to this sort of attack. That is why he had to be broken.

## Labor Leaders Are Timid

The top leaders of the American labor movement are not corrupt in the same crude way as Beck. But their reaction to the Labor Probe is that of timid and frightened men, and it threatens to do more harm to American labor than all the activities of Beck. Instead of recognizing this smear campaign against labor for what it is, the leaders of the AFL-CIO have considered it a legitimate investigation of corruption. Instead of fighting against this attack on the labor movement they have welcomed it and cooperated with it.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has established its own "Ethical Practices Committee" and has stated that no corruption will be tolerated in union officials. This is right and proper, and should have been done long ago. But the Executive Council went much further than this: it ordered all union officers to cooperate with the McClellan committee and decreed immediate expulsion for any official who would refuse to answer a question on the basis of the Fifth Amendment. This ac-

tion is a crime against the labor movement for two reasons:

## '5th Amendment Racketeers'

1.) It deals a grave blow to one of the most important principles of civil liberties—that refusal to answer a question on grounds of the Fifth Amendment allows no interference at all that the person refusing to answer is guilty of any crime. The AFL-CIO leaders treat unionists who have used the "Fifth" as presumptively guilty of racketeering. They have thus created the category of "Fifth Amendment Racketeers" to go alongside McCarthy's "Fifth Amendment Communists."

2.) By cooperating with McClellan the AFL-CIO leaders help to set up this anti-labor committee as a policeman over the labor movement, preparing the way for the most stringent government regulation. The labor leaders claim that if they refused to cooperate with the committee it would look to the public as if they were protecting racketeers and corruptionists, thereby worsening the atmosphere created by the investigation.

This argument is thoroughly specious. The effect of the labor leaders' actual attitude is to make it appear that they cannot combat corruption on their own, that they will eliminate racketeering only when they are forced to by this sort of committee. The big business spokesmen need no finer argument in behalf of their proposals for permanent government regulation and control of unions!

What the labor movement should have done was to counter-attack the committee and its repressive purposes in the most vigorous manner, while simultaneously moving to clean its own house. A real drive by the labor movement to eliminate corruption and racketeering could long ago have driven out Beck and all the lesser crooks now being exposed.

## Honest Labor Leaders are 'Corrupt'

Why didn't the labor movement adopt this sort of policy? The answer points to the most significant fact about the present American labor movement.

The honest labor leaders, like Reuther and Meany, are corrupt too, though not in the crude manner of Beck. Both Beck and Reuther represent privileged bureaucracies standing over the workers and attempting to suppress rank-and-file democracy. Both Beck and Reuther are proud of their status as "labor statesmen" and try to cooperate with the employers. Both participate in politics only to support one or the other of the big business parties and to prevent the emergence of any form of independent labor political action.

If Reuther and Meany had attempted to expel Beck before McClellan had gotten to him, they could have gotten nowhere without arousing a powerful rank-and-file movement of the Teamsters against Beck. But as bureaucrats their self-interest tied them to Beck, and against the members.

If the labor leaders wanted to make a real investigation of corruption and fraud they would have to start with their own ranks. They would, for instance, have to deal with David McDonald, president of the Steelworkers Union, who last year got himself a big salary increase and forced his members to pay higher dues in violation of his own union's constitution. He then won re-election as president in an election in which large sums of union money were spent for his campaign, his supporters counted the votes, and his opponents charged wholesale

# U. S. Court Faces Challenge On Army 'Security' Program

By Martha Wells

Ten cases are now in the courts challenging the Army security program. In October the Supreme Court will hear the case of *Harmon v. Brucker*, which challenges the right of the Army to consider an individual's pre-induction activities in giving him a discharge. John Harmon had received an undesirable discharge from the Army even though the Army characterized his military service as excellent.

The Army security program is in a state of "complete confusion, from Gen. Hershey on down," according to a civil liberties lawyer. A new Army regulation adopted on May 15, 1957, which provides for a security clearance before induction rather than granting a man an unfavorable discharge after he has already served in the Army, has already affected several men. No one, in the Army or outside, has any idea of how the new regulation will be applied or what will happen to "security risks" under the new system.

Under the earlier regulations, a man whose retention in the armed forces was "inconsistent with the interest of military security" could be given an unfavorable discharge without a hearing. Later the Army made provisions for a hearing, but still the criteria for determining "security risks" were ambiguous, to say the least.

In 1955 the report by Rowland Watts, "The Draftee and Internal Security," and testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, headed by Sen. Hennings (D-Mo.), brought into the open a mass of information on the flagrant injustices the Army had wrought on innocent people. Instead of giving a discharge based on a man's service in the armed forces, the Watts report revealed, the Army brought "all of the associations and family relationships of any one liable to the draft from his earliest youth up until the time of his induction" into consideration. Not only that. The entire eight-year period of reserve duty was also placed under surveillance. The Army had assumed the right to investigate the private lives of thousands of civilians.

The widespread indignation which followed the Watts report and the Hennings testimony has

falsification of the results.

If the labor leaders wanted to investigate collusion between union officials and management at the expense of the workers they would have to start with no less a personage than Walter Reuther himself. In March of this year Vice President Misch of the Chrysler Auto Corporation revealed that his company had made an agreement with the UAW leaders of past positions which resulting in "new work standards," i.e., speeded up production. The deal paid off in greatly increased Chrysler profits at the expense of the auto workers!

Finally, the union leaders could not defend themselves politically against the committee, because they are tied to the self-defeating strategy of supporting the Democratic Party, whose dominant Southern wing contains the worst reactionaries in American politics. Thus they guarantee in advance that Congress will be dominated by enemies, not friends, of labor.

Despite its huge size, the American labor movement today is on the defensive and giving ground before the anti-labor offensive of the employers. To change this situation will require a new policy and a new leadership.

resulted in various changes in the Army security proceedings since 1955. At present a draftee goes through the following stages:

1.) When a young man reports for his physical, he is asked to fill out a "loyalty" form, DD 98, which contains the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. If on this form he discloses that he has been connected in any way with any of the arbitrarily listed organizations, he is asked to fill out a lengthy and detailed personal history form, DD 398.

2.) He is not inducted, but instead is investigated by the CIC (Army intelligence). This investigation may take several months to a year.

3.) The Army decides on the basis of the investigation and the information on DD 398 whether the young man is eligible for service. At present, membership in or sympathetic association with any listed organization is considered by the Army as "proof of guilt."

4.) If he is declared ineligible, the Army notifies him (and his Selective Service Board) that he will shortly be declared "permanently ineligible" for service in the Armed Forces since his induction would not be "in the interests of national security." The grounds for this decision are stated. He can request a hearing at which he can present evidence to rebut or refute the decision.

5.) If the decision is reversed, the individual is inducted. If the Army reaffirms its decision, the Selective Service Board is notified accordingly.

Will the Army create a special draft classification for "subversives," thus stigmatizing for life a civilian who has never served in the Army? No one at present can answer this question. At various points along the way some men involved have had their 1A classification changed to 4F, which states that the individual is mentally, morally, or physically unfit for service.

Some people may feel that this new regulation is more "just" than the previous ones. It may be so. But still America's youth are being subjected to wholesale prying by the military into their private affairs and politics with the Attorney General's list standing as supreme arbiter of what is or isn't "subversive." Whatever happens to these men, there will be no "justice" in the Army security system until it is abolished entirely.

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