

We, the editors of *New Foundations*, a student Marxist magazine which has been part of the student community for the past five years, appeal to all students, on every campus, of whatever political view or affiliation, to fight as never before to preserve academic freedom on American campuses. We appeal to all students, either as individuals or members of student organizations, to form protest groups to prevent thought control from taking over.

VOLUME V, NUMBER 1

new foundations

PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

TWENTY CENTS



In this issue: FREE DISCUSSION IN CLASS • ROOTS OF RACISM
CALIFORNIA STUDENTS FOR PEACE • ROOSEVELT WARD FRAME-UP

DEFEND THE CHICAGO MAROON

Robert M. Strozier, Dean of Students at the University of Chicago, has ousted Alan Kimmel, editor of the student newspaper, *Chicago Maroon*. Dean Strozier gave his reason in a letter to Mr. Kimmel:

"Sponsoring and attending the East Berlin festival demonstrates your lack of qualification to edit a free and independent newspaper."

By what stretch of the imagination does Mr. Kimmel become unfit to edit a newspaper when he travels abroad to meet students of other lands? Alan Kimmel's associates on the *Chicago Maroon* have not deemed him unfit. They elected him on the basis of his qualifications. And now they are defending Mr. Kimmel's right to his own opinions and his right to travel wherever he wishes to meet students of other nations. A campus-wide fight-back campaign is being mapped out by the *Maroon* editors.

Dean Strozier refers to the *Chicago Maroon* as a "free and independent newspaper." What a mockery! In the very same statement referring to the *Maroon* as "free" and "independent" Strozier was removing its editor and closing publication of the newspaper. The *Maroon* has now been reinstated but its closing was a dangerous precedent.

Under Dean Strozier's ruling a student editor and a student newspaper can be silenced if their views are questioned by the college administration. Last year President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College stopped publication of the Brooklyn *Vanguard* because the *Vanguard* disagreed with Gideonse's banning of the Labor Youth League. Only last week, Dr. Cecil Hinshaw, a leading Quaker, was barred from the Ohio State campus because the administration disagreed with his views on Peace. Who will be hit next? How long will our student press remain free? How long will our campuses retain what freedom still exists?

Students of America, we dare not permit this act to go unchallenged. Our centers of learning, our free atmosphere for dissent, our intellectual integrity is being trampled on by the arbitrary acts of censorship such as the firing of Alan Kimmel and the closing of the *Chicago Maroon*. Dean Strozier has gone too far. Let all students flood the Dean's office with letters expressing their indignation. Call protest meetings on your campus. Draw up petitions in defense of Alan Kimmel's right to be editor of the *Chicago Maroon*. The *Maroon* has been reinstated but Alan Kimmel is still suspended. Call upon your organizations to pass resolutions against Dean Strozier's action and for the right to a free student press. Send delegations to Dean Strozier's office, demanding the reinstatement of Kimmel. Let us give full support to the *Maroon* editors who are defending their right to publish a truly free and independent newspaper. ACT TODAY! TOMORROW YOU MAY BE SILENCED!

REPORT TO READERS

One year ago, *New Foundations* changed clothes so to speak, and came out in its present fighting garb—with a clearer purpose and greatly expanded perspectives. Since then our circulation has been increasing and our influence growing. To keep pace, we have had to make changes, to add staff members, to constantly plan new and varied activities. . . .

This past summer, NF had editors or correspondents in Berlin, at the World Youth and Student Festival, in Chicago at the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, and in Minneapolis at the Congress of the National Student Association. A poem of ours was reprinted in *World Student News* and the *Indian Student*. . . .

During the last week of August NF held a two-day theoretical and cultural conference in New York. There were panels in Psychology, Philosophy, Social Sciences, Culture and the Natural Sciences. The conference reports are being edited and prepared for publication.

NF has issued an "Appeal To Students In Defense of Academic Freedom"; a copy of the Appeal is inserted into this issue and part of it is reproduced on our cover. We will accept bundle orders for additional copies of the Appeal at 1¢ each. . . .

We've come a long way over the past year, but we've still got a long way to go. It's up to our readers to spread NF around—to help us reach more and more students every day. We depend on our readers, too, for material and news of student affairs. But most of all we need to know what you think of NF. We'll be glad to print your letters of criticism. Use NF as a forum for your opinions—use it as a weapon in your campus struggles.

VOL V NO 1 FALL, 1951

new foundations

THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS

PRINCIPLES

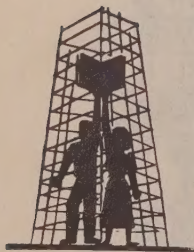
NEW FOUNDATIONS is a publication guided by the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, the philosophy of Socialism, and is dedicated to the democratic rights and interests of American college students. We believe that the greatest need of American students today is the cooperation of all groups and individuals in united student action to promote world peace. We support and encourage all activities by student groups in behalf of academic freedom; for equal opportunities and non-segregated education for Negroes, and elimination of white chauvinism from all phases of college life; for equal rights for

women students; for an end to anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jewish students; against militarization of the campus. We stand for friendship and unity between Negro and white students; American students and students of other lands; and between the students and the workers of our country. We especially affirm our friendship with the Labor Youth League. We regard it as the organization which best serves the social and political needs of students. With these principles we proudly take our stand with those who today carry forward the militant, democratic traditions of the American people.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor: Ed Israel • Associate Editor: Bernard Jackson • Copy: Herb Arens • Student Affairs: Alin Martin • Culture: Jack Mooney • Art: Kate Morrison • Contributing Editor: Fernando B. Howard • New York City: Jay Brant.

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APPEAL TO STUDENTS

IN DEFENSE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

published by the editors of *New Foundations*



Fellow Students:

WE, the editors of *New Foundations*, a student Marxist magazine which has been part of the student community for the past 5 years, appeal to all students, on every campus, of whatever political view or affiliation, to fight as never before to preserve academic freedom on American campuses. We appeal to all students, either as individuals or members of student organizations, to form protest groups on campus to prevent thought control from taking over.

ON June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Smith Act and the conviction under it of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. Justice Hugo Black, in his dissenting opinion, stated:

"These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind. . . . They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government."

The conviction, continued Justice Black, is:

"... A virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which, I believe, the First Amendment forbids."

If Justice Black's argument is correct then for the first time in our history it has been decreed that persons may be arrested, tried and sentenced to impris-

onment for having, and expressing, ideas.

Justice William O. Douglas, in his dissent, explained how the Smith Act fetters freedom of speech:

"But if books themselves are not outlawed, if they can lawfully remain on library shelves, by what reasoning does their use in a classroom become a crime? . . . The Act, as construed, requires the element of intent—that those who teach the creed believe in it. The crime then depends not on what is taught but on who the teacher is."

As students, we know that real study is impossible without free access to all ideas. Now our minds may be searched for intent whenever we express thoughts. For, if some Americans may be convicted not for exactly what they said, but for doctrines or motives attributed to them by others, may not all Americans be "judged" by self-appointed censors in the same manner? Justice Felix Frankfurter, though agreeing with the Supreme Court majority, saw the dangers inherent in their opinion. He said:

"It is self-delusion to think that we can punish them for their advocacy without adding to the risks run by loyal citizens who honestly believe in some of the reforms the defendants advance."

Thus, we are warned that it is not only the Communists who are threatened but millions of American citizens. For example, if you say that Peace is attainable (as the Communist defendants did and as millions of Americans do) at a

time when the leaders of the majority political parties are beating the drums for a "show-down with Russia," is it not possible that some prosecutor will attribute to you "subversive" intent? Did not Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath announce that under the Smith Act, those who organized the Stockholm Peace Appeal and called for a banning of the A-Bomb may be prosecuted? Are not the 3,000,000 Americans, including thousands of students, who signed the Appeal also in danger of prosecution?

The overwhelming majority of the American people want discussion of how to achieve world peace. Yet, there is a small group of industrialists and bankers who thrive on war contracts, who are opposed to such Peace discussions. Witness that the mere announcement by Jacob Malik of the proposal for a cease-fire in Korea was enough to cause a substantial drop in the Stock Market and excite fears for the continuance of profitable war contracts. We Americans who want Peace can depend only on ourselves to defend the 1st Amendment which will guarantee our right to demand Peace.

Freedom of Speech and the people's rights are being abridged in relation to the most vital issues of the day. If we, as students, speak up and act now we can help save the Peace, the dream of all mankind today. We can keep our country free of thought control, our classrooms free of censorship and prevent our examination papers from being turned into loyalty questionnaires.

We appeal to the students of Brooklyn College to join the fight against the Smith Act. You had a

glimpse of what the Smith Act could mean to American universities during your struggle to keep your own newspaper, *Vanguard*. You witnessed the classic pattern of anti-democratic repression—first the Left was suppressed and then others who raised their voices in protest were put down. Remember how first it was the Labor Youth League (LYL) that was banned. Dean Maroney said this was necessary “in view of the war in Korea.” Then when *Vanguard* protested the LYL banning, it was itself banned. When Student Council protested the banning of *Vanguard*, President Gideonse threatened to revoke its right to exist. When Students for Democratic Action protested *Vanguard's* ban, the club of repression was brought down on its own head. Today, the Labor Youth League is no longer recognized at Brooklyn College. Instead of students reading the newspaper of their own choice they have the *Kingsman*, a publication under the direct thumb of the administration. What started out as an attack on the Labor Youth League for its stand on Peace in Korea blossomed forth into a full scale offensive against the rights of all Brooklyn students. And this was before President Gideonse had a Supreme Court decision to draw upon. Remembering what happened at your school, will Brooklyn College students speak up today for a reversal of the recent Supreme Court decision?

WE appeal to the students of the University of California.

You have shown the way for all students in the fight against the loyalty oath that threatened free speech on your campus. Despite the firings, despite the 55 courses that were dropped, despite the unceasing pressure of the California State authorities to intimidate students and teachers at the University of California, you students linked arms in struggle with the courageous teachers at your school and fought back. You did not succumb to thought control at California. You spoke out against it. You fought back against it. Thus, you gained a significant victory. On Sept. 14th of this year, the California State Supreme Court was forced to declare the loyalty oath at the University of California unconstitutional, because of the overwhelming opposition to it. Students throughout the United States have gained confidence by your victory. Will

you take a stand against the Smith Act as you have stood for freedom on your campus? Let the University of California students oppose the Supreme Court decision and thereby help protect the freedom of all Americans as they have protected their own freedom on their campus.

We appeal to the students of Oregon State College. In 1949, one of your professors, Dr. Ralph Spitzer, was fired because he dared to suggest that biologists should examine the achievements of Soviet scientist Lysenko in such of the latter's own works as are available in translation rather than in secondary sources. President Strand, who fired him, said that an interest in Lysenko clearly indicated that Dr. Spitzer was a slave of the Communist Party line. Thus, at Oregon State students were warned against even examining the theories of Lysenko. They were deprived of the right to choose and decide the validity of scientific theories. Can free study flourish in such an atmosphere? Will the students at Oregon State permit any more students or professors to be fired and expelled if and when the Smith Act is brought to the campus? If they speak out today, the witch-hunters will not dare to do so.

We appeal to the students of Texas University. You fought back in 1948 and 1949 and prevented the State Legislature from putting into effect their outrageous law which said that all students or teachers “found to be disloyal to this this nation,” were to be expelled. What happened on your campus? The president of the student body and the *Daily Texan* both attacked the measure and then in an avalanche of letters, students began writing to the newspapers saying they were against the repressive bill and they were insulted and angered by it. The students asserted that Wendell Addington, a well-known Communist student leader, had the right to study and engage in student activities just the same as all students and that the attack on Addington was an attack on all. Will the students of Texas University demand the abrogation of the Smith Act today, just as they demanded the abrogation of the repressive measure of the Texas State Legislature?

We appeal to the students of the City College of New York. Your historic strike in 1949 of 5,000

students showed the way students can fight. In 1949 you fought against an anti-Semite and a racist—Professors Knickerbocker and Davis. Both these men were against the principle of free education to all regardless of religious affiliation or the color of one's skin. There are others who would deny free education to students for their political beliefs. Did not the C.C.N.Y. Administration threaten with suspension two students who opposed militarism on campus by picketing an R.O.T.C. meeting at which Bernard Baruch called for more guns and soldiers instead of more books and schools? In 1949 your 5,000 pickets electrified the nation and all students applauded your defense of a truly free education. Will C.C.N.Y. students today draw upon their historic fighting traditions and demand a reversal of the Supreme Court decision on the Smith Act?

WE address ourselves to all student newspaper editors.

The Smith Act is aimed at the right of free press. Under its repressive lash one newspaper editor has gone to jail for five years and two others have been indicted. The jailing of John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, was considered so important by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that they requested one of their legal advisers to defend Mr. Gates in his petition for a rehearing of his case before the Supreme Court. Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath told *Newsweek* he would not use the Smith Act against newspapers. Yet, one week after his statement, he arrested two editors of the West Coast *People's World*. Is not the student press in danger? We appeal in particular to the *Chicago Maroon* which spoke in defense of Willie McGee. The *Wisconsin Cardinal*, which opposed the Mundt-Nixon Bill—the forerunner of the present police state McCarran Law. The *Lincoln Clarion* which denounced the frame-up of Negro G.I.'s in Korea. The *Queen's Crown*, which editorialized on Secretary of State Acheson's evasion of Cpl. Moulette's letter questioning our reason for fighting in Korea. Your newspapers could be closed for any one of these stands which you took. Any one of them could be interpreted as “disloyalty” or could be connected with a similar stand taken by the Communist Party of the U.S. Indeed, your very protest of infringements on aca-

democratic freedom might be cause for your own banning. Brooklyn College *Vanguard* was a proof of this. Therefore, we call on all student editors to make it clear that they hold freedom of our student press inviolate and will not tolerate the use of the Smith Act to forcibly suppress any part of it.

WE appeal to the National Student Association. Your organization in 1947 issued a historic Student Bill of Rights which remains the will of American students. The N.S.A. Bill of Rights proclaimed:

"The right of every student to exercise his full rights as a citizen in forming and participating in local, national or international organizations for intellectual, religious, social, political, economic or cultural purposes and to publish and distribute their views."—Article 4.

"The right to establish and issue regular publications free of any censorship or other pressure aimed at controlling editorial policy with the free selection and removal of editorial staffs reserved solely to the organizations sponsoring these publications."—Article 9.

In April, 1949, your National Executive Committee, taking note of the rising hysteria on campus, stated:

"We here declare our strong belief that mere membership in an association or organization is no *ipso facto* basis for punitive academic actions; that all investigations relative to academic discipline must focus on deliberate acts measured directly by the yardstick of the above stated principles."

You are on record in support of academic freedom. Can you remain silent when men and women are being jailed on the very basis that you denounce—"mere membership in an organization."

You speak of punitive action being based on *acts*. The government made a mockery of this principle when it indicted 21 Communist men and women in New York. Included in the "overt acts" section of the indictment were things like "publishing articles," "attending meetings," "mailing letters," "speaking at open rallies," etc. Do these sound like activities designed to overthrow the govern-

ment? Do not students engage in similar activities? Will students also be indicted? Is it not the peak of irony that one of the defendants, Arnold Johnson, was indicted for having written an article entitled, "Communists Fight for the Traditions of July 4th"?

Did the Supreme Court ruling on the Smith Act invalidate the Student Bill of Rights issued by your organization? To date, the N.S.A. has not yet implemented its Bill of Rights. It is still only on paper. Sound as it is in principle, the student Bill of Rights becomes only a token, only a collection of pious phrases, if steps are not taken to implement and defend it. If the N.S.A. believes in its own Bill of Rights it must show it in deeds as well as words. Now is the time for the N.S.A. to join with all students on a non-partisan basis to preserve academic freedom. Will the N.S.A. participate in the formation of defense committees to protect the academic rights of all students? Will the N.S.A. protest against the Smith Act?

WE appeal to the Student Chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Your organization was born out of the oppression of the Negro people and their determination to win full equality in every walk of life in the United States.

Your chapters united many times in the past around issues affecting all students. You joined with the Young Progressives at Texas U. to win the admission of Herman Sweatt, first Negro to enter Texas U. You joined with many groups on campus to protest the use of the Morrison-Commager text at City College of New York. You joined with others at Columbia University to protest the banning of the well-known writer Howard Fast as a speaker on that campus. You united with the Y.P.A., the Interracial Association, and the school newspapers to have discriminatory questions removed from application blanks at Michigan University.

Your National Convention this year denounced the indictment of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro scholar and a founder of the N.A.A.C.P. Dr. DuBois was indicted for heading the Peace Information Center which circulated the Stockholm Peace Appeal in the United States. Your National Convention saw that the attempt to jail Dr. DuBois was

an attempt to "silence spokesmen for full equality for Negroes."

We appeal to the student chapters of the N.A.A.C.P. to rally their ranks today to help reverse the Supreme Court decision. Such a reversal will help ensure that the struggle for full Negro equality on campus will continue to a successful conclusion.

We appeal to the Students for Democratic Action. Your organization at its 1951 Convention opposed the Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith Act. Your convention declared:

"Whereas, Students for Democratic Action believes that the line between thought and action must be kept sharp and clear and whereas, S.D.A. believes that a person should only be prosecuted for his actions and not for his ideas, and whereas, we believe that it is particularly important today to defend this concept against the insidious encroachments upon civil liberties, therefore, be it resolved that S.D.A. opposes the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act and favors a reconsideration of the Act's constitutionality."

We welcome this stand which places your organization alongside thousands of other students who are fighting the notorious Smith Act. In the past your organization has refused to work with left-wing groups, frequently using the divisive instrument of red-baiting. Already, the anti-red hysteria, to which your organization has contributed, has backfired against you. On June 25th, a meeting to protest high prices called by the Americans for Democratic Action was broken up by police on the suspicion that it was a "red front" organization. The *New York Times*, in a survey on hysteria on the campuses, said that membership in all groups even slightly tainted with liberalism had fallen. We call upon the S.D.A. to repudiate the splitting tactic of red-baiting and to join with *all groups*, whether they be radical or conservative, and to put into action the position taken at your 1951 Convention in opposition to the Smith Act.

We appeal to the Committee of Southern Students to Defend Dr. Du Bois. You have shown how to fight back against the attempts to sup-

press Dr. DuBois who chose to exercise his right of free speech by speaking for peace. Your magnificent organization started a petition campaign that swept through every major Negro campus in the South. One-fourth of the students at Dillard, one-third of the students at Talladega, 166 students at Arkansas Baptist College, Negro women students at Spellman College and Bennett College were among the first to sign your petition. Your organization, which includes as its sponsors presidents of Student Unions and newspaper editors, asserted:

"We respect his right, as chairman of the Peace Information Center, to have led a campaign participated in by three million Americans, for the outlawing of atomic weapons."

Your organization echoed the warning that the indictment of Dr. DuBois makes the advocacy of peace criminal. The Smith Act is aimed especially against those who use their right of free speech to speak out for peace. Just as the indictment of Dr. DuBois is a blow aimed especially at the Negro people but at the same time affects all Americans, the Smith Act, aimed especially at the Communists, likewise affects all Americans. We appeal to your organization to speak out against the Smith Act and demand a re-hearing of the Supreme Court decision of June 4th.

WE appeal to all students, whether you have ever been concerned about academic freedom, whether you have ever spoken out on any issue. If ever there was a time to speak out, NOW is that time. If ever there was a time to decide to make a stand, NOW is that time. If ever there was a time to fight back, NOW is that time.

STUDENTS, there are two paths we can take. We can recede further into the paralysis of fear which is purportedly engulfing American campuses. We can sit silently in class while our

libraries are stripped of all but government-approved books. We can avoid talking to classmates whom we haven't investigated. We can move on campus with our lips closed and our eyes shut to all but what we are supposed to see. We can live on campus as it is sifted of so-called "undesirable elements." We can allow ourselves to study under the slogan of the Franco student fascists: "Down with intelligence, long live barbarism." We can crawl on our undersides with our noses in our censored books. We can accept the lie that only the Communists are being attacked and so allow ourselves to be engulfed.

Or we can fight back as the *Committee of Southern Students to Defend Dr. Du Bois* has fought back. We can join with powerful allies throughout America. The army of protest is large and is growing every day. It includes trade unions like the CIO Packinghouse Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the International Fur and Leather Workers, the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, whose representatives were at the Chicago Peace Crusade. They demanded a people's reversal of the Supreme Court decision. Outstanding Negro leaders like Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, William L. Patterson, and Bishop C. C. Alleyne. Intellectuals who have demanded peace and have now spoken against the Smith Act: Dr. Allan M. Butler, Prof. A. J. Carlson, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Dean John B. Thompson. People like L. W. Flagg, staff attorney of the N.A.A.C.P., Roger Baldwin of the A.C.L.U., Dr. Julian P. Boyd, outstanding Jeffersonian scholar. Newspapers like the *New York Post*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Daily Compass*, the *Madison Capital Times*, the *Boston Chronicle*, the *National Guardian*, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the *Oklahoma Black Dispatch*, the *Afro-American*. Magazines like the *New Republic* and the *Nation*. Columnists like Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Marquis Childs, Max Lerner. Organizations like the

American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, Students for Democratic Action and the Labor Youth League. Trade union papers like the *Textile Labor* and the *Colorado A. F. of L. Advocate*. All these people and organizations are fighting back. The question we students must ask is, "How can we join this fight?"

THE lesson of fascist Germany has not been so dulled in the hearts of Americans that we will not rise up in a mighty defense of our hard-won liberties. Let all students get into the freedom movement in the best traditions of the heroes of our textbooks—in the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Douglass, Garrison, Roosevelt. We are the heirs of a glorious and democratic past. Today our democracy is again in danger. Let us unite to form committees to defend the Bill of Rights. Let us circulate petitions for the reversal of the Supreme Court decision. Let us gain support for the Black and Douglas dissents in our classrooms, departmental clubs, fraternities, sororities and the many other campus organizations to which we belong.

Demand that the Supreme Court review the vital issue of what the communist defendants actually did. Whether they did, in fact, violate the Smith Act. The Supreme Court refused to review this question before. They must be made to review it now. Demand that the Supreme Court rehear the case of the 11 Communist leaders.

Demand that no more indictments take place. Let us defend our futures, our lives, our hopes.

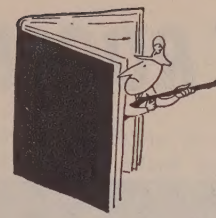
Let us protest the infringement of our rights.

Let us be heard today!

Editors, *New Foundations*

Issued by
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575 Avenue of the Americas
New York City

in the CLASSROOM?



What are the means that are used to prevent students from discussing controversial subjects?

First, pressure is put on the teacher, warning him against permitting discussion of certain subjects. Thus, three Western Reserve student-teachers, working in Cleveland city schools, were warned against teaching "radicalism" in their classrooms. Dr. Martin Essex, Supt. of Schools of Lakewood, Ohio, stated that teachers are being forced to avoid reference in classrooms to "criticism of prominent persons, race relations, separation of church and state, and Communism." If warnings do not prove successful, loyalty oaths and firings are used to intimidate our teachers. If teachers must be careful about what type of discussion they permit, the easiest thing to do is to curtail discussion altogether. And this is what has been happening in the classroom. More and more classes are conducted in a manner described by a West Point anecdote—"a lecture system where information flows from the note-book of the teacher to the note-book of the students without passing through the mind of either." A student at New York University relates how he had a course with only four other students. Still, the instructor lectured all term long from prepared notes without permitting discussion, as though there were 200 students in the class. "Prepared notes" type of courses are not bad in themselves if time is allotted for the unprepared, honest and stimulating mental notes of the students who have always questioned what is being presented to them.

Another means of preventing discussion of controversial issues is through pressure on the students. Very often, the "right" answer on exams are the views of the teacher. If a student tries to do some original thinking on exams he might be given a poor mark for "not answering the questions." In the writing of term papers, how many of us are really free to choose our own topics? It is significant that the term paper, where we have the best chance for original thinking, is almost never read before other students in the class. Take the science student

in a laboratory. Can he freely pick his field of research? He may pick his field and then discover that he cannot find a job in his field. Suppose he wants to study the causes of cancer or industrial disease? He will quickly discover that the United States government does not appropriate large sums for these studies. Appropriations for weapons of war and destruction receive overwhelming priority. And since more than 75 per cent of University research is under military control, students must trim their scientific sails to suit the government's war expenditure program. If, in spite of all restrictions, students speak out, they must be careful of what they say for they may be investigated by the FBI. At Yale University, Henry B. Fisher, a University Liaison Officer, said that he compiled reports on more than 4,000 Yale students for the FBI, private industry, the armed services and foreign countries.

Another method for curtailing what students can discuss is to saddle them with untruthful or poor textbooks. In many courses, the text is treated as gospel and we must memorize it to pass our tests. Desiring to study the truth, students on many campuses have recognized that only by a removal of biased and untruthful texts can we get at the truth. Queens College students have shown the way in which we can fight against bad texts. The Queens students forced the withdrawal of Morison and Commager's "Growth of the American Republic," a book replete with anti-Negro slanders. But with rising repression on the campus, there is a danger that not only will we be forced to use untruthful texts, but that truthful or challenging books will be removed. At the Jersey City Junior College last January, Mark Van Doren's works were removed from the library because of Van Doren's progressive ideas.

Finally, if pressure on teachers, pressure on students, and poor textbooks are not sufficient to stifle discussion in the classroom, the method of enlarging the classes may be tried. Thus, at Brooklyn College, the introductory Sociology Course, which used to be small in size and lively in discussion was turned into a lecture class, held in a large hall. The

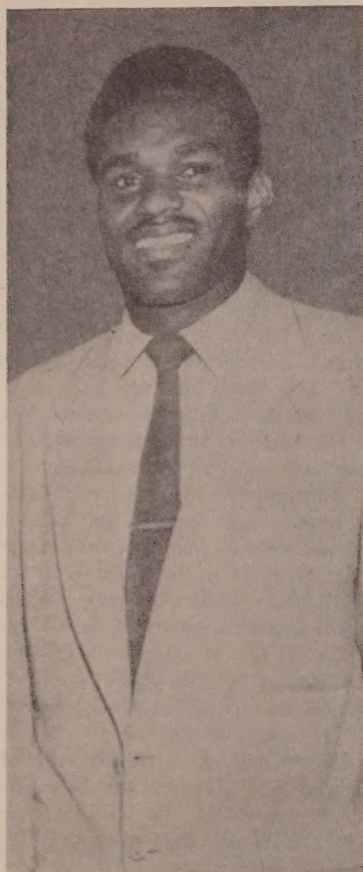
very size of the class had the effect of making students hesitate to speak and of giving the lecturer an excuse to cut off discussion on grounds that the class was too unwieldy.

Today, pressures are being exerted on teachers and students to prevent them from discussing the issues most vital to them. No doubt some have been silenced by this pressure. Dr. Alonzo F. Myers said that teachers have become "scared rabbits," in their fear of being labeled "red" and "there are just too many things we don't dare talk about." We feel Dr. Myers is wrong about teachers. Some are "scared rabbits," yes. But not all. Certainly not the majority. The magnificent fight against the Loyalty Oath at California testifies to the courage and integrity of many of our teachers. The Chaplain at the University of Denver who refused to sign the Loyalty Oath did not act like a "scared rabbit." The teachers who have fought it and won reinstatement are numerous. If this is true of teachers, that they are not "scared rabbits," it is doubly true of students. The struggles for the right to free expression on campus has swept Oklahoma, California, Chicago, Brooklyn, Texas, Western Reserve, and many, many others. We students have not and will not give up our right to keep on thinking, believing and discussing the issues that most concern us. The Smith Act and McCarran Act have threatened us, but will not silence us. The "scared rabbits" are not the teachers and the students, but the economic royalists who sit on our Boards of Trustees. They are scared lest students learn the truth about peace, Negro rights, Marxism, academic freedom and the society in which they live.

Let all students speak out on all subjects in their classroom and defend their right to the age-old concept of free inquiry and free discussion.

NOTE: We invite comments from our readers on your views on the subject of free inquiry in the classroom. Tell us your experiences of what is happening to freedom in the classroom on your campus.

WHY ROOSEVELT WARD WAS FRAMED



Roosevelt Ward— Framed by Jim-Crow Justice

"Guilty!" declares the white jury foreman. "Three years!" snaps the white judge. And a Negro youth is handcuffed and on his way to jail. Three years in a Louisiana jail.

In the eyes of the Truman Administration, Roosevelt Ward is a dangerous man. That's why they sent him to jail for three years. Perhaps you think the sentence is too harsh for a young man of twenty-one convicted of "failure to report a change of address to his draft board." Then you don't know just how "dangerous" this man really is.

For Roosevelt Ward is a national leader of the Labor Youth League—an organization that Truman's Attorney-General says is "subversive." Ward is a leader who tells young people that war

is not inevitable. He says American youth can have a peaceful world—peace with China and the Soviet Union.

And he wants to change things for the Negro people—a lot of things. He wants full equality for his people and he is willing to fight for it right here at home.

So they sent Roosevelt Ward to jail. . . . The FBI arrested Mr. Ward at Labor Youth League offices in New York City on May 31. Willful evasion of the draft. They had no warrant, but that didn't matter. With the Administration's traditional respect for *due process*, they made the arrest first and got the appropriate warrant from Louisiana two weeks later. And only later did they add the charge of failure to report his address—the only charge on which he was finally convicted. Meanwhile, after pleading not guilty, Ward was released on bail. Not the usual \$500 in such cases, but *five thousand* dollars.

When the warrant finally came, the Federal government presented a demand for *extradition*. They wanted him to stand trial back in Louisiana, where a Negro doesn't stand a chance in the "white man's" court. . . .

. . . Is it possible there is justice in the case against Roosevelt Ward? Could it perhaps be called an example of American Democracy in action? Let's take a close look at the case.

First it was claimed that Mr. Ward had willfully evaded the draft. This was the more serious charge. But consider the manner in which this "fugitive" hid himself from the public eye: He spoke at public rallies. He addressed a publicized convention of his organization. He sang in a church chorus and was head of the well-known Harlem Youth Chorus. He helped organize a dance attended by thousands of young people in Harlem. His office was listed in the telephone book. He wrote articles, speeches and pamphlets. By what stretch of an honest imagination can such a man be considered a draft-dodger?

They further charged Mr. Ward with failing to report a change of address to his draft board. After first coming from New Orleans to New York City, he had moved without telling them. According to the Louisiana draft board, they had

wanted him for induction into the Army and did not know where to find him.

But what about his business address? The FBI found him there, and they would have any day in the week. Could it be that they knew where to find him for *arrest* but not for induction? Or could it be that they had never *wanted* him in the Army, but in *jail*? And why did the government break all precedent by refusing to accept his immediate offer to be inducted into the Army?

The very manner of the arrest and prosecution help to prove that this case was a frame-up from start to finish. The absence of a warrant. The fantastically exorbitant bail, ten times the usual amount. And especially the extradition.

The government men knew they had a flimsy case. They knew there was a chance it wouldn't stand up under public pressure in New York City. They were afraid to have Roosevelt Ward tried in New York, where he had lived in the two years before his arrest. They also knew that if once they got him into the South he was as good as convicted. They knew that under Southern jim-crow justice a Negro could be convicted for looking the wrong way. So Roosevelt Ward was carried away to Louisiana to stand trial. . . .

. . . What was it like, this trial? What kind of justice did Roosevelt Ward get from the white Southern judge and the jury on which all but one were white?

* When Mr. Ward walked into the courtroom on the morning of September 10 a jury had not yet been selected. When he left in the afternoon he was taken away to begin serving a three-year sentence. They don't waste time with Negroes in Louisiana.

At the start of the trial, Mr. Ward once again offered himself for induction into the Army. He had never dodged the draft and was now willing to serve. Offer refused again. Let's get on with the trial.

And the trial proceeded. Both charges were proved false beyond the shadow of a doubt. Ward's business address was well known. The head of the draft board admitted on the witness stand that he had known the address for a year.

The defendant's activity couldn't possibly be the activity of a draft-dodger. It was then that the government prosecutor revealed the real purpose of the case. The charge of "willful evasion" became so utterly implausible as the trial unfolded that it was *dropped* by the prosecution. The fundamental and more serious charge was dropped, and all that remained was the failure to tell his draft board he had moved from one house in New York City to another in the same city. But the government men knew what they were doing. They knew they would get a conviction no matter what happened. Once they had their Negro victim in a Louisiana court, they felt free to drop the charge and rely on Southern justice.

And Southern justice returned a conviction after forty-five minutes of "deliberation." The judge was ready and without a pause he handed down the three-year sentence. Three years! Even if Mr. Ward had been convicted of the *original charge of willful evasion*, standard procedure would have been about six months. Only a few weeks ago, a white youth was sentenced to six months for deliberately disguising himself to avoid being drafted, and his term was reduced to two months.

But Roosevelt Ward—leader of the anti-war Labor Youth League, leader of Negro youth—is jailed for three years for not reporting an address which his draft board had had all the time!

Any honest American would naturally ask why the discrepancy? The answer is that this trial was a political frame-up, from beginning to end, against a young man who has dared to criticize the Administration, who has dared to demand Peace for all the youth of our country and equality for Negro youth.

Can there still be any doubt of the frame-up? The prosecution itself ad-

mitted this when it got Ward's bail increased from \$5,000 to \$20,000 after his conviction—"because Ward is a leader of the Labor Youth League." Only after a month of public pressure was it reduced to the still exorbitant sum of \$15,000, on which he has been released.

The outrageous persecution of Roosevelt Ward is not merely a miscarriage of justice on the part of a local draft board and a state prosecutor. It had its origin in Washington. It is a product of the campaign currently conducted by the Administration to jail or silence every voice that challenges the *status quo*. The jailing of Ward is a logical outcome of the Smith and McCarran Acts and the "anti-Communist" witch-hunts. It is a logical outcome of the bi-partisan war policy.

By their attack on Roosevelt Ward, the war-makers attempt to slander and intimidate the Labor Youth League and all young Americans who want peace. They want to label as "draft-dodgers" all—including us students—who don't like what the draft is doing to our lives. And they want to slander the Negro youth of America as "cowards." Young Negroes are told they must stop demanding Peace and Equality, or else face jail. Witness the case of James Lawson, a Negro youth, vice-president of the Methodist Conference of Youth, now in prison on similar charges—technical violation of draft regulations. . . .

. . . The arrest, the staged trial, the framed conviction of Roosevelt Ward is a first step. It is a precedent. A testing of machinery designed to silence those of us who are unhappy over the prospect of a military career—who refuse to accept the idea that war is inevitable. The first shot hit Roosevelt Ward, but it was aimed at us. Aimed at silencing any resistance to the increasing militarization of youth and students. To

allow this attack on us to go unchallenged, not to defend Roosevelt Ward against this frameup, not to demand his freedom, is to submit—to relinquish our freedom to continue our education in Peace.

ANOTHER FRAME-UP!

James Lawson is in jail on a three-year sentence. He was convicted last summer of "not cooperating with his draft board." Compare his case with the case of Roosevelt Ward.

Mr. Lawson is a Negro student. He is vice-president of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, an organization that has been critical of the government's war policy, especially by opposing Universal Military Training. Mr. Lawson is a Conscientious Objector.

Four months before his conviction he told his draft board he would cooperate with the Selective Service procedure and applied for a 1V-E classification as a Conscientious Objector. As his lawyer pointed out:

"He is in no sense a draft-dodger, for, as his draft board file shows, he kept the board constantly informed as to his presence, activities, and intended response to its orders."

The government deliberately ignored James Lawson's principles as a Conscientious Objector. They framed him as a draft-dodger and sent him to jail for three years. This sentence is six times the usual sentence meted out to actual draft violators who are not C. O.'s.

There is a striking resemblance in the persecution of James Lawson and Roosevelt Ward. These cases are clear proof that the government has launched a special campaign of terror and slander against young Negro leaders who in any manner oppose war.

ACT ON CAMPUS

WRITE: To Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DEMAND: That Roosevelt Ward be freed and the frame-up charges dropped.

JOIN: THE COMMITTEE TO FREE ROOSEVELT WARD

23 West 26th Street, New York City

53 West 125th Street, New York City

Build a committee on every campus.

TOGETHER FOR PEACE

A STUDENT'S REPORT FROM CALIFORNIA

Students had a problem on the campuses of California. The same that many people have. How to find a solution and play their part in bringing about Peace. Students do not like the prospect of another World War. They have nothing to gain from it. It could be an A-bomb war in which millions would be maimed and slain on a greater scale than anything yet imagined. There could be no military victory—nor a diplomatic one since the earth would be torn, humanity mangled. We all know what the A-bomb did to the Japanese people. We all know what has happened to the Korean people.

Newspapers and government speeches are full of war talk. They are calling for more men for the draft, as indicated by the latest announcement that United States draft goals have been raised by 500,000. Is this the way to a peaceful world? Will the draft mean more or less time for study, for good and steady jobs, for the chance to marry and build a home? No, it will not mean these things. It will not solve the war danger. Any answer which ends in war and mass extermination is *no* answer.

Many students disagree about many things. But all students agree about one thing. We want to live in peace. At the University of California, students decided that it was time to get together and begin doing something about getting Peace. A group of students sent out a call to many students and campus leaders. They suggested getting together to try to develop a common program for peace. They wanted to work for peace but didn't know exactly how. It was decided, at the first few meetings, that since so many students had different points of view on how to attain peace, it was necessary to provide an opportunity for open and unlimited discussion.

The theme of the debate was established as, general ways and means of achieving a positive, peaceful solution to world problems. The California students decided to call themselves the Peace Seminar.

After a thorough-going discussion, the Peace Seminar formulated the following platform:

1. That peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union is possible.
2. That the A-Bomb be prohibited, leading to general disarmament.
3. That the Chinese government be admitted to the United Nations.
4. That the fight for civil liberties is a necessary and integral part of the fight for peace.

It was agreed that these four things were necessary to maintain peace. Unless the two major powers agree to live together in peace, talking peace for the world would have little meaning. The danger of war increases, not decreases, as the production of A-Bombs and armaments increases. History has offered ample proof that countries with guns in their hands are less apt to continue peaceful discussion. As for settling the problems in the Far East, it is empty phraseology even to begin discussion without what is now the government of China.

Some may be wondering what resolution No. 4 has to do with peace. Many students didn't see it at first. They learned, however, during the recent fight against the attempt to stamp the loyalty oath and its rotten anti-democratic atmosphere on the campus how curtailing civil liberties curtails the right to speak up for peace. Students together with teachers, local trade unions and community citizens groups won that battle. Professors are now being re-instated and bills were beaten in the State Legislature. Many students found that these witch-hunters were saying that the "anti-subversive" bills were necessary to protect "peace and freedom." On other occasions, some of the supporters of these bills spoke loudly for bigger armies, more A-Bomb production, or to extend the war in Korea into Manchuria. Others were singing praises for Franco and Chiang Kai-shek as longtime leaders in

the war against Communism. The Peace Seminar agreed that in order to maintain civil liberties we must have Peace and vice-versa.

After establishing what was considered a road to Peace the California students found that they had to travel it. Discussion was important, and it will still be a part of their organization. But talk alone was not enough. New questions came to their minds. Having themselves reached agreement, they wanted to find out how other students felt about Peace? How could they get together with other students on Peace? A small group of students was not enough. Many, most, or if possible, all students on the campus had to at least sound off one way or the other. Every student must have an opinion on the need for Peace.

It was decided that there were three ways to carry out this program. First, a Forum Series. This would be a place to meet with other students and exchange ideas on how to achieve Peace. The first of the Forums, held in conjunction with the Channing Club of the Unitarian Church, tackled the question: "What can the students do for Peace?" The attendance and discussion warranted this kind of action. It was felt that a lot of students in California had no idea of what the next one was thinking about Peace, and how to keep it. What was the sentiment on peaceful co-existence between the United States and the Soviet Union, about the A-Bomb, China, Japan, the draft, rearming of Germany, and the sending of additional U.S. troops to Europe? The Peace Seminar wanted to record these thoughts so that the student body could have a good picture where each stood in relation to the general sentiment. Exactly where were the areas of common agreement on how to maintain Peace?

Secondly, the Seminar organized a Peace Poll. The Poll was circulated in the classrooms, the campus organizations, and other student groups. Whenever the Poll went it met with a tremendous response. Not only did the student body answer the questions, but these questions served to stimulate many discussions, especially in the classrooms. The response to the Poll indicated that



students would not be frightened into submission. All wanted to be heard.

The third part of the action program was by far the biggest. An 8-page, bi-weekly information bulletin called the *Peacemaker* was published. Letters were sent all over the country asking for information. Newspapers and publications were scanned for information on peace activities. The *Peacemaker* included statements, quotes, interviews and articles from all kinds of sources. It was felt that this kind of thing would be informative and would stimulate students and organizations to find areas of common agreement on how to achieve Peace. The response to the *Peacemaker* was so great that it grew from a circulation of 200 to over 3,000 in a period of months. This was indicative of the fact that all students are interested in Peace. It proves that there are many areas in which agreement can be found on how to achieve Peace. And the circulation is still growing.

Students in the Peace Seminar felt that the peace sentiment went beyond the boundaries of the University of California campus. The *Peacemaker* was being read on other campuses throughout the region. Representatives of other campuses were invited to a joint conference to find ways to work for Peace on an Inter-Collegiate basis. A Call was sent to campuses in Northern California. It stated:

"Peace concerns everyone. War means destruction. . . ."

"As the world crisis becomes more explosive, the position of students becomes more vulnerable. Since we as students are most deeply affected, we consider it our right and responsibility to find areas of common agreement and take action."

The response to the call was beyond expectations. Fifty students from the campuses of San Francisco State College, Stanford University, San Jose College, University of California and the University of Nevada participated in the conference. What was indicative of the response and the sentiment during the proceedings was that the delegation from Nevada drove more than six hours to attend. It was through their reading of

the *Peacemaker* that these students from another state decided that it was necessary for them to voice their opinion with the students of Northern California on the common problem of how to maintain Peace.

All came to discuss a workable and acceptable program for Peace. To find areas of common agreement. They had differences and still do. But they had life, they had spirit and they were looking toward a better world. So long as they had these they would be able to resolve, sooner or later, many of their differences. The panels at the Inter-Collegiate Conference, posed these questions:

Panel 1. What are the various Peace Programs in existence today? How can students work together in these programs?

Panel 2. What positive step should be taken to implement our nation's foreign policy toward a peaceful solution of the present crisis?

Panel 3. What is the effect of the present war mobilization upon civil rights and minority groups?

Panel 4. What type of organization would provide for the coordination of student activities in the peaceful alternatives?

During the evening they held a forum. They posed the main question: "Is peaceful co-existence between the major powers possible?" They invited three

The editors of *The Student Peacemaker* have announced their desire to establish friendly ties with students throughout the country who want to work for World Peace. They will print articles and letters by all students "expressing their views on the problems of maintaining peace."

Students on every campus who want to exchange ideas for Peace are invited to write to:

***The Student Peacemaker*
1314 E. San Pablo Ave.
Berkeley 6, Calif.**



speakers to take up the question. They came from the local Negro Trade Union Council, the American Friends Service Committee, and the World Affairs Council. The forum was spirited. Discussion was lively.

The answers to these questions posed by the Conference were discussed by students of widely varied backgrounds. The representatives were members of such organizations as the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the YWCA and YMCA, the Peace Seminar, the Student Council Committee for Academic Freedom, cooperative living groups, the Labor Youth League, the United World Federalists, and the American Friends Service Committee.

One of the continuing activities of the Conference will be a large student Peace Rally. The Peace Committee expects that it will be held at a local San Francisco chapter of the American Friends Service Committee. Early response to the rally has been terrific.

At the end of the Conference it was decided to continue the work of the body and possibly to extend it. The students decided to call themselves the Northern California Student Peace Conference.

As for the Conference, the response to the Call and the new indications of support from other northern and southern California campuses bears out the theory of the Conference that students on all campuses want Peace. Secondly, that they want to find agreement with each other. Thirdly, that it is possible to find this agreement.

Because students know these things to be true, students of the Peace Seminar on the University of California campus, and many others from other campuses in the region, have extended their hands in an inter-collegiate peace-shake to all students on every campus throughout the country.

SPEAK FOR YOURSELF

A Reply to "Generation of Jellyfish"

Dear Editors:

In your editorial in the Spring, 1951 issue of *Athenaeum*, you present the proposition that the American college student body represents a "Generation of Jellyfish." You say that college students today are a "sterile assemblage of prisoners of orthodoxy. A group with little curiosity . . . a group hungry for a rut to cower in; a collection of youngsters already middle-aged, lulled by life into a state of vegetative smugness."

You further accuse our student body of having a "flabby personality," of harboring ambitions of "puny proportions," of being concerned only with the "exterior embellishments of life" and of refusing to "participate in the business of thinking."

These are pretty strong words. To condemn so sweepingly more than two million students is no small matter. One would expect, then, that your charges are well substantiated by fact. Yet, what is the proof that you offer?

The first argument that you present is that American college students are very apathetic in their response to the war in Korea. You lament that "Like spoiled children we whine about interrupting our lives and spoiling our plans."

Secondly, you say that students are very little concerned with world issues in general. You speak of a Wisconsin poll showing that less than half the students know of their Congressmen or of the North Atlantic Pact and bi-partisan foreign policy.

Furthermore, your editorial points to the apathy of students to the National Student Association which you consider a "vigorous organization." At the University of Minnesota, says your editorial, well over half the student body doesn't even *know* about NSA.

You contend that students have ambitions of "puny proportions" and are too much concerned with their economic security, which you consider a "mockery of those who came before us and carved out a great nation. . . ."

Finally, you offer the claim that students docily accept ideas that are handed down to them in their classrooms, that "they are waiting to be told

what to believe"; that they do not debate with their teachers, etc.

In reading the editorial we come to the conclusion that the editorial proves not the flabbiness of the student body but your own failure to comprehend what is happening to students and what is taking place generally in our country and throughout the world today.

It seems incredible that anyone can believe that the lack of discussion in the classrooms today is caused by students "waiting to be told what to believe." Only people living in the most isolated ivory towers could fail to appreciate the effect of the fear and terror set off by loyalty oaths, by the Feinberg and Ober laws, by the FBI network that is spread over the campuses, by the McCarran Law and the Smith Act.

It is *true* that there is not enough argument and debate in the classroom. We agree that the situation is deplorable. But the *reason* for this situation is the blanket of fear that is smothering our country and our campuses. Even so conservative a figure as Dean Millicent C. McIntosh of Barnard College has admitted that students "are becoming afraid to advocate the humanitarian point of view because it has been associated with Communism." The point is made clear in a report of a survey of 72 campuses published in *The New York Times*. "A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking the college campuses in many parts of the country limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth."

Perhaps if you saw more clearly the terror that is hovering over our schools you would understand a little better the reaction of American students to the war in Korea. First of all it is not true, as the editorial asserts, that American students have no strong opinions about war in general or about "the next war in particular." Students have very strong opinions on the subject. They don't like war in general, and in particular they don't want to see another World War. Secondly, it is only partly true that the reaction of students to the war in Korea

is a very apathetic one. What is true is that American college students have never been convinced of the honesty of the objectives of the State Department and the military machine in this war, that they have never shown any enthusiasm or respect for the demagoguery of Acheson and Truman. What the editors refer to as "superficial cynicism" about the war in Korea is a profound doubt as to whether this war is in the interests of democracy or whether it is another attempt to keep oppressed a colonial nation fighting for its freedom. This skepticism, this challenging of the motives of the State Department line was vocalized by the Queens College *Crown*:

"There seem to be elements in this country, and Dean Acheson has put himself among them, who are deliberately fostering war hysteria, who are trumping up idealistic causes so as to make us, the youth, fight the world war they want. The irony of the situation is that the reactionary-conservative element is leading us further from the ideal they feed us as reality and nearer to the militaristic and totalitarian—in a word, fascist state they want."

If students, and other sections of our people, are not excited about the Korean war, it is not because of apathy but rather reluctance to support an unjust war, an imperialist war. The attitude of American college students towards the Korean war is clear to anyone who wants to see it. Our student body wants the war brought to an end—and quickly. Not very long ago the Gallup Poll revealed that 65% of college students favor pulling out of Korea. At CCNY 80% of the students polled believed that immediate steps should be taken to end the war in Korea. Student polls at Cornell, the University of Iowa, etc. reveal similar results.

You again err badly in blaming the students for their lack of interest in the National Student Association. What, may we ask, has NSA done to deserve the respect and support—or even the *interest*—of the American student community. Where was NSA when 5,000 students struck at City College against the racists Davis and Knicker-

Editorial in Wisconsin Athenaeon

bocker? Did they even so much as send a letter in support of the City College students? Where was NSA when the students of Texas and Oklahoma were tearing down the barriers of jimcrow? Did they do such a little thing as to help circulate a petition? Where was NSA when 65% of the students were known to favor withdrawal from Korea? Did they help organize a single forum, a single peace committee or hold a single peace conference or rally in support of this opinion? When the students at the University of California were protesting the loyalty oaths, what did NSA do to rally support from students throughout the country?

Yes, it is true that students show little interest in NSA. And with good reason. NSA does not work for them. As a matter of fact the most important achievement of NSA to date is that it has been the leader of an attempt to form a western bloc of student organizations in opposition to the International Union of Students, thus further contributing to the separation of American students from those of other countries and thereby contributing to the conditions that breed war.

As far as the Congressmen are concerned, what is true for NSA goes doubly for them. If students show little interest in their Congressman it is because the Congressmen speak not for the students but for the warmakers. They scuttle educational appropriations in favor of armaments. Instead of ending the war in Korea they concoct schemes to extend the draft and guarantee that no student will be able to complete his training or go into his field without spending at least two and a half years in the army. Instead of passing a federal scholarship law, they permit the GI Bill of Rights to end. When it comes to the question of using the federal power to end segregated education or to withdraw tax exemptions from schools that discriminate you hear nary a peep from the distinguished gentlemen. And if you write to your Congressman on any of these issues, usually you get a form letter thanking you for your opinion which your Congressman promptly ignores in favor of the opinion of Morgan, Mellon, Rockefel-

ler or whoever his particular patron may be.

Finally, we cannot agree with your contention that concern over one's economic security is a "puny" consideration. Perhaps you are so "well heeled" that to you economic security is a puny consideration. Unfortunately the majority of the American students are not so fortunately blessed. To students the question of economic security involves their whole future. And consider the millions of young people who are barred from the schools because they cannot afford the high tuitions. How puny is the economic question to the millions of Negro children whose parents' total yearly income is less than the yearly tuition of a single student at a school like Cornell or Princeton?

No, the students of our country, our college generation, are far from jellyfish. If you want proof of the fundamental democratic vitality of American students you need look no further than your own campus, Wisconsin, where this past spring members of six organizations (YMCA, YWCA, Hillel, and the Methodist, Baptist and Unitarian stu-

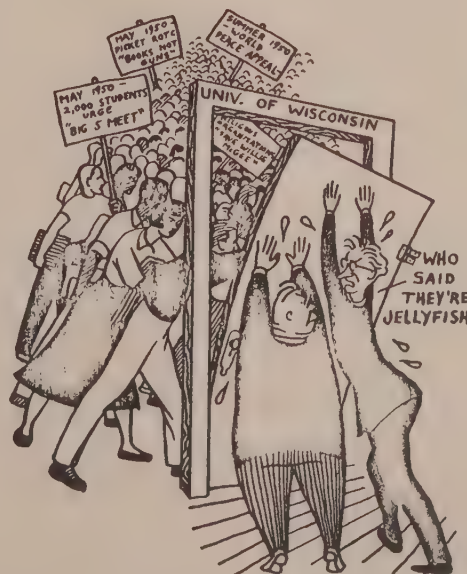
A CHALLENGE: We invite the editors of *The Athenaeon* to write a one-page reply to this letter, which we will publish in *New Foundations*. In return, we ask that a page of *The Athenaeon* be devoted to our rejoinder.

dent groups) pooled their efforts in the fight to save the life of Willie McGee. Or you might remember the previous spring when 2,000 students signed petitions urging the Big Five to settle their differences through negotiations. You might consider also the action of hundreds of students who signed the World Peace Appeal during the summer of 1950, despite the terror of the State Department. Also significant was the action of students who hooted Senator McCarthy out of the Memorial Union a few months ago.

At other schools, no less than Wisconsin, students are showing their mettle.

Who can call the 5,000 students who struck at City College jellyfish? Who can accuse the thousands of students at California, Illinois, Oklahoma, who have been so militant in their struggles against the loyalty oaths, of being "a group hungry for a rut to cower in"? Would you seriously accuse the thousands of Negro and white students throughout the South who have so courageously been fighting against jimcrow

(Continued on page 19)



HISTORIANS AGAINST LABOR

poison in our texts

In a recent address, Allan Nevins of Columbia University told a group of historians that a "great injustice has been done our industrial leaders." This noted historian, who has accepted benefits for writing a biography of John D. Rockefeller, proposed now that all history books be rewritten to give more glory to "the heroes of our material growth—the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Hills and Morgans." But what of those workers who made the fortunes of these men possible, what of those who dug the coal, made the steel, ran the railroads? What of the heroes of our labor movement, like Eugene Debs, Isaac Myers, Mother Bloor, John L. Lewis and William Haywood? Of these Mr. Nevins, undoubtedly with one eye on his bankbook, says nothing.

Yet the importance of labor in our history is undeniable. Workers and their families today comprise about 70 per cent of our population. Fourteen million of these are organized in trade unions, the largest organized group in the country. These are the men and women who produce the wealth of our land, who are indispensable to the functioning of our economy. Brought together in factories, shops and mills, these workers have come to face common problems, have developed interests as a group and taken united actions. Numbers, degree of organization, position in production, unity of interests, all these have made of labor not only an important force in our history since the Civil War, but make of it the decisive force today in the shaping of our future.

Mr. Nevins sees the history classroom and the history text as a means of winning the allegiance of students to a pro-business point of view. Here society is given the opportunity of shaping our ideas about workers. It is here that we learn about the contributions of Negro and immigrant workers to our history, it is here that we learn of the past and future role of labor in our country. How have our history books treated these topics?

A careful examination of the most important textbooks will show that they consistently minimize the role of labor in our history. Labor is just another chapter in the book to these authors, and, to

judge by the number of pages assigned to it, not such an important chapter at that. The widely-used book by Morison and Commager, for example, devotes 27 pages to the labor movement since the Civil War, while giving 47 pages to arts, philosophy and letters.¹ More than this, however, certain key areas in our labor history are invariably distorted.

Thus the Negro worker is ignored and vilified by the historians. The contributions of the immigrant worker are omitted or slandered. All of the textbook writers underestimate the efficacy and importance of activities by workers, some actually breed contempt for strikes and unions. The extent and method of this distortion varies with the textbook, it is present to some degree in all of them. Let's look at the record, let's put the statements of the historians side by side with historical fact to judge of their truthfulness and accuracy.

Our history books attack the activities of workers and decry strikes, demonstrations and trade unions. Thus Oberholtzer paints the strike, the main weapon of the workers, as a danger to workers and to the community: "The strike took from the workingman even that which he had—daily employment with pay for the support of himself and his family, and easily led to riots, destruction of property, and loss of human life."² J. S. Bassett makes trade unions appear dangerous to the general interests of workers themselves: "Their effect upon general labor conditions was not conducive to a higher standard of living in general."³ One can only conclude from these statements that strikes and trade unions are dangerous and ineffective, and that the workers who engage in them are stupidly acting contrary to their own interests. Yet the fact remains, workers have won their demands only through demonstrations and strikes and if there were "riots, destruction of property, and loss of human life" it was only due to the instigation of the employers who usually tried to beat the workers into submission.

Morison and Commager clearly divorce social progress from struggle and mass movement: "More has been gained by labor through social legislation than

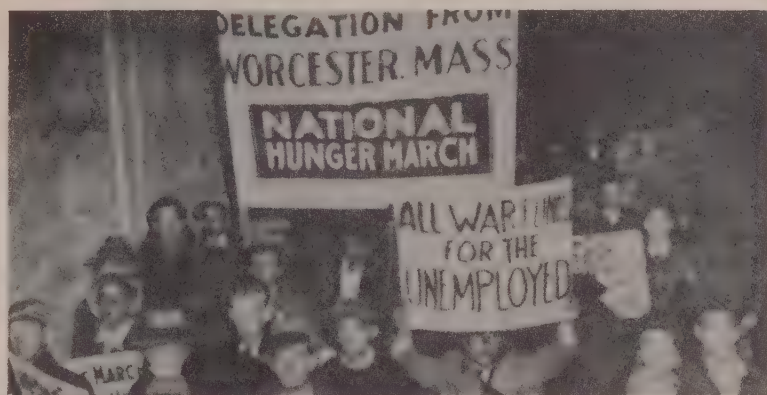
through strikes and other violent measures."⁴ What these historians do not see is that such a divorce cannot be made. If today we have free public education, we must thank the trade unions for having initiated a mass campaign around that issue. It was during the 1830's that labor in New York and Pennsylvania entered upon independent political action and demanded universal free education, and within a decade free education had been won in those states. Where did the demand for the eight-hour day originate, in the legislative halls or in the trade unions? The National Labor Union made this demand just after the Civil War, the Knights of Labor and the A. F. of L. continued to make it in the years which followed. It was only after a long campaign of agitation, demonstrations and strikes that the eight-hour day was adopted in state and federal legislation. During the 1930's the CIO was in the forefront of the demand for FEPC, better housing, minimum wage and social security laws. When Senator Wagner introduced the National Labor Relations Act, he did not introduce it as a measure to increase the power of unions, but in order to avoid the industrial strife which grew out of the refusal of the employers to recognize that labor was already stirring and moving. The whole history of our labor movement is testimony to the efficacy of mass action. And yet our history textbooks try to convince us that strikes and trade unions are useless and ineffective, and even try to breed contempt in our minds towards those activities.

The contributions of immigrant workers to our history have been usually ignored by our historians, most often immigrant workers themselves have been slandered. With characteristic Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, Ellis P. Oberholtzer, author of the most recent multi-volume history of the United States, speaks of a "foreign rabble" in the trade unions, and describes the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe as being "of the lower order of men."⁵ The Beards refer with distaste to an "alien invasion," and describe these same immigrants as "divided in patriotic allegiance, given to constant argumentation, difficult to organize on account of racial and lingual

barriers, and excluded from the higher social and political life of the country by ignorance of its language and codes."⁶ John Hicks sees the immigrant worker as having made only one contribution to the labor movement: "Unversed in American ways, these newcomers sometimes employed in their adopted land the methods of violence they had used against European tyrannies."⁷ Every author portrays the immigrant as the enemy of trade unionism, overlooking entirely the contributions of the immigrant workers to the building of the early A. F. of L., the United Mine Workers, the Brewery Workmen's Union, and the garment unions. Such a picture overlooks also that great upsurge of foreign-born (mostly from Eastern and Southern Europe) which took place in 1919 with the organization of the steel and meat-packing industries. The immigrant: ignorant, at times given to violence, a "rabble," incapable of organization, what a picture to buttress the present-day attacks on the foreign-born!

Invariably the history textbooks fail to mention the militant and major contributions of Negro workers to our labor history. Morison and Commager, for example, mention only that the Knights of Labor admitted both Negroes and whites to membership, and in the same breath add that they also admitted "capitalists and laborers."⁸ From these books one would never guess that at the height of its power, in 1886, Negro workers constituted 15 per cent of the membership of the Knights. Nor will one ever find mention of such outstanding Negro labor leaders as Isaac Myers of the National Labor Union, nor of the self-organization activities of the Negro workers just after the Civil War which brought about the first Negro labor convention in our history, attended by over 200 delegates. When one remembers that Negroes were only 13 per cent of the population in these years, the vast majority in agriculture, only the militancy derived from their double-oppression can explain this participation. In building the CIO, such Negro leaders as Ferdinand Smith of the National Maritime Union, Ewart Guinier of the Public Workers, William Hood of the Auto Workers, as well as thousands of

rank and file Negro workers in auto, steel and meat-packing, made decisive contributions. The silence of our texts on the role of the Negro in our labor history gives undeserved support to the myth of the passivity of the Negro worker and of the Negro people, it gives ideological support to quotas, segregation, and discrimination.



It was demonstrations like this by working people that won social security, unemployment insurance, relief, government work projects and FEPC in World War II.

What do all of these distortions and omissions succeed in doing? They succeed in driving a wedge between students and workers. At their worst they create among students a pro-business and anti-labor attitude, at their best they leave students feeling above and apart from the struggles of labor. The omission of the Negro worker from our labor history buttresses the myth of the passivity of the Negro people, and deprives white students of a knowledge of their militant and courageous history in our country. It makes white students less ready to see the significance of present-day attacks on the Negro people. Similarly, the picture presented of the immigrant worker makes students less ready to defend the rights of the foreign-born. The underestimation of the importance of mass actions, the attacks upon the activities of workers, obscures the important role of labor in bringing about social progress in our country, and further divides students and workers.

As students we must reject these distortions, for today our interests lie with labor. The lesson which is indelibly

etched upon our history is that the program and struggles of labor have never been for its own benefit alone, but have always been for the benefit of all of us. The demands of the workers in the 1930's for jobs, social security, FEPC, unemployment insurance and housing, were demands benefiting the whole people, not just the organized workers. Millions of

students in the thirties, thrown upon a job market which could not absorb them, learned this lesson.

As we have seen, numbers, degree of organization, position in production, and unity of interests make of labor a decisive force in the shaping of the future of our country. To the degree that labor supports a peace program, then peace will be won. To the degree that labor supports a Fair Educational Practices Act, that demand will be won, too, for it would be impossible for students to win such a demand alone. We have no other choice but to turn our faces from the myths of our textbooks, to reject the contempt for workers which the textbooks attempt to instill in us.

¹ Morison and Commager *The Growth of the American Republic* (1942 ed.) Vol. II, pp. 146-73, 266-313.

² Oberholtzer, E. P. *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (1937), Vol. V, p. 744.

³ Bassett, J. S. *A History of the United States* (1939), p. 870.

⁴ Morison and Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁵ Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 732.

⁶ Beard and Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (1934 ed.) Vol. II, p. 247.

⁷ Hicks, J. *A Short History of American Democracy* (1949), p. 553.

⁸ Morison and Commager, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

The Roots of Racism

MANY of us on campus who are concerned with social problems at one time or another turn hopefully to Sociology or Social Psychology courses. These are the ones mildly labelled "Minority Problems." Here, far away from the economics, political science and history departments, only here is it deemed legitimate to study the oppression of the Negro people in the United States.

The major premise in these classes is that the source of prejudice lies in the mind. The world of discrimination and socio-economic relations is eliminated as "obvious." This theme is the dominant one presented by white instructors and professors. In *An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal says, "The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. . . ." Thus we study "what is in white people's minds."

What kind of "mind" is this we are to study? First, it contains innate needs which exist for all alike. This mind is relatively unaffected by its owner's relations or role in a particular society. Logically, then, it is of secondary importance to study our society in any detail. American culture and organization are "relevant only in terms of how they are perceived by the prejudiced individual, how they influence him in creating and satisfying his needs and demands. . . ." Therefore, placing race prejudice as a "spontaneous more or less instinctive defense-reaction" as sociologist Robert Park does, man is innately capable of developing "prejudice" at any time. Professor Arnold Rose ascribes an "irrational function" filling "a psychological need" to prejudice. This is the frustration-aggression theory, popular in class, which calls the group under oppression the "scapegoat." In this way prejudice is pictured as a permanent possibility, rooted in man's need for a "scapegoat." ". . . without it prejudice might die a natural death after a few generations. . . ." ¹²

The facts of segregation and the existence of economic needs and interests are reluctantly recognized, but it is at this point that we are vehemently assured that no one knows all the answers. Prof. Rose states, "There is still relatively little understanding of the causes or even the effects of prejudice, except on the super-

ficial, obvious level."² The "function" of prejudice in the personality has replaced any attempt to find the reasons for prejudice in society.

Certain conclusions are implicitly reached. Like this: Prejudice has always existed. It results in unfair treatment of people. But more important it has consequences in the personality of its exponent. As for cause, any single theory is insufficient; for this is an enormous problem. Therefore any theory is as valid as any other. We need them all.

But regardless of the theory, mind is the starting-off point. The solutions attest to this. Myrdal finds his answer in changing "people's beliefs and valuations." Professor Rose, who offers economic, legislative and psychological solutions in a list where none is singled out as key, can only suggest that "further scientific research is needed."

Except for some outstanding Negro scholars such as E. F. Frazier, W. E. B. DuBois, and O. C. Cox the texts and instructors leave us with little hope. For, according to Rose, "action taken against one root does not necessarily affect the other roots."² We are told not to expect an end to Jim Crow in our time at any rate. For only a slow process of education and psychological therapy can reach the heart and mind; and this, after all, is the source.

BUT is prejudice part of the nature of man's mind, existing as a need independent of the forces in society? First, if this were "spontaneous defense reaction" by white people, we would expect to find it expressed by *all* white people in contact with Negroes. It would be no more rejected than thirst or hunger, for it would be "natural" to man's nature. Yet sociologists and Professor Rose himself agree that in the early period of slavery there was "little attempt to justify it . . . there was no prejudice against Negroes on . . . racial grounds. . . ." ¹²

We would not expect that racism had to be consciously created. Yet Professor Rose also indicates that there were economic interests working to develop racism during slavery.

". . . new profit was discovered in slaves: the invention of the cotton gin

and of a process for extracting sugar from cane, coupled with new facilities for international trade, made the Southern States a region of great potential wealth. This required cheap labor that could be held to the unpleasant task of growing and picking cotton and sugar cane . . . the area of cotton growing was greatly extended; many people grew wealthy rapidly; and the South maintained a precarious position of dominance over the nation as a whole because of its wealth . . . pressures were exerted to abolish slavery . . . some of the poor whites of the South did not like a system which gave all power to the wealthy slave owners. In this setting, the concepts of racism served perfectly as a justification. The Negroes were declared to be a childish race, which must be directed in work for its own good and which must be kept inferior to the poor white for the good of civilization."²

So white supremacy was neither spontaneous on the part of whites, and particularly the poor whites, nor was it a defensive reaction; for it was the Negro who was oppressed. We must conclude that this was not a question of "environmental supports" for existing needs but a matter of economic and political needs coming out of society at a particular historic period.

IF RACISM were a part of the nature of man, why was it necessary to segregate the Negro, and make him appear as a chattel, and on the other hand erect an entire legal system to *force* whites to comply with its proscriptions? Why was it necessary to prohibit marriage and social contact of any sort between Negro and white?

How can these theories, rooted in the mind, explain the opposition of the poor whites to slavery, their role in the Abolitionist movement, and their volunteering in the Union army during the Civil War? Obviously these people rejected racism and chose to fight for their economic and political needs.

During Reconstruction the poor whites united with the freed Negroes to demand land, the vote, and education.³ Here were rational demands accompanied by a growing rejection of the racism

by ELLEN GOLD

of slavery by the poor whites. Here was no indication of a need for a "scapegoat."

Professor Rose gives the impression that "scapegoating" due to economic frustration is the natural property of the poor whites. He contradicts his own statement that "the most obvious cause of prejudice" is that it "creates advantages." What does history prove?

The defeat of Reconstruction was the result of the economic union of the southern Bourbons and the northern industrialists for exploitation of the southland. They organized violent terror against the Negro and white allies, coupled with torrents of lies and propaganda designed to convince the poor whites that the Negro people were an economic and social threat to their interests.³

Professor Rose says on one hand that "a relatively small number of exploiters can maintain their dominant position by dividing their subordinates and encouraging them to be hostile to one another."² He apparently sees this in relation to slavery. But in dealing with later jimcrow he can only pose an irrational function, the need for a scapegoat, without which "prejudice might die a natural death." He cannot explain why it is the Negro people who are singled out for special oppression rather than any other people. He implies that there is no group today which maintains white supremacy in order to obscure and justify its own position of domination and to divide its "subordinates."

But consider that in 1947 there was an approximate difference of eleven hundred dollars in the median wage of Negro and white workers. If we multiply this difference by the number of productive workers in agriculture, the sharecropping system, and in industry, about three and a half million, we see that the planters and bosses "save" almost four billion dollars by paying Negro workers less.⁴ Consider further that the answer given to southern white workers when they protest lower wages than comparable northern white workers is that Negro workers get and can be gotten for still lower wages. Here is no irrational need in operation: here are exposed the hard cash profits to be derived through jimcrow.



The Negro farm tenant receives one-half the income of his white neighbor. Does the reason find its source in the mind?

Is it a problem in the heart of white Americans generally that one-tenth or more of the farm land of the South is held by northern corporations? That the region's vast coal resources are held by the Morgans, Mellons and Rockefellers? The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is one of the largest owners of agricultural land in the South. In New York they maintain the jimcrow housing development Stuyvesant Town. Huge profits come through jacked up rents and food prices in Negro ghettos such as Harlem.⁵ There is nothing "spontaneous" here.

IS IT true that we cannot know the source of prejudice because it is too complex? No, rather it is impossible to find the roots without leaving the realm of the mind.

We look on one hand and see that where workers, farmers and students recognize the interests behind jimcrow they fight to overcome it and the poison that maintains it. They join with the Negro people in a fight for democracy. On the other hand we are taught that the answer lies in trying to change "beliefs and valuations."

To speak in terms of wiping out prejudice by dealing with the mind, leaving untouched the base for it in the plantation system and jimcrow, together with the interests that propagate it via controlled mass media, is sheer utopianism at best. Must we not agree that any obscuring of the real roots of prejudice is support for it? Whether our white instructors and sociologists like it or not, their psychological obscurantism is being used to apologize for the profitable sys-

tem of jimcrow. It is being used to steer people away from struggle by placing the question in the mind, and by denying the strength of Negro and white today united for democracy and common needs.

THE profitable jimcrow system extends itself to campus in the form of segregation, quota systems, and in the curricula and texts themselves. The same interests on Northern boards of trustees maintain Southern segregation and support Negro schools as "Philanthropies." They are the corporation interests. They would discourage any action to do away with jimcrow by teaching the perennial nature of prejudice.

But students, along with workers and other sections of our people, choose to fight. We have already shown our rejection of racism by fighting racist admission questionnaires, discrimination in frats, in textbooks, and for the admission of Negro graduate students in the South. Southern white students and northern students too see more and more that jimcrow is their enemy, that they have common interests with Negro students who are demanding unity and democracy NOW.

We must go even further. It is our task, as students to reject every form of white supremacy on campus from texts, to expressions of superiority, to the system of segregation and quota systems. This kind of consistent action must be the students' answer to racism.

¹ Kretch and Crutchfield, *Theories and Problems of Social Psychology*, 1948.

² Arnold Rose, *The Roots of Prejudice*, U.N.E.S.C.O., 1951.

³ W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 1935.

⁴ Victor Perlo, *American Imperialism*, 1951.

⁵ Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation*, 1948.

THE ANVIL REFRAIN

TROTSKYITES ON CAMPUS

In the last issue of *New Foundations* I wrote an article entitled "The *Anvil* Chorus." The purpose of the article was to expose anti-Soviet lies and to expose *Anvil's* false front as an anti-war magazine. I seriously failed to show that the line followed by *Anvil* is one of Trotskyism, from the contents of the magazine to the actions of its publishers. Their efforts are to consciously destroy the growing peace sentiment and organizations that exist among students throughout the country.

The role of Trotskyism has been exposed many times. How Trotskyites collaborated with fascism was shown by Joseph E. Davies, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. He showed their "record as a Fifth Column in Russia under a conspiracy agreement with the German and Japanese governments that was amazing."¹ Professor Frederick L. Schuman showed them allies of "the America Firsters, anti-Semites and native Nazis of yesterday, and contemporary preachers of World War III."

The contents of *Anvil*, from its editorials to its poetry, reflect its Trotskyite character. *It is* anti-war on front and back covers, but its pages drone that war is inevitable. In a debate with the World Federalists about peaceful co-existence of the United States and the Soviet Union, they say: "To this *fundamental* question, socialists say 'No!'"² War is an accepted inevitability to these Trotskyites, who demagogically parade under the guise of "socialists." They speak of "New Aspects of a Third War," "the coming war," "the impending war" and "In World War III."³ They deny the possibility of peace and slanderously attack all students who are concerned with peace or who act for peace. For example, they attack students who support the peace proposals of the Quakers as a "Stalinist front."⁴ Their red-baiting has as its aim to slander and discourage any proposal or action that can remotely have an effect in preventing war. Their slanders encompass the entire American people when they speak of their "political backwardness."⁵

What *Anvil* omits is also significant. Nowhere in their issues do they have a

program for students' rights. Not a word of protest against jimcrow, against lynch justice. Attacks against quota systems and segregation are not subjects for their articles. They offer no program for Negro rights and completely ignore the Negro people. In the eyes of *Anvil* all such struggles are "Stalinist."

Anvil takes no stand for women's rights, none on how to break down discrimination against women students. Its one article on women is entitled "The Sexual Initiation of Women."⁶ In *Anvil* women are dealt with only in the context of pornography and have meaning only in regard to sex. It is here, of all their articles, that Negro women are mentioned, and only as sexual objects. This characterization of Negro women indicates the depth of their white supremacist, racist thinking.

One of the representative actions of the publishers, the New York Student Federation Against War, was their role at the Conference for Democracy in Education a year and a half ago. New York student groups united on developing a program in the vital interests of students, though they differed on many questions. This broad group was characterized by *Anvil* as:

"A small group of Stalinist students together with a few liberals."⁷

Anvil boasted how the NYSFAW entered the Conference and organized a clique that disrupted, limited discussion and slandered Negro students who had helped form the Conference. They *destroyed* the Conference, placing the blame on students who fought to make the conference an expression of student unity. Two *Anvil* editors were on the Conference's continuations committee, which excluded Negro students.

Another example is that of the E.V. Debs Society of Brooklyn College, an affiliate of the NYSFAW and also a sponsor of *Anvil*. It tried to prevent a two-hour stoppage in protest of Gideonse's suppression of academic freedom. Its members first joined the nine other campus organizations calling for the stoppage and on the very day of the stoppage distributed a leaflet withdrawing their support and red-baiting the other organi-

zations. Never initiating action of their own, Trotskyites can only destroy. Though they *write* to appear as if supporting student activity, their *actions* prove them destroyers of such activity.

The contents of *Anvil* and the anti-democratic actions of its publishers serve fully to prove they are Trotskyites. Like all Trotskyites, their violent hatred of the Soviet Union leads them to collaborate with all reactionary forces striving for war, witness their alliance with the German and Japanese fascists. Before World War II, Winston Churchill said that "Trotsky strives to rally the under-world of Europe to overthrow the Russian Army." American Trotskyites wrecked the Socialist Party, just as the publishers of *Anvil* wrecked the Conference for Democracy in Education. *Anvil* boasts of their actions, just as Cannon, the Trotskyite leader, boasts that "the Socialist Party was in our way, we had to remove that obstacle from our path." They left almost nothing of the Socialist Party when they left it. Trotskyite anti-labor action is shown by the fact that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has cited them as an ally in the fight against trade unions. There is no confusion in their position wherever they work. It is one of conscious disruption.

Today, Trotskyites would gladly see a world war. *Anvil* would have students give up every vestige of democratic rights. They label every group of students who wage any battle in defense of their rights as "Stalinists." *Anvil* tries to reduce students to its own level, to become willing fomenters and acceptors of war. They would try to lead students down the path of accepting war and fascism and become allies of other reactionary forces, just as *Anvil* is. They do this while hypocritically *saying* they are anti-war. Their verbal gymnastic is used to conceal their *actual* activities. *Anvil's* sponsors are enemies of students who want to act for their rights and for peace. They must be rejected.

¹ Mission To Moscow, by Joseph E. Davies.

² *Anvil*, V. II, No. 1, p. 23.

³ *Anvil*, V. II, No. 3, p. 6.

⁴ *Anvil*, V. II, No. 2, p. 18.

⁵ *Anvil*, V. III, No. 1, p. 24.

⁶ *Anvil*, V. II, No. 1.

⁷ *Anvil*, V. II, No. 2, p. 15.

Students Around the World

AT BERLIN

No gathering of young people has ever been so hysterically denounced and slandered as was the World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace, held in Berlin last summer. Newspapers throughout the United States hurled every time-worn anti-Communist lie at their disposal against the Festival.

But there were Americans in Berlin, and they have returned with the truth about the greatest youth gathering in history for world peace and friendship. They have returned with the story of the millions of young men and women who are striving every day to prevent a new world war, who want peace with the youth of the United States. Their story—a must for every American student—will be told in full in the pages of NEW FOUNDATIONS, beginning in the next issue. Here we publish a brief review of the Festival.

ONE of the favorite lies of the press was that the World Peace Festival was filled with two weeks of political speeches and raucous parades. The fact is that almost all the time and attention of the Festival was devoted to cultural programs and athletic tournaments. Its central theme was peaceful coexistence of all countries—expressed in the mingling of many national cultures and in friendly sports competition. Every day over two million youth from every continent attended plays, movies, concerts, ball games, forums, dance recitals and scores of other exciting events.

The press denounced the Berlin Festival as being reminiscent of German fascism. Some self-styled anti-Nazis compared the members of the Free German Youth with the infamous Hitler Youth. But the young Germans and their guests in Berlin last summer are the *opposite* of the Hitler Youth. They have expressed their strong desire for Peace, while the Hitler Youth marched to songs of war and conquest. They have declared their faith in the brotherhood and equality of all humanity, while the Hitler Youth were imbued with the venomous ideas of "racial superiority." Like the young woman in the drawing, millions of young people have renounced the Nazi past and have joined the Free German Youth to work for peace.

LISA

Drawing by an American student artist who attended the World Youth Festival.

Under fascism Lisa was a member of the Hitler Youth. She has since renounced Nazism and is fighting for a peaceful and democratic Germany.



It is in the United States zone, on the other hand, that Nazis are being returned to power.

In an effort to discredit the German Democratic Republic, which played host to the Festival, the press spread all sorts of tales about its "poverty" as contrasted to Western "prosperity." But even the conservative British newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, bared this lie when it declared that Anglo-American Berlin "with some three hundred thousand unemployed, is permanently bankrupt."

The newspaper *Rheinischer Merkur* admits: "More than 150,000 young skilled workers . . . emigrated from Western Germany to the German Democratic Republic in 1950." Of "the 1,625,000 young people who left school without the prospect of a job or an apprenticeship in the past three years, only 300,000 will be able to get jobs or apprentice appointments." The article concludes: "Therefore even non-Communist parents in Western Germany think it is better for their children to serve their apprenticeship in Eastern Germany and learn a trade rather than to stay home and learn nothing."

THE statesmen of "Western Civilization" revealed their fear of the Peace Festival by conducting a world-wide campaign of terror and violence against young people who dared to try to reach Berlin. The U.S. State Department denied visas to the Negro youth leader, Paul Robeson, Jr. and to Puerto Rican delegates. One of the students who succeeded in reaching Berlin, Alan Kimmel, was suspended as editor of the *Chicago Maroon*.

In U.S.-controlled Greece the youth leader, Christophorides, was arrested and hanged because he was a member of the world committee planning the Festival. A French plane was halted in Brussels and all passengers, including several Americans, were forced to return to France. Throughout western Europe and Latin America, governments refused to allow Festival delegates to leave the country. And these same governments loudly profess to believe in freedom of travel and cultural exchange.

In Germany itself, Western border guards were reinforced and they attacked everyone who tried to get across to East

(Continued on page 19)

Student Notes

Governor Earl Warren of California vetoed a bill which would permit expulsion of teachers for political or sociological views expressed off campus as well as on campus. The Governor described the bill, which was spearheaded by the president of the local Chamber of Commerce and National Executive Committeeman of the American Legion, as a product of anti-red hysteria. . . . Three *Harvard* professors were accused of having been members of a "pro-Communist" group working on Asian policy in the State Dept. in 1949. The charge was made before the Senate Internal Security Committee (created by the McCarran Act). All three professors attacked the charge as false. One—Professor John K. Fairbank—was roundly cheered in class by 350 students.

The Harvard Crimson, voice of the students, has come to the defense of the three professors.

Dirk Struik, mathematician, who has taught at the *Mass. Institute of Technology* since 1926, has been indicted by the State of Massachusetts. Charges: "Conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States" and "conspiracy to overthrow the Commonwealth by force and violence." Evidence: by Herbert Philbrick, professional informer. He called Professor Struik a Communist at an Un-American Activities Committee hearing. . . .

The Yale Review, student journal, commended Professor Thomas L. Emerson of *Yale Law School* for agreeing to argue the case of the Communist leaders, who recently petitioned the Supreme Court for a re-hearing of their conviction under the Smith Act.

Dr. Cecil Hinshaw, a leading Quaker, has been barred from speaking for peace at *Ohio State U.* Dr. Howard L. Bevis, university president, said all speakers must be screened by his office. He refused to state why Dr. Hinshaw was barred. Dr. Hinshaw, a member of the American Friends Service Committee and former president of William Penn College, had been invited to speak by the Ohio State chapter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

President J. E. Smith of *Willmantic State Teachers College*, Conn., declared

that a proposed "loyalty oath" for state educational employees was a "threat to freedom of inquiry." Dr. Smith said it was part of a "pattern which is making teachers and students afraid to express themselves on topics of controversial interest." . . . George H. Ball, Chaplain at *Denver U.*, resigned to protest a loyalty oath for all faculty members.

Recent National Student Association Congress failed to act on an appeal by 36 students of the *New York School of Social Work*. They had called on NSA to oppose the Smith Act and the limitations it imposes on free speech and thought.

Over 300 women students entered the Liberal Arts School of the *City College of New York*, breaking a century-old discriminatory practice of "male only" at this section of the college. . . . Day session student council of *City College* is investigating charges that ROTC is using "high pressure tactics" to coerce recruits. One of the charges is that many freshmen are given the false impression that Military Science courses are compulsory.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reaffirmed its demand for a *complete* end to segregation in American education. NAACP called for equality through integration, as opposed to the "separate but equal" set-up which maintains jimcrow barriers. . . .

After winning a battle in the Federal Court to gain admission to *North Carolina U.*, six Negro students found themselves segregated at the college football games. J. R. Walker, a law student, protested: "I feel I am a part of the student body and want to cheer and express school spirit as a part of the student body, and not be set apart behind the goal posts in an undignified and humiliating manner." The Chancellor said that the Federal Court order entitled Negroes to all the University's educational facilities, but that does not include football games. An attorney for the Durham, N. C. NAACP said the organization will enter the case. . . . *Harvard University Medical School* accepted a \$2,000,000 scholarship fund "preferably for applicants of Anglo-Saxon ancestry."

Fifty-three foreign exchange students cancelled a tour of the Tennessee Valley Authority because two Panamanian students in the group would have been confronted by "racial" discrimination. . . . Thirty-five Iranian students attending *Columbia, Harvard, NYU* and several other eastern universities have sent a letter to the Premier of Iran, pledging their support to the nationalization of the oil industry. "We students have always been aware . . . of our duty to inform the American people about the poverty and exploitation caused by the late Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." . . . Kani Nouri, an Iraqi student at the *University of Texas*, received a sudden order from Immigration officials last spring telling him to leave the country. Denied a hearing and explanation of reasons, he was jailed for deportation. The only apparent reason for the government's action is Nouri's admission that he spoke freely in college "bullsessions" against some of this country's foreign policies.

Flash! YPA Banned at Brooklyn College!

This is the latest in a series of arbitrary actions suppressing democratic student activity and expression at Brooklyn. Last year the Labor Youth League was banned "because of the Korean War." When the student paper *Vanguard* protested, it was suspended and destroyed by the Administration. And when Students for Democratic Action raised its voice, it too was suspended for a long while.

The National Student Association recently condemned these violations of academic freedom at Brooklyn. All students must now add their voices to protest the latest violation.

LYL . . . *Vanguard* . . . SDA . . . now YPA. Who knows what group will be next? Every democratic student club at Brooklyn is now in danger! And this is part of a pattern that is spreading over many parts of the nation.

Let all students and their clubs demand that YPA be reinstated, that academic freedom for all be restored at Brooklyn College!

BERLIN

(Continued from page 17)

Berlin. "In Lower Saxony alone 1,200 have been apprehended in the last two weeks. . . . In Hesse special road blocks have been set up to check identities. It is illegal for minors to cross without special permission." (N. Y. Times, 7/28.) Hundreds reached Berlin seriously wounded by rifle, bayonet and truncheon.

Perhaps the worst single instance of terror occurred in Innsbruck, Austria, where two thousand French and British youth were "detained" by U.S. occupation forces with bayonets.

BUT delegates from all over the world were determined to reach Berlin. And many thousands succeeded, through great heroism and personal sacrifice.

Hundreds of people stranded in western Europe slipped across borders without visas. Delegates from Asia and Africa eluded foreign imperialist troops stationed in their countries. In French-occupied parts of Viet Nam and in South Korea, young people had to get through battle lines before they could make their way in safety to Berlin.

The daring and heroism of these people was exemplified by several groups of West Germans. In one instance, when a train passed close to the East-West border a few hundred youths pulled the emergency brakes, leaped from the train and sprinted across to the other side. On a boat in the Baltic Sea the captain heard the cry "Man overboard." There was no man overboard before he gave the order to stop the boat, but as soon as it came to a halt the water was filled with young West Germans swimming toward the Eastern shore.

Those who attacked the Peace Festival would have us believe that the young people in Berlin and the millions they represented were all "dupes of the Kremlin." But these people have displayed, through their feats of daring, heroism and determination, that they are not blind automatons. They are brave, thinking people fired by a passionate, self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of world peace. It is for this that they have been attacked.

Despite the verbal attacks and the terror, the Peace Festival in Berlin was a magnificent success. Twenty-five thousand delegates joined two million young Germans in a colorful and dramatic display of international friendship and solidarity. Those who plot war have cause

to shudder at the vigorous unity for peace represented at the Festival. We American students, who need and desire peace, must grasp the hand extended to us at Berlin by the youth of the world.

OKLAHOMA

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the issue and weaken the common fight.

Second, in addition to letters, columns and resolutions, the students must express, through various forms of *organized activity*, their opposition to the oath.

Third, protests should be encouraged outside the campus, notably among labor unions and others directly affected by the oath.

And last, support must be given the courageous Oklahoma students by students from all over the country. This is our fight too, and if it is won our own academic freedom will be more secure. If it is lost, then we too may soon become victims of a Loyalty Oath.

With unity and organized action there is every reason for confidence in victory at Oklahoma. We have the inspiring example of California. There, after fourteen months of struggle, the united protest of students and teachers brought nullification of the state loyalty oath.

In the past few years, the students of Oklahoma University have helped win great victories over jimcrow segregation. Given the united will to resist thought control and repression, they can beat the Loyalty Oath too.

GENERATION OF JELLYFISH

(Continued from page 11)

in education of being people with ambitions of "puny proportions" and of "making a mockery of those who came before us and carved out a great nation"? Do you believe that the thousands of students who have formed themselves into peace committees across the country, who have participated in peace actions, signed peace petitions — who have done all these things at a time when to stand for peace is a crime punishable by imprisonment—"are a sterile assembly of prisoners of orthodoxy?"

Certainly, nobody can accuse such students of being jellyfish. These students have proved by word and deed that they act in the tradition of students of the past who have made such important contributions to the development of our country's democratic heritage.

But what, may we ask, have you the

editors of the *Athenaeum* done to show that *you* are not jellyfish or, even worse, smug and self-righteous dilettantes in the problems of students? What have you done concretely, by word and deed, to preserve peace in our time, to defend academic freedom against the encroachments of the Smith and McCarran Laws, to destroy the stench of jimcrow on the campuses, to guarantee not only the right of students of the most impoverished classes to go to school but also to create the conditions where they can find constructive occupations to apply what they have learned?

What are you prepared to do on these questions?

Sincerely yours,

Editors, *New Foundations*

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OKLAHOMA WITCH-HUNT

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS FIGHT BACK

The Loyalty Oath has descended on Oklahoma University. Last spring the state legislature enacted a law requiring teachers—along with other state employees—to sign an oath disclaiming any taint of Communism. Alternative to signing was dismissal from the university.

Three years ago a similar oath was defeated by powerful popular protests; a petition was signed by 1500 students and teachers. But in 1951, in the midst of the Korean War and nationwide witch-hunts, it has become law. Principal support came from the American Legion.

Like all so-called loyalty oaths, the Oklahoma oath masqueraded as simply anti-Communism. But it aimed at more. It aimed at *all* free thought, at the right of teachers to disagree with and criticize government policy. Oklahoma U. had previously been the scene of a notably successful struggle to admit Negroes to the graduate school. A campaign was beginning for admission of Negro undergraduates. This sort of thing could not be tolerated by the legislature, which had fought tooth and nail to maintain the *status quo* of jimcrow segregation. The purpose of the Loyalty Oath was to frighten students and teachers into silence on such "controversial" issues.

* * *

First reaction to the oath came from an English instructor, Richard A. Bodge, who wrote a letter to the student paper, *The Oklahoma Daily*:

... Any intimidation or coercion by the state is a violation of civil rights and personal integrity.

... this "harmless" oath may be the first step in a long line of restrictions upon the "academic freedom" and personality of the individual.

In response Elmer Fraker, state adjutant of the American Legion, declared:

We of the American Legion sponsored the bill and we consider it treason for anybody to support Russia or Communism. ... The purpose behind this bill was to smoke out such people (as Mr. Bodge). ...

Most students who expressed themselves vigorously opposed the oath. *The Oklahoma Daily* was deluged with scores of letters denouncing the oath as

a threat to free speech. In a random poll of fourteen students, the *Daily* found thirteen opposed. Editor Leif Olsen wrote:

... Our forefathers fought to provide the American people with the freedom to protest against government and to criticize government. The American Legion wants to violate the constitution. ...

And the campus chapters of YMCA and YWCA declared:

... we are opposed to control of any thought by the state, feeling that it sets a precedent which could eventually lead to even greater thought controls. ...

Students for Democratic Action denounced the oath as "a dangerous infringement of freedom of thought and expression guaranteed by the 'Bill of Rights' ..." and an "attempt at government control of education." Wesley Foundation and the American Association of University Professors also attacked the oath. At a forum the students in attendance stood overwhelmingly against the oath. And many teachers openly declared they would not sign.

But over the opposition of students and teachers, the law was passed. Teachers and other employees were fired for refusing to sign.

The struggle of the students of Oklahoma U. against the Loyalty oath was one of the most significant student actions of recent times. In the face of political terror, teachers risked their careers and students risked school and future jobs, in order to protect their democratic right of free speech.

And in the heroic struggle waged unsuccessfully last spring they sowed the seeds of a *victorious* struggle in the near future. What is needed now is a three-pronged attack on the oath: Demand that the State Supreme Court, before which the oath is being challenged, declare it unconstitutional. Fight for immediate repeal by the legislature. Prevent further dismissals on campus.

Students of many views can unite on the appeal of the YWCA and YMCA:

... we invite all students and citizens of the state of Oklahoma to join with us in protest against this law, and we urge them to press for its immediate repeal.

How can victory be achieved over the Loyalty Oath? First, through *unity* of purpose among all who would defend free speech. Those who applaud the anti-Communist *aim* of the oath confuse

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"As a member of our faculty you will be respected. ... Of course there is a minor oath. ... Swear you will teach the world is flat, no other countries exist except the United States, that blood is not Red ... etc. Your lectures must be submitted for approval one month before they are delivered to the class."—From "The Oklahoma Daily."