

New Foundations

Volumes 4-7
1950-1954

With an Introduction by

ALAN TRACHTENBERG

Department of English, The Pennsylvania State University



GREENWOOD REPRINT CORPORATION
NEW YORK

1968

This reprint edition reproduces, in an unaltered form, the entire contents of the original publication, as far as it has been possible to determine.

Introduction

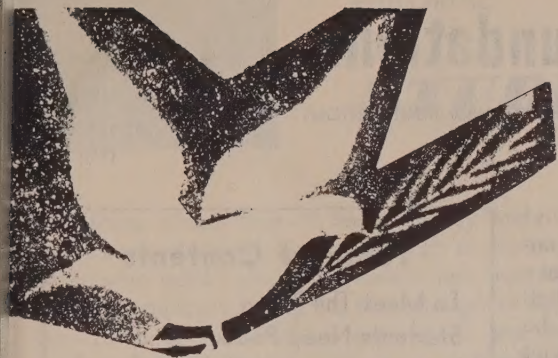
Copyright © 1968 by

GREENWOOD REPRINT CORPORATION

This work has been printed on long-life paper and conforms to the standards developed under the sponsorship of the Council on Library Resources.

Printed in the United States of America

20¢



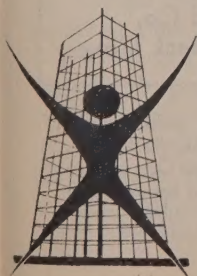
NEW FOUNDATIONS

PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM



Volume 4
Number 1

ERIC FROMM: PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIETY
MORRISON AND COMMAGER vs. NEGRO HISTORY
EDUCATION IN KOREA: A CONTRAST
SHOSTAKOVICH: CULTURE—FOR WHAT?
BROOKLYN C.: GIDEONSE APES McCARRAN





NEW FOUNDATIONS goes to press in a period when American boys are being used to support a badly shaken imperialism all over Asia, compelled to die in the Far East so that the big bankers and industrialists may reduce the Asian peoples to domination and exploitation. We face the danger that the war fronts in Korea and Formosa, Indo-China, etc., will be transformed into an aggression against all the Asian nations and the Soviet Union.

Inevitably, this reactionary war abroad requires a reactionary regime at home. The latest step in the attempt to fascize our country was the passage of the Mundt-McCarran-Kilgore—"anti-Communist," thought control, concentration camp legislation.

We affirm that to permit such a policy means destruction for our people. We commit our magazine to the task of helping to build the peoples' movement for world peace. In the best traditions of our land we bring these principles to American students.

NEW FOUNDATIONS takes on a more popular appearance in order to better reach the vast numbers of students who can be won to act for Peace. Nevertheless we take pride in the contributions we have made in the past to American campus life.

We pledge our support to all students, student organizations, and campus movements working for peace, and in the tradition of academic freedom, resisting all attempts to silence opinion and stifle free inquiry on campus.

We declare our support to the building of Negro-white unity on the campus and our opposition to all forms of jimcrow segregation, quota systems, and white chauvinist expressions.

We believe that democratic and constructive education will best be upheld through the unity of *all* students, regardless of their political differences.

Further, we support the cementing of close bonds of friendship with the youth and students of the world.

We declare that we are partisan. As students, we take our stand with the American working class which is the decisive force in the fight for peace, democracy, and Socialism, and with its great ally, the Negro people.

Thus we present Marxist theory in the hope that it will enrich the content of campus activity.

The editors want NEW FOUNDATIONS to be the fighting voice of American students. We ask for criticism, suggestions, letters, and especially for contributions like short stories, poems and on-the-spot reports of campus happenings.

Join us in making NEW FOUNDATIONS the best instrument for the needs and desires of American students.

THE EDITORS

The Staff:

Editor: Ed Israel • *Editorial Board:* Herb Arens • Elliott Ewald
Ellen Gold • Bernard Jackson • Al Leonard • Jack Mooney
Paris Editors: Walker Baker • Marion Chandler

Table of Contents

To Meet The Times	2
Students Need Peace	
(Editorial)	3
Brooklyn College: Gideonse	
Apes McCarran	4
A Ballad of Free Dreams	
Aaron Kramer	4
Culture—For What?	
Dimitri Shostakovich	5
The McCarran Law:	
Wall Street's Freedom	
Crusade	6
Leon Gilbert:	
Jimcrow in Korea	6
Six Million Students	
Show The Way	7
A Double Standard	8
The Eleven's Freedom	
And Ours	8
Education in Korea:	
A Contrast	9
Morrison and Commager vs.	
Negro History	
Leo Field	10
Students Around the World	13
Psychology and Society	
Al Leonard	14
Student Notes	16
A Letter on N.S.A.	
Robert Fogel	17
The Case of	
Herman Sweatt	18
Whose Iron Curtain?	18
Bibliography on Korea	19
Academic Honors	19
World Peace Appeal	
Back Cover	
Ode to Gideonse and Co.	
Back Cover	

NEW FOUNDATIONS is published at 575 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y., by the New Foundations Cooperative Press. Subscription, \$.70 for 4 issues; single copies, 20 cents; foreign subscriptions, \$1.00 for 4 issues.

STUDENTS NEED PEACE

Patriotism means love of one's country and its people. Those who send American youth to die in Korea, those who would plunge the world into war for Wall Street's profits, are acting out of contempt for our country. To them, our lives are expendable. But we who want to save American lives, we who condemn Truman's intervention as an unjust, imperialist war, are acting in the best traditions of American patriotism. True patriots, in the tradition of Abraham Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War, Mark Twain's stand against intervention in Cuba and the Philippines, and Eugene V. Debs' resistance to World War I, have always fought to end unjust wars in which people are needlessly killed, from which only a selfish handful could profit.

Despite the ballyhoo of the American press, the responsibility for the war in Korea rests on the shoulders of the Dulles, the MacArthurs and the Trumans. As Walter Sullivan, writing in the *New York Times* of June 26th said: "The warlike talk has almost all come from South Korean leaders . . . on a number of occasions Dr. Rhee has indicated his army would have taken the offensive if Washington had given its consent."

On June 25th, 1950 John Foster Dulles visited South Korea. The following week, the Korean War broke out. The United States gave full military support to the Rhee clique in order to maintain its power and conquer all of Korea. Because the Rhee regime was on the verge of internal collapse it needed to go to war to preserve its position. Every delegation, every journalist and correspondent that has visited South Korea has seen the corruptness and brutality of the Rhee regime, seen that it was hated, feared and despised by the Korean people. Stanley Earl, Marshall Plan labor consultant, who returned from Korea on middle of the roaders. Of the 200 seats, only 48 were "Oppressed, suppressed and regimented." And of the South Korean elections held last May he further said: "The people kicked Rhee in the pants by electing the middle of the roaders. Of the 200 seats, only 31 were won by Rhee adherents, while 121 middle-roaders were elected." It is obvious that the Rhee regime had lost all its political power in South Korea. Yet, MacArthur reinstalled Rhee upon the backs of the Korean people.

J. P. Morgan's billion and a half investments in Korea are now temporarily safeguarded. Harold Lady, American Economic Adviser to Syngman Rhee, regards Korea as a land ripe for the picking, "a people fit only to be slaves of the superior lords from the West." Is it any wonder that the South and North Koreans hate the Americans, that as Walter Sullivan writes in the *N. Y.*

Times, July 19, "The soldiers said they felt the entire Korean countryside was either passive or actively hostile." . . .

Where can Truman's policy of provocations in Asia lead? It can only lead to World War. A War waged with Atomic and Germ weapons, reaping tremendous destruction in every corner of the world, including the United States. Right after Truman's announcement that he wanted 10 billion dollars to crush the Korean people the Stock Market went up. The Stock Market investors are gambling in human lives. This handful needs war to prevent a depression and save its rotten capitalist system. Through War they hope to crush the peoples' movements throughout the world, and especially the Soviet Union, and thereby gain undisputed control of the world's markets.

People throughout the world stand firm in opposition to such a war. The American people too will not support an atomic slaughter at the imperialists' will. Hence, the haste to push through the police-state McCarran Bill, to register all opponents to war. With increased desperation the war-mongers are trying to suppress the Communist Party, shackle the workers, to further oppress the Negro people, and to destroy academic freedom.

The best expression of this in relation to students comes from Dr. Guthrie who remarked at the Georgetown commencement exercises: ". . . The sacred fetish of academic freedom. This is the soft underbelly of our American way of life, and the sooner it is armor-plated by some sensible limitation the sooner will the future of this nation be secured from fatal consequences."

Accompanying this is the militarization of our campuses. The military now controls more than 70% of all scientific research in the country. In 1948-49, the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) had 460 organizations in 218 institutions. At least nine top flight military men, in addition to General Eisenhower, are running American colleges. In addition the draft is depleting the American student population. This is much easier than providing jobs.

American Big Business has clearly defined its role for the American student. It is to fight to safeguard and extend its investments.

American students must make clear their desire for Peace and their demand for removal of American troops and the end of provocations against China and the Soviet Union. They must voice their opposition to any attempt to stifle their free expression on campus and their right to become artists, scientists, teachers, and professionals in a peaceful world.

Gideonse Apes McCarran

Things began to pop real early this term. The first issue of VANGUARD, Brooklyn College student newspaper, was a trifle queer. It had a new lay-out which was the result of the administration's attack on it the term before.

VANGUARD had exposed President Gideonse's attempt to sneak R.O.T.C. on campus, and his personal influence in reversing elections in the History department last semester. Suddenly, the faculty adviser of the paper "resigned," and the paper was closed. Students who put out an independent paper were suspended. Democratic President Gideonse raised the cry that the paper did not represent student opinion, and a new policy was instituted.

Every "controversial" editorial had to be accompanied by an opposing "student editorial."

So on the first Friday of the term we found double editorials, but no room left for the letters to the editor column.

In the interim Dean Maroney had suspended the official recognition of the Labor Youth League on campus, wiping out the democratic procedure and the votes of the student and faculty bodies which granted the recognition. Maroney had done this "in view of . . . the war in Korea." He declared that any organization opposing the war was liable to suspension.

VANGUARD had an editorial on the suspension. "We see no reasonable explanation . . . a mockery of those things on which American patriotism should be built—freedom, democracy and understanding (even for the ideas we hate)."

It wasn't a very "subversive" editorial. Justice Jackson himself had more to say along these lines. But it contrasted the wild voice of the former president of Common Cause who wrote the opposing editorial. "We should . . . support the action . . . urge college students . . . to shun the outcast Labor Youth League off every campus."

The VANGUARD editorial even said that it supported the Korean war and hated L.Y.L. But it opposed the administration's arbitrary action—and that would not do.

Gideonse's student stooge, Taubenfeld, presented the Faculty Student Committee on Publications with the proposal to revoke the VANGUARD charter. His was the only student vote in favor, and it was the vote that decided the majority! The VANGUARD charter was revoked. The administration set up its substitute scab-rag, the KINGSMEN.

It is clear that the suspension of L.Y.L. wasn't an end in itself. It was the first decisive step in silencing all opposition by students to Gideonse and his henchmen's policies of wiping out democracy and getting us

ready to goosetep. L.Y.L. is dangerous to them because it has a program of academic freedom, Negro rights, and Peace. In speaking out loud and clear, the L.Y.L. has exposed their attacks on student rights.

But any voice of opposition, no matter how weak or how middle-of-the-road is a threat to the complete domination of the campus. So VANGUARD was suspended too, and that was THE colossal blow to free speech.

These attacks, in their audacity, are unequaled in the post-war period of student history. They require unequaled resistance. No quarter—no compromise! Brooklyn College students demand a free press—with no conditions, no double editorial bunk. They want no part of the student traitors or their rag, KINGSMEN.

The concrete, final decision lies with the student body. It has been attacked as a whole. In fighting back as a whole it can win a victory for all American students.

A Ballad of Free Dreams

Since dungeon-doors are opened
for men no worse than me,
and by tomorrow morning
who knows where I may be,

I kiss my wife more slowly
than those who've done no crime,
and grasp my children's laughter
as for the final time.

By day I pass my neighbors,
and wonder if they know
to what a dangerous fellow
they sometimes say hello.

By night I toss in slumber,
and suddenly awake:
perhaps my name's not listed
among the ones they'll take!

But since I love the meadows,
the mountains, and the streams,
and more than all together
I love my own free dreams,

then if the dungeons open
for men whose dreams are free,
how dare I not be listed?
how dare they not take me?

AARON KRAMER

CULTURE—FOR WHAT?

DIMITRI

SHOSTAKOVICH

The struggle of peoples for peace is growing in scope and strength from day to day. Among the millions who speak for peace we hear the passionate voices of the promoters of culture—the scientists, writers, artists and musicians. In the struggle for peace the role of the art professional is exceptionally great. In these decisive years of history we, the artists, cannot stay aloof, be amused with the idle illusion that we are above earthly things, above taking part in activity.

No servant of art, whether he be a sculptor or poet, a composer or singer, can call himself a true servant of art if he stays aloof from the struggle for peace, from the struggle of his people against fascist ideas. Art becomes real art only when it advocates progressive ideas—humanitarianism, friendship among nations, freedom and independence. It is only too obvious that one can create and build up genuine art for the people only in an atmosphere of peace. Art and war are incompatible and fundamentally at odds with each other.

I have been convinced from firsthand experience that the instigators of war—the venturesome gamblers in human lives—are despised and hated by all honest people. Though the forces of the fighters for peace are growing, the present international situation requires still greater

efforts from all peace supporters in defending the human race from the hurricane of a new war.

Incredible and monstrous as it may seem in our days, there still are “promoters” of culture who glorify war and advocate the mass extermination of people, and yet regard themselves as “beacons of civilization.” To them I would like to address the words of Maxim Gorky: “With whom are you, masters of culture?”

Some of them have already answered this question with their “creative” works. That answer says: “We are with those who are fomenting a new catastrophe, with those who want to destroy the culture of ages and throw millions of young lives in the maws of a bloody war.”

In the name of what?

The renegades and traitors of their people—Andre Malraux, Jean Paul Satre, Andre Gide, Upton Sinclair, and others who have lost their honor and dignity, figure in the shameful list of warmongers. Malraux has had the nerve to address the following statement to the French people: “As a matter of fact, European culture never did exist. There was only a Mediterranean culture, which originated in Rome and Byzantium. That culture has disappeared forever. We have now entered the era of a new, American culture.”

It is that particular “culture” of the dollar and the atom bomb, that Malraux, Gide, Priestly, Sartre, Sinclair, and others of their ilk are now serving.

John Steinbeck is well known to Soviet readers. His “Grapes of Wrath” is a popular book in our country. How did it happen that the pen of this once honest writer produced such a book as “Bombs



Downward!”, which sings praise to military adventure? I cannot understand such degeneration of an artist, such a leap from the camp of progress and love of mankind to the camp of misanthropy and barbarism.

But Progressive men of culture the world over are marching in the front ranks of the fighters for peace. The Association of Czechoslovak Composers appealed to the musicians of the world to join in saying: “We do not want war! Long live peace! For where there is no peace, there is no happiness, no progress, no development of culture and art.”

Like every worker of art, I too have my own creative plans and ideas. Not long ago I completed “The Song of the Forest,” an oratorio, which merited a Stalin prize. I am now working on the music for the film “Belinsky,” and on the Fourth Quartet. I would like to produce my future works in an atmosphere of tranquility and world—wide peace.

I appeal to every worker of art on our planet, and particularly to the youth, to contribute with their creations to amity and mutual understanding among nations, to broaden the front of the fighters for peace. United, we are invincible. We will be able to perform our civic duty in rousing the people against war, against barbarity, against fascism.

By combining our forces, we will win!



Soviet Youth Sign For Peace

THE MC CARRAN LAW: WALL STREET'S FREEDOM CRUSADE

The recently passed "Communist Control" law lays the legal groundwork for wiping out every vestige of freedom in the United States. It is designed to silence anyone who DARES to open his mouth in opposition to the government's war program. The law provides for ten years' imprisonment and/or \$10,000 fine for any "Communist" and any member of "Communist front" and "Communist action" organizations who fails to register his name, address, etc., with the Justice Department.

The bill was passed over the opposition of such organizations as the A.F.L., C.I.O., N.A.A.C.P., American Jewish Congress, and the United Council of Church Women. Even President Truman pushed to the limits of his hypocrisy, was forced to veto the bill and to admit that it would put the U.S. government in the business of thought control. Since then, Truman has said he will vigorously enforce the law, thus proving how empty are his pronouncement on Civil Rights.

What does the McCarran Law mean for students? How might it operate on campus?

Under the McCarran Law a "Communist political organization" can be so termed if its views on matters of public policy "do not deviate" from those of a foreign Communist government. Suppose a student group wages a campaign against jimcrow barber shops at the University of Iowa. The members of the campus group could be called "agents of Moscow," since the Soviet Union has often pointed to the government-sponsored oppression of the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States.

A Quaker group might seek support for the peace plea of the International Red Cross for banning the A-Bomb. The Quakers could be cited for "effectuating the policies of the world Communist movement," since the Soviet Union supports the Red Cross Appeal. Or, suppose an American scientific organization exchanges information with a similar organization in an eastern European country. This group could be accused of promoting "instruction in Communism," since they are willing to hear and exchange ideas with intellectuals in a Socialist land. Already at Brooklyn College the spirit of McCarran has reached out to the L.Y.L. and the student paper.

In short, the McCarran Law could mean the suppression of all democratic student activity on the American campus, intimidation of the American student into silence and inaction. Only through a strong, UNITED protest can the students of ALL beliefs preserve the right to speak their minds and to act in behalf of their own needs and interests.

Leon Gilbert— Jim Crow in Korea

First Lieutenant Leon A. Gilbert, Jr., Negro infantry officer, was sentenced to death in Korea on Sept. 6th, by a jimcrow military court in a jimcrow army. It made no difference to the court martial board that Lieutenant Gilbert wears a silver plate in his skull as a reminder of his service in World War II. It made no difference that the charge that he refused to obey an order to advance was denied. And it made no difference to them that the Negro men serving under Lt. Gilbert were not allowed to testify in his behalf.

Leon A. Gilbert was to be executed as an object lesson to Negro soldiers and to the Negro people—a clear reminder that they must not expect the end of jimcrow either in or out of the Army.

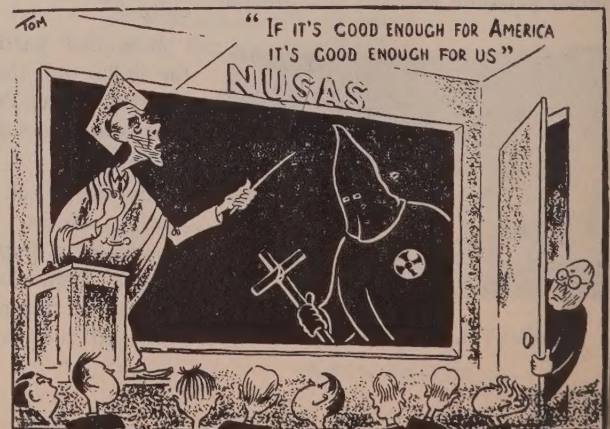
Negro youth who are oppressed in their own land are being used to help enslave the colonial people of other lands. All the patronizing lies of the commercial press can not hide the fact that Negro troops are being treated as colonial troops of all imperialist powers are treated traditionally—as expendables. The American people were for a time told in newspaper headlines of the victories won by Negro soldiers.

They were not told that the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment, of which Lt. Gilbert is a member, was held in the line of battle without a rest, while other units of the Twenty-fifth Division were placed in reserve from time to time.

Now the bravery must be transferred into "cowardice," to suit the aims of the army brass. Too much talk of gallantry might give impetus to demands for full equality in the armed forces.

It is not gallantry in an unjust war against people fighting for independence, however, that makes the demand for equality a just demand. It is not necessary that Negro men die in Korea or Indo-China, or China for the copper and oil interests, before the Negro people can "rightfully" claim equality. The courage of the Negro people is openly displayed in daily struggle against oppression. Freedom for Lt. Gilbert must be won because he is innocent, a victim of army racism.

From South African student, NUSAS Journal



Six Million Students Show the Way

Amidst a display of tremendous enthusiasm, student delegates of over sixty countries commenced the second International Union of Students World Student Congress on August 14 under the slogan: "For peace, national independence, and a democratic education." Hospitable Prague, beautiful capital of the Republic of Czechoslovakia once again received these young guests from all corners of the globe.

Here, in this ancient city, home of the oldest university in Europe, the representatives of organized student youth met and deliberated upon the tasks of the I.U.S. and democratic student organizations for uniting still wider sections of students in active struggle for their vital needs and demands. A sense of solidarity was strong among all the assembled students, expressed in the words of the resolution:

—"Men and women students! Oppose aggression wherever it may be committed, condemn military intervention, and foreign interference in the international affairs of peoples, demand the cessation of intervention wherever it takes place."

Students from the terror ridden imperialist colonies are also answering the call of the I.U.S., and their participation in this congress far surpassed that on any previous gathering. The students of India,

represented by the delegation of the All India Student Federation, despite measures taken by the universities to hamstring student activity have succeeded in passing the 100,000 mark in signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal. As an example of the kind of difficulties the students must surmount, the so-called "rules of conduct and behavior" in Bombay colleges forbid students to take part in public agitation and demonstration (Ruia College), and prohibit the carrying of daily newspapers on the college grounds (Xavier College). These and similar repressive measures have failed to halt Indian student activity for peace.

Indonesian students were represented by 25 delegates, five of whom came direct from Indonesia. These young people voiced the feeling of over 15,000 students who gathered at a peace demonstration held in the public park of Medan, in Sumatra, on August 6, and demanded that the government support the Stockholm Peace Appeal. Students of fascist haunted Iraq and Iran were represented by students from abroad, and the newly formed Students League of Lebanon applied for affiliation and was represented at the congress. From Madagascar, long the scene of brutal French oppression of a national liberation movement, came a delegation of students now studying in Paris. From Ceylon came three representatives, while from Central Africa two delegates came direct—the first student representatives from this area ever to attend an international student meeting. The delegations from China and Korea were given a particularly warm reception.

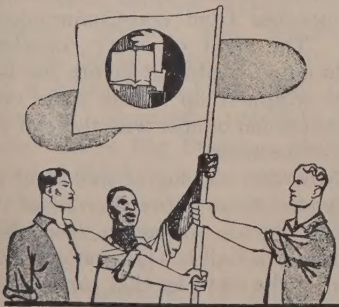
In contrast to the tone of unity prevalent throughout the convention, a handful of delegates led by the leaders of the British National Union of students spoke in support of the Titoite leaders of the Yugo-

slav students' organization which decried the students struggle for peace. A vote of censure was passed against the anti-peace declaration and its sponsor by the main body of the student delegates. In addition, Jenkins' claim to represent the views of all British students was proven to be false when a delegate of the British Students Peace Conference pointed out that one in nine British students has signed the Stockholm appeal.

The peace-loving youth of all nations no doubt took special note of the fact that from the United States came the delegation of the Committee on International Student Cooperation, representing the students of our land who work for peace and democracy. At a time when all forms of intimidation and pressure are being used to deter American students from honest thoughts or courageous actions, the presence of an American delegation to this conference was of tremendous importance. The students of our country who had the honor of meeting with the anti-fascist youth of the world deserve an enthusiastic welcome home, and a firm resolve that an ever increasing number of American students will join with the youth of other countries to halt the murderous plans for atomic war.

MASSACHUSETTS

In Boston, a Youth Committee for a Free City College held a rally this spring to organize support for the free college fight. The meeting was sparked by the Paul Robeson Club of LYL and the speakers included members of prominent community groups, Rev. Muir of St. John's Church, and Lawrence Banks, victorious Negro candidate for City Council in Ward 9, who was deprived of his rightful seat by admitted ballot fraud.



CONTRIBUTE TO N F

A DOUBLE STANDARD

Throughout the country voices of all sorts of political persuasions have been heard against the infamous McCarran Law. It is indeed encouraging that as far back as last April the *Daily Cardinal*, student newspaper of the University of Wisconsin, came out firmly against the bill's forerunner, the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill. The editorial in the *Cardinal* of April 28 rested its case against the bill on these grounds: First, "there is already sufficient legislation to protect the United States against subversive activities; second, passage of this bill would endanger freedom of thought; third, the expression of diverse political opinions would be prevented; fourth, the right of student groups to organize would be curtailed; and fifth, "any campus Young Republican who might have opposed the Marshall Plan, would, under this bill, run the risk of being labeled a 'subversive'."

Students of Wisconsin and elsewhere undoubtedly view this article as a sign of considerable integrity and resoluteness in view of the seizure of anti-communist apoplexy visited upon college presidents and school administrators. The editorial was a determined stand against hysteria and thought control.

It is therefore disturbing to see the editorials which appeared in the July 14 and 16 issues of the same newspaper. The editorial of July 16 warns students to "think twice before signing petitions." What petitions? One which has the temerity to ask for peace. Why should a petition which has been circulated in almost all the countries of the world, a petition asking for the outlawing of the atom bomb, be met by scorn and vilification? Because "its real

inception . . . probably lies in a directive from the Kremlin dated Feb. 1950." And for proof of this statement—it is "revealed" that the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party called for a world peace front for the purpose of "undermining the plans of imperialist aggressors."

The *Cardinal*, which sternly criticizes the police-state bill for unjustly labelling individuals and organizations, follows the same dangerous logic.

Once the *Cardinal* embraces this first premise it proceeds to warn several young women in the "Elizabeth Waters" dormitory who have signed the petition: Do these students realize that they have been dupes of the Communist Party? Do they realize that "signing a petition is an obligation to support the purposes and goals of the sponsoring groups as well as the pledge itself?"

This is the same technique of guilt by association advanced by Mundt and McCarran themselves. It infers that a student who signs a petition sponsored by the Communist Party against the McCarran bill therefore supports the program of the Communist Party. This is an absurdity quite obvious to the *Daily Cardinal* editors.

The positive approach of the *Daily Cardinal* in one matter is to be welcomed even if it continues its self defeating stand on the second issue. We hope, however, that its editors come to realize that those who sincerely wish to fight fascism on one front, cannot retreat one inch on another front. To do so is to encourage those who would crush freedom on the campus and throughout the nation.

FREEDOM FOR THE ELEVEN and FOR US

Eleven men were on trial for teaching and advocating Marxism-Leninism. They were "convicted" of advocating forceful overthrow of the government, but they were never charged with any attempt, nor any such act. Our government then demanded that the bail for these men be revoked, even though their appeal was pending. The reason was openly given as being the "Korean war."

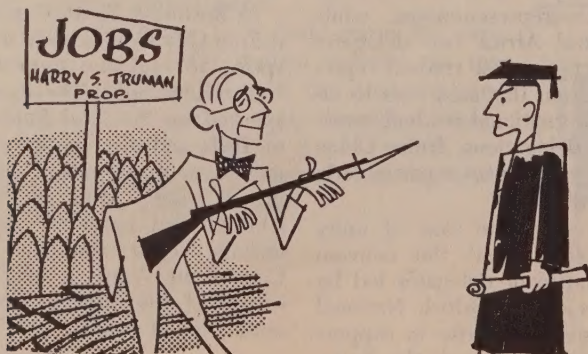
Millions of our people realized that this denial of bail meant a big step in the denial of the Bill Of Rights for all. Millions of our people voiced their anger in meetings, petitions, letters, and telegrams.

In the midst of McCarran hysteria the people won their victory. Justice Jackson upheld the right to bail. Of tremendous significance are the following excerpts from his ruling:

"If all that convicted these defendants was such utterances as have followed their conviction, there would indeed be doubt about its validity for I am unable to find in them any word or advocacy of violence either to overthrow the government or of forcible resistance to its policy. If that inference can be drawn from these utterances, it can equally well be drawn from many opposition speeches from non-Communists."

"The right of every American to equal treatment before the law is wrapped up in the same constitutional bundle with those of the Communists."

Now the winning of bail must be extended to an entire reversal of the Foley Square frame-up trial. The winning of bail is a dramatic indication of the victories that can be won when the American people are united in a vigilant defense of their rights.



EDUCATION IN KOREA:

A CONTRAST

Following the liberation of Korea from a half century of Japanese imperialism, the country was artificially divided at the 38th parallel. What was life like on both sides of this dividing line?

In North Korea, the peoples' liberation movement became the government, having full support of the people. The Soviet occupation forces upheld the right of the people to independence. The North Korean government, composed of those who fought Japanese imperialism, distributed lands belonging to the Japanese and Korean landowners, nationalized industries and turned them over to the people. As a result, feudal and capitalist exploitation ended.

Since then, harvest yields have increased, industry has been rebuilt and productivity has been going up. The North Korean authorities passed labor laws reducing the workday from 14 to 8 hours, increased wages, and gave equal rights to women. Unemployment was wiped out.

In the South, American imperialists replaced Japanese imperialists and installed their puppet, the Rhee regime. Whole industries and huge areas of land fell into the hands of American bankers and finance capitalists. United States occupation forces and Rhee's quisling police destroyed all Japanese resistance organizations, outlawed bonafide trade unions, student organizations, peasants' parties, and scientific societies. South Korea was turned into a billion-and-a-half dollar air-base and investment market for United States Big Business. Strikes were forbidden, inflation grew daily, 3 million were unemployed, the workday increased from 10 to 14 hours and child labor was made legal. The opponents of Rhee's fascist state were jailed and murdered by hundreds of thousands. Millions were driven from their homes and

villages by Rhee's troops. With this as the general situation, let us examine the educational systems that developed in both parts of the country.

Progress in North Korean life resulted in the enactment of compulsory education, almost unheard of in Asia. To guarantee this right, every assistance is given to students. Elementary and high school students are provided with books, papers, clothing and health services. More than 80% of the students are covered by scholarship, especially enabling workers' children, to attend school.

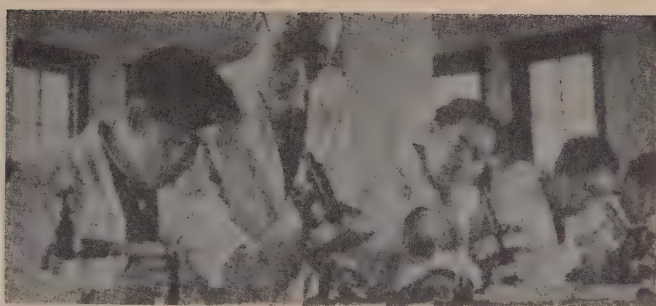
Under the North Korean government, primary schools have been increased two and a half times, secondary and higher schools, 22 times. During the Japanese occupation only one center of higher education existed. Now there are fifteen colleges and 55 technical schools. Illiteracy has been entirely liquidated. Out of 9 million people, there are 2 million students in full time schools, of which 100,000 men and women are in colleges. Also one million adults attend schools, including technical factory courses. Texts, which were formerly in Japanese, are now printed in Korean. 25 million new copies have already been printed. There is no problem in securing jobs after students graduate from school. Libraries, clubs, theatres and other cultural institutions have disseminated education to the masses of Korean people.

What happened to education in South Korea under the Rhee fascists? Economic chaos and heavy military expenditures prevented the government from providing any real opportunity for education. The repressive nature of the regime prevented scientific thought and free

ideas from flourishing. Faculty clubs, scientific societies, and democratic student organizations were outlawed. Thousands of teachers and students were expelled from schools, jailed and barbarously put to death. Only those loyal to the Rhee regime were allowed to attend schools.

The "screened" students bore the brunt of maintaining the schools. Admission fees were enormous—making it impossible for any but the children of wealthy capitalists, landowners and government officials to attend. In Seoul and Pusan, more than half the children roamed the streets, unable to attend school. Only 20% of those who finish elementary school go on to higher grades. The Rhee regime not only ignored the need for education, but took over existing schools and converted them into dance halls, troop barracks and vice dens. Only 2% of needed texts were published, mostly in Japanese. It is no wonder that under Rhee illiteracy increased.

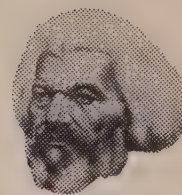
Comparing education in North and South Korea, we find enormous steps taken by the North compared with increasing sterility of education in the South. The North Korean authorities supported the needs of the people, while in the South every form of murder, torture and imprisonment was used to maintain power. In the North, education became the possession of all, with the main concentration on workers, while in the South the main concern was that students had to be in favor of the Rhee regime. However, when the Koreans liberate themselves from the imperialist intervention of the United States, democratic education will be the possession of all Koreans.



MEDICAL STUDENTS in the first university opened in North Korea

MORRISON AND COMMAGER vs. NEGRO HISTORY

LEO FIELD



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

IT is not very often that students feel so strongly about what they are taught, that they find it necessary to demand a revision of a text. But it happened at the City College of New York when students challenged the treatment of the Negro people in Morrison and Commager's *Growth of the American Republic*. City College's Young Progressives of America drew up a brochure explaining their criticisms of this book which is used in more than 550 universities and colleges in this country. On the basis of the criticisms they asked for the book's removal by the History Department.

YPA wanted to circulate the brochure on campus. Thus, it was submitted to the Student Life Department. The Department made an unprecedented decision. For the first time, it ruled that a student organization had to go to a Department head in order to use Student Life facilities.

When approached by YPA, the Chairman of the History Department refused clearance. His excuse was that the quotes in the brochure were out of context and that only if the two chapters specifically criticized were printed in their entirety

would he release the brochure. With this action, the Department prevented the students from presenting their views to their fellow students. Following this move, six professors of the History Department printed a counter-brochure in which they said that the chapter on slavery was not in the "best of taste" but that it adequately described this period of American History. Avoiding the criticisms of the text itself they cited the "liberalism" of the authors. Of course, this brochure was allowed to circulate on the campus.

In this manner, the City College Administration, and the History Department committed themselves to a defense of the text without openly considering or discussing the views of the petitioning students. What were these views? What charges were directed against the text?

First, "*Growth of the American Republic*" does not deal with the Negro people as an integral part of American History. The authors mention the Negro only in the portion of the book dealing with slavery. In reality, during every period of American history, the Negro played a vital role. In pre-revolutionary days, they provided the vast portion of the labor upon which the economy of every colony, including the New England colonies, was dependent. During the Revolutionary War, the Negro people fought and supported the cause of independence from England, at the same time hoping it would give them their own independence. During Anti-Bellum days, the Negro people participated in all movements for reform, labor

and for the abolition of slavery. It was this system of slavery which provided the basis of capital accumulation leading to the rapid expansion of United States industrial capitalism. During the Civil War, the Negro people entered the Union Army, made up 25 percent of the Union Navy, served as intelligence guides in the South, and through their revolts and movements in the South disrupted Southern economy. During Reconstruction, in unity with poor whites, they built the only democratic State governments the South has ever known. Rising to leading positions in the Reconstruction Governments and making up a large percentage of the Southern legislatures, they introduced educational reforms, a democratic voting system, legal rights for women, judicial reforms, etc.

Since Reconstruction the Negro people have been in the forefront of every aspect of American life. They helped to build the great anti-monoplist Populist Party, during the 1890's. They participated in building the labor movement of our country. The Negro people supported and backed the anti-fascist Roosevelt coalition. Today, they are among the most fearless fighters for civil rights, decent living conditions, and lasting Peace. In the fields of science, education, the arts, theatre, music, etc., Negroes have enriched our culture and made outstanding contributions. What an insult to all interested in the traditions and history of our country, for Morrison and Commager to omit the vast gifts

RUNAWAY SLAVES were frequent during slavery and so were ads appealing for their recapture.



which the Negro people have given to all Americans.

Secondly, *Morrison and Commager not only omit and distort the contributions of the Negro people to American history in general, but they have falsified the picture of slavery.* Here is an example of their Jefferson Davis view of slavery:

"As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its peculiar institutions. The majority of slaves were adequately fed, well-cared for and apparently happy. . . . Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic negro (Morrison and Commager's spelling) soon became attached to the country and devoted to his 'white folk.'" (P. 537)

In addition to the vicious white supremacist and racist language, note what is being said in this passage. The Negro was well-off and content under slavery. What are the facts? The system of slavery was the most brutal form of oppression involving complete denial of civil, legal or human rights. It involved horrible conditions of work, barbaric cruelties and incomparable exploitation. Negroes worked from sun-up to sun-down. Their food ration was at a bare subsistence level, approximately \$15.00 per year being the slave-owner's cost. Marriage was not recognized for Negroes, and families were split up through sales and transfers. Negroes were forbidden education by law. They could not testify in court. They could be punished with impunity. And Morrison and Commager describe these conditions in idyllic terms.

What was the attitude of the Negro people to slavery and oppression? Did they accept it willingly? No! Were they content? No! The mere fact that Olmstead* described the South as an armed camp functioning under martial law is eloquent proof of the nightmarish fear in the minds of the Southern Oligarchy that the wrath of the Negro

people would be unleashed. If the Negro people were content why is the whole history of Negro slavery characterized by slave revolts for freedom. If the Negro people loved their masters, why did they plan, organize, and operate the Underground Railway? Why were they the heart of the Abolitionist movement? And there are a host of other "whys" which any student of truth must ask. Morrison and Commager, far

LORCH AT FISK

Dr. Lee Lorch, mathematician, dismissed from the City College of New York and Pennsylvania State College because of his activities against discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, N. Y. C., has been appointed associate professor of mathematics at Fisk University, a leading Negro educational institution.

Dr. Lorch said that his appointment was "indicative of the growing determination of the Negro people to end racial oppression as well as of the increasing cooperation among Negroes and whites in this struggle."

from answering these whys, resort to the Kluxer words like "Sambo" "cringing n——r" and monstrous historical fabrications.

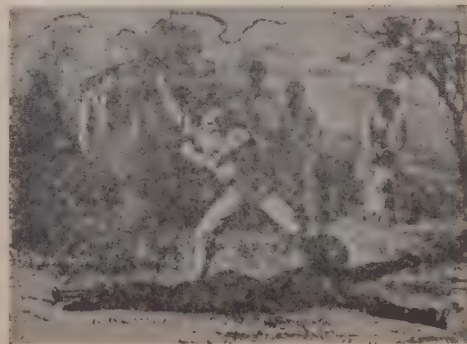
After the YPA brochure was banned, Negro students drew up a new brochure. The 104 Negro students who signed it, thus showed up as lie the History Department's claim that Negro students did not object to the text. Negro and white students, at their own expense, printed and distributed the new document off campus. Here is what the Negro students said in the preface to their brochure:

"We have considered. We have tried to understand. It is impossible for us to reconcile ourselves to the fact that the textbook remains. It is being supported by six teachers that profess to have our

best interests at heart. They have said that that portion of the text which deals with the Slave Period is 'unfortunate' and in 'poor taste.' They have also said that the authors were leading 'liberals.' We cannot go along with such excuses. We have experienced such 'poor taste' during our lives. We have experienced examples of 'poor taste' in war and in peace throughout our country. We know that words convey ideas and relationships. We know that the effect of those ideas upon us have been ghettos, economic deprivation and lynchings. We want a democratic world. The 'poor taste' and the generalizations made by our liberal historians does not further that aim. Their examples of 'poor taste' reinforces prejudices. We do not need polyan liberalistic concessions. We want the truth. We have not found it here. No excuses can erase distortions. No excuses can override the drastic effects of prejudice upon us. To distort the role of the Negro is to distort the history of America. It has been done here. We cannot go along."

Again, instead of discussing these questions with the students, the History Dept. and the Administration, through "conferences," tried to get individual supporters of the brochure to retract their position. When intimidation failed, the History Dept. Chairman called in a committee from the NAACP, promising to "discuss" their differences, and then reneged. After this, the NAACP offered to sponsor a debate between the Chairman of the History Dept. and Herbert Aptheker, outstanding historian on the Negro. The Chairman weaseled out. As a last desperate

ACCORDING TO Morrison and Commager, slaves were well cared for and adequately happy.



* Olmstead, F. L., *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in 1853-54.*

measure the History Department secured the ready services of the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) to take a survey to prove how right the History Department really was.

Clearly, the administration and History Department has taken great pain to prevent discussion of the text. These actions indicate their desire to rationalize, protect and defend racism.

What possible reasons are there for this dishonest, Rankin-like behavior? The reasons are the same as those which made the administration protect the anti-Semite Knickerbocker, defend the white-supremacist Davis, and condemn the student strikes against them. The reasons are the same which made the administration fire Dr. Lorch and Dr. Swadesh, fighters against discrimination and racism. In short, the administration wishes to protect its own racist policies. They wish to sustain conditions at City, whereby there are only 3 Negro teachers out of a faculty of 1,000. The Administration has decided to protect the status quo in regard to the charges contained in the official papers of the Board of Higher Education, which cite the college's biased policies toward Jewish and Negro teachers. These teachers are last to be hired, last to be granted tenure and first fired. And the Chairman of the Student Life Department, The Hist. Dept. and the Administration, who defended the bigots Davis and Knickerbocker, now support and further the same policies.

What does the Administration hope to accomplish by their course of action? First, by using the slander that the Negro people did nothing to gain their own emancipation from slavery, they seek to perpetuate the myth that the Negro people *today* do not want their full equality and freedom. Secondly, they wish to rob the Negro people of their glorious history of struggle for freedom and liberation. A people without a history are not a people and this is exactly what reactionary historians are seeking to put over on the Negro and white students of the United States. Thirdly, they hope to head off

the struggles against jincrow in education, housing, voting, protests against quota systems, and militarization of the campus; struggles which can only be won with Negro and white students united.



Many white students at City have yet to manifest complete consciousness of this. All students, for example, were not quick to see that the same administration, which hires anti-Semites like Knickerbocker and fires Jewish teachers like Lorch and Swadesh, is the very authority which tolerates Morrison's and Commager's lies. Students were slow to realize that academic freedom was attacked head-on, when for the first time at City, a student organization had to get "permission" from a Dept. head to use Student Life facilities to present their views. Many white students failed to see that Morrison and Commager took a "white man's burden" approach to slavery. This is the same ideology being used to justify American intervention in Korea and which is sending Negro and white youth to their death for an anti-democratic, imperialist cause.

Finally, all students who attend college to learn, are not learning the truth about American history from Morrison and Commager.

Why does the textbook remain? In Chicago, the Board of Education removed a text critical of the American press, which states that:

"Newspapers generally favor business men rather than consumers, employers rather than working men . . . and in all matters of public policy they tend to reflect the point of view of the

social and economic class (bourgeois) to which they belong."

At Chicago, a text is removed for telling the truth, at City it remains for telling lies. At City, many white students, have allowed themselves to be split from their Negro brothers and sisters. Were all students to unite on the basis of entirely rejecting the corrupting influence of white supremacy, making education serve the interests of peace and democracy, *Growth of the American Republic* would not remain. Already, the Administration has made concessions, admitting that the text was in 'bad taste' and promising to capitalize the word Negro and to omit insulting terms. But there are potentialities for a movement at City which will roar out its rejection of these puny half-measures and will demand the unconditional removal of the text and full academic freedom. The realization of these potentialities depends on whether white students will fully join with their Negro brothers and sisters who are already in action on the question.

Suggested Bibliography for those who wish to learn the truth about the role of the Negro people in American history.

- ALLEN, J. A., *Reconstruction, The Battle For Democracy*
- APTHECKER, H., *The Negro in the American Revolution.*
- The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement.*
- The Negro in the Civil War.*
- American Negro Slave Revolts.*
- The Negro People in America.*
- DU BOIS, W. E. B., *Black Reconstruction.*
- FRAZIER, E. F., *The Negro People in the United States.*
- WESLEY, C. H., *Negro Labor in the United States.*
- HAYWOOD, H., *Negro Liberation.*



From *Militarism in Education*



STUDENTS AROUND

THE WORLD

Throughout the world students who demand the right to study, to grow, and to build for happy futures are engaging in struggles along with the workers and peasants of their countries for their common needs. We American students feel a bond of unity with our brothers and sisters who are fighting to guarantee their futures.

IRAN

A 15-year-old Iranian boy writes, "I do not know why we have to praise the American way of life and American democracy when we write a composition about spring at school. I do not understand why the shopkeepers who have closed their shops and gone bankrupt have to decorate their shops during national festivals with American and Iranian flags. As an answer to their governments subservience to the U.S. the youth of Iran are fighting the oppression of their people under the "benevolent American loan." Workers and intellectuals, youth and students are fighting with great courage, in the face of torture and internments, for national independence and peace. This is despite the law which forbids students to belong to organizations or to take part in politics. Years of prison and loss of study rights are penalties for violators!

ITALY

The students of Italy have been facing proposed tuition rises of from 5 to 1500 per cent! This is an economy where 38% of the budget goes to arms and 9% to education, of which $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% is given to universities.

Last April, in Pisa, workers and students joined hands to battle a 5,000 lire fee increase at the University. The students broke through a police cordon and occupied the University. They elected officers and prepared to fight for decent conditions. Using a megaphone, the besieged students called on workers and students to support them and send supplies. Factory workers, peasant co-ops, shop owners, and other students responded and hoisted parcels across to the students—over the heads of the police! When Creggi, Catholic student leader, convinced some of the Christian Democrat students to leave the building, the many Catholic students gathered outside thereupon elected new leaders to carry on the united struggle. The new leaders were hoisted into the University on the pulleys used for the food parcels! The students had support from all over Italy; students, workers, peasants. They said, "We are not alone and violence will not break our movement."

INDIA

In India, as in other colonial countries, the fight for the most elementary educational demands is part of the fight for national independence. The Bombay government still denies the mass of the people the right to education. Funds for schools are practically non-existent. There are no jobs for even the few educated Indian youth; so measures are taken to see that students do not matriculate. One technique is that of lowering examination results. In Patto High School students tore up a science paper which was so stiff that no average student of that class could have answered it. They demanded a new exam and they won.



INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS DAY parade in London. Despite police ban students carried banners with political slogans.

VIET-NAM

Students in Saigon, Viet-Nam, together with workers and youth of the town marched in the streets, last March 19, at 8:30 A.M., to protest American aid to French colonialism. They were attacked in the city square by police and French soldiers. Their answer was to tear down the decorations erected for the reception of the American Commission. French reinforcements opened fire on the demonstrators. By 11 A.M. the workers and youths had to withdraw and disperse, but they left the yellow starred red flags of the Democratic Republic and slogans written on the walls.

This demonstration of the students and workers of Saigon indicates how the youth of occupied Viet-Nam are fighting to liberate their nation from French colonial domination. After 4 years of hard fighting the Vietnamese people and youth are preparing for the complete liberation of their country.

ERIC FROMM: ESCAPE FROM REALITY

AL LEONARD

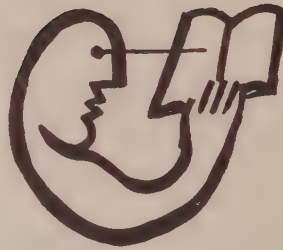
The students of Psych. 21B listened attentively as one of their number explained why Brooklyn College students should oppose the banning of the school newspaper. The instructor, a PhD, then carefully explained that student protest would be simply a manifestation of "revolt against the father image."

Students in other classrooms, perhaps using a text by J. F. Brown, *Psychodynamics of Abnormal Behavior*, were treated to the following:

"... Karl Marx showed signs of definite anal-sadism in his polemical writings. Frederick Engels was unable to enter into a sex relationship with a woman of his own class and undoubtedly suffered from an unresolved Oedipus conflict. His identification with the proletariat, being as he was the son of a wealthy industrialist, represents his hostility toward his father, his fear of constituted authority, and his unconscious fear of being the downtrodden one."

This gibberish is just one of the more obvious ways in which the psychological approach is being used to explain all social phenomena.

Today young people live in a society beset with recurrent unemployment, stifling of creative expression, threat of the draft, police state legislation, and possible atomic slaughter. This means that they face great obstacles in developing healthy and mature personalities. For out



of the contradictions between high moral values and a cut-throat economic system and the threat of war and death stem personal fears and insecurities. Young people begin to realize the importance of changing the conditions which breed unhappiness and frustration. It is then that the instructors with the text books step in, pointing their fingers in erudite warning, "To take political action with other people is to confess to neurotic drives, guilt feelings, failure to adjust. It is irrational to take sides in a fight. It is a surrender to the unconscious."

This is the line taken toward the daily struggles of the Negro people against Jim Crow oppression. According to Sutherland and Woodward in *Introduction to Sociology*, a standard text, when a group is extremely conscious of discrimination and shows militant behavior, "The members often develop characteristic attitudes which can be referred to as 'oppression psychosis.' . . . It involves . . . fear, resentment, suspicion, and revenge."

In this reprehensible state of mind a group will be "over sensitive" and interpret any action of the "domi-

nant group" as being one of "injustice." Why, all we have to do is look at the Negro press and we shall see, of all things, "story after story praising the achievements of Negroes and condemning acts of discrimination of the white man." Amazing, this psychosis, the Negro people have a national pride and a hatred of oppression! Then Sutherland and Woodward proceed to their next attack: "Certain Negroes become highly sensitive to comments which cast reflection upon them as individuals or upon their race. A quick, impulsive flash of anger, a sharp retort, or even physical resistance (to K.K.K. terror?) may be expected from such a person. To him are attributed radical acts and impertinences much resented by a similar element in the white group. Out of such antagonism race riots and lynching parties develop." So now we are to believe that every lynching and cop massacre was the result of psychotic sensitivities.

Students who look with indignation upon police brutality and legal lynching are offered a psychological capsule to calm their wrath. Psychological diagnosis is the alternative to action. Since Fascism, war, and national oppression are but "the emanations of a sick mind," solve the problems of the mind and you will solve the problems of society. Is it any wonder that the new "science" has influenced many students who sincerely desire to "change the world"?

We get this approach in many shapes, in many "schools." One of the leading spokesman for the "progressive" psychoanalytical line to the conflicts of capitalism is Eric Fromm, a minor deity among some circles, whose two major books, *Escape From Freedom* and *Man For Himself*, are widely used in American universities. Fromm is extremely important because by casting off Freud's emphasis on instinct and paying more attention to "environment" he has attracted many who reject Freudianism.

One of the opening paragraphs of *Escape From Freedom* gives a good indication of Fromm's basic approach:

It is the purpose of this book to analyze those dynamic factors in the character structure of modern man which made him want to give up freedom in Fascist countries and which so widely prevail in millions of our own people.

From this paragraph we conclude that: There exists a uniform being, modern man. And that modern man has one kind of innate or acquired character structure. The word, dynamic, has no meaning in this context. Fromm, who speaks as an "anti-fascist," proclaims that it is the character structure of modern man which leads to fascism. Therefore, —Since the structure is uniform, fascism is inevitable.

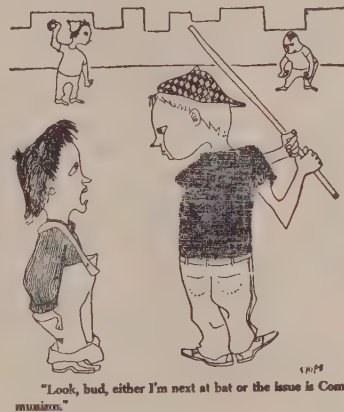
Who and what is modern man? Is he the middle-class German official who became a Nazi officer, or the Italian Communist underground partisan, or the American cabinet member who committed suicide, or the Negro trade unionist? Fromm's man is devoid of nationality and of class.

It is his negation of class which permits Fromm to disguise the true nature of Fascism, and in its place offer as the reason for its emergence the individual's search for new "secondary bonds," capitalist, as a substitute for the "primary bonds" of pre-capitalist [feudal] social relations which have been lost. The need for such security is expressed, we are told, in masochistic and sadistic strivings for domination and

submission. This is the authoritarian character structure which needed fascism.

We have to ask why it was necessary to systematically brutalize the German people, to use "race superiority" and "*lebensraum*" as slogans to win the people if acceptance of Nazism was inherent in their character structure.

It is the classlessness of Fromm's approach which causes him to ignore the fact that fascism is the use of the State by the most reactionary and terroristic elements of the capitalist class already in state power. Fromm is supposedly blind to the Krupps and the Thyssens and the I. G. Farbens who were the instigators and planners of Hitlerism.



"Look, bud, either I'm next at bat or the issue is Communism."

Following Fromm's logic, it is the character structure of American Man which will lead us toward fascism, not the gangster elements of finance capital using all communication media to attempt to corrupt our minds. Debased by their preoccupation with the most brutal displays of force and violence, rampant white supremacy, and Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, violent anti-Communism, and glorification of the stool pigeon, they level a constant barrage upon the minds of all Americans to win them to accepting the next attack on democratic rights.

And how does Fromm answer the question about the possibility of defeating fascism? It is inherent in his books that we cannot.

"Although man can make cer-

tain economic changes, primarily, personality is molded by the particular mode of life, as he has already been confronted with it as a child through the medium of the family. . . ."

So man can't change because his character is determined by the changeless family.

"We have seen that the individual *has to accept* the mode of life rooted in the system of production and distribution peculiar for any given society." [my emphasis —A.L.]

Thus, the character structure which accepts fascism is determined by the economic system, and we are but passive bits of clay, molded by this system. First character structure, then the economic system make fascism inevitable and man powerless.

It is in this way that Fromm discounts the existence of struggle. Now we must conclude that it can do no good even if we do struggle. Unrelieved gloom and despair is Fromm's message. We must discount America's long history of united actions from revolution to slave insurrections to wage strikes which won democratic rights and social change.

We are told that modern man is "uneasy" and "bewildered," because he does not know "what man is" and "how he ought to live." In this state of confusion he falls prey to dictators. In order to know what is "good" or "bad" for man we must know the "nature of man." And man's innate nature demands that he be for himself. "Self love" and the "affirmation of his truly human self" must be the supreme ethical values.

Self love—this is the only answer Fromm can offer as a guide. The student is told to end his confusion, to pay more attention to his inner self, to make introspection the new cult—in other words—not to act with others—not to act at all!

This is the crux of it, Fromm in psychology, like Sartre's philosophy, comes up with the paralyzing, defeatist, lonely, existentialist rationale for inaction. To follow them

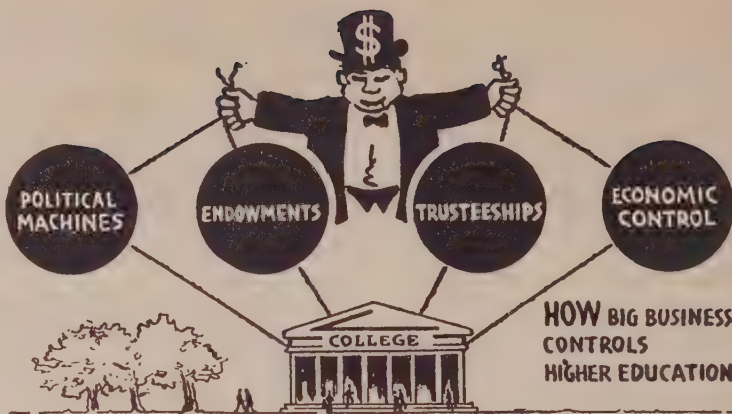
is to aid and abet the cabal of monopolists and militarists who want a Hitlerized America, who pass the McCarran bill, who extend thought control to the campus, who lynch Negroes, who would destroy the Bill of Rights.

But the people in all their potential strength *can* say, No, to fascism. They saved Willie McGee, they won the right of bail for Harry Bridges and the Communist leaders — and they can fight and turn back fascist legislation now.

If frustration is the basis for mental disorder, then grappling with problems realistically — like seeing your own strength when you're united with everyone else who demands a full education, academic freedom, jobs, and peace — this can be the only constructive adjustment. To make people more alert to the terrible danger they face, to make them realize the all-encompassing necessity of our time — the fight for peace — this is "therapy" for today.

The psychological approach, as exemplified by the work of Fromm, is false and harmful exactly because it makes what could be a science of personality development a mask for inaction, a panacea, a philosophy of individualist withdrawal from social reality. A real science of psychology must be based on the recognition that there *are* social classes, and that the individual's consciousness and development is ultimately determined by his *activity* as a member of a class.

Students, once realizing the role of the pseudo-science, will reject it and will fight against its influences wherever it appears. Then they can become active, vital people, able in the context of group activity for common ends to engage in criticism and self-evaluation, to achieve an identity with others. Once able to understand the causes in the *real* world for their problems, to know their class enemies and allies, they can move forward to build their own futures, and make meaningful their existence.



STUDENT NOTES

NEW YORK

In New York, a peace demonstration at the City College graduation ceremonies, illustrated the strong feelings of students against the war threats. In the midst of the stiff commencement exercises, a large 8 by 4 foot sign bearing the single word PEACE floated above the grounds held aloft by balloons. The audience applauded when the sign appeared, and outside some 1,200 signatures were collected for the world peace appeal.

125 Columbia students picketed for two hours this spring, to protest the granting of an honorary degree to Chilean dictator Gabriel Gonzalez Videla. He has imprisoned thousands of students, fighters for democracy, and driven into exile the world famous poet, Pablo Neruda.

OHIO

An Ohio State University student has obtained 1,000 signatures to the Peace Appeal and answered a newspaper's incitement to violence against petition-collectors in a statement. "If an atom bomb ever falls here it won't winnow out the Republicans from the Communists or the Democrats from the Progressives."

WISCONSIN

By July 3, the Wisconsin LYL had added 2,260 signatures to the World Peace Appeal. And in order to help fulfill their goal of 10,000 signatures, six Negro and six white students took a trip to the town of Mosinee, Wisconsin to spread the message appeal. Of the 250 citizens approached, 91 signed the appeal.

STUDENTS FIGHT POLICE STATE BILL

Twenty-five faculty members of the *University of Wisconsin* have informed the Wisconsin Congressional delegation that the "wild denunciatory verbal judgments" of Sen. Joe McCarthy (R-Wis.) could act in suppression of all political dissidents should the Mundt bill become law. "To enact the Mundt Bill" their statement concluded "will make it far too easy for a dictatorial president to blacklist his political adversaries and to establish a totalitarian regime."

In Massachusetts, close to 150 faculty members from 4 major colleges petitioned Congress to defeat the police state bills. Included in the list of signers from *Amherst College*, *Smith College*, *Mount Holyoke College* & *University of Massachusetts* were ministers from neighboring cities.

Thirty students and officials of the *University of Michigan* signed a protest to Congress deeming the Mundt Bill a "thought control" measure to "end freedom."

The *Daily Tar Heel*, student newspaper of the *University of North Carolina* denounced the Mundt bill as one of "the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever to come before Congress."

The campaign against the Mundt bill at the *State University of Iowa* has resulted in the collection of over 300 signatures, in the distribution of about 1,000 leaflets, and in the reporting in the school newspaper of the denunciation of the bill by the American Association of University Professors.

Subscribe to New Foundations

A Letter on N. S. A.

Dear Editor:

As you know, the United States National Student Association was founded in 1947 on the initiative of 25 American students who were delegates to the first World Student Congress of the International Union of Students (I.U.S.).

Just a few weeks ago the N.S.A. held its third annual Congress and showed how far it had departed from the principles of peace and internationalism on which it was founded.

In the first few hours after the Congress was opened it became clear that the prime aim of the leadership of this meeting was to tie the N.S.A. as completely as possible to the foreign policy of our State Department.

Thus the N.S.A. leadership worked diligently to concoct a tissue of lies "proving" to the delegates, why, in the interests of "peace" and "internationalism" (sic!) it was necessary to break ALL relationships with the I.U.S. (the mother of the N.S.A.) which unites almost 90% of the students in Higher Education outside of the United States — over 6,000,000 students in 71 countries of the World.

Imagine the gall of these N.S.A. leaders when they told the delegates that the I.U.S. (which is twice as large today as it was in 1947 when the first N.S.A. Congress called it "the most widely representative student organization in the world") is unrepresentative of the international student community, one-sided and partisan.

This same leadership which continuously professed its devotion to

the cause of peace did everything possible to avoid answering the question of how American students can contribute to bringing about an immediate peaceful solution to the war in Korea. Instead it supported the intervention of our troops in Korea.

Like our State Department representatives in the U.N. they fell into turmoil whenever a delegate put forward a real peace proposal. Thus when a Yale Divinity student introduced a resolution for world disarmament he was called out of order and voted down. And when the leader of the Wisconsin delegation introduced a resolution to withhold aid from oppressive governments like the Bao Dai government in Viet Nam his resolution was

EDITORS NOTE: The writer of this letter was the representative of the Labor Youth League to the Third Annual N.S.A. Congress. At the Congress, he asked for, and was given the floor after 2 days of heated debate. For ten minutes he spoke about the facts behind the Korean war and asked the N.S.A. to come forward with some kind of program which would solve the Korean war peacefully, which would prevent the campuses from being militarized and which would stop the war hysteria from stifling academic freedom on the campuses.

amended into its opposite and he was forced to withdraw it.

Of course such a Congress could not be expected to be a fighter for students' rights on any front.

Quite the contrary, the intention of the leadership was to wipe out the N.S.A.'s Bill of Rights and pave the way for the new attacks on academic freedom that the men of the monopolies who dominate our colleges have up their sleeves.

This move, however, was defeated. It is a tribute to the few liberal students who were at the Congress that the Bill of Rights was upheld. For they led a militant and forthright struggle for its principles.

These liberals also won a strong resolution defending the rights of

Communists to teach and attacking the system of loyalty oaths.

But they were not able to uphold a resolution against the use of Federal funds for schools that discriminate against Negroes and they were blocked in their efforts for a resolution against the Mundt Bill and other police state legislation.

On the question of Negro rights the N.S.A. leadership showed itself to be completely bankrupt. Their attitude was exemplified by the report of the President which while it touched on almost every other issue did not once discuss, mention or even allude to the struggles of Negro students and white students, against jimcrow in education.

In my opinion this Congress showed that the N.S.A. in its higher levels is a reactionary and dangerous organization. For while it professes its devotion to peace it tries to lead students down the road to war and reaction.

Progressive students must begin to pay more attention to the N.S.A. which by and large is the most formidable enemy of the true interests of American students.

At the same time it must be said that this Congress despite all that was wrong with it reflected the fact that the mass of American students do stand for peace and democracy.

Throughout the Congress the leadership was forced to mouth its devotion to the cause of peace and had to make serious concessions to the demands of the few liberal delegates at the Congress for the defense of academic freedom, in order to cover over the reactionary nature of its program which otherwise would be completely and immediately rejected by the various student bodies.

They were forced to allow a representative of the LYL to speak because of the basically democratic spirit of the mass of students on campus.

Sincerely yours,
Robert Fogel



THE CASE OF

HERMAN SWEATT

In 1946, over 1,000 students applied for admission to Texas University's Law School. Herman Sweatt, a former teacher who had his B.A. in Biology from Wiley College, Texas, two years of graduate study in Public Health Science at Michigan U., and a record of high honors, was one of the best qualified applicants. Yet he could not enter Texas's Law School. Mr. Sweatt is a Negro; Southern law says that Negroes must attend separate schools from whites.

Four years later, on April 3, 1950, a dramatic event occurred in the halls of the Supreme Court. Herman Sweatt, with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was fighting the anti-democratic decrees which prevented Herman Sweatt and other Negroes from attending Texas University. They challenged the "separate but equal" doctrine which has justified jimcrow education in the South for over fifty years. They showed how segregation must lead

to unequal educational opportunities for Negroes.

But when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in June, they refused to review the "separate but equal" doctrine. They avoided the "broader issues," and confined themselves to ordering the admission of particular Negro students. These minor concessions were designed to blunt any campus movements for real equality in education. Southern State Universities *still* refuse admission to Negroes. Now they plan "regional schools" as another way to maintain segregation.

At Texas U., white students saw that their own rights were being violated. They rejected segregation facilities and the reduction of educational standards due to the cost of dual, inferior, schools for Negroes. Nineteen groups at Texas U. supported the admission of Mr. Sweatt.

The campus's Dixiecrat administration, fearing the dangers to their own position if Negroes should fully

participate in campus activity, prevented the students from voting on the question of segregated facilities. They banned the N.A.A.C.P. and Young Progressive of America, the two most active organizations in the fight. The administration was aided in this action by the students who called the anti-segregation stand "red," or shouted that the student body was "too backward and reactionary to vote."

The administration was disturbed by the facts that Mr. Sweatt had been invited to the dorms of students at Texas U.; that there were editorials demanding his admission. They were aware that Mr. Sweatt had received over 500 letters from every part of the South giving him encouragement. The community where he delivered mail, an all white community of laborers and railway workers, was supporting him.

It was these expressions of Negro-white unity which were so disquieting to the administration. These expressions pointed to the need to fight jimcrow by Negroes *and* whites. They smashed through the "liberal" line that Negro rights must be a long time in coming, and that white Southerners must be "educated" slowly.

The students of Texas U. remain firm on their support of the students program for: (1) Equal admission requirements. (2) Fair hiring of Negroes on faculty and staff. (3) Abolition of white supremacist expressions. (4) Full participation of Negro students in campus life. (5) No discrimination in University residences. (6) Immediate introduction of course presenting the contributions of the Negro to American civilization. Their program of action is aimed at advancing democratic education.

WHOSE IRON CURTAIN ? ? ? ? ?

French authorities in Le Havre seized several hundred copies of NEW FOUNDATIONS and after receiving orders from the Minister of Interior, refused the magazine entrance into the country. This last issue of NF contained an article about the protest of French students against the murder of 39 Viet Nam high school boys and girls and the wounding of 100 more by colonial police when the Viet Nam students held a demonstration demanding the release of several arrested classmates. The French reactionary press had attempted to suppress this news but they failed. The policy of the government is to suppress all news of the colonial liberation movement and the world-wide peace movement.

Particularly they are careful to prevent the French people from learning that there is a progressive movement in the United States. The government had previously censored an International Youth film, deleting all parts showing American youth participating.

NF, containing this article on the protest of French students and others dealing with the American peace movement, threatened the curtain of censorship. French students would find out about the activity of progressive American students. Without doubt, the U.S. State Department considers NF 'un-American' and therefore "un-French", so the last issue was kept out of France.

A Bibliography

ON KOREA

Symbols: FPR—Foreign Policy Reports
M & M—Masses & Mainstream

People In The Colonies, Kunmar Goshal, Sheridan House, N. Y., 1948.

The Truth About Korea, Herbert Aptheker, M & M, August, 1950.

Danger From East, Richard Lauterbach, Harper, 1947.
Land Utilization and Rural Economy in Korea, Hoon Koo Lee.

Japan Diary, Mark Gayn, Sloan, 1948.

"The Occupation of Korea," George M. McCune, FPR, October 15, 1947.

"Korea's Postwar Political Problems," by George M. McCune, FPR, Sept., 1947.

Song of Ariren, Nym Wales.

Divided Korea, Robert T. Oliver.

Hands Off Korea and Formosa, Gus Hall, 1950.

Political Affairs, An issue paying special attention to Korea, Aug., 1950.

Jewish Life, An issue paying special attention to Korea, Aug., 1950.

"Facts on Korea," *Far East Spotlight*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1950. An abstract of this article printed separately by Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

The Virginia Quarterly Review, An article on Korea Today, Richard E. Lauterbach, Summer, 1947.

Amerasia, Full text of the basic land law of the Korean People's National Convention, February, 1947.

Amerasia, Full text of an enactment enhancing the power of the unions and broadening social security act, May, 1947.

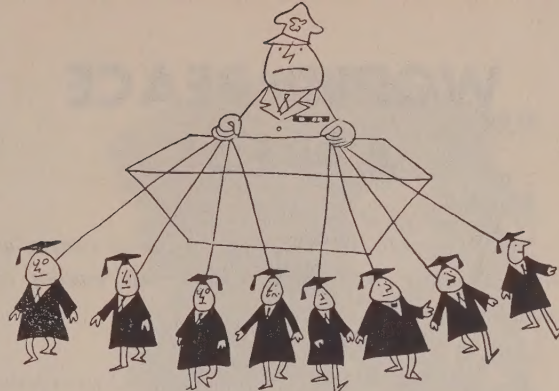
The Nation, An article on Korea in 1948, August, 1949.

South Korean Interim Government Activities. Concerning a victim of torture by the South Korean Police, Issue No. 34, July-August, 1948. Published by the National Economic Board of the AMG.

Life, A description of torture by the South Korean Police, Nov. 15, 1948.

Soviet Russia Today, Special Issue on Korea, August, 1950.

What's Happening in Korea? by Richard Morris, New Century Publishers.



From Militarism in Education

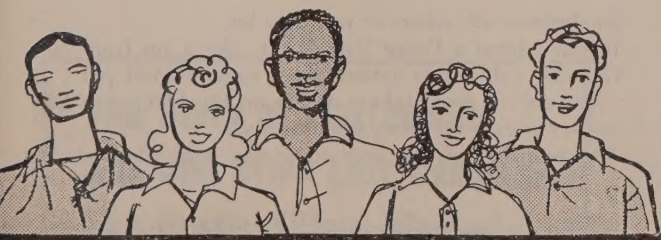
Academic Honors

Commencement 1950 came and went, carrying with it the academic ideal. For example, this year there was a run on that eminent American scientist, Federal Judge Harold Medina. Medina, of Foley Square infamy, was chosen for honor by Columbia and Dartmouth Universities, and graciously did he accept this recognition of his contribution to the American tradition of free thought. But to further honor the impartiality of the conviction of the Communist leaders, Fordham college was pleased to confer a similar degree, Doctor of Laws, upon Federal Prosecutor John F. X. McGohey.

Other smaller colleges, following the lead of the race setting institutions, clasped the Foley Square war-mongering to their scholastic hearts and were careful to have a good representation of military men in the lists of their honorary degrees. Brig. Gen. Carlos Romulo made a 12,000 mile dash from Manila in order to receive his degree at Rochester. Navy Secretary Francis P. Matthews, of "Preventive War" infamy, received his from Villanova, and Rear Admiral Osborne B. Hardison came in for honors at North Carolina.

Least an extenuation of this military list become too depressing, let us look for a moment to the awards made to good old, solid American businessmen. Columbia set the pace by honoring Robert Abercrombie Lovett, New York Banker and partner in the great International Banking House. Yale wasn't far behind in their citation of C. Leffingwell, a J. P. Morgan director. The smaller colleges couldn't get such big cheese, but they made stunning efforts. Muhlenberg College, for example, granted a degree to Charles E. Oakes, president of the Pennsylvania Power and Light. A nice haul for such a small college. Boston University, shuddering in the shade of Harvard, didn't do as well. But they were content to cite one Edwin C. Johnson, of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

However, the biggest academic award, Honorary Membership in Phi Beta Kappa, was given to America's outstanding literary and scientific figure—Harry S. Truman.



WORLD PEACE APPEAL

We demand the outlawing of the atomic weapon as an instrument of aggression and mass murder of peoples.

We demand strict international control to enforce this measure.

We believe that any government which first uses atomic weapons against any other country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.

Only to insane men bent on war could the Stockholm Peace Appeal appear as "Soviet aggression." To honest and sincere people, it expresses their profound desire for Peace. The Stockholm Appeal is a people's demand and not the property of any single country. That is why more than 400 million people have signed this appeal. We urge American students to join with all humanity in demanding the outlawing of this bestial weapon, the main weapon of future wars and aggressions.



Ode to Gideonse and Company

By GILBERT SULLIVAN



Dedicated to that gallant company of college officials who were all "radicals once."

When I was young and immatuah
I was very, very radical just as you are.
I went to demonstrations and upheld free speech;
On the slightest provocation I would action preach
But expressed this grave decision so judiciously
That I now administrate this university.

If the freedom of the press were ever infringed
My liberal mind became quite unhinged.
I'd circulate petitions and make statements pro-or anti-
And consign the Board of Trustees to a place described
by Dante.

But these acts were all achieved so surreptitiously
That I now administrate this university.

At the slightest diminution of democracy
The entire student body would appeal to me.
I would elevate the banner of the lower middle-classes
And declare my sole objective was the welfare of the
masses.

These objectives were disguised to such a high degree
That I now administrate this University.

If news of some injustice ever came to light,
I would never sleep a wink till things had been set right.
I would organize committees to investigate affairs
Which enormous crowds of people said was no concern
of theirs.

These committees all reported so innocuously
That I now administrate this University.

As years went by my enthusiasm cooled;
More profound consideration every action ruled.
Before jumping to conclusions I would think things over
first,
And very soon began to side with William Randolph
Hearst.

This United Front has since been such a help to me
That I now administrate this University.

So students all, whoever you may be,
If you'd form a Peace Union just take a tip from me.
Disguise subversive action like a sugar-coated pill
—And refrain from taking action on the McCarran Bill
In fact refrain on every opportunity,
And perhaps you too, will some day help administrate
with me.

° Reprinted from the organ of the American Student Union
"Student Advocate" 1936.