

new foundations

A STUDENT QUARTERLY



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Halt the Time Table of Fascism

The war mongers have a time table:

Jail the Communists! Hamstring the trade unions! Turn citizens against one another because of the color of their skins, the God to whom they pray! Intimidate anyone who speaks out for peace!

Taft-Hartley, loyalty oaths, state laws, straight-jacket the campus. . . . In '48 the people mobilize, interrupt this schedule. The police state bill proposed by Senator Mundt is not passed.

So leaders of the Communist Party are indicted on trumped up charges, tried before a biased judge, and found guilty by a hand-picked jury of—"teaching and advocating Marxism-Leninism," a body of ideas! An FBI spokesman demands Congressional appropriations to prosecute 12,000 individuals if the Communist leaders lose their appeal. Wild accusations by a Senator McCarthy expose the prosecution mentality: convict anyone who ever criticized . . . Another police state measure is introduced in Congress by Senator Mundt & Co. . . . Widespread opposition—AFL, CIO, NAACP, the people's organizations unite as the full meaning of this bill becomes clear:

The war mongers want to speed up their schedule!

The people can destroy this time table. In their factories and stores, workshops and farms, churches and clubs—the people of America of all creeds and nationalities can speak out;

On our campuses, in our organizations, in our classrooms, we students can—we must—join them:

WE WILL NOT ACCEPT THIS TIME TABLE OF DESTRUCTION! WE DEMAND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO SPEAK AND ACT FREELY!

DEFEAT ALL POLICE STATE MEASURES!

END PROSECUTION OF THE 12—OF THE 12,000 x 12,000!

The Principles . . .

NEW FOUNDATIONS is a publication devoted to the political, cultural and intellectual problems of American students. Its purpose is to stimulate clear thinking and progressive social action in all fields of study and activity and to express the needs, activities and aspirations of student America. NEW FOUNDATIONS actively combats reactionary and fascist ideologies in all their manifestations and presents a positive approach to the solution of the problems of American students—an approach infused with the creative spirit of socialism. The orientation of this magazine will be militantly progressive, with the aim of stimulating Marxist thought and practice.

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VOLUME 3
NUMBER 2

new foundations

THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS

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THE BUDGET—1950

LEONA PIERCE

UNITE FOR PEACE

We welcome this statement by the national staff of the Labor Youth League.

—The Editors

* * *

PEACE NOT HELL-BOMBS!

The goings-on about the H-bomb give the tip-off on the most terrible gamble in history.

At stake—and in the greatest danger—are the lives of an entire generation of young Americans, and the lives of millions of mothers, fathers, and children as well. This is for keeps!

Acheson has said: no more talks, no more negotiations, no more agreements with the Soviet Union. Acheson has said: U.S. foreign policy depends, and will depend, on horror weapons, on force, on intervention everywhere in the world.

Who is not shocked, who is not appalled by this barefaced premeditation of mass murder?

Every sane, decent person—whether scientist or churchman, trade unionist or educator—says: Sit down and talk it over! The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can and must get together! A- and H-bombs must be banned!

It is up to young Americans to put their foot in the door—not to let brass-hat politicians slam it shut on our chances of peace.

Two or three years ago we were told to put our faith in the dream of an A-bomb monopoly.

Today, when Einstein says that “annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities,” Truman and Acheson tell us to pin our hopes on a new nightmare, the Hell-bomb to-be.

We must not stand for these all-out preparations for war, by whatever name they go. Conscience, love for country and humanity, self-preservation—all demand that we join to halt those who openly push our country toward destruction.

The Labor Youth League declares that now is the time for all young Americans, Negro and white—regardless of differences of opinion or belief—to get together.

Many of us do not yet see eye-to-eye on all the reasons for the war danger or where it comes from. But now is the time to UNITE. Now is the time to FIGHT FOR PEACE.

Our League will join with every individual, group, or organization . . . with every young worker, farmer, student, and professional in the

demand: FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.! OUTLAW ATOMIC WEAPONS!

Fighting for unity, the Labor Youth League will more than ever show up the men behind the H-bomb for what they are and what they want. This we cannot fail to do because those who plot a new war hope to fool young people, hope that our unyielding faith in our country will make it hard for us to recognize the treachery of our native militarists and money-bags.

Behind the Truman-Acheson gamble is Wall Street—a very rich, a very greedy, and a very frightened gang who want to solve the problems of their dying system through a war to take over the world. More than anything they fear putting their crisis-wracked system into peaceful competition with the rising forces of democracy and Socialism throughout the world.

They lie without limit about the Soviet Union—as Hitler did before them—exactly because the U.S.S.R. thrives on peaceful construction . . . because as a Socialist state it contains within it no class that stands to profit by or can bring about imperialist wars and oppression . . . because it stands for negotiations and agreement, not intimidation and blackmail . . . because it heads up the fight by the millions of people everywhere who demand peace and are strong enough to assure it.

The fight for peace demands that we call a spade a spade—and a fiend a fiend. Put the spotlight of truth on the cartellists, the billionaires who gamble our lives on the juggling of H-bombs! Show up the Wall Street conspirators who defame everything in the democratic, peace-loving American tradition—who label peace as “unpatriotic.” Expose the bi-partisans who spend fortunes for war while they rob vets of 52/20 and leave young people without an ounce of protection against another depression. Put the finger of anger and protest on the pro-fascists who arm in the name of “democracy” while they refuse to punish lynchers and encourage anti-Negro police brutality, job discrimination, and quota systems in education!

The Labor Youth League calls on all its clubs and members to fight for peace with every ounce of energy, courage and initiative. We call on all young people and youth organizations to join hands.

Through rallies, petitions, giant post cards, debates, give every young American a chance to be heard for PEACE. Speak up for action. Work for unity.

Open the door wide to peace and a decent life—for all young Americans, Negro and white.

* * *

We welcome this call to unite for peace because the war drive affects us as students and as citizens.

Thirty-two cents of every tax payer's dollar goes for armaments. Seventy-one cents out of each dollar in Truman's proposed budget will be spent for past or future wars. No wonder Truman proposes so little Federal aid to education! No wonder efforts are being made to slash the scope of the already inadequate G.I. Bill! The nation's top brass proposes the reenactment of the draft which will cost one-tenth of the national budget. The Truman Administration's alternative for the youth is, not education for peace, but drill for war!

Big business interests which control our colleges are using every method they can to militarize and control our thoughts and actions. ROTC is being made compulsory in more and more schools. Government funds are being used for military projects in wider and wider areas of scientific research.

Abridgements of academic freedom are being accelerated by the direct invasion of military brass. General Eisenhower, President of Columbia University, was among the first to propose that the National Education Association ban Communists. At Harvard, 300 students enrolled in the NROTC have been forced to sign "loyalty" oaths which include stool-pigeon clauses requiring them to report the activities of their fellow students.

These abridgements of our civil liberties reflect and are heightened by the attacks taking place throughout the nation on Communists, trade unionists, all progressives, as imperialism's agents attempt to split and destroy the peace camp. The biased verdict of the Foley Square trial of the 11 Communist leaders, in particular, has given ammunition to campus bigots who seek to straight-jacket the minds and activities of students behind the drive for war.

The virus of white chauvinism, too, is heightened by the growing war hysteria. Quota systems, segregation, and jim crow practices in all aspects of campus life are effected by school administrations to split the Negro-white unity which must be forged if we are to fight effectively for our needs and for peace.

The effects of the war drive are further intensified by the growing economic crisis. Many veterans, finding the GI Bill inadequate, are forced to leave school. Non-vets are finding it harder to pay increased tuitions and fees. Especially hard hit are working class and Negro students.

A recent survey, disclosed by Dr. Frank S. Endicott, director of Northwestern University's Placement Bureau, announced a decrease of about 25% in personnel requirements for new college graduates. He added, soothingly, "Plenty of opportunity still exists for the individual who is willing to start wherever he can, work hard, and let his education prove its value on the job." But neither this myth, nor

General Eisenhower's hot-dog-and-beer promises can hide the facts: degrees are more expensive to get, and now, as it rapidly reaches the point where students will give them away, the sign hangs on the door of Big Business: "Not Wanted."

Developments of recent months indicate widespread interest and concern among students for the maintenance of peace.

In the February issue of the Methodist student publication, *Motive*, a lead article warns of the danger of increased military emphasis in the colleges as a threat to academic freedom. Another singles out the necessity of seeking every possible way to achieve international understanding to maintain peace.

In October, 1949, a week-end institution sponsored by the Young Friends Fellowship dealt, among other things, with the following topics: East and West Can Learn to Live Together; How Can the College Student Affect Our Foreign Policy? Soviet-American Relations.

The United World Federalists, within the framework of the Quaker Peace Report which emphasizes United States-Soviet cooperation, discussed peace as the most important question before them at their national conference. The Baptists' Student Conference last term proposed the establishment of student action committees to work for peace. Last spring, many religious student leaders in the midwest signed a statement opposing the North Atlantic War Pact.

Other students, many of whom know the horrors of war first hand, have also expressed their concern for the preservation of peace. Although vet enrollment has dropped by 14%, approximately 37% of the full-time students are vets, many of working class and lower middle class origin, including Negro students. In one or another form, organized in groups or as individuals, they seek ways to express their desire for peace, jobs, and security.

Negro students have made especially significant contributions to the fight for peace in concrete struggles expressing their deep resentment against war-bent chauvinist forces in our country. Paragon, the Negro Cultural Society at New York University, for example, spoke out against the Foley Square trial, recognizing its connection to the war drive and spread of white chauvinism. Throughout the land, Negro students are battering against the jimcrow pattern of education.

White students have joined hands with Negro students in challenging the quota system, discriminatory practices in job placement, housing, fraternities and sororities. A recent Roper Poll indicates that 90% of the student body oppose discrimination in fraternities and sororities. This reflects the nation-wide opposition to discrimination which led to a 36-3 vote of the National Interfraternity Council for a resolution

asking member groups to eliminate restrictive membership clauses. Michigan University students have been especially outstanding in fighting against the quota system which most fundamentally affects the possibilities of Negro students obtaining an education.

The unity of Negro and white students was nationally expressed most recently in response to the NAACP Civil Rights Crusade to Washington. Exposing the true character of the "democracy" our State Department seeks to export, this Crusade was a real blow for peace. In Michigan, 45 students leaders and faculty members, representing sororities, fraternities, an editor of the school paper, the local NSA leadership, the Association of Independent Men, the Student Legislature, and the History and Sociology Departments, signed a statement in support of the Crusade, urging passage of civil rights legislation. At Cornell, in one day, 1000 students signed a similar petition initiated by the Cornell Coalition Committee for the NAACP Civil Rights Crusade.

White students are coming to understand that the fight for Negro rights is directly linked to their own needs and democratic aspirations. Ever larger numbers are coming to realize that this fight is essential to halt the chauvinist war-drive of U.S. imperialism.

International Relations Clubs, science groups and history clubs, every independent club or national affiliate, face the necessity of opposing indoctrination for war. They too in one or another form are beginning to express their desires for peace.

April is a month which traditionally marks heightened activities for peace. Varied student organizations are already planning campus-wide peace demonstrations this year. Their main emphasis will be to call for negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States to outlaw the A-H bomb and for peaceful cooperation.

The delegates of the recent Labor Youth League conference of student leaders, taking note of the widespread student sentiment for peace, called on all student League members to participate in building a united peace movement. Regardless of disagreement about responsibility for the war danger, ways should be found to bring together all students who desire peace. Unity for peace, they declared, is essential if students are to win the fight for their own needs as well as strengthen the forces of peace throughout the country.

At the same time, the delegates agreed, the League must play an independent role in exposing the source of the attacks on student rights, of the danger of war, in the aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism. Not mythical Soviet aggression, but Wall Street desperation is responsible for the growing danger that the peoples of the world may be involved in another horrible, destructive war.

Selma Weiss, Student Director of the League, reported that since the organizing conference last May, some 35 student clubs have been founded and are functioning on campuses. Quite a number have been recognized. All are working to become an accepted part of the student community. This beginning was achieved against a background and as a part of the developing struggles for peace and academic freedom; in the fight for Negro rights and the welding of Negro-white unity; and in winning the immediate economic needs of the masses of students.

But, while taking cognizance of these achievements, the delegates agreed the student League clubs had not yet reached the potential that already exists for growth, and in this sense were lagging behind the rest of the organization. They resolved to establish League clubs on every major campus and to enlarge existing ones by the end of the term.

The conference delegates also agreed to the necessity of strengthening ideological and educational work to equip League members with the understanding and confidence needed to win students to the fight for peace and democracy. Such a program should enable League members to criticize the vicious attitudes and approaches, the rationalizations for imperialism, which are drilled into students in every class; to expose such professors as Sidney Hook, who mouth the lies of the war mongers in professorial jargon; and to refute the manufactured hysteria spread by daily headlines.

Above all, the League educational program must equip League members to bring to their fellow-students the truth that their own futures, their desires for peace and security, are bound with the interests of the working class and the Negro people. It must arm them with knowledge and confidence in the unity and strength of the colonial people's movements, the victorious Chinese liberation forces, the growing People's Democracies, and especially the mighty Soviet Union as a bulwark for peace.

As part of this program, the delegates welcomed the new bi-monthly League publication, *Challenge*, which will spark the work of League members on campuses, as well as in shops and communities, throughout the country. They agreed to circulate the first issue, coming out March 1st, to thousands of students, and to guarantee the widespread sale of subscriptions.*

Only such an educational program, based on the principles of scientific socialism, the delegates concluded, could steel the student League clubs to give the best kind of leadership in building the campus coalition for peace, democracy, and student needs.

* Subscriptions may be obtained from Labor Youth League, Room 314, 799 Broadway, N.Y.C. for \$1.00 a year.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

NAZIM HIKMET—

PEOPLE'S POET OF TURKEY

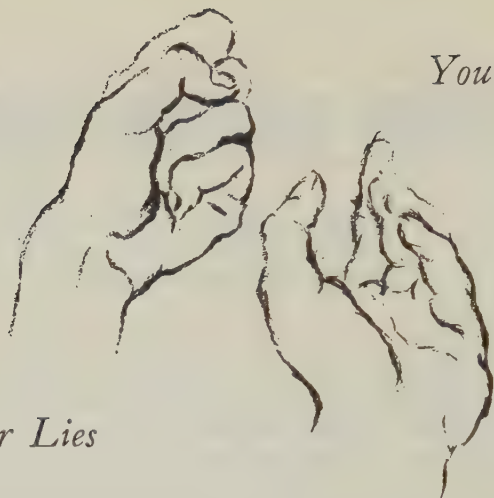
The great revolutionary poet of Turkey, Nazim Hikmet, has been rotting in the Bursa Jail in Anatolia for the past twelve years. In 1938 the reactionary government of Turkey sentenced him, courageous fighter for democracy, to twenty-eight years in prison on the trumped up charge of spreading communism in the Turkish army. The only evidence: Black Sea sailors and students of the Military Academy were reading his poems—available in any bookshop at the time! To the fascist rulers of Turkey, such blazing people's poetry is subversive. It is read and loved everywhere. He always saw to it that his books were printed on cheap paper so that students and workers could afford to buy them.

But the revolutionary role of Nazim Hikmet has never ceased. During these long years of imprisonment, in spite of the miserable conditions of the jail and his failing health—he has angina pectoris—he has never stopped writing his poems. Their publication is forbidden, but they are smuggled out of his jail, and, spreading like sparks from hand to hand, they flame across the land. Recently, in a frantic effort to hush the poet's song, the government has thrown him into solitary confinement, preventing visits even of his closest relatives.

This is the country described by Truman as a bulwark of "democracy" in the Middle East! In reality the American imperialists, with the aid of the Turkish reactionaries, have turned Turkey into a virtual American colony, intensifying the exploitation of the Turkish people. The millions of dollars coming out of the pockets of American workers are spent on guns, tanks and bases, instead of upon the pressing needs of the people. The Turkish people are more destitute than before.

The forces of democracy are speaking out against the monstrous perversion of justice in the jailing of Hikmet. Letters of protest to the Turkish government and UNESCO are pouring in from worldwide organizations, including the IUS and the WFDY. Students of France have held demonstrations and taken other action for the liberation of Nazim Hikmet. Progressive American students too must raise their voices to protest this inhuman treatment of a great poet, and take immediate action for his release as a symbol of their support of the struggles of the Turkish people for liberation from the oppression fostered by U.S. imperialism.

Your Hands



and their Lies

Your hands, solemn like stones;
sad, like tunes sung in prison;
huge, massive, like draft animals;
your hands like the angry faces of hungry children.

Your hands, deft and industrious as bees,
heavy, like breasts full of milk,
valiant as nature,
your hands hiding their friendly softness under rough skins.

This world does not rest on oxen's horns,
this world is carried by your hands.
And men, Oh my men!
they feed you on lies,
while you are starving
while what you need is meat and bread.
And without once eating at a white-clothed table
to your heart's content you leave this world
and its fruit-laden trees.

Oh men, my men!

Especially those of Asia, of Africa,
of the Near East, the Middle East, the Pacific Islands,
and those of my country,
who are more than seventy percent of humanity,
like your hands you are old and musing,
yet like them, curious, enthusiastic and young.

NOTE: The March issue of *Masses and Mainstream* contains several pages of poems from Nazim Hakmit, including "Your Hands and Their Lies" which NEW FOUNDATIONS is reprinting here by permission.

Oh men, my men!
 My European, my American,
 you are alert, you are daring,
 yet forgetful like your hands,
 and like your hands you are easy to dupe,
 easy to deceive. . . .

Oh men, my men,
 if the antennas lie,
 if the printing presses lie,
 if the posters on the walls lie, and the ad in the paper,
 if the bare legs of the girls lie on the white screen,
 if the prayer lies,
 if the dream lies,
 if the lullaby lies,
 if the tavern fiddler lies,
 if after a hopeless day the moonlight lies at night,
 if the words lie,
 if the colors lie,
 if the voices lie,
 if all those who exploit the labor of your hands
 and everything and everyone lies, except your hands
 it is to make them pliant like clay
 blind as darkness,

stupid as shepherd dogs
 (dumb) and to keep them from revolting
 and from bringing to an end
 the money-grabbers' kingdom and his tyranny
 over this transient though wonderful world
 where we are but for so short to stay.

To Paul Robeson

They don't let us sing our songs, Robeson,
 Eagle singer, Negro brother,
 They don't want us to sing our songs.

They are scared Robeson,
 Scared of the dawn and of seeing
 Scared of hearing and touching.
 They are scared of loving
 The way our Ferhat* loved.
 (Surely you too have a Ferhat, Robeson,
 What is his name?)

October 1949

* Ferhat is a famous character in Turkish literature similar to Shakespeare's Romeo.

They are scared of the seed, the earth
 The running water and the memory of a friend's hand
 Asking no discount, no commission, no interest
 A hand which has never paused like a bird in their hands.

They are scared, Negro brother,
 Our songs scare them, Robeson.

Angina Pectoris

If the half of my heart is here, doctor,
 The other half is in China
 With the army going down towards the Yellow River.
 And then every morning, doctor,
 Every morning at dawn
 My heart is shot in Greece.

And then when the prisoners fall asleep,
 When the last steps go away from the infirmary
 My heart goes off, doctor,
 It goes off to a little wooden house, in Istanbul.
 And then for ten years, doctor,
 I had nothing in my hands to offer my people,
 Nothing else but an apple,
 A red apple my heart.

I watch the night through the bars
 And in spite of all these walls lying heavily on my chest
 My heart beats with the most distant star.
 It is on account of all that, doctor,
 And not because of arterio-sclerosis,
 Or nicotine or prison
 That I have this angina pectoris.

1948

The Twentieth Century

"Let's fall asleep now
 and wake up in a hundred years, my beloved . . ."

"NO

I am not a deserter,
 Besides my century does not frighten me,
 My wretched century
 blushing from shame,
 My courageous century,

great

and Heroic

I have never grieved I was born too soon

I am from the twentieth century
 And I am proud of it
 To be where I am, among our people is 'enough for me
 And to fight for a new world . . ."

"In a hundred years, my beloved . . ."

"No, earlier and in spite of everything
 My century dying and reborn
 My century whose last days will be beautiful
 My century will burst with sunlight, my beloved, like your eyes."

1948



NAZIM HIKMET

NEGRO COLLEGE WOMEN

Progressive students! Are Negro women active in your ranks? Are you waging struggles against the special discriminations aimed at Negro college women? Are Negro women an integral part of the campus coalition being forged in your region (North or South) for peace and democracy?

On January 13, 1947, the Supreme Court held, in the case of Miss Ada Lois Sipuel, that the state of Oklahoma must "afford to the plaintiff, and all others similarly situated" not only equal educational facilities, but also "an opportunity to commence the study of law at a state institution at the same time as citizens of other groups" in compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution."

This decision climaxed more than a decade of struggle, spearheaded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to win full and equal rights to education for the Negro people. Miss Sipuel, a Negro woman, had apparently won the right to attend law school at Oklahoma University, white.

But the minions of white supremacy did not accept the decision of the highest court in our land. Her application to the law school was again denied. The State Board of Regents announced it would establish a "separate but equal" law school as a branch of a Negro college.

Five hundred white students of Oklahoma University burned an effigy of the United States Constitution in protest against this new supremacist declaration. Support for Miss Sipuel's campaign came from Negroes and whites in all parts of the country.

Miss Sipuel petitioned the Supreme Court for an order to the state to fulfil the original decision. But the Supreme Court denied her petition. She began again the lengthy, expensive task of suing the state, pointing out that the Negro college did not offer equal facilities for legal education.

Miss Sipuel's efforts to achieve full, equal opportunities to a legal education were thus at least temporarily thwarted. But the effects of

Miss Williams is Editor of *New Foundations*.

her struggle were far-reaching. A Negro instructor, Mr. McLaurin, was admitted to a white graduate educational school after a similar suit—although he was forced to sit in a separate ante-room while attending classes. Delaware and Arkansas State Universities lifted their bans against Negroes in certain departments the day after the first Supreme Court decision. A Negro woman, who had placed 28th among 91 applicants taking the professional aptitude test, was the first Negro admitted to the University of Arkansas Medical School. Miss Viola M. Johnson, another Negro woman, sued for admission to a Louisiana State University Medical School. Her suit was denied, but the NAACP again filed an appeal.

Miss Sipuel's campaign is very significant. It culminates decades of struggle by the Negro people for educational opportunities. It symbolizes their consciousness that, while education is no solution to the problems of jim crow, it constitutes an important weapon in helping to win liberation.

Miss Sipuel's own role, as well as that of other Negro women, clearly illustrates the growing participation of Negro women in the struggle to win educational opportunities for her people.

At the same time, Miss Sipuel's campaign for a legal education is a fight for the rights, not only of Negro women, but for all women; for few women, Negro or white, study and enter the field of law.

I. THE HISTORICAL MILITANCE OF NEGRO WOMEN:

Miss Sipuel's fight reflects in a limited sphere the vital participation of Negro women in the Negro liberation movement; in all aspects of the struggle for democracy in our country. Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth—these names loom large in the annals of the Negro people's heroic struggles to overthrow the vicious system of slavery. The National Association of Colored Women, the oldest of all national Negro groups, provided major leadership of the Negro people until the founding of the NAACP. Today, there are many Negro women's organizations which carry out militant programs of struggle for democracy.

Negro women have been among the foremost leaders of the fight against southern lynch law and police brutality. Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram today sits behind prison walls because she refused to be cowed by a white plantation boss; a national campaign by Negroes and whites to free her has brought into bold relief the struggle for democracy in the South. Mrs. Bessie Mitchell has stumped the nation from one end to the other to win support for the "Trenton Six," the six Negro men who were imprisoned and sentenced to death on a false accusation of murder.

Negro women, like Moranda Smith, International Vice-President of the Food and Tobacco Workers, CIO, have played a leading role in building trade unions in those industries where they have been able to get jobs.

Negro women have contributed much to building the progressive political movement. Mrs. Modjeska Simkins of Columbia is one of the greatest fighters against the lily-white power of the Democratic Party in the South. Among the leaders of the Progressive Party are such outstanding women as Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Congressional candidate in 1948 from Brooklyn; Eslanda Robeson, author and lecturer, candidate for Connecticut State office; Frances Williams, candidate for the Los Angeles Assembly; Charlotta A. Bass, editor of the California Eagle; and Shirley Graham, novelist, who introduced the party's program at Philadelphia. Miss Claudia Jones is an outstanding leader of the Communist Party, fighting not only for the rights of Negro women, but for all citizens of the United States.

In keeping with these traditions, Negro college women recognize their responsibilities to their people, to all Americans. This consciousness is reflected in the programs of Negro sororities, although they are primarily social organizations. Miss Evelyn Rush, a student member of Delta Sigma Theta, a leading Negro sorority, declared in 1946:

"First, we must do all that is in our power to discourage hate, racial intolerance, racial bigotry, militarism and war. . . .

"Second, we must do what we can to uproot the erroneous idea that war is inevitable because of certain ineradicable traits in human nature. . . .

"Third, we must do what we can to correct the false assumption that conscription for military training is necessary for peace. . . ." ¹

One of her sorority sisters, Miss Murial Dougal, a graduate music student, added:

"The 'One World' that Wendell Willkie so ardently championed is being torn asunder by the capitalistic and imperialistic policies of certain nations. Youth is wide-awake to that fact and to the vicious doings of the senile and reactionary men who occupy the seats of government in Washington. . . ." ²

The oldest national Negro sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, makes its main orientation the development of a national health campaign. It provided leadership some years ago in setting up a lobby in Washington to fight for civil rights, fair employment practices, health and housing legislation. Seven other national Negro women's sororities

¹ *Delta Journal*, 1946.

² *Ibid.*

have joined AKA to expand this project, now called the American Council on Human Rights. It now employs two full-time lobbyists.

The Pan-Hellenic Council, the National Council of Negro Women's Sororities, puts forward resolutions and recommendations to its member organizations, emphasizing especially the fight against discrimination and close ties with labor unions.

This progressive orientation contrasts sharply to the jim crow, socialite content of most national white sororities. White sororities generally exclude Negro students, and often bar Jews, Catholics and other minorities as well. Their programs are usually directed towards bringing together upper class, white college women in a social atmosphere, rather than waging campaigns for the needs of the people.

II. THE TWO-FOLD DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO COLLEGE WOMEN:

How can we explain this progressive orientation of Negro college women? We must examine the special difficulties they encounter in society as Negroes and as women which affect their entrance into college, their college life, and their post-graduate careers.

Only one Negro out of 24, compared to one white out of seven, between the ages of 18 and 21, was enrolled in institutions of higher learning in 1938-39.³ Over four-fifths of all Negro students attended segregated institutions in the South.⁴

These shocking statistics illustrate graphically the direct and indirect effects of national oppression in limiting the higher education of Negro youth, both men and women. Segregated education in the South, buttressed by the quota systems in the North, is consciously aimed to limit the education of Negro youth to hold the Negro people in a perpetual bondage of oppression and ignorance. This vicious device is supplemented by the high costs of education which, in private southern Negro schools, as well as in the more expensive northern schools, are way beyond the reach of most Negro families. The national oppression of the Negro people forces them into the lowest paying jobs in the country—if they can get work at all.⁵

The exclusion of Negro students from higher educational institutions distorts the education received by white students, North and South. Segregation directly lowers educational opportunities and stand-

³ Caliver, Ambrose, *Education of Negro Leaders*, Bulletin 1948, No. 3, Office of Education. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1949. p. 24.

⁴ Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro College Graduate*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. p. 20.

⁵ See Fogel, Robert, "Free Our Schools," *NEW FOUNDATIONS*, Vol. II, No. 4, for discussion of effects of national oppression on the education of Negro youth.

ards in the South for whites as well as Negroes. The maintenance of two systems of education puts too much of a drain on financial resources, both public and private, to permit southern standards to equal those in the North. And, North and South, the virus of white chauvinism all the more easily invades the class rooms through biased texts and professors because Negro students are excluded. No white student can hope to receive a really democratic education as long as jim crow persists in campus life.

White students are more and more awakening to the fact that jim crow in education has this direct effect on their own schooling. The dramatic protest of white students against the denial of Miss Sipuel's application to Oklahoma Law School illustrates the potential militancy against segregation once the issues are clear. Students of Texas and Missouri, too, have voted to admit Negroes to their colleges. Students of Michigan, the University of California, Harvard, Smith, Columbia—of colleges throughout the northern and western part of the country have developed campaigns against quota systems.

National oppression slashes the number of Negroes, men and women, who may enter college or professional school. But what about the special difficulties of Negro women?

In the last two decades, slightly more Negro women than men have enrolled in institutions of higher education.⁶ Among white students in contrast, there are almost twice as many men as women.⁷ This appears to contradict the statement that Negro college women are discriminated against as women as well as Negroes. In reality, however, it reflects the special oppression of Negro women in society, and the continual fight they carry on to obtain higher education.

First of all, most Negro women must work. The economic drive to escape the low-paid, degrading drudgery of domestic service—the fate of most working class Negro women—is undoubtedly a major factor in stimulating efforts by Negro women to obtain a college education.⁸ The demand for a minimum number, inadequate as it is, of nurses and teachers, one of the few fields open to Negro professionals—predominantly women—may account in large measure for the higher proportion of Negro women students.

⁶ From 1936 to 1939, a representative period, 57% of the total number of Negro students enrolled were women. Although this ratio was almost reversed during the immediate post-war period due to enrollment of Negro veterans under the G.I. Bill, the trend today indicates that women will soon again constitute the greater proportion of Negro students. In graduate schools, and among those obtaining degrees, Negro women outnumbered Negro men even throughout the immediate postwar period. (Jenkins, Martin, *Journal of Negro Education*, 1948, pp. 206-14; 1949, p. 575.)

⁷ Fine, Benjamin, *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1949.

⁸ Working class Negro women, triply oppressed as workers, Negroes, and women, are

Second, job discrimination forces most Negro families into extremely low income groups. Therefore it is often necessary to send the son to work rather than to college because he can earn higher wages than the daughter to help support the family. It is probably easier to spare the meager earnings of the daughter and to let her work her way through college or a professional school. More Negro women than men attend public institutions of higher learning.⁹

Third, Negro women, more than white, have historically been forced to assume major responsibility for leadership in the family. Under slavery, where married men and women were frequently sold to different owners, the women were often forced to assume sole responsibility for the children. At the same time, they struggled valiantly against added indignities imposed on them as women by white slave owners. After emancipation, the continued economic exploitation and insecurity of the Negro people hampered the establishment of stable family life, forcing the father to leave home to seek work. The burden of working and caring for the children still fell on the mother.¹⁰ Undoubtedly a mother who has considerable influence on the decisions of her family will tend to help her daughter escape the fate of domestic service.

A Negro woman who succeeds, despite jim crow barriers, in getting into college or a professional school, still faces special forms of discrimination in college life. The discriminations encountered by all Negro students are aggravated for her because she is a woman.¹¹ The struggles of Negro women against these special forms of discrimination forward the interests of all Negro and women students.

the most exploited group in our country. Almost half again as large a proportion of Negro women as white must work to help support their families. (*Negro Handbook*, 1946-7, p. 98.) Over two-thirds of the Negro women working in 1940, moreover, were forced to work in domestic and personal service. Job openings for Negro women are far more limited than for either white women or Negro men. Their takehome pay is about two-thirds of Negro men's. ("War and Postwar Trends in Employment of Negroes," *Monthly Labor Review*, 60:4, Jan. 1945.)

⁹ Caliver, Ambrose, *A Background Study of Negro College Students*, Bulletin 1938, No. 8. Office of Education. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1933.

¹⁰ Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1939. The majority of Negro students questioned in a sample study felt that their mother had influenced their decision to attend college more than their fathers. (Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate*, p. 210.)

¹¹ Like all women, Negro women are discriminated against by those who claim women should be relegated to kitchen, church and family—a rationalization for paying women lower wages, refusing to upgrade them, and attempting to deprive them of the vote and political leadership. In education, these discriminations assume many forms: the exclusion of women from leading men's colleges; the professor who declares that, no matter how well a woman does in his class, he will flunk her; the inscription over the door of a men's eating place, "No woman shall ever enter these portals."

Most Negro women must work to obtain higher education.¹² Obviously this strains their ability to get the most out of school. Worse than that, they can usually only get low-paid domestic and personal service jobs.¹³ In the South, no Negro woman can easily obtain any other kind of work. In the North, college employment agencies often participate in perpetuating job discrimination.

The segregated educational system of the South forces all Negro students to study with poor facilities, inadequate instruction and limited programs. It is a myth that the southern educational system is "separate but equal." In most southern states, no graduate or professional educational facilities are open to Negroes. In Negro schools, teachers are usually so underpaid that they frequently lack adequate training and are constantly forced to leave in search of better jobs.¹⁴ More than that: imagine the study problems of students who cannot even enter the best libraries or art galleries for source materials because of the color of their skin!

Since a larger number of Negro women than men attend public institutions of higher learning in the South, they suffer especially from the inadequacies of southern states' appropriations for Negro colleges.

The discrimination against Negroes attending southern schools by the surrounding white communities is intense. Students must live up to the jim crow customs and laws set by the white rulers. The administrations of Negro institutions, especially those supported by state funds, usually uphold the jim crow status rigorously. Others, financed primarily by the "philanthropy" of the same financial interests that benefit from jim crow, may be somewhat more liberal, but very little. These administrations uphold the jim crow status in part to continue receiving financial support. But in part they aim to protect the students from attacks by neighboring white communities. For Negro students are not safe, either, from southern lynch law. In St. Louis, Missouri, last year, the police invaded a Negro college to seize a student on the false accusation of rape. And, in accordance with the southern bourbon traditions, Negro women are not safe from attack by whites.

Negro women in particular are confined by special rules on campus—much more so than Negro men or white women in northern or southern schools. They are required to be in their dorms at early hours, they often cannot go on dates without chaperones, and their activities are very limited. A Negro woman student was recently suspended

¹² About 60% of Negro students attending college in the '30s, North and South, expected to work to earn all or part of their way through. (Caliver, *A Background Study of Negro College Students*, pp. 40-41.)

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Caliver, *Education of Negro Leaders*, pp. 24-5.

from North Carolina State College because she dared to infringe one of these rules.

Political action is, of course, curtailed by these stringent regulations. It is further limited by administration efforts to keep it within a legalistic framework in order not to "antagonize." Despite this, the students, both men and women, have taken strong, militant stands. They gave wide support to Wallace during the '48 campaign, and campus after campus has sponsored rallies for the great singer and leader of the Negro liberation and progressive movement, Paul Robeson.

In the North, although segregation *per se* is not as blatant as in the South, Negro students, both men and women, suffer indignities and outright deprivations fostered by prejudice even if they succeed in getting past the quota system. The administrations of northern colleges and universities, dependent as they usually are on big business grants,¹⁵ find many subtle ways to perpetuate white chauvinist practices. Even at such a public institution as the City College of New York, the administration has defied a mass student strike to keep the white chauvinist, anti-Semitic bigots, Knickerbocker and Davis, on the pay-roll. Other City College instructors, who supported the student strike and opposed white supremacy, lost their jobs.

Discrimination in the class room is most serious, for it hampers students' efforts to get a good education. One Negro woman found that, despite an excellent record and fulfilment of special extra assignments, a teacher marked her "incomplete" at the end of the term, thus endangering her fellowship. Other Negro students have discovered that some teachers automatically grade them down, refusing to raise their marks above "C."

All students in northern schools, Negro and white, are exposed to jim crow slanders in the material presented in class. History classes seldom include material on the Negro liberation movement, certainly not on Negro women's leadership in it. Science classes sometimes accept the false findings of so-called intelligence tests to declare Negroes to be innately backward. Cultural performances, puppet shows, plays, radio skits, campus papers, magazines, frequently depict chauvinistic stereotypes of Negroes. Negro women are usually pictured, not as militant fighters for freedom, but as docile "mammies."

Negro students, men and women, are segregated in their living and even in their eating to inferior quarters. On some campuses, they cannot take part in athletics. In 1946, at Brooklyn College, where there is supposedly no discrimination, a Negro student was pulled out of a dance lineup just before a major performance by an instructor who

¹⁵ See Field, Simon, "Who Owns Our Colleges," *New Foundations*, Vol. II, No. 1.

maintained that her presence destroyed the "balance."

Some white students, too, discriminate against Negroes. In physical education at one school, white girls very ostentatiously refused to include a Negro woman in their sports. She was forced to take completely individual exercise, or face daily embarrassment. White women frequently refuse to allow Negro women to participate in their social affairs, such as dances, parties, or sororities, either by outright refusal to admit them, or by social pressure. Negro women are usually ignored by white men, especially as possible dates. One Negro woman discovered that a white student professed "friendship" in order to obtain information from her for his studies. But when he met her on other parts of the campus, he pretended not to know her.

Off campus in the North, discrimination against Negro students is often even greater. They are not permitted in some communities to dine in restaurants, rent dance halls, or go to movies or theaters. They cannot even get a haircut in some places.¹⁶ Thus the life of most Negro woman on northern campuses is limited to a one-sided, stifled existence which prevents them from enjoying or getting the most out of their college years.

Many white students in the North oppose these white chauvinist attitudes and practices, recognizing their destructive effects on campus democracy and their own education. The members of the Vermont University Chapter of Alpha Xi Delta Sorority, for example, withdrew from the national organization when it put them on probation for pledging a Negro student (the only Negro student in the University, incidentally). The white vice-president of the chapter of Phi Omega Chi Sorority at Upsala College, East Orange, N. J., resigned from her sorority when the chapter voted not to admit a Negro student. She organized instead an interracial, non-sectarian sorority with Negro, white and Chinese members.

Progressive organizations, such as the Labor Youth League and the Young Progressives of America, have taken the lead in mobilizing opposition to jim crow practices both by college administrations, faculty, and the students. On many campuses, campus coalitions have been formed and actions taken to end discrimination in classrooms, part-time jobs, housing and social affairs.

Job openings for Negro women college graduates are even more limited than for Negro men. The vast majority of Negro graduates, men and women, can get jobs only in the ghetto community of the

¹⁶ Wilkerson, Yolanda, *Interracial Programs of Student YWCA's*, New York: The Woman's Press, 1948.

Negro people. But Negro men with degrees have about twice as many different occupations open to them as Negro women.¹⁷

The vast majority of Negro women graduates enter the fields of teaching, nursing, library science and social work. In elementary and high school teaching, they constitute from two-thirds to three-fourths of the Negro personnel. Most professional Negro women—almost three-fourths—work in the South, mainly teaching. Because women predominate in this field, more Negro women graduates than men go South. Yet, even in teaching, men hold most of the higher ranking posts such as principals of schools and instructors in institutions of higher learning.¹⁸

The job opportunities are twice as hard to find in white communities because male supremacy is combined with the much more vicious practices of white chauvinism. One Negro woman, after working her way for fifteen years through school, finally obtained a graduate degree in nursing. After getting the required experience, she applied for a commission in the National Health Service, a supposedly non-discriminatory Federal Government Agency. The four other Negro women who applied with her were turned down the minute they met the examining board face to face, although they had passed the written examination. She alone passed the personal interview because she happened to have proven her outstanding ability when working for one of the members of the board. Once commissioned, however, she was assigned as a member of the staff of an all-Negro hospital in Washington, D.C., although her husband lived and worked in New York. Her repeated requests for a transfer to a New York hospital commute to see her husband. Finally her health became so bad she was forced to resign. She discovered later that the Marine Hospital in Staten Island, New York, was desperately in need of people with her qualifications, but the Health Service Administration refused to transfer her because they did not want a Negro commissioned nurse in charge of white nurses!

Another Negro woman with a nurse's degree from a qualified Michigan training center was refused a job because the hospital authorities in New York told her she needed a New York City degree—another year of training. Unfamiliar with the real facts, she studied for almost a whole year before she discovered it was just another jim crow ruse!

The situation in teaching in northern colleges is no better. In New York, despite the existence of a fair employment practices law, only

¹⁷ Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate*, chapter on occupations.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

two Negro women are instructors today among the thousands of teachers in the four public city colleges.

In periods of unemployment, the proportion of Negro professionals without jobs is much smaller than of Negro workers generally. But fewer Negro women professionals than men are able to find work.¹⁹

The incomes of Negro women professionals are generally one half to two-thirds those of white women and of Negro men.²⁰

Only by a consistent campaign against national oppression and the oppression of women, closely tied to the struggles of the working class, can Negro professional women hope to make real gains towards full equality. Therefore, they have more and more provided militant leadership in the struggles of the Negro liberation movement and the fight for democracy for all. At the same time, while they have not always been fully clear as to the source of their oppression, these Negro professional women have been forced into direct conflict with the program of war and fascism directed by Wall Street.

III. DESTROY THE BARRIERS TO THE PARTICIPATION OF NEGRO WOMEN IN THE CAMPUS COALITION:

Yet, despite the militant role of Negro women in the fight for peace and democracy, progressive organizations on campus have generally failed in the post war period to benefit from the participation of Negro women students. How many campus organizations on northern campuses—except those composed primarily of Negro students who have been jim-crowed out of general campus life—can point with pride to active Negro women in their top leadership or their ranks? How many national student organizations with large numbers of white members can boast of having benefited from the leadership of Negro women from either northern or southern campuses?

The vicious ideology of white superiority is consciously cultivated by the agents of imperialism through every medium of communication: radio, movies, newspapers, word of mouth. It is especially fostered on campus in classrooms by biased professors and twisted texts. It aims to turn whites against Negroes and thus to destroy the possibility of an effective fight for the needs of the people. On campus, it hamstringing student campaigns for their needs. Today, it is especially cultivated to win the white masses, including students, into the chauvinist camp of

¹⁹ In 1932, 3.1% of the men and 6.5% of the women in a sample of 5,000 graduate students were seeking work. *Ibid.*

²⁰ The median salary of a sample of over 3,000 Negro male graduates in 1932 was about \$1800 a year; only 172 of these men made over \$5,000 a year. But the median salary of a comparable sample of almost 2,000 Negro women graduates was only about \$970, and only 4 made over \$5,000 a year. The median income of a group of white women graduates of land grant colleges was, in contrast, about \$1,655 a year. *Ibid.*

imperialism in its drive for world domination. It constitutes a major weapon in the armory of fascist ideology.²¹

Only a persistent struggle by white students against white chauvinism and for Negro rights in the fight for peace and democracy, will lay the basis for a correct struggle for the rights of Negro women and Negro women students. Only such a struggle will open the path for a powerful unity of Negroes and whites in which Negro women may contribute the full measure of their potential participation and leadership.

But it is precisely the peculiarly vicious combination of white chauvinism with attitudes and practices of male superiority which hampers a recognition of the *special* oppression of Negro women and the development of a full fledged struggle for their rights as part of a campaign for Negro rights.

Male white students must assume primary responsibility for destroying this insidious combination of male supremacy with white chauvinism, for they are most likely to accept and foster it. At meetings, they often ignore Negro women, failing to get to know them as people, to understand and help them with personal problems. At parties, they seldom dance with Negro women. Vicious remarks such as this have been made by white men at parties where there are a number of Negro women, but relatively few white women: "where are all the women?" Some white men are so completely imbued with the bourgeois standard of "womanhood"—a sexy movie and poster, white stereotype—that they do not even see Negro women as women!

One Negro woman at a big university in New York, who was very active in progressive political work, broke down under the strain of being completely cut off from a rounded-out college life by such attitudes. She was constantly given more political assignments until her health and her school work deteriorated. But her co-workers, especially men, said "hello" at meetings—and forgot her the minute they left the room. Her boy friend, a white, was dating her with a superior feeling of liberality, she discovered. He refused to be seen with her in white sections of New York. He actually intended to marry a white girl to whom he was engaged!

No wonder Negro women students are frequently forced to turn for their social life exclusively to non-progressive circles. Excluded from the social life of white students in general, they discover that even progressives have not shed the insidious layers of prejudice.

White women too, share a major responsibility for the struggle against the combination of jim crow and male supremacy which tends to isolate Negro college women from the progressive campus coalition.

²¹ See "Destroy White Chauvinism," (editorial), NEW FOUNDATIONS, Vol. II, No. 4.

The struggles Negro women must wage, as in the case of Miss Sipuel, are not only for Negro rights, but for the rights of all women. White women have a special stake in the integration of Negro women into the campus coalition. They must be particularly sensitive to the special character of the problems faced by Negro women. They must expose the male supremacist, white chauvinist attitudes of white men, no matter in what form they are manifested. They must take the lead in developing campaigns of struggle for the rights of Negro women students. And they must make every effort to break down the white chauvinist barriers which cut Negro women off socially from other students, working to integrate them fully into the social and political life of the progressive movement.

Sometimes white women have actually fostered the isolation of Negro women by making friends only with Negro men while ignoring Negro women. This results from a failure to understand the special forms of white chauvinism and oppression directed at Negro women. In a sense, too, it constitutes an acceptance of male supremacy, for it ignores the necessity of waging a special fight against white chauvinism for the rights of Negro *women* as women.

All progressives must expose and combat the stereotypes of Negro women which imply that lighter-skinned women are superior. How often this vicious attitude is manifested at dances where Negro women are left sitting on the sidelines although Negro men may be dancing with white women! While Negro men must share the responsibility for destroying this special form of oppression of Negro women, it must be understood that *the main responsibility belongs squarely on white men and women*. For clearly such attitudes stem from the deep penetration of white chauvinism in the society—a virus which white students particularly must assume the lead in combatting in their own interest.

We must strive confidently to raise the struggle for Negro-white unity for peace and democracy to new levels. A concrete program must be worked out within the framework of the situation on every campus, in every region, to forward the fight for the rights of Negro college women. Primary in such a program must be the struggle to end discrimination in hiring (both for part-time jobs and post-graduate employment) open the doors to Negro women in every art, science, and profession! This must be supplemented by a full campaign to end segregation and the quota system, jim-crow housing and eating facilities, and the spread of prejudice in the classroom. A persistent campaign must be waged against the vicious combination of white chauvinism and male supremacy which cuts Negro women off from a full-rounded campus life in northern schools.



"MEXICAN WORKER"

STAN KAPLAN

OCTOBER RAIN

The village stirred with the autumn wind. Yellow leaves applauded the sway and toss of their branches, and bits of paper skipped and raced over the housetops. Clouds of dust peppered the air, swishing the windowpanes and blowing a cannonade of slamming shutters. Little colored children ran for their homes. Dogs disappeared from the road. Then, announced by a peal of thunder, rain pummeled in big bullet drops upon the roofs of corrugated tin.

Young Tyler loosened the tether from the stump and led the mule trotting to the barn door. He unfastened the reins and bit. The big brown mule tossed its head free and up, nuzzling the dank air in wide-eyed expectancy. "Gee, you, come out this rain," Young said. Hugging its neck, he edged the mule beside the wagon in the dark shelter. He tied the tether short, then crawled under the wagon on the dry manure to the opposite door. On his race to the house and up the steps into the kitchen his clothes were drenched.

"Boy look at you out in all that rain," his mother said. She was dicing potatoes in a pan for the Sunday dinner. "And the sun big as day this mornin. You better get them wet clothes off right away, Young."

"I am," he said. He stood out of breath against the wood-stove, and brushed the rain from his face and hair, his shirt clinging to his black body. "Wind goin to play hard on string beans. Like a gale blowin."

His father called from the living-room. "You get Mable and the wagon in?"

"Yessah," Young said loudly.

"Better get lube for them wheels like I told you, boy."

"Yessah, I tried to get some from Bradley's store Friday, but he's dry out."

"I told you not to buy nothin at Bradley's," the father complained. "We owes him too many bills already. A whole week ago, I ask you, not yesterday and not the day before yesterday, but a whole week ago. You could of got lube from somebody up the road apiece."

"I'll get some sure tomorrow, Pa." Young took off his shirt and wiped his face, saying in a confidential tone to his mother, "them hubs don't even need lube."

Mrs. Tyler gravely shook her head. "He on a rampage again, ever since he wake up this mornin."

"He just gettin old," Young said.

"When he hear you all goin to meet at Walker's place today he start jumpin on me, want me to make you quit talkin bout a union and stay on the cane." She raised her paring knife and added with special emphasis, "and he know you with Walker and that white field hand Willis in pushin all this talkin."

Young gave in to his recently growing petulance. He tied the shirt sleeves in a knot and squeezed the whole thing into a ball between his hands. "But why you all worryin," he said, forgetting to lower his voice. "Nothin goin to happen. Neither McElveen nor nobody else can stop us from havin a union when everybody want it and after the white hands already start one on the Flatland. We been plannin since the harvest. I don't see why you all worry."

"Hush down. You want him runnin in here to wrassle with you, you and your loud voice?" She spoke in a near whisper. "No, Young, you can't say 'don't worry.' It's in the village like the spooks. It's in the verra air that somethin goin to happen. Everybody feel it, we more than most anybody, cause you got yourself mix up in it good. They don't just talk Walker no more, and the white man from the Flatland who come help you all. Now they talkin bout you too. You done take a hand in leadin this thing, and Lord, boy, I hope you all know what you doin."

"Quit worryin bout it. There's fifty-two of us now, and we know what we doin." But he knew he could not assure her. His own assurance was weakened since the day Walker announced the meeting and he was more and more vexed with himself in trying to still his apprehension.

"Come in here a minute, Young," the old man called again.

"People in the village shouldn't be tellin a bunch of rumors," Young went on, "they only bitin their own noses."

"It ain't rumors," the mother said. "People done hear with their own ears from McElveen that he goin to stop that meetin today. I warnin you, Young. Son, why you want to get mix up with that's beyon me."

"McElveen's mouth ain't no Bible."

"Boy, you goin to come here like I say or do I got to send my dog for you!"

Young shouted, "Yessar alright I done hear you the first time!" and he went grumbling into the living-room, while Mrs. Tyler threw up her hands, exclaiming, "God, them tempers! That's two of a kind!"

"Think I don't know you're playin possum in the kitchen?" the old man asked, righteousness emanating from his upturned eyes. He sat at the end of the couch with his knees together, his feet bare and pidgeon-toed, and he held a battered shoe in his lap. "Come hold this shoe steady while I cut off this worn out half-sole."

"Give it here, I'll fix it for you," Young offered.

"I can cut it. You hold it." Old Tyler extended the shoe to his knees where Young held it firmly, and he began sawing the ripped leather half-sole with a cane knife hopelessly large in this thin brittle fingers. "You think you can fix everthin just cause you listen to Walker and them fools wantin a union?"

"Yessar."

The old man paused. "Young, don't you go to sassin me long as you under this roof, you hear?"

"I ain't sassin you." Young laughed in spite of his irritation.

"Well al'right. I just want to get things straight with you since you think you bigger than me, that's all," the father said, chopping at the shoe with the cane knife.

Young was exaggeratedly eyeing the knife. "You aimin to cut me or the shoe with that knife?"

"Well quit shakin it then," the old man said, impatiently roughing the shoe into a new position. After a minute his eyes, spotted lightly with age, became unnecessarily engrossed in the futile sawing, and Young felt with a trace of annoyance that his father had not stirred from the couch all morning but had been sitting there rapt in that strange and utter melancholy of the old. "Wind makin a mess of my garden. Pullin up props. Got pods coverin the ground like a rug, and what ain't seeded goin to wash away with the rain. Might's well let you know now you not goin to no meetin cause you goin help me with my plants soon's the rain stop. Hold it still fore I run this knife through my leg. No need for you goin nohow."

"I'll help you with em this evenin'," Young said. "Them plants goin still be there when I get back."

"I say you not goin to no meetin'," the old man said.

"Pa, give me that shoe," and Young suddenly grabbed the shoe to the old man's empty-handed surprise, and hurriedly took it into the kitchen where he set about searching the pantry floor on his knees.

"I know you all be at it soon's you walk into the room," the mother said.

In a few moments he came up with a pocket knife and held the shoe buttressed between his thighs. "That's right. Long as he always tryin to tell me what to do all the time, we goin to be at it." Deftly he slit the leather free and discarded it with the pocket knife back to the pantry floor. "He must think I'm still a little ole kid the way he talk."

The old man stood in the doorway. His shoulders were stooped and boney and grey fingers of unruly hair sprouted from his forehead. "You stubborn, Young, like a mule wantin to be a jackass. You don't care bout your Ma and me."

Mrs. Tyler was indignant. "John, now that ain't true, and he no stubbornner than you."

"He knows it ain't true," Young said, handing the shoe to his father. "I just do what I got to, what ever man do when he got to. I'm no different from everbody else, so don't make like I am."

"Oh, yes you different. What do you and Walker care bout helpin Willis and the white man union if you ain't different? What you think them whites from Flatland goin to do for you?"

"I got to get dressed," Young said, going past him in the doorway. "I'm tired arguin with you all week." Tyler pitched the shoe after him across the living room and followed him to the bureau where Young pulled a shirt from an open drawer.

"What you care bout helpin Willis, jackass?" he shouted. "You think he cares bout helpin you?"

Young spun on him, snapping the shirt like a whip. "Pa, for god's sake, I got to tell you a hundred times? We ain't helpin Willis and he ain't helpin us. We helpin ourselves and they helpin themselves. You can't see that even?" His arms wanted to lift the bureau and send it again the wall. But it was not his father, he knew, who was pressing him to this edge. It was having to dress now to leave this morning when the rain stopped. He was really only half aware of his father's anger and his mother's depression, and his argument with them was mechanical, learned by heart. He had chased the forms of it down his waking hours in the fields among the unbelieving hands, and lately down the near-light hours of the morning in his sleep. The apprehending part of him, calling itself wisdom, he wanted to send against the wall, and putting on his shirt, getting ready to leave, he knew he would be all right. "A white field hand and a black field hand got the same hands in a field," he said. "Why you keep askin after I done told you?"

"John, why don't you quit pesterin that boy. Ain't you had enough of it?" the mother said from the kitchen. "We goin to have dinner in a little while so quit rushin your blood to your head."

Tyler addressed the kitchen door. "Can't I ask questions if I want? I don't understand nothin, me, not a damn thing."

"Round this time of it you only pesterin that boy."

"And round this time of it," Young said, "you ought to understand what I'm tellin you. Ma, you seen my good belt?"

"Like what," old Tyler said, sitting down to put on his shoes. "Like you all goin to the saw mill if McElveen stop your union? McElveen never goin to let none of you out this village. That's what I understand."

Young spoke quietly, almost to himself. "He might find a way to hold some of us, but most of us goin to leave. If we don't get a union

McElveen goin to sell that cane for straw. It's goin to weeds, and the sugar to dust. He'll pile it in barns, and feed it for sorghum to hogs. He's a real nice man, McElveen. Tells everbody hello. I seen him drivin through the village in his truck pickin up horses and cows to settle up for bills. But he's a nice man. You lucky you don't owe him no money."

"Here's your belt," Mrs. Tyler said, her thin face betraying an old anxiety. "And you find clean socks in the bottom of my wash bag. You better put on your Pa's boots if you goin out in that mud. Lord, Lord, boy," she added abstractedly, "I sure wish you was stayin home today." She began tidying up, picking straight pins from the floor and lingering with the scarf and glassware on the bureau.

Old Tyler stood behind the couch at the window overlooking the garden and watched his plants shedding leaf, stem, and pod in a rhythmless dance, shaking free of the slatwood props which were uprooted everywhere hanging by twine at useless angles. "God, look at my garden. Look at them props." He watched the puddles bobble in the yard, and rivulets cascade from the road into the field. Matherne's cow, the next house over, cringed against a barn wall. The trees sagged under the heavy wind, and a farm now hid, now emerged, now hid again among the billowing curtains of rain. "Ma, you seen the garden? Come look what it doin my string beans." The garden was his own, like the house, and together with his mule and wagon it was the only source of his livelihood.

"I see it, John. It just mean more work for everbody," she said, carrying old newspapers into the kitchen.

He dropped wearily on the couch again and watched a fly settle on a polished knuckle of his hand. He drew a green-checkered handkerchief and his billfold from his hip-pocket and wiped his face. The billfold was worn and its color gone; a seam was torn and coins slipped out. "It's old as me."

"What's that, John?"

"Nothin." There were three dollars and thirty-seven cents in the billfold, a key, and some oily matches. There was his license for peddling vegetables, a receipt for oats he had bought six months before, and a small picture of himself when he was thirty. He discovered little bundles of paper he had never noticed, the writing nearly gone and meanings unremembered. A penciled notice of his mother's death on thin grey stationary. He didn't remember his father. God, it was 1908. How many years? Listening to the rain's metallic drumming on the tin overhead, he would have fallen asleep but for the disturbance inside him, and he sat in silence, alternately watching Young and the floor.

But Young avoided the old man's troubled eyes. Dressed now in

dry clothes and thumbing a limp rain hat, he studied the low sky at the opposite window in hope of a let-up. He resented the rain and did not want to be further detained by dinner, but he could not refuse at his mother's insistence. He felt obligated to her for her efforts. What small assurance he gave could no more allay all her fears than dispel every doubt of his own. He knew McElveen would move today. But they could not risk putting off the meeting any longer in spite of him. Already the faces of nearly half their number were missing recently from talks in the fields. The rain would be a good excuse for them. The rest would be there, intense and feigning confidence as though to compensate the indignity of having the others absent. Only Walker, somehow for his size, or sustained by his singular grasp of the thing, would appear undaunted as always, opening with a prayer for the old ones and speaking with a calmness outside the chance of fear. And Willis, the white hand, surely would be there jumping around like a raw colt, slapping everybody on the back, "this is it," his army talk, "we got em by the balls," addressing old and young alike as "doc," and challenging all to parry jabs with him; serious finally explaining how McElveen would break them on the Flats if he could stop the union here. A successful meeting with an application sent to other quarters, who knows? Maybe recognition from a national outfit, help forthcoming, maybe even money.

"Young," old Tyler said. Young turned, jutting his chin to show he was listening.

Mrs. Tyler spoke in the kitchen. "You all better wash up, come to dinner. I settin the table."

"Alright, Ma," Young rose and tossed his hat in a corner chair.

"Young," Tyler said not lifting his eyes from him. "You not goin to no meetin."

"What you say, Pa?"

The eyes came alive behind the pale film. "I say you not goin to no meetin."

"Pa, I don't feel at all like arguin with you," Young said, shaking his head with finality. "No foolin, I don't feel like it at all."

"They goin to bust you, Young."

Mrs. Tyler entered beating a dishtowel on the folds of her skirt. "My God, ain't I never goin to get rest? Lord, there's no peace for me never, no time and no where."

"They'll bust you, Young, and leave you layin in a corn patch."

She settled helplessly on the couch. "What I doin you, Lord, that I gets no peace?"

The old man pushed himself painfully to his feet. "Ever day your Ma and me waitin for when they get you, Young, when McElveen goin to bust you. But you don't care."

"Why don't you lay off me?" Young said. "Jesus, I'm gettin fed up with it."

"Ever day the neighbor's tellin us 'that boy's goin for trouble' and ever day we tellin you 'Young, you better be watchin, you better quit actin.' But you don't care what nobody say, not you."

"John, please don't talk to the boy that way," Mrs. Tyler said.

"I ain't never going back on that cane alone," Young's voice was loud and familiar to him. "You get it? I ain't goin back on that plantation alone."

"He got rights to hisself, John," she said, putting a hand to the old man's wrist, but he moved free of her and leaned forward on the table-edge, his arms tremulous, and his words high-pitched and wavering.

"They going to kill you, fool, you hear," he shouted. "They goin to kill you!" The effort took his breath away, and for a moment he was motionless in the closed, warm room, then vaguely he studied his hands and began slowly pacing in front of the table, looking first to his wife and then to Young, who was now standing at the door of his room.

"Pa, you ain't got to worry bout me," he said, trying not to look at them, "I just ain't a kid no more, I come as far as this and I sure ain't going back." And he quickly shut himself in his room.

Tyler unbuttoned his shirt and sat beside his wife. He rested his head on the back of the couch and breathed restlessly. The mother looked away, and broke the growing silence. "Now everthin ruin. You done cut on him and he troublin away with no dinner. You always actin like a billy goat."

"Oh, go head in the kitchen," Tyler said. He spread his arms on the couch and shook his head. "I ain't boss. Can't be boss in my own house. Go head and let me lone."

"Seems like nothin be the same, like everythin turnin wrong." She got up and moved slowly away.

Tyler drew up his old legs and stretched out. "Everybody turnin on me." For a long time he lay quietly fingering a button on his shirt, rolling his head perplexedly now and then from side to side. "Hope nothin happen to that boy." He stared at the extra kerosene lamp under the table, and at the table legs. "He better than most. Better than most." The rain began to slacken and he heard the snorting of the hogs venturing around the pen, a horse's hoof-beat on the road, a pipe gurgling somewhere below. "I ain't goin to worry bout that boy," he said, "no use me frettin if nobody else do. You hear, Mr? No use in me worryin. You listenin?"

II

After an hour the old man awoke. He heard the flies buzzing and diving at the window screen and knew the rain had stopped. "What time is it?" he asked the lamp, and he fell asleep again. He could hear a cow-bell clanging and dying away somewhere in the well of his sleep, and children's yelling echoed faintly from the hill at the far end of the road. Once a door slammed very near and he turned his face not to hear the voices coming now from the kitchen. But his wife was saying, "Lord, God, I knew, I knew," and he heard a man's voice saying, "It's all right, he's all right, just tell him not to stay. I got to go now. I can't stay here." A rooster crowed distressedly, and Tyler was suddenly wide awake hearing his wife crying "John, John," while the white man, he saw, held her by the shoulders and gently seated her at the table and upon turning and seeing the bewildered old man, said, "It ain't Young. He's okay, Mr. Tyler."

The old man sat upright and blinked incredibly at his wife bowed and weeping hopelessly at the table, and at Willis who stood by her glancing uncertainly about him. "Where's Young?" he asked, refusing to acknowledge what his feelings told him. "What happen to Young?"

"Nothin happen to Young, Mr. Tyler, nothin at all." Willis tried to sound infallible. "He was seen by somebody just before I come out here, so I know he's okay." He swept back the wet, matted hair from his eyes, then, looking over the floor, he picked up the heavy stalk of sugar cane he had carried with him. "Now I got to get going. If Young comes back here send him off quick. McElveen lookin for him all over the countryside. Tell him to head down for the Flatland and I'll meet him there. Well, I can't hang round here neither." He rested the cane on a lean shoulder all soaked, like the rest of his clothes, with fresh mud reeking of swamp-rotted weed. He moved toward the kitchen as Tyler jumped up fumbling with the buttons on his shirt to pursue him.

"But why he lookin for Young," he pleaded. "Good God, man, ain't you goin to tell where he at?"

"He's probably comin back here, I guess. That's why I got here soon's I could to tell you McElveen be here hopin to catch him." Willis ducked into the kitchen and turned to the old man. "You see what I mean? He can't stay here no time at all."

"God, harvest brung a load on us, bring don't know what more," Tyler said. He was beating his fists together. "Where's he at, man, damn, you can't say what happen? I got to know where that boy's at, you hear me?"

Willis looked pathetically at him. "That's what I come here for," he explained, "trying to find him. He may be searching for me now,

or staying at somebody's place. See what I mean, doc? There's no way of tellin." He stopped at the wood-stove, his slender, bone-ridged features grimly concentrated on the big kettle there. "We never did have no meetin." Lightly he thumped the kettle with his stalk. "They kill Walker on his own place while he was gettin water at the cistern. Early before the rain start they ambush him. McElveen never give him a chance, not a lousy chance. Christ, he wouldn't a dared."

"God in heaven," Tyler whispered, wanting to sit down but following instead to the back door where Willis was prodding things with the cane, feeling out the wall, the bread chest, lightly but with pressure poking open the outer screen and pausing to watch a crusty armadilla roll dumpily off the steps.

"But McElveen ain't gettin away with it. What a murderin bunch he's got," he said, and after a moment's reflection, "well, I ain't above it, not now I ain't." He rammed a weather board with the cane and turned suddenly to the old man. "Know what he done? Close up a mortgage on that store last night so nobody can pull out this area, see? Force all the hands to stay close." But it ain't going to work. He extended a wiry arm toward the road. "He'll be comin from that way, I think." Then he jumped two steps at a time to the ground. "But god-damit, me and Young's comin back and we bringin a couple more hands. Got to build this union." He was talking aloud to himself now, looking back at the overturned armadilla vainly claw the air to right itself. "We goin to try to get some help, and raise up money for Walker's folks. Bring some back maybe." He started walking in the direction of the woods.

"Bradley's store McElveen took?" Tyler said.

Willis turned to answer, but had to avoid the fat sows nearing him for feed. "That's right. Closed down on it. Now can't nobody leave without a constable chasin after, you see?" He waved the cane and broke into a run. He crossed the small yard, disappeared shortly in the dried-up creek, and appeared at the first trees when the old man called and he waited again.

"Hey, man, wheres Young at?" Tyler shouted. "What happened to my boy?"

Willis thought a moment before returning a few steps. "Young's okay, Mr. Tyler. Nothin happen to him." But as the old man offered no response, he gazed at the creek and considered going back. Instead, he yelled, "All right now? All right? You tell him if he comes? Tell him to meet me?"

The old man gazed at Willis, his shoulders bent, eyes frowning. Slowly he straightened, slowly his fingers clenching. "Yes," he called, "I'll tell my boy."

THE BATTLE OF THE MURAL

November 22, 1949, front-page headlines of *The New York World Telegram* screamed:

RED-LINE MURAL STIRS NYU TEMPEST

A revolt has broken out among NYU students over what is regarded as an attempt to immortalize the Community Party line in a huge painting on the wall of a busy student lounge.

But NYU students were not "up in arms," as the *Telegram* gleefully reported.

The "revolt" was the manufactured nonsense of a handful of professional red-baiters at a forum of 75 students held to discuss the mural designed by Harold Collins for LaGuardia Hall, the new student lounge of the NYU School of Education. The handful included a graduate student from the Philosophy Department of the Washington Square School (an ardent admirer of the notorious Professor Sidney Hook who, with State Department aid, attempted to halt the Cultural Peace Conference last spring—and was repudiated by a broad cross-section of NYU students¹); two instructors from the Department of General Education, one of whom "just happened" to bring along her entire class; and a graduate of Washington Square College who "co-incidentally" came with a reporter² from the *Telegram*—a paper not known for its truthful reportage and democratic editorial policy.

The day after the forum, the *Telegram* reporter cited the agonized hysteria of these individuals, embroidered by his own vivid, "cold-war" stricken imagination, as the sentiment of the forum. The "revolt" was on!

What was this "red-line" mural? Collins' original sketch was

We have received many requests for reports on key campus struggles which are currently taking place. This is the first of such reports. We would appreciate receiving from our readers brief articles about activities on their campuses in building LYL chapters, the development of campus coalitions, and specific struggles for student needs, peace, and democracy.

—The Editors.

¹ See NEW FOUNDATIONS, Vol. II, No. IV.

² This reporter, Gabriel Pressman, incidentally, was the New York Times correspondent on the Mindzenty trial in Hungary. His stories were widely criticized by his fellow correspondents.

selected by a committee of leading faculty and students last spring in a contest on the theme of "One World." He pictures the key to "One World" as "peaceful and friendly relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. through the medium of the United Nations." Within this framework, he exposes the dangers inherent in United States atom-bomb diplomacy. He emphasizes the necessity of the people of the United States fighting jim crow. This, according to the Hook clique, is "Communist" propaganda.

The School of Education Administration upheld Collins' right to paint the mural. But outside pressure was whipped up by the hue and cry of the press. During Thanksgiving Vacation, the University Administration removed the mural over the head of the School of Education.

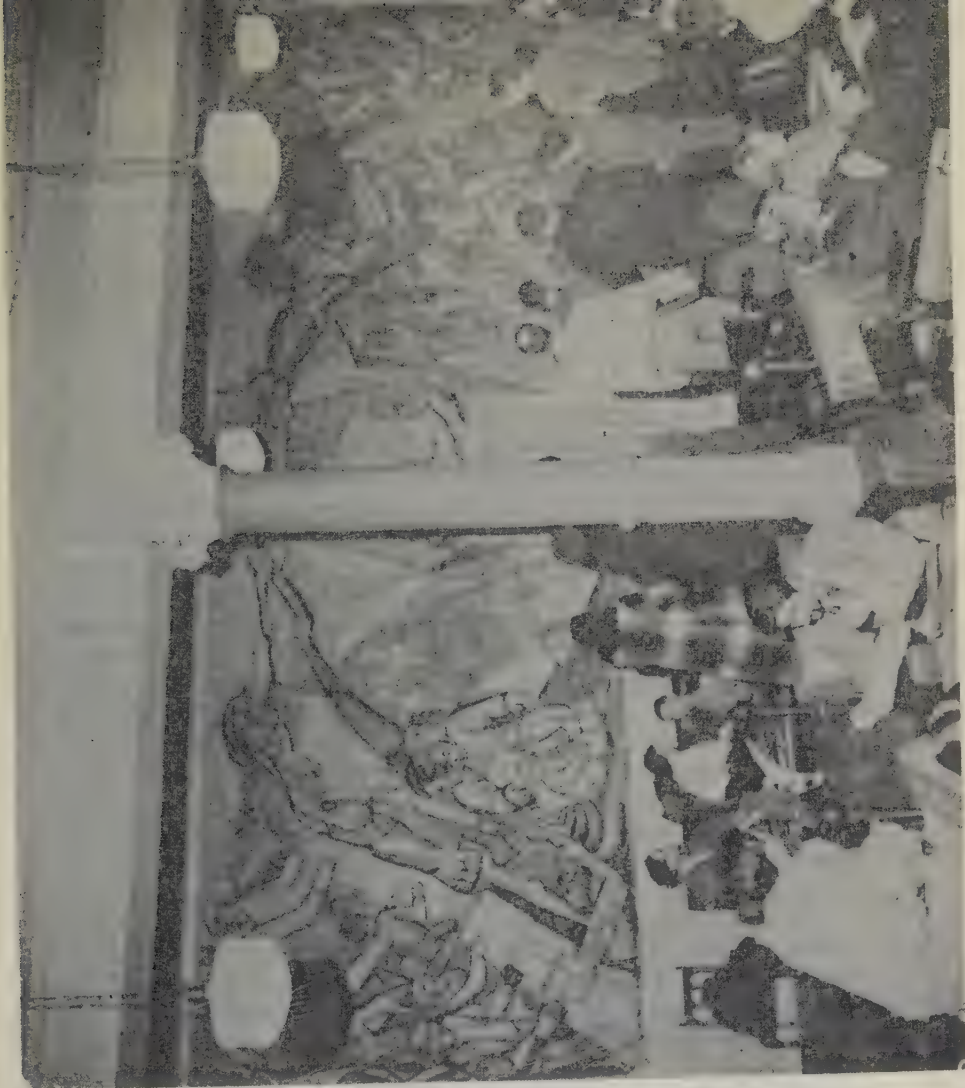
Immediately protests flooded into the University Administration. Fourteen organizations, the Evening Session Student Council of Washington Square College (NYU), the Executive of the School of Education Graduate Student Organization, and hundreds of students through petitions, denounced the action. A hundred students from Brooklyn College signed another petition in protest. Two meetings of the Student Council unanimously re-stated its previous stand: the mural should be returned and the artist permitted to continue his work free from pressure and intimidation. Two faculty committees, including the important Committee on Student Affairs, supported the Council. Nine hundred delegates and observers at the Second National Convention of YPA passed a resolution demanding the immediate reinstatement of the mural.

Fifteen leading artists including Ben Shahn, Max Weber, Philip Evergood and Anton Refregir, issued a joint statement calling on the University Administration to replace the mural in the interest of freedom of the arts.

The editorial in the school paper, *Education Sun*, warned, "The danger does not lie in being called a 'Red.' It does lie in the fact that to escape this label, we must alter our thoughts so there is no possibility of our being associated with anything 'Communistic.'"

And the artist himself, asserting that "The 'cold war' has indeed reached into the very midst of our campus," pledged, "As a veteran of the last war, a veteran of D-Day, five campaigns, and thrice wounded, I know from personal experience the horrors of war. I shall do all in my power, whether my mural stays up or goes down, to prevent this hysteria from engulfing us into a war far more horrible than the one in which I fought."

The protests had an effect. The University Administration shame-



"ONE WORLD"
HAROLD COLLINS

*Photograph—
Wide World Photos*

facedly declared it had removed the mural only to "protect" it, and promised to return it to the students. This was a real victory won through the united action of the students, faculty, and administration of the School of Education.

But victory was incomplete. The administration forced the Student Council and Collins to promise to renew discussion with the faculty-student committee which had originally chosen the drawing and to take the criticisms into account in revising the mural. And, only a few weeks later, the administration of the entire university brazenly banned a broadly-sponsored State Student Conference on Democracy in Education from meeting on the NYU campus.

The vicious intent of the manufactured "revolt" against the mural, whooped up by the press, is shockingly clear. It is a frontal assault on free cultural expression and campus democracy. It is part of the nationwide effort by reaction to cram the campus into a straightjacket behind the drive towards war and fascism. It dove-tails into the un-American pattern of firing three professors at Washington University, expelling progressive students in Michigan and New York, and censuring organizations which fight for student needs. It is an alarming manifestation of the drive to curb free cultural expression in our country—a drive most sharply exposed by the firing and current attempts to jail the Hollywood Ten for producing movies which criticized discrimination. It illustrates the dangerous heights of the hysteria whipped up by the trial of the ideas of 11 Communists who have led the fight in the United States for peace and democracy.

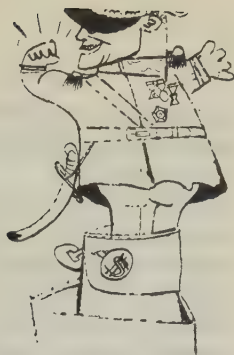
At the same time, the victory of the School of Education students, whose united action won the support of faculty and administration, underscores the value of coalition action in defense of student rights. Moreover this is the second time the Sidney Hook forces have taken a beating at the hands of an aroused NYU student body on the question of peace.

The fight of the students of NYU, together with the students of the nation, must go on. The mural, with its full "One World" message, must be completed. On every campus, wherever similar efforts are made to destroy students' rights, the students must mobilize to demand that the American traditions of democracy in education be maintained. And, fighting every hysteria-ridden effort to limit free expression, students of NYU, of the nation, will come to understand the source of the drive to curb democracy in United States imperialism's drive for world domination. They will learn the necessity of fighting to realize the goal set by the war vet and student artist, Harold Collins:

"We must return to F.D.R.'s policy of friendship between the United States and Soviet Russia, and . . . nothing should prevent all of our peoples from doing so."

STEPHEN FULLER

TITO—MENACE TO PEACE AND SOCIALISM



The lies of the Titoites have had some influence in the ranks of American students, teachers, and intellectuals. Progressives like William S. Gailmore and Jo Davidson who have returned from Yugoslavia, Americans of Slavic descent like author Louis Adamic and violinist Slatko Balokovic, have begun propagandizing in Tito's behalf. Liberal journals like *The Nation* have devoted columns to the defense of Tito. They have too readily accepted the lie that Tito speaks for a small liberty-loving people menaced by both "Eastern" and "Western" imperialism.

The capitalist press, ever ready to magnify a seeming breach in the peace front, have trumpeted these opinions throughout the country.

But no clearer evidence of the role of Titoism in the United States is needed than the fact that Tito is the darling of Henry ("American Century") Luce's *Time* and *Life*. That pillar of American respectability, *The New York Times*, editorially praises "the sturdy Serbian peasant" who sparked Tito's "independent" policy.

I

The depravity of the Titoites has been more glaringly brought to light in the plotting revealed by the trial of Laszlo Rajk and his henchmen last September. All illusions about the "independent role" of the Tito clique were shattered by the revelations of the trial.¹ They were revealed as hirelings of Anglo-American imperialism, with contacts of long standing with Randolph Churchill, Brigadier Fitzroy MacLean, and American OSS agents directed by Allan Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles.

The job of the Titoites was twofold. They were to set up a Balkan federation of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria, with Yugoslavia governed by Tito in the leading role. In this way, American influence would be extended throughout the Balkans. The second

Mr. Fuller is a student of Near Eastern European history.

¹ For detailed accounts of the trial see Derek Kartun, *Tito's Plot Against Europe*, International Publishers (New York: 1950); *Political Affairs*, Dec. 1949; *For A Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* (Bucharest—henceforth abbreviated as FLPPD), Sept. 23, 30, and Oct. 7, 1949; *Soviet Russia Today*, Jan. 1950.

aspect was to establish counter-revolutionary centers in the People's Democracies with the aim of restoring to power prewar reactionary ruling groups.

When the plotters around Mindszenty were exposed by the vigilant Hungarian Communist Party, Yugoslav pressure mounted steadily to force Rajk, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, to step up his activities in behalf of U.S. imperialism. Rajk had a long record of police-spy activity under the fascist Horthy regime, and, at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Loyalists, made contact in France with interned Yugoslavs who now surround Tito. By hiding his dirty stool pigeon activities, Rajk climbed rapidly in the Hungarian Communist Party after the war; but the Yugoslavs, in possession of Gestapo records of Rajk's work, threatened to expose him unless he acted more decisively.

This pressure affected the growing desperation of the thwarted plotters. As Rankovic told Rajk in 1948;²

... it is Tito's (sic) most definite view that after the Information Bureau resolution there can no longer be a question of taking over power in a peaceful way, but the people's democratic government system has to be overthrown and state power must be captured by a violent armed coup d'etat.

In other words, Yugoslav fascism was to be violently exported to the rest of Eastern Europe.

The Rajk trial fully confirmed the Soviet Communist Party's characterization of Tito's provocative role with regard to the Soviet Union. His demands for Trieste in 1945 drew the Soviet Union into a delicate position with the U.S. As the CPSU commented in its letter of May 4 1948, this episode nearly fomented a new war. The pattern of Titoite betrayal can no longer be hidden, no matter what the sphere of activity.

Behind the Tito clique stand the forces in Wall Street and the Pentagon plotting world domination. A vast army of treacherous emigrés from Eastern Europe is being trained by the U.S. to work for counter-revolution and fascist reaction. Witness the headline in a *Times* dispatch dated May 11 1948 prior to the Information Bureau Resolution:

CZECHS IN EXILE AID
ARMY INTELLIGENCE
1,000 in Camps in Germany
Helped by U.S.—Former
Interior Minister There

² *Laszlo Rajk and His Accomplices Before the People's Court* (Budapest: 1949), 71.

This headline helps us to imagine the kind of large-scale activities shrouded behind the super-secret "Project X" rushed through Congress without a floor debate.

On December 13 last, John Foster Dulles, calling for an offensive policy in the "cold war," asked the Government to declare to the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia that "eventual liberation is an essential and enduring part of our foreign policy." Liberation from what? From good food and clothing, and respect for the dignity of labor?³ From building a scientific and equitable social system where exploitation of man by man is illegal?

In the past year and a half, the Tito Gang's ties to the imperialists have been openly exposed. The record gives effective reply to the Titoites' claims that they are merely doing business on an equal basis with the US and Great Britain. In the past few months alone, the story of Yugoslav dealings with the imperialists (and their "world-wide" financial agencies, whose doors are closed to the People's Democracies) is as follows:

- 1) A \$20,000,000 loan on September 9, 1949, from the Export-Import Bank.
- 2) A \$3,000,000 grant in October from the International Monetary Fund.
- 3) A \$2,700,000 grant in October from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- 4) The partial removal of the ban on "war potential materials" to Eastern Europe on November 3, permitting shipment to Yugoslavia of aviation gasoline, lubricants, and aircraft equipment.
- 5) A \$126,000,000 one-year trade pact on December 22 with the neo-Nazi West German Government.
- 6) A civil air pact with the U.S. on December 24, which gives American four-engined planes access to special airfields which the Yugoslavs will build to accommodate them.
- 7) A \$616,000,000 five-year trade agreement on December 26 with Great Britain, with a liberal \$12,400,000 side agreement to compensate for nationalized British properties in Yugoslavia.
- 8) A \$25,000,000 loan on December 26 from the International Bank.

The terms of the typical British-Yugoslav agreement of December expose the fact that these ties with the imperialists aim to hold Yugoslavia in a colonial status. Yugoslavia will supply timber, maize, and strategic non-ferrous metals—all colonial-type raw materials. Great Britain will supply a banking credit of \$22,000,000 for Yugoslavia to

³ For reports of living conditions in the People's Democracies see Doreen Warriner, "Re-planning in Czechoslovakia," *The New Statesman and Nation*, Sept. 17, 1949; *Five Women In Hungary* (London: 1949) 20 pp.; and dispatches by Alexander Werth in *Nation* in January 1950, although Werth tries hard to cover the facts with the usual rumors.

spend on British goods! The Yugoslav Government pledges to "facilitate" placing Yugoslav orders for British textiles, chemicals, rubber products, and a "great variety of machinery and capital equipment." This last phrase probably means mining machinery for Yugoslav mines. It probably does *not* mean oil drilling machinery, because the U.S. got there first by approving its export to Yugoslavia to expedite setting up American-owned oil refineries. And it most certainly does *not* mean machine tools, "machines which make machines." For it is not the aim of the capitalists to make Yugoslavia independent of them, but to hold it as a colonial appendage in the Near East, along with Greece, Turkey, and Iran.

But colonial super-profits are not the only aim of the imperialists in Yugoslavia. The removal of the ban on shipment of war materials, and the arrangement to build air-fields for U.S. bombers in Yugoslavia, point to the establishment of Yugoslavia as a military base from which to launch attack against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union if and when the people do not prevent the "cold war" from growing "hot."

The key role of Yugoslavia in the anti-Soviet bloc is evidenced by the appointment in October, 1949, of George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State, as U.S. Ambassador there. Allen proved his value to U.S. imperialism as Ambassador to Iran. The direct control exercised by the State Department over Yugoslavia is further implemented by the entrance of a number of U.S. "technicians" to help carry out the various agreements.⁴ This pattern parallels developments in the other Near Eastern vassals under the Truman Doctrine.

In return, the Titoites have openly sabotaged the valiant Greek guerrilla fighters; expelled consular officials of the People's Democracies; and threatened to ban all flights over Yugoslav territory by planes from the Soviet Union or East European countries.

~II

While the actions of the Yugoslav leaders can be understood primarily by their ties to imperialist circles, they must also be viewed within the economic and political situation of the country. For it is this which most clearly explains the long concealment of the true nature of the Tito Gang.

Before the second World War, Yugoslavia, like the other peasant

⁴ *New York Times*, Aug. 19, 1949; Jan. 15, 1950.

states of Eastern Europe, was near the bottom of world-wide lists of national income and productivity. Suffering most were the Yugoslav workers and poor peasants,⁵ whose low wages and miserable living conditions were proverbial. These stemmed basically from the colonial relationship of Yugoslavia to the industrialized capitalist states of Germany, Great Britain and the United States. Banks and major industries were in the hands of foreign capital.⁶ These foreign investors did not think for one moment about the welfare of the Yugoslav people, whose toil and suffering built their huge fortunes. As one writer says in veiled terms:⁷

To the owners of her invested capital, Yugoslavia was primarily a source of raw materials, and only secondarily a market for their products. For them, the purpose of commerce and communications was to carry product out of the country, not to distribute it within the country.

This imperialistic relationship is clearly seen in the prewar trade of Yugoslavia with the capitalist states. For example, although Yugoslavia in 1938-9 produced more than 10% of the world's bauxite, it manufactured less than 0.2% of the world's aluminum. Small wonder that imperialists like Winston Churchill viewed with misgivings the great popular movements against colonialism which developed in the course of the war against Nazi Germany.

This system of exploitation, which had the cooperation of the Yugoslav government, left the bulk of the people in a state of semi-starvation. In 1936, of every 1,000 Yugoslav children born alive, 137 died in their first year compared to 62 in the United Kingdom.

When the Soviet Army had smashed its way to Berlin and victory was won, the people's thoughts turned to the problems of reconstruction. An inkling of the cost of the war to Yugoslavia, which should have shaped the course of postwar planning, may be gained from the following items:⁸

- 1) In human life, of a prewar population of 16,000,000 more than

⁵ The estimated population of Yugoslavia in 1940 was 16,000,000. Of the 45% "actively occupied," 76% were in agricultural and fishing, 13.5% in transport and service occupations, and 10.5% in mining and industry. (Figures rounded to the nearest tenth.) See *South-Eastern Europe*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (London: 1939), 139.

⁶ John Morris, *Yugoslavia* (London: 1948), 28-30. In 1936, 42.5% of Yugoslav industry was foreign-owned, including almost the entire timber industry, 98.4% of the metal mines, and 77% of the cement industry. Of the five great Yugoslav banks, three were foreign-controlled, possessing among them 73.5% of all available bank capital.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸ Ivan Karic, *The new Yugoslavia in reconstruction and building up* (Beograd: 1947), 9-19. Also *Yugoslavia Faces the Future* (London: 1947).

1,700,000 Yugoslavs were killed and about 2,000,000 injured.

2) In material, direct damages alone totaled nine billion dollars or about eight times the direct losses of the United States.

3) In human misery, an unimaginable situation. "Hardly a pot or domestic utensil of any sort remained," one report says. "Refugees filled the towns. Food was scarce and communications almost impossible."

The two years immediately following the war were ostensibly devoted to the stringent tasks of recovery, but we know now that the Titoites were using the time to carry out the orders of their Anglo-American masters. By April 1947 they declared the second phase of reconstruction was reached with the promulgation of the Five-Year Plan. Despite grave weaknesses in major fields like heavy industry, live-stock, and transport, they set forth the following objectives of the Five-Year Plan (1947-51):⁹

- 1) To raise national income by 1951 to 255 billion dinars (one dinar equals two cents at the official rate), or an increase of 193% over the 1939 level.
- 2) To increase the value of overall industrial production to 126 billion dinars or 323% over 1939.
- 3) To raise the value of agricultural production to 57 billion dinars or 152% over 1939.
- 4) To raise coal and coke output 272% over that of 1939, oil 450%, steel 324%. To mechanize the mines and bring electrification to the countryside.

One may ask, how could a country suffering from the cumulative effects of prewar depression, colonial exploitation, and wartime devastation plan such optimistic goals? *This question was raised not only by outsiders, as will be seen, but by Yugoslavs as well.* Two who spoke out were Andrija Hebrang, head of the State Planning Commission and Sreten Zujovic, Minister of Finance, both men with outstanding records in the fight against fascism. Before them were the examples of the other People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, whose postwar Plans were primarily devoted to recovery from the ravages of war.¹⁰

⁹ As summarized in Tanjug (Yugoslav news agency) dispatch, April 28, 1947. Also Kacic, *op cit.*, 61-3.

¹⁰ Comparison with Hungary, which suffered somewhat *less*, is instructive. The Hungarian postwar Three-Year Plan (1947-50) contemplated the following modest increases relative to 1938: national income 14.2%, mining 34%, iron and steel 38%, overall industrial production 27%. These goals were reached and surpassed late in 1949.

In contrast to this, the new Hungarian Five-Year Plan (1950-4) provides for the following increases relative to 1949: national income 163%, mining 55%, iron and steel 95%, overall industrial production 186%. Thus nine years after the war, Hungarian planned output will still be below the unrealistic goals set for 1951 by the Titoites. See *First Five-Year Plan of the Hungarian People's Republic* (London: 1949), 2-5.

Hebrang pointed out in the 1946 budget debate:¹¹

A planned economy represents the material basis of the development of society to a higher, *i.e.* a socialist stage. Yugoslavia has not yet reached that stage. She is in a transitional phase of development which is peculiarly her own.

The opposition of the Tito clique to the view that Yugoslavia was over-reaching her economic level of development took the form of advocating high production goals. Boris Kidric, Hebrang's successor to the planning post, declared in contrast to Hebrang:¹²

It is characteristic of the . . . (immediate postwar) . . . period that the revolutionary economic measures were already shedding the form they had acquired during the Liberation War and were taking on purely socialist forms. The basic outlines of the socialist organization of the state sector of our economy, of its machinery and its method of operation were set.

Thus did the Titoites mask their deadly work of internal sabotage. In Hebrang's view, Yugoslavia had not yet achieved the minimum conditions necessary for an ambitious construction program and a high rate of industrial investment, essential parts of long range Socialist planning. But Kidric and Tito, the capitalist agents bent on misleading the people, said Yugoslavia was already on the threshold of Socialism.

On May 6 Hebrang and Zujovic were removed from office for "fractionalism" and "anti-Party slanders."¹³ On June 20 they were expelled from the People's Front, supposedly the broad coalition of all Yugoslav progressives. In December, they were both jailed.¹⁴

Hebrang and Zujovic were not alone in criticizing the Titoite program. The Information Bureau of the European Communist Parties, in its resolution of June 1948 on the Yugoslav situation, also stated:¹⁵

Recently, even after the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and fraternal parties had criticized the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders, the latter tried to bring in a number of new leftist laws. They hastily decreed the nationalization of medium industry and trade, though the basis for this is completely unprepared.

¹¹ Morris, *op. cit.*, 98.

¹² Boris Kidric, "On the construction of Socialist economy in the FPRY" (Beograd: 1948), 31.

¹³ "The decision of the CC CPY on the expulsion of Andrija Hebrang and Sreten Zujovic from the CPY" (Beograd: 1948), 14-24.

In these abbreviations, CC CPY means Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and FPRY means Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

¹⁴ *Daily Worker*; FLPPD.

¹⁵ *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy!* (Bucharest), July 1, 1948.

Doreen Warriner, authority on agricultural economics and formerly head of the food division, UNRRA (Yugoslav mission), noted the unrealistic nature of the Plan. She said:¹⁶

Looking at the country's present economic position, it is difficult not to agree with the two Ministers and with some (sic) Cominform criticisms. . . . The plan actually involves the investment of an impossibly high proportion of the national income, around 35-40 per cent.

The Tитоites slanderously used this constructive criticism to blame the economic deterioration within the country on the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. But the deeper roots of the Plan's failure could not long be concealed. Tito himself was forced to admit to the second congress of the Croatian Communist Party in November 1948 that, because of "certain conditions,"

We must confine ourselves to that which is most important. . . . After we have created the basic conditions for our industrialization then we will throw ourselves entirely into the production of those articles which are needed by our people. . . .¹⁷

One month later, in a discussion of the budget, Tito added:¹⁸

It would be wrong to think that these obstacles arose only during the last months of 1948. These obstacles date from an earlier period and have grown more acute during the last six months. . . .

In the year that has passed since these admissions the Yugoslav economic position has grown weaker. One correspondent at the Zagreb International Trade Fair in May 1948 noted "only specimens" had been produced by Yugoslav factories. Last fall, at the next fair, another reported there were on display only prototypes "with little prospect of mass production in any foreseeable future."¹⁹ Work on Belgrade's main street is done "with hardly a pneumatic drill in existence," Alexander Werth writes, while "there is a good deal of discontent, fatigue, and inertia." "Yugoslavia," Theodore White reports in the *New York Compass*, "is on the edge of a massive economic crisis."²⁰

The revelations of the Rajk trial of September 1949, which exposed the links between Tito and Anglo-American imperialism, enable us to appreciate the significance of the Tito Plan. By keeping production

¹⁶ Doreen Warriner, "Partisan Spirit," *The New Statesman and Nation* (London), August 14, 1948.

¹⁷ *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1948.

¹⁸ Josip Broz-Tito, "Real reasons behind the slanders against Yugoslavia," (Belgrade: 1949), 7.

¹⁹ Alexander Werth, "The Belgrade Argument," *The New Statesman and Nation*, Nov. 12, 1949.

²⁰ See also "Impressions of a visitor," *New Central European Observer* (London), Sept. 3, 1949; henceforth abbreviated as NCEO.

goals high, Tito was attempting to undermine the Plans of the People's Democracies through his demands for heavy industrial equipment. In addition, his contracted shipments in 1947 fell short by 18% of imports from the other East European countries, though trade pacts called for an equal exchange of goods. While Poland got no Yugoslav copper at all, Tito in the first two months of 1949 alone, could "discover" 10,500,000 pounds to ship to the U.S. Thus as Victor Perlo brings out the People's Democracies were forced, because of the deficient Yugoslav shipments, to buy Yugoslav copper from the U.S.!

Czechoslovakia particularly suffered, being 28% short on imports from Yugoslavia, while having begun deliveries on a pledged \$150,000,000 worth of capital equipment. And the Soviet Union, committed by a pact of July 1947 to send metallurgical plants and oil and chemical machinery, was to get no Yugoslav goods in return till 1950, supposedly to permit Yugoslavia to push its Five-Year Plan.

To have revised the high production goals and made the Tito Plan realistic would have curtailed a project "which could not be accomplished without delaying the full repair of wartime damage in neighboring countries and the USSR."²¹

Today Titoites claim that Yugoslavia was kept industrially retarded to serve as a "colony" for the Soviet Union. This lie is exploded by the United Nations report, "A Survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe" issued in 1948, which stated:²²

The most important change in the pattern of foreign trade . . . [among East European countries] is the large reduction in their trade with Germany . . . and the very much greater importance of their trade with the Soviet Union. . . . Whereas Germany was a buyer of foodstuffs and raw materials and a supplier of manufactured goods . . . trade with the Soviet Union is of a different character. The Soviet Union has been chiefly a source of supply for raw materials and foodstuffs, and a market for industrial goods. Thus it would appear that trade with the Soviet Union tends to assist the industrialization of the region, while the German trade had the effect of retarding it.

Behind the anguished wails about being "exploited" by their neighbors, we see the truth, that *it was the Titoites themselves who were the exploiters and parasites.*

II

The policies of the Tito clique in the countryside and agriculture also expose the false nature of their demagogic claims to being "true

²¹ Victor Perlo, "Yugoslav Foreign Trade," *Soviet Russia Today*, Jan. 1950, 13.

²² For this and other valuable material see Victor Perlo, "Who Is Pushing Yugoslavia Backward?" *Soviet Russia Today*, Feb. 1950.

heirs to Marxism-Leninism." In agriculture as in industrial planning, the policies of the Tito clique have strengthened the dominant position of the larger, reactionary farmers.

With 75% of the people working the land, the agrarian situation is a key aspect of the Yugoslav economy. The prewar system of land-ownership was basically one of small holdings, with 87.1% of the farm land consisting of holdings less than 5 to 50 acres in size.²³ The Yugoslavs did not have, as the Hungarian's did, a situation of predominantly vast landed estates held by reactionary feudal nobility. Rather the majority of farmers were small, working peasants, or larger farmers with hired workers, Kulaks.²⁴

When a country is in a transitional phase of development from capitalism towards socialism, agriculture and industry must be delicately coordinated. The most prolific capitalist elements which persist during this stage are small commodity producers, the overwhelming number of whom are those small and middle peasants who sell their grain.²⁵ The workers in the cities need this grain. But history teaches that the larger farmers especially the Kulaks, will take advantage of their position to withhold their grain to become entrenched at the expense of the workers and smaller peasants. This becomes the main source within the nation for the regrowth of capitalist elements and the regeneration of capitalism. As Lenin pointed out, "small-scale individual farming gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." Therefore the state, acting in behalf of the working class and smaller peasants, seeks to watch them carefully, to set the conditions under which they trade, and to control the grain market until such time as the poorest peasants—agricultural workers and submarginal producers—are ready and able to fill the needs of the workers.

But, in contrast to this Marxist-Leninist policy, the Tito clique followed a policy on the land similar to the one in industry which made impossible the development of a real transition to socialism. The post-war "land reform" program of 1945 only reinforced the prewar system of land holdings. In the period of 1945-47 the government pursued a course which actually strengthened the Kulaks.

To justify this dangerous policy, the Titoites maintained the Yugoslav experience in the Liberation War against Germany was unique.

²³ Morris, *op. cit.*, 88-9, 107.

²⁴ Kulaks are "peasants who own enough land and goods to be in a position to employ peasant labor or dominate the work of their poorer neighbors. . . . He is . . . the peasant who is rich enough—in comparison with his neighbors and not upon any absolute standards—to dominate the life of the village and the work of his neighbors." See John Lilburne, "What is a Kulak?" *NCEO*, June 25, 1949.

²⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* (New York: 1943), IX, 165-6.

As Edvard Kardelj, Foreign Minister, demagogically declared:²⁶
 . . . the iron, internal logic of the National Liberation War . . . quickly and thoroughly, one after the other, destroyed the bases and platforms of the open and disguised treacherous reactionary forces of capitalism in Yugoslavia.

In this view, all who were left, including the capitalist-breeding kulaks, were "willing" builders of Socialism. The kulaks, on their part, had only to seize the opportunity to use their grain surpluses to strengthen their economic position. They withheld grain from the market till soaring prices tempted them to sell. A black market in grain sprang up, to the detriment of the working class and sub-marginal peasants, who could not produce enough to feed their own families.

In addition to increased buying power, which accrued to the kulaks as hard cash or coupons exchangeable for manufactured goods, they began to secure the labor services of the poor peasants, who were forced to borrow kulak grain to meet exorbitant state quotas.²⁷ The kulaks freely entered the Titoite "labor" cooperatives and soon gained the upper hand. For the principle of division of produce was that of keeping a form of agrarian rent by dividing income according to the amount of farm equipment and land each peasant brought with him into the cooperative.

With production of farm machinery lagging far behind the country's need, the kulaks would "donate" their plows and tractors to the cooperatives and, in return, extort sums of money from the poor peasants, and at the same time receive tax exemptions, and other privileges from the Tito government. The poor peasants, the strongest ally of the working class in the fight for Socialism, were thus in the unenviable position of being attacked from two sides: from the state, which operated in the interests of foreign capitalism and wealthy kulaks, and from the kulaks themselves.

The exploitation of the poor peasants is scandalous. Those who dare defy these injustices may be murdered.²⁸ The Titoite despotism which courts the support of agrarian profiteers and speculators finds them among the most willing supporters of the regime. Together with Army officers, civil servants, and police, they carry out the orders of the U.S. State Department and place the country in the vise of Anglo-American imperialism.

²⁶ Edvard Kardelj, "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Struggle for New Yugoslavia, for People's Authority, and for Socialism" (Beograd: 1948), 36.

²⁷ Sally Majnarich, "Yugoslav Agrarian Policy," *NCEO*, July 23, 1949.

²⁸ See for details Dr. L. R. Jury, "Life in Tito's Yugoslavia," *World News and Views*, Oct. 8, 1949; "Yugoslavia Today," *NCEO*, Sept. 3 and Oct. 1, 1949; "Titoites Plunder the Peasants," *FLPPD*, Nov. 4, 1949 and "Vojvodina Under the Yoke of the Tito Clique," *FLPPD*, Jan. 27, 1950.

III

The relationship of class forces inside Yugoslavia is manifested in the Titoite political apparatus. Here the anti-Marxist, demagogic approach of the Titoites is clearly evident.

The largest Yugoslav mass-political organization with 7,768,328 members²⁹ is the so-called People's Front. It has, in the words of Kardelj, the following unique character:³⁰

... the critics of our Party ... do not see the difference between our People's Front, as an alliance of working people, and the people's front of other countries where they have been formed on a basis of coalition of political parties. ...

Of course, there are still individuals in the People's Front from the petty bourgeoisie, village bourgeoisie, etc. *But this is not essential. They are in it as individuals, having declared themselves for the policy of the People's Front.*

... such an organization *eases the realization of the leading role of the Party*, closely and organizationally linking the masses of the working peasantry and other toilers with the working class every day ... (my italics).

Class lines are blurred till, in the eyes of the Titoites, they disappear entirely. The task of the Communist Party is "eased" to such an extent that Aleksandar Rankovic, Tito's chief of police and hangman, could, in a ninety page report on organizational work at the fifth congress of the CPY (1948), devote only two to the relation of the CPY to the People's Front. Small wonder that the CPSU, in its letter of criticism of March 27, 1948, took the CPY to task for neglecting its leadership function. The letter cited Tito's remarks at the second congress of the People's Front:³¹

'Does the CPY have any other programme but that of the People's Front? No, the CPY has no other programme. The programme of the People's Front is its programme.'

In rebuttal the Titoites, who as we now know were deliberately subverting the Communist Party as a leading force, never denied this quote. They merely embellished it with *lip service* to the vanguard role.³² In actuality, under the whiplash of the Titoites, and despite the protests of leading Yugoslav Communists like Zujovic, the CPY dissolved into the non-Party mass and lost its vanguard position and critical function.

Before the war the CPY had about 12,000 members. Some 3,000

²⁹ Tito, *op. cit.*, 48.

³⁰ Kardelj, *op. cit.*, 77-80.

³¹ *The Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute*, R.I.I.A. (London: 1948), 16.

survived. In the postwar period the Party's ranks were swelled with adventurers and petty bourgeois, as well as workers and poor peasants. As of July 1948 it had 468,175 members and 383,552 candidates and members of the Communist youth organization. The social composition of the Party, as given by Rankovic, was as follows:³³

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>
Workers	138,236	29.53%
Peasants	231,333	49.41%
Intellectuals	67,329	14.38%
Others	31,277	6.68%

The most striking fact about these figures is the relatively small proportion of workers. Tito's Communist Party is, neither in social composition nor in ideology, a working class Party. It has become a tool of the Tito gang in carrying out the program of Anglo-U.S. imperialism.

Only when the Party is refounded on the basis of adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and fraternal relations among Communist Parties will the Tito clique be exposed and ousted. Indeed, for a year now a new Communist Party has been operating in Yugoslavia. Leaflets have been distributed in Belgrade in defiance of Tito's secret police, and organized resistance among the Yugoslav working people can be expected to crystallize about the new Party. It is the people themselves who will deal with these new fascist invaders, just as they dealt with the Nazis in the anti-Fascist war.

One word describes the economic and political developments in Yugoslavia—*fascism*. Under the guise of building socialism, leading members of the working class such as Hebrang and Zujovic have been imprisoned. Such heroes of the anti-Nazi war as General Jovanovic have been shot in cold blood. The masses of poor peasantry live in a state of semi-starvation and terror. In the interests of the Tito gang, the CPY has been corrupted and the people's front perverted. The words of the late Georgi Dimitroff throw a spotlight on the Yugoslavian situation today:³⁴

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagogy to the national peculiarities of each country and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. . . .

Fascism comes to power as a *party of attack* on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the masses of the people who are in a state

³⁴ G. Dimitroff, *United Front Against Fascism*, 6th ed. (New York: 1947), 11.

³² *The Correspondence Between the CC CP of Yugoslavia and the OC of the All-Union CP (Bolsheviks)* (Belgrade: 1948), 14-15.

³³ A. Rankovic, *Report of the CC CPY on the organizational work of the Party* (Beograd: 1948), 61.

of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a "revolutionary" movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of "the whole nation" and for "the salvation" of the nation.

Tito's supporters scream that Yugoslavia is a victim of "Soviet imperialism." But the vicious hypocrisy of this slanderous charge is exposed by the facts. The Tito gang has long operated as a tool of Anglo-American imperialism in carrying on spying activities and using economic and political chicanery in vain efforts to undermine the People's Democracies and the U.S.S.R. It becomes more clear daily that the U.S. State Department seeks to establish Yugoslavia as a base from which to launch attack against the Soviet Union in the event that the peoples of the world cannot prevent Wall Street desperation from involving them in the holocaust of a third World War.

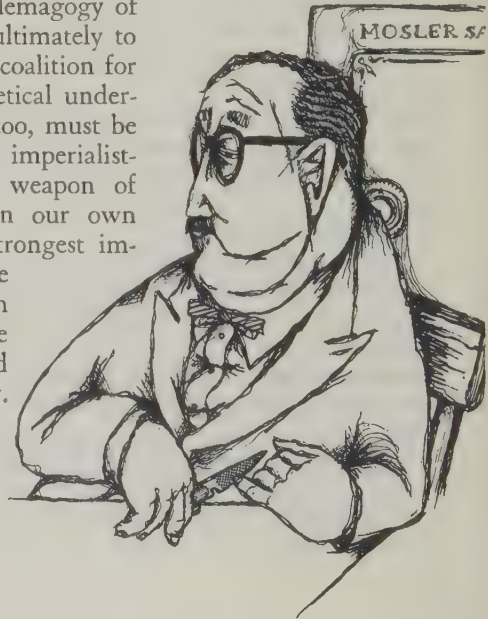
But the peace camp has been alerted to the dangerous role of the Tito gang. Spies and traitors are being unearthed in the People's Democracies and speedily brought to justice. Events have confirmed the masterly analyses of the Information Bureau in its resolutions of June 1948 and November 1949. These resolutions and the following events have stripped the Titoites of their two major assets, their secrecy and their fraternal relations with the peace camp.

Constant vigilance must become the watchword among progressives in this country to expose the Titoite lies which are aimed to split the peace camp. Students especially must guard against complacency, the "two-sides-to-every-story" attitude, which permits the demagoguery of a Tito to make deep inroads and ultimately to immobilize the building of a broad coalition for peace around the issues. Full theoretical understanding of the national question, too, must be achieved to prevent the growth of imperialist-fostered national chauvinism—the weapon of Tito and even more dangerous in our own country, the headquarters of the strongest imperialist power in the world. Above all, students should study the truth about the great Soviet Union, the champion of national liberation and the bulwark of peace and democracy.

* * *

"THE BOSS"

R. W. IRELAND



THE PEACE COUNCIL

REPORT OF IUS COUNCIL
MEETING, SOFIA, 1949

The Fourth Council meeting of the International Students, held last summer in Sofia, Bulgaria, presented the students of the world with a challenging opportunity to raise their voices and demonstrate for peace. This was no ordinary council meeting. The majority of the 200 delegates had participated in the World Festival of Youth and Students and in the Second World Youth Congress. They brought with them the determination and spirit that had been created at Budapest: to work together for peace. PEACE—to enable the colonial students to struggle to free his country so he may study freely and participate in building a free land. . . . PEACE—so the student from the Eastern Democracies may repair the ravages of war, rebuild his university and learn new skills. . . . PEACE—desired by the students of the Soviet Union to continue creating a new society for their people. . . . PEACE—the need of hundreds of American students who are fighting against militarization of the campus; to end segregation and the quota system; to expand educational opportunities for all; and to win guarantees of jobs after graduation.

IUS President, Joseph Grohman,

gave the main report at the council meeting. He reviewed the work of the IUS in the past year since the last Council meeting. Indeed there was a wealth of activity upon which to report. On INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS DAY in 1949, students from some 40 countries banded together to celebrate the recent victory over fascism and pledge that never again would such a holocaust engulf the world. On February 21, the DAY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM, demonstrations were held in every corner of the globe. On April 14 the DAY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC, meetings of protest and telegrams poured into the U.N. demanding the release of Spanish anti-fascists from jail and reiteration of the U.N. pledge to rid Spain of its fascist dictatorship.

In April, last year, the IUS participated in the WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF THE PEACE, that historic gathering in Paris to which thousands came from the far-flung nations of the world. IUS affiliates and non-affiliated cooperating student organizations arranged activities and sent messages of support to the Congress. The IUS became a member of the Perma-

nent Committee of the Defenders of Peace. Joining the committee was not, as the enemies of IUS would have us believe, an example of IUS "subservience to alien ideology." Rather it marked a powerful step forward in carrying out the original IUS program and in building the student movement for peace.

Key in the year's activities was the organization and participation of students in the Second World Youth and Students Festival at Budapest in cooperation with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. (See "Budapest—Rally on the Road to Peace," *NEW FOUNDATIONS*, Vol. III, No. 1.) Bringing together over 10,000 enthusiastic young people from over 80 countries was a mighty contribution to international cooperation for peace—a contribution which could be realized only through the joint efforts of truly international organizations which have their roots deep among the rank and file of students and youth.

The reports from the individual countries illustrated graphically for us the way students throughout the world have fulfilled the IUS program in the past year. The delegates from the Eastern Democracies told us proudly of the changes being worked out collectively by faculty and student representatives to assure more democratic university admissions and teaching methods, and of the consolidation of student unions with youth movements to create more

powerful unity for peace. From the Soviet delegates, we heard exciting reports of new universities opened, particularly in republics far from Moscow, as well as the extension of new forms of education—people's and factory colleges—to increase the spread of education among the people. The Holland delegation reported of their demonstrations against war in Indonesia, and of petitioning the government for increased aid to students and for lower tuitions. We learned of the struggle the French students won to increase government subsidies for attending school. The Indian delegates pictured the repressions of students that have occurred in the past year, the machine-gunning and arresting of students because they demanded better educational facilities and true independence for their country. From Viet Nam came reports of students fighting in the costly war to maintain their independence—independence won after hard struggle against the Japanese invaders. From China, flush with her newly won victories, we heard of students who have no job problems, of building new universities, of attempts to wipe out illiteracy. From Africa we learned of new abridgements of student rights, while the students forged closer unity with workers, women, and farmers in the fight for their independence. Italian delegates told us how the Marshall Plan has crippled their country, of the thousands of un-

employed youth and students, of growing infringements on academic freedom, and the return of fascists to the universities. German students, proud to be again considered among the family of those fighting for peace and an end to discrimination, also reported that Nazi professors and students were again entering universities in the Western zones, and that drinking and dueling societies, the former Nazi strongholds, were re-emerging on the campuses.

Out of all the reports we learned of the profound understanding of the students of the world that the spread of American bases and troops, of American guns and dollars, means but one thing: preparation for a third world war. I became convinced that those of us who love peace here in the United States can be assured of welcome strength and support for our fight from the democratically-minded students of the world.

I do not mean to give the impression that there was complete unanimity among the delegates. A few efforts were made to disrupt the council meeting—efforts that were clearly part of the attempt to wreck the international unity of students and to create a rival organization that does not truly represent the majority of the students of the world. British delegates tried to call for the breaking away of the IUS from the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Other individuals derided the peace program of the IUS, claim-

ing it split the students of their country from the IUS. And a handful of delegates maintained the IUS was too political, particularly in its stand on the colonial question.

But, in every case, other students from these countries told of the enthusiastic response to the IUS program when it was explained to the rank and file students. They exposed the fact that their National Union leaders had never consulted the students about the IUS or its activities, but in reality were trying to disguise their own hostility to the program by saying it antagonized their members.

The IUS emerged stronger than ever by successfully exposing these slanders. The students of the world are resolved that nothing shall destroy their unity. The council delegates firmly pledged to uphold their slogan: **STUDENT'S UNITE: FIGHT FOR A LASTING PEACE, A DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.**

This slogan was implemented by the enthusiastic acceptance of President Grohman's proposals for future work:

1. To *strengthen activity in defense of peace* by mobilizing ever increasing numbers of students and cooperating with other groups that are actively working to defend the peace.

2. To win ever greater *support*

for the colonial liberation movements, understanding that the colonial peoples form one of the most powerful links in the peace front.

3. To plan for a *Student Needs Conference* in April at which the students of the world will review their economic problems and collectively work out programs to fight for their needs.

4. To mobilize every effort to guarantee the success of the *World Student Congress* in the summer of 1950.

5. To carry on a ceaseless struggle against the enemies of student unity and rally ever more students to the cause of international student cooperation.

IUS members feel that we, the rank and file students of the USA, have a natural place among them—and we do. We too are fighting for peace and democracy and against militarization of the campus.

For too long the relations of US students to the IUS have been reduced to the question: to affiliate

or not to affiliate. This is not the major issue today! We must revive the American tradition of international student cooperation and interest through tours, exchange of information and groups, and cooperation on common program. Above all, U.S. students from every individual campus have a responsibility to join forces for participation in the Second World Student Congress. *Information on this and related activities, as well as further information about the IUS, can be obtained from the Committee on International Student Cooperation, 144 Bleecker Street, New York City.*

The students of the world are looking to us. They are bursting with questions about the United States, the real United States. If we are truly fighting for peace, democracy in education, and an end to militarization on the campus, we must join hands in cooperation on these issues with the only representative international students' organization, the IUS.

* * *



Harlem Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1. Harlem Quarterly Associates, Box 974. General Post Office, New York 1, N. Y. Subscription rate, \$2.00 a year. Single copies, 50 cents.

At a moment when the stench of chauvinism is heightened and the "culture" of the ruling class explores untapped lodes of obscenity, a new magazine, *The Harlem Quarterly*, is presented to progressive America. In its prospectus this new periodical declares that its purpose "is to bring to our readers short stories, poetry and articles on all aspects of Negro life and history . . . through our pages let the voices of the American Negroes, the West Indians, the Africans and our white allies ring out. Let them speak and direct us in our fight for freedom, independence, peace and security *in our time*."

We welcome this new voice for the national liberation struggles of the Negro people of the U.S. and the oppressed colored peoples of the colonial areas. These struggles encompass different classes and various political views; therefore, a literary expression of the struggle also presents a cross section of opinions. It is this very diversity of opinion, with *unity* on the prime point, national liberation, which can make such a magazine an effective voice.

A poem can tell us a lot, and "Ol' John Lee" by David MacAdoo is a good example.

*Ol' John Lee was a terrible ol' man
Raised hell all over the lan'*

*Cause there's one thing Ol' John
couldn't stan'*

*Was to be called boy instead of
man.*

These four lines are like a distillation of the spirit of struggle.

The poems by Willard Moore, Mattie L. Goode, Langston Hughes, and others, are all fighting poems, some perhaps exhibiting a bitterness not tempered by full confidence in victory, but never passivity or helplessness.

Evident in the contents of the magazine is a desire for balanced literary fare, for, in addition to the poetry and two short stories, there are several articles and a symposium on Civil Rights which includes contributions by A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Alain Locke, William L. Patterson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Benjamin J. Davis and George Schuyler. Of course, there are inadequacies and unevenness in the quality of some of the articles, and it would be foolish to expect otherwise in a new magazine.

Iris Barner, one of the associate editors, contributes an article entitled "On Youth." In this reviewer's opinion the article, which devotes itself to the "sex problem," does not succeed in arriving at either fundamental questions or tentative answers. The topic is an important one and deserves a more adequate treatment.

Benjamin J. Davis' brief remarks in the symposium article are of special significance, not only

for their valuable content, but also because they constitute the Communist position on Civil Rights by a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. Davis points out that the struggle of the Negro people and their white allies for national liberation is a struggle against American imperialism, against war and fascism. The Negro people bear the brunt of the force and violence which is increasingly directed against the entire American people as the war drive is intensified. Every demand for freedom and equality of the Negro people therefore has a fundamentally anti-imperialist character.

William L. Patterson, Negro leader of the Civil Rights Congress indicates that the fight for national liberation is a winning fight, as is the anti-imperialist fight for peace, not because of any false illusions of easy victory, but because historical necessity will force the white working class to recognize the identity of their struggle with those of the Negro people.

Surely these words by Davis and Patterson, brief as they are, will serve to dwarf and expose the utterances of George S. Schuyler, who calmly prates that "lynching has practically disappeared, terrorizing of Negroes even in the most backward areas is now a rarity, and most notably, most Americans are ashamed and apologetic about social injustice against Negro citizens."

At the same time Davis and

Patterson bare the inadequacies of Mrs. Bethune's reliance on the "Fair Deal," and A. Philip Randolph's Social Democratic abstinence from real struggle.

The article, "Inside the African Continent," by Chuba Udokwu warrants comment because of the growing importance of the people of Africa in the struggle against imperialism. This article and those which will follow can well serve to arm the Negro and white allies of the African peoples with these needed facts.

For whom is the *Harlem Quarterly* written? It is hard to judge from only one issue, but it appears that the magazine is directed mainly at Negro middle class professionals, students, and white progressives. This observation does not suggest that such an objective is to be criticized. However, if this is its aim the magazine must consciously seek to bind into even greater unity the Negro middle class and the Negro working class, the backbone of the Negro liberation movement, as well as white progressives. Working class content is necessary if the objectives of the *Harlem Quarterly*—"freedom, independence, peace and security in our time"—are to be realized.

This new periodical can be of great value in fighting white chauvinism and in strengthening the national liberation movement of the Negro people. It should be circulated widely among both Negro and white students,

FRENCH STUDENTS DEMAND PEACE

French students recently demonstrated their solidarity with their fellow students of Viet Nam. Two thousand high school students of Saigon and Hanoi have been on strike against the arbitrary arrest of many of their fellows. The French colonial police fired on their peaceful demonstration of January 9, killing 36 and seriously wounding over 100 others.

French students responded immediately. They circulated petitions protesting the massacre in many of the lecture halls and class rooms on the initiative of Communist and other progressive students who, before their teachers arrived, told their classmates what had happened. Most French students knew nothing of these events because of the iron curtain policy of the reactionary press here which suppresses news about brutal treatment of the colonial population almost as effectively as the reactionary American press suppresses the same news from Puerto Rico, or Greece, or Liberia.

This protest was not just a generous gesture of solidarity. The war in Viet Nam, in which 20,000

French soldiers have already died, is not just a colonial expedition similar to those of 1900. For French reaction must hold Indo-China at all costs. The war waged against the heroic people of Viet Nam at the cost of the lives and living standards of the French people is deemed necessary to furnish the American army with a base for aggression against the Soviet Union, China, and the new democracies.

Holding on to Indo-China "at all costs" has had a very direct and immediate effect not only on the oppressed and tortured people of Viet Nam, but on all French students. The French budget allows approximately 770 billion francs for both open and camouflaged war expenditures and grants only 120 billion francs for all education. All education funds come only from the budget of the national government which has answered the increasingly desperate needs of the French school system by attempting to reduce the number of students through increasing tuition, dormitory, and other fees, and by extending the number of

years of school required for a degree. Working class students are of course hit the hardest. But all students suffer from the accelerated pace, deterioration of facilities, lack of dormitory or even emergency housing, and overcrowded classes. These have so deteriorated that they can no longer assure the nation's youth of even the most elementary conditions necessary for their education. Ever increasing numbers are forced to work or to leave school altogether after having found it impossible to work and study at the same time.

Under such circumstances, the students of all political opinions are ready to undertake joint action for defense of their immediate demands and the very right to an education. On several occasions this joint action, primarily with Catholic students, has been achieved despite efforts to split the students by red-baiting, and bans by the Catholic hierarchy on cooperation with Communists. The Communist students have been able to expose the true role of these anti-student and reactionary leaders who use the mask of "apolitical" action only to block united action by students. What has most convinced the students is that precisely where they have undertaken such joint action, they have won partial satisfaction of their immediate needs.

One important step in the direction of student unity has been the decision of the French National Union of Students, representing

50 per cent of the French student body, in response to pressure from the students, to call a National Conference for Student Material Needs. This conference can be made the point of departure for a whole series of concrete actions in every school and college around immediate student demands.

A decisive factor responsible for the students' partial victories has been the help of the working class led by the Communist Party. On the campus the Party has brought Marxist analysis and the experience of the working class to students, enabling them to fight more effectively for their own needs. In the campaign to obtain free medical care for students, for example, the Communist students working unceasingly, brought students of all opinions together in joint demonstrations. And in the National Assembly, the Communist Party was largely responsible for enacting necessary legislation for students. Thus it is in the party of the working class that the students have found their main ally in the fight for their demands.

It is quite clear, however, that so long as the government allocates the greatest part of its budget to military expenses and sacrifices its own interests and welfare to the imperialist plans of American capitalists, even the immediate demands of the students cannot be fully realized. The war in Viet Nam and the enormous Atlantic Pact military expenditures that cause the increasing poverty

of the students constitute only one aspect of the domination of the French government and economy by American capitalists. The Marshall Plan which floods the French market with competing American goods, has meant the destruction or serious crippling of many important French industries, such as aircraft, agricultural machinery and film. Large scale unemployment has resulted. The renunciation of German reparations (5 trillion francs) and coal from the Ruhr, prohibiting large scale trade with eastern Europe—the natural market for French manufactured goods—and many other measures imposed by American capitalists, all contribute to the deterioration of the French economy and standard of living—and thus to many of the basic materials difficulties of the students.

Progressive students are doing everything possible to make all students conscious that their own struggles cannot be won unless the battle for peace is won. A budget of war or a budget of education, housing and health is the question. And the only way to win the fight for peace on the campus, the key to all activities of the Communists and other "combattants de la Paix," is to further develop the broadest possible unity of all students in the daily struggles for their immediate demands.

Obviously the working class has the greatest responsibility and the most effective means of stopping the massacres in Viet Nam and

the war preparations. French workers are taking practical action to end the war in Viet Nam and block the preparations of American imperialists to use France to further their war aims. The dockers in virtually all the ports of France, and many railroad workers are refusing to transport war material destined for Viet Nam. Their actions are becoming more and more effective as ever more ships and trains are unable to move their cargo of death. The dockers of St. Nazaire and Cherbourg have so far refused to unload any war material coming under the Military "aid" Program. Their refusal is at great personal sacrifice, since these two ports have been deliberately deprived of other shipping to force the dockers to accept war work. Workers in many plants producing war materials continue to strike with ever greater success in order to force the employers to convert to peacetime production. The government is responding with threats, sanctions and police brutality as the movement becomes more effective. But, just as these workers fought the Nazis, they will fight today's would-be war lords regardless of the sacrifices.

But students can contribute both materially and morally to the success of working class action. A significant development has been the growth of a consciousness of solidarity with the working class among the French students.

Wherever possible, the students are indicating their solidarity with the dockers. Already collections of food and money have been taken up to add to the amount coming from all over the country. Students have held joint demonstrations with veterans of the war in Viet Nam. The student "combattants de la Paix" have recently been organizing students in campaigns to ban the atom bomb. Students in many schools and colleges have formed action committees which, like the Communist-Catholic grouping at Strasbourg University, include an increasingly broad range of political opinions. These groups participated fully in the colonial youth day demonstrations of February 21.

The whole question of friendship and solidarity with the students of the colonial countries such as Viet Nam has also taken the form of efforts to bring the French National Union of Students back into full membership

in the IUS, the only international student organization which actively and concretely works for peace and better conditions for all students.

Much work remains to be done in the fight for unity, for a consciousness of the mutual dependence of the fight for peace and the immediate needs of students. As the war mongers become more and more desperate, the difficulties and sacrifices are becoming greater. No matter what forms the students' actions may take, no matter how difficult their work may be, they know that they are not alone. Like American students, they are one part of the immense forces for peace all over the world. As the dockers of St. Nazaire wrote in leaflets to American sailors: "You take care of the madmen and criminals of Wall Street; we'll take care of our own, and together we will win a happy life in the security of a lasting peace."

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LETTERS TO EDITOR

ON BEBOP:

There has been widespread comment and criticism of James Hutchinson's article, "Bebop, A Narcotic" (Fall, 1949, issue). We believe there is considerable room for controversy among Marxists and progressives as to the content and role of "bebop," or "progressive jazz." This question assumes importance particularly because of the widespread creation and enjoyment of bebop by Negro and white youth *together*. Only after thorough Marxist study, of course, can fruitful and correct conclusions as to its role be reached. In printing Mr. Hutchinson's article, we believe it would stimulate such study. This does not imply, however, that we agree with his analysis. We look forward to receiving written comments which we hope to publish in the next issue.

—*The Editors*

* * *

From Kenyon:

"Dear Editor:

"I was pleased with your March 22 letter. It is rare, as you know, that a writer receives anything but stock rejection slips. Personal comment is exceptional; a letter well-nigh unheard of.

"My good wishes and appreciation of your friendly and thoughtful editorial policy."

From the University of Toledo:

"Greetings:

"For some time my wife and I have enjoyed your student's quarterly *NEW FOUNDATIONS* . . . its purpose, approach, aspirations and orientation.

"We believe that at this time there is a small yet willing number of students at our university who would be desirous of reading *NEW FOUNDATIONS*. We would like to inject it on our campus. This can lay a foundation for further work among the students here. In time, it can be a basis for building a student Labor Youth League. It can counteract to a large degree the deluging of bourgeois filth on our campus. But, whatever the success at the start, it will be a source of the greatest happiness for myself and my wife; besides combatting the fascist and reactionary ideologies in all their multifarious manifestations. . . ."

* * *

NOTE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS: Due to circumstances beyond our control, we have been unable to issue a Winter, 1949, issue of *NEW FOUNDATIONS*. However, we wish to reassure all subscribers that their subscriptions will be extended so that they will receive the number of issues for which they have paid.—*The Editors*.

WE SALUTE...

The victory of the United Mine Workers in forcing a contract and continued benefits from the mine owners is a great victory for the whole American people as well as the working class. The recent struggle in the coal fields was the Taft-Hartley Law in action against the members of the largest non-complying union in our country. While the owners tried to starve the miners back into the pits, the Truman Administration denied relief to the miners, tried to force the union leaders to become strike breakers, and threatened to break the union by large fines.

But neither hardship nor threats of force broke the miners' determination to preserve the gains won through years of bitter and costly struggle. Rank and file workers and progressives throughout the country sent them truckloads of food and clothing to express their solidarity. The united power of the rank and file forced the operators to abandon for the present their plans to return to the "good old days."

The miners taught us something we must never forget. It is possible, in the face of the most vicious attack, to unite and wring from the owners of industry the vital needs of working people. The weapons at the disposal of the capitalist class are crippled by the solidarity of a determined, united working class. The A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., can, if their members *demand* it, follow the example set by the mine workers, and stem the efforts of a small, greedy minority to slash the living standards of the American people. As students, we can see more clearly than ever why we must orient our campus struggles to strengthen our ties to the working class. All peace-loving, democratically-minded Americans can learn from the miners' victory the potential of the American working class united in leading the people to peace and freedom.

