

VOLUME V, NUMBER 2

new foundations

PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

TWENTY CENTS



In this issue: **GENOCIDE, U.S.A. • UMT: PEOPLE WIN A ROUND
THE NEGRO IN HOLLYWOOD FILMS • IMPERIALISM**
and a Special Supplement on International Student Unity



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.

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ABOUT OUR COVER:

This cover is an original drawing by Robert Braun. It was done to show the genocidal murder of Dr. and Mrs. Harry Moore. It depicts Negro and white people fighting against this in the best traditions of that great Negro Abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass.

STUDENTS PROTEST HARVARD CROSS-BURNING

ON the night of February 6th, a cross was burned in the yard of Harvard University. The act took place in the corner of the Yard Dorms that house nine Negro freshman students. The nine Negro students live in several rooms together.

For ten days this incident symbolizing racism was hushed. The *Harvard Crimson* had a reporter at the scene of the event. It knew the identity of the perpetrators of the act, two students from Alabama—yet not a printed word from the *Crimson*. The college proctor of one of the freshman dorms 'lectured' the cross-burners the next day, yet not one statement of condemnation came from the Harvard Administration.

Letters came to the *Crimson*, but were not printed. Finally, ten days later, under threat of a mass leaflet, the *Harvard Crimson* printed a letter of condemnation from two Negro freshmen. Alongside this was a short, nebulous editorial.

The response was spontaneous. The following day the *Boston Post* had its main article with banner head-lines, condemning the act of the flaming cross. At the University an *ad hoc* committee was set up of Negro and white, freshmen and upper-classmen. A delegation visited the Dean of Men asking for an explanation of the silence of the administration and demanding action. The

committee drafted a petition condemning the act. Eleven organizations endorsed it including the Young Republican Club and Harvard Liberal Union.

The *Harvard Crimson*, which by its silence became a party to this act of racism, began to pay attention to the campaign. It, with the Harvard Liberal Union, an organization that refused to initiate a campaign because the act was "just a prank" and "should be hushed up," began to realize the mass proportions of the campaign. The result: the *Crimson* and Harvard Liberal Union alternated in playing down the mass and spontaneous character of the movement, played it up as just another Harvard Liberal Union activity. The evidence: various articles in the *Crimson* characterizing the *ad hoc* committee's petition as a Harvard Liberal Union one—the articles portrayed the *ad hoc* committee as an insignificant factor in the movement.

In less than a week over 130 newspapers nationally and internationally had taken up the incident. The Dean of Freshmen reported receiving thousands of letters from people throughout the world.

IT was within this framework that results began to occur. The first day the

petition of condemnation was out on the campus over 450 names were collected. The same evening the administration announced that the perpetrators of this racism had been put on probation. A limited victory had been won. But the Harvard Liberal Union, seizing on this concession of the administration, was successfully able to kill off the petition. During this same period, the *Harvard Law School Record*, weekly paper of the Law School, in a short editorial sharply attacked the burning of the cross. The Harvard Society for minority rights had a special article in its newsletter condemning the act. Women students at Radcliff College began to support the movement by letters demanding action from the Harvard administration.

Harvard University, considered by many to be the best representative of higher learning in the United States, has become affected by the national pattern of Genocide against the Negro people. Harvard students have indicated the way to fight back. Against this cancerous growth in our country and on our campuses, feeding on the virus of white supremacy and brutality generated by the Korean war, the united movement of all students must wipe out every manifestation of genocide, white supremacy and discrimination from the campus.

THE HARVARD INCIDENT

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SIGNAL OF NEW DANGERS ON THE CAMPUS

By THE EDITORS

THE burning of a cross at Harvard University should arouse the indignation of all democratically minded students in our country. This violent act was not only an attempt to intimidate nine Negro students. It was also an effort to impose on all Harvard students, Negro and white, the system of lynch terror that is characteristic of the KKK. It was a warning of the crime that racists plan to perpetrate on decent minded students in universities throughout our country.

The burning of the cross at Harvard represents something new. Never before in the 300 year history of the school has such a violent white supremacist act taken place.

If a cross is burned at Harvard today, it is no accident. The way for such intimidation was prepared by the Administration, our state department, by the bipartisans in Congress who are pursuing a policy of murder, pillage and rape in Korea. The fiery cross at Harvard was a reflection of the houses, schools, hospitals and human beings burned by the deadly napalm bombs. The incident at Harvard is above all a product of the contempt for the lives of colored peoples throughout the world which is today the official policy of the ruling circles of our country.

Responsibility for this act must also be placed with the Harvard administration. The complicity of the Harvard administration is revealed by its failure to forcefully punish the two Klan minded students who burned the cross, by the fact that for ten days it tried to hush up the case. Only the pressure of Negro and white students at Harvard and protests from thousands of people in our country and throughout the world forced it to take the weak action of putting the students on probation.

The administration at Harvard and the big businessmen and generals who compose the Board of Overseas helped to prepare the way for the cross burning by maintaining a quota system that limits the enrollment of Negro students to little more than a score and by following jimcrow hiring practices which permit only two Negro teachers on Harvard's immense faculty.

There are undoubtedly some students in this country—some who consider themselves very liberal indeed—who, like the *Harvard Crimson* would wink their eye at this, who would with apparent sophis-

tication, pass it off as a mere "sophomoric prank." But the matter cannot be settled so easily. For this act of Klan terrorism follows on the heels of the legal lynching of Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, Paul Washington; it takes place after Cicero and Cairo; it takes place after the murder of Samuel Shephard and the near murder of Walter Irvin; it takes place after the bestial murder by bombing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moore. It takes place in an atmosphere of genocide in which every day reveals some new terror, brutality and murder against the Negro people in our country.

The burning of the cross at Harvard represents a new level of attack against the rights of Negro students in education. It is the bringing of the policy of genocide onto the campuses. It follows the brutal beating of a Nigerian student studying at the University of Chicago; the burning of a cross outside the dorm of a white student newspaper editor in Mississippi who favored the admission of Negroes to the graduate division of his school; the violent attacks on the right of Negro school children to an equal education in Cairo, Illinois. It marks the beginning of a stage in which white supremacists are beginning to resort to open violence on the campuses.

SOME students will try to retreat to their ivory towers and say that as far as education is concerned, things are getting better. They will point to the Supreme Court ruling on the Sweatt and McLaurin cases and the fact that Negro students have been admitted to some previously jimcrow graduate schools. But the claim that "the walls are tumbling down" in education is a fiction created by the ruling class to cover up its bloody deeds. It is ridiculous to believe that outside the universities lynch terror reigns and inside all is serene!

It is true that by militant struggles, by petitions, legal actions, rallies, demonstrations, marches on state capitals and strikes, Negro and white students supported by all democratically minded sections of the population forced a victory that opened some graduate schools to a few hundred Negro students. It was an important victory and a heroic one. It showed that Negro-white unity can defeat jimcrow. It pointed the way for future struggles. But it by no means ended discrimination. In

our country segregation and the quota system still rule supreme. If this was blurred for a period of time, the refusal of the Supreme Court three times to declare segregation illegal shows that it still upholds the basic system of white supremacy. And men like the former Secretary of State, now Governor of South Carolina, James Byrnes have made it abundantly clear.

THE burning of a cross at Harvard, long considered a symbol of the best in the intellectual life of the United States, symbolizes the extent to which our education has degenerated under the impact of the pro-war offensive. At Harvard and in schools throughout the country, the militarization of the campuses and the assaults on academic freedom have gnawed away at the character and integrity of our educational system. It is almost ironic to note that the administration of Dr. James Bryant Conant, President of Harvard, who has been one of the most vociferous advocates of UMT and who was one of the first to demand that anti-Communist witchhunts be instituted in the schools, is so tenderly coddling the two students responsible for the cross burning, even to the extent of refusing to reveal their identity.

The violent white supremacist attack represented in the cross burning must be repudiated and smashed. Unity of Negro and white students already forced a partial victory by bringing the case out into the open and by forcing the administration to at least put the klan students on probation. Development of such unity on a national scale can impose a complete defeat on the forces of white supremacy.

Clearly there is a necessity for Negro and white students to intensify their efforts on all fronts in the struggle against discrimination on the campuses, to find even more effective ways to unite in the fight for freedom and equality.

Let students all over the country demand that the Klan-bred students from Alabama who burned the cross be expelled from the school as people not fit to be part of a democratic educational community!

Demand that the Harvard administration put an end to its policy of segregating Negro students in the dormitories!

End the quota system at Harvard!

genocide U. S. A.

by Alin Martin



HARRY TRUMAN had nothing to say when Harry Moore was murdered. He was vacationing in Key West when the lyncher's bomb exploded under the white frame house in Mims, ripped through the bedroom of Harry and Harriet Moore and crushed their bodies to death. It is more than three months now since the bomb assassination of the Florida coordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and his wife, but Mr. Truman, self-styled defender of civil rights, has not even cleared his throat. There was a time when the President made a big show of thwarting the Dixiecrats with demagoguery, but today in the face of increased murder of the Negro people, Truman is silent.

But this should give no cause to wonder, for in the United States genocide against the Negro people is the official policy of government itself.

The bomb that killed the Moores was the eighteenth used against Miami Negroes, Jews and Catholics in seven months. A Negro housing project, five Jewish synagogues and a Catholic church had been the targets. The police have arrested no one.

The abundance of evidence in this bomb-assassination exposes the deliberate negligence of Hoover's FBI and the Florida police. In May, one month before the bombings began, the *Miami Daily News* ran the full-page advertisement of a local property owner's association warning that Negroes were not wanted in Miami. Not one of the signatories of this ad—all "leading" white citizens of Miami—have been

questioned by the "law enforcement" officers. Last August when Negro families were first admitted into Carver Village, which has since been bombed three times, motorcades circled the housing project and Klan-led mobs shouted threats. The license numbers of the cars are all known to Miami police. None of the drivers have been investigated for their role in the fascist bombing which followed.

Several unexploded sticks of dynamite were found lying in the street near the Coral Gables Synagogue and the St. Peter and St. Paul Church. These bombs were not even traced to the seller, much less the buyers. NAACP Secretary Walter White handed over to Dixiecrat Governor Warren the names of three local suspects named by Mrs. Moore on her deathbed. To this day not one single arrest has been made in the state of Florida. The Miami police, the State and Federal justice agencies are just as guilty of murder as the Klan lynchers whom they encourage, protect and grant practical immunity from prosecution.

When people like Harry and Harriet Moore stand up for the right of their people to vote, when they call for the sheriffs who murder Negroes to be executed as they deserve—then the white supremacists lynch them, bomb them to death. And the government from the President to the prosecutors, from the Supreme Court to the local cop protect the murderers, whitewash and coddle them in their guilt.

ON December 18, 1951, Paul Robeson, before the United Nations Secre-

tariat in New York and William L. Patterson in the United Nations Palais Chailot in Paris thrust an historic petition before the eyes of the world. *We Charge Genocide*—the Civil Rights Congress Petition charging the government of the United States with the mass murder of the Negro people and offering incontrovertible proof that this charge is true. Genocide—defined at the trial of the Nazi War Criminals at Nuremberg in 1945, defined as international law in the special U.N. Convention adopted December 9, 1948. Genocide—" . . . any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; . . . The following acts shall be punishable: (a) Genocide; (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide; (c) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; (d) complicity in genocide."¹

Seven days after the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) petition to the U.N. opened the festering sore of genocide in the United States and showed it before the world—on Christmas night, Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore were bombed to death. Is there not genocide in the failure of government to jail their killers, to execute the murderers as they deserve? Does not the charge of genocide apply to the failure of government to punish the murderers in

the 3,436 recorded and countless unrecorded lynchings since 1882?

FOUR billion dollars yearly in superprofits is the motive for genocide. \$1,100—the difference in the median wage income between white and non-white wage earners—multiplied 3,500,000 times, by the approximate number of Negro productive workers in agriculture and industry.

The foundation of genocide is economic and its origin is on the land—in the Black Belt where “the Negro population, historically a majority, is larger than the total population of . . . Switzerland or Norway.”²² “Here the American citizen who is a Negro is bound to the soil by a system of virtual peonage and unending debt.”²³ A farmer depressed by tenancy, sharecropping, and the arduous, hopeless routine of the plantation, into hunger and dependency, illiteracy, disease and early death. More than 30,000 Negroes die each year who would not have died if they had been white. The life span of the average Negro is 8 years shorter than the average white’s. Is this not genocide, “. . . inflicting on the group conditions of life . . .” which cannot fail to bring about its destruction in *whole or in part*?

THE conditions of genocide as a policy of government, the economic-political conditions for the profitable oppression of the Negro people are maintained through the device of robbing millions of Americans, especially Negroes, of their vote. “The fact is that only the wealthy, the conservative, and the white supremacists are permitted to vote in the South. . . . This restricted suffrage not only gives reaction . . . control of whole states, counties, towns and cities in the South, but . . . preponderant voice and control of the federal government.”²⁴

By the system of poll taxes, white primaries and Ku Klux Klan intimidation and murder, 4,000,000 Negroes as well as 6,000,000 whites are deprived of the vote. “Thus in South Carolina, it took 4,393 voters to elect a representative to Congress in 1946 whereas in Illinois it took 137,677 voters.”²⁵ The South holds the balance of political power in the United States. One hundred twenty-two Southern Congressmen and twenty-six Senators are elected from thirteen Southern states with a voting population just one million more than the voting population of New York State. “The three most powerful committees in the United States Senate are headed by poll-taxers—Foreign Relations by Connally, Armed Services by Russell, Finance by George.”²⁶

Walter Irvin must not die!

WALTER Lee Irvin has been tried and convicted a second time. Florida lynchings murdered Harry Moore and his wife because they were fighting for justice after Irvin’s first conviction. And now Irvin is condemned to death for a second time, in an effort to make the white supremacist pattern of violence and frame-up complete.

Back in July 1949, Irvin and Samuel Shephard, both then 22, and 16-year-old Charles Greenlee were arrested by Florida Sheriff Willis V. McCall and charged with raping a young white housewife. They were convicted in September 1949, Greenlee being given a life sentence and the other two men death.

Even before they had come to trial a fourth Negro “suspect” had been killed by a mob of deputies, and the Negro community of Groveland was attacked with guns and torches. Five hundred families were driven to the woods and six homes were destroyed.

The fight for a fair trial was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. Justice Robert Jackson, in concurring last April 9 with the decision to reverse the verdict, called the conviction “one of the best examples

of one of the worst menaces to American justice.” On the very day that the retrial of Irvin and Shephard was to open, Sheriff McCall, seeking to thwart the U.S. Supreme Court decision, shot and killed Shephard and seriously wounded Irvin as he was transporting them in manacles from prison to court. The Justice Department has made no attempt to indict McCall. And the same Judge Futch who helped to railroad Irvin decided there was no need for a grand jury investigation, after a coroner’s jury declared the burly sheriff had fired “in line of duty and self-defense.”

The death sentence imposed on Irvin for a second time is evidence of the crime of genocide against the Negro people. Even after protests were made at the United Nations General Assembly, the President refuses to act.

Walter Lee Irvin has become a symbol. Since 1886 some 260 Negroes have been lynched in the state of Florida for the maintenance of white supremacy. This is the meaning of the charge of Genocide. Walter Lee Irvin must not become another victim.

demand freedom

1. Write, or wire, Governor Fuller Warren.
2. Write, or wire, President Truman.
3. Demand that your Congressman raise protest.
4. On campus: Circulate petitions, pass resolutions, ask the faculty to take action.

The logic of genocide, here as always, is simple. Genocide profits the white monopolists, \$4,000,000,000 in superprofits every year. The disfranchised Negro citizens and the poor-white citizens with whom they could unite would hold the balance of power in the South were they permitted to vote. Their vote could sweep the Dixiecrats from office. They could vote the Ku Klux Klan and the other “legal” instruments of murder and terror out of existence. They could vote for land reform, for fair employment practices, for housing and health facilities, for schools and equal education, for Negro and white representatives, judges, senators, mayors, governors and for full citizenship. They could vote for Peace as the only means to make all this possible. There is nothing the war bent trusts of Wall Street fear more than Peace, the equality of the Negro people and the unity of Negro and white.

THESE are some of the facts and the truth of genocide in the United States. “The genocide of which we complain is as much a fact as gravity. The whole world knows of it. The proof is in every day’s newspapers, in every one’s sight and hearing . . .” “. . . the Negro people desire equality of opportunity in this land where their contributions to the economic, political and social development have been of splendid proportions, and in quality second to none. They will accept nothing less, and continued efforts to force them into the category of second-class citizens through force and violence, through segregation, racist law and an institutionalized oppression, can only end in disaster for those responsible.”²⁸

The lynchings and the perpetrators of genocide must be answered—blow for blow. The people, including students, have the power to avenge the murder of

(Continued on page 21)

UMT: THE PEOPLE WIN A ROUND

by Jack Cohen

THE designs of the Truman administration for war, their immorality, their utter disregard for the wishes of the American people, their willingness to sacrifice a whole nation for the sake of profits was clearly shown in their latest proposal, a bill calling for universal military training. This bill was overwhelmingly defeated in the House of Representatives, because the masses of American people recognized the dangers involved if it were ever to become implemented. But while this defeat is a tremendous victory for the peace loving people of the country and of the rest of the world, we should not be lulled into thinking that the danger of militarization is over. UMT is still a threat and only the continued efforts of all sections of the population will be able to bury it forever. This is an election year, and pressure must be placed on all candidates to come out against total militarization of American youth by UMT, an extension of the draft, or anything else that the warmakers have in mind.

The attempt to push through UMT was not "coincidental" with the boosting of General Eisenhower as the next President of the United States. The ruling class of this country is determined to militarize the entire nation and thus sacrifice our youths in the various colonial wars of other capitalist nations besides our own, and in the final attempt to start a war with the Soviet Union.

But the people saw through the phony gestures and red-baiting. They saw UMT as another step closer to world war. In spite of the support it got from a reactionary minority, largest of which was the American Legion, the majority—the AFL, CIO, New York Board of Rabbis, clergymen of all denominations and the American Friends Service Committee, the National Education Association, the American Association of Colleges and the youth and students of America, managed to defeat UMT.

But the merchants of death are still insistent on making UMT permanent, national policy—a policy which would make the whole nation a military state. This policy is designed not only as the biggest move toward militarization yet seen in

this country, but as the greatest move yet seen to propagandize the nation in the spirit of fascism.

THE proponents of the bill for UMT rant and rave about this being a bill for peace not for war, but the facts belie them. They don't want peace. According to General Dwight D. Eisenhower: "War gives man the higher feeling which you get when you participate in a common effort, a feeling which is in absolute contradiction with the petty fear and the miserable ambition only to strive for a certain degree of social security."

This is what is embodied in the National Security Training Commission upon which the House Armed Services Committee based its proposals for Universal Military Training. This bill would have required all eighteen-year-olds to enter military training camps for six months after which they would be required to serve in the active reserves for seven and one-half years. If this bill were passed it would have meant an entire nation in arms, it would have meant an army large enough to attempt to carry out the program for world conquest.

Both UMT and the Draft were perpetrated in order to carry out the same plan. But make no mistake, UMT is not merely a substitute for the draft. If permitted to become law in the future, the proposal of the Commission would mean that each year 800,000 eighteen-year-olds would be trained by the military. Thus, during the summer of 1959 there would be 11,900,000 men in army training camps.

So this is the kind of future that our war makers are planning for American youth. They are planning a future of death and destruction because war is the only way in which they can make huge profits.

They talk about "duty to country" but the American youth and the American public were not fooled, and shall not be fooled in the future. In a recent article in the *New York Times* General Lewis B. Hershey admitted that there are twelve million men eligible for the draft, and eleven million are reluctant to serve. This is the "great shame" of America.

But just what does this "duty to country" and "good citizenship" mean army style?

Let's look at the record of our military men. Good citizenship means to them a segregated army. Good citizenship means training white inductees in the spirit of jimcrow color line and in the spirit of white supremacy. It means inducting young Negro men into a jimcrow army to face the type of brutality exhibited by the military when they send and are still sending Negro troops to fight the most dangerous battles, and then frame them with phony courts martial challenging their bravery. It means training in the spirit of destroying whole villages in Korea. This is the training which young people will receive. And who are the men who are training our youth? One important air force man who is training youth is General Schreiber, a Nazi butcher who experimented with humans by injecting germs into them. We certainly can be doubtful as to the democratic character and purposes of this militarization. The Nazi barbarians have succeeded in teaching us only of their own degeneracy and ability to wantonly murder and kill.

The proponents of UMT further stated that they feel the trainee will return to civilian life morally sounder than when he entered. How naive do they think the American people are? Since when are the armed forces a greenhouse for the flowering of morality? Since when does UMT or the draft guarantee a ticket home? For thousands of our youth lying dead in Korea it was strictly a one way ticket—and for the millions more who would have entered military service if UMT was passed, there would be no guarantees. The only guarantee to life and morality is peace. And the American people recognized this, and that is why through their united effort they were able to defeat UMT in the first round of the struggle. But the advocates of UMT have not abandoned their plans. Only the continual vigilance and protest of all sections of the people will effectively kill UMT forever.

WHAT UMT would mean to youth is years of insecurity. It would mean that young people can forget about looking for permanent jobs, forget about learning trades. They may be called into the army at any time. There are almost



no deferments for dependency. This would put working class and Negro youth in a particularly bad situation since most must help support their families.

Students would be disastrously affected by UMT. It would make it impossible for most students to attend college. Training for a profession would have no meaning when students have only the army to look forward to, and many would be used as officers to train men for murder. A total war economy, such as would result from UMT, would further make the major job of college men and women that of producing for war. Engineers would be engaged in producing bombs and guns and tanks for destruction. Teachers would be preparing young men for the army, and doctors would get their training in combat. With a whole nation engaged in war production, civilian jobs would be at a minimum. What UMT would in effect do is keep all the youth of the nation at the war-makers' beck and call.

College students are finding it increasingly difficult to continue their education with the threat of the draft hanging over their heads. How can anyone consider a permanent profession, marriage, or any sort of settled life when he may be called upon for active duty at any moment until he reaches the age of twenty-six? The answer given to those questions involving security for youth, that UMT will make

the draft unnecessary, that there will be no overseas duty, is utter nonsense. UMT would mean participation in the active reserves for seven and one-half years. During this period a youth may be called on for active duty any time our military see fit in Viet Nam, Malaya and other countries. Now let us look at the financial side of UMT. What would it have cost the American public if it was permitted to pass, and if it is allowed to be revived in the future. The estimated cost for the first year's UMT would be \$4,187,983,600 with an annual recurring cost of \$2,158,746. This adds that much more on to the burden levied upon the American people in the form of taxes. This money taken from the people's labor will go for armaments instead of for schools which remain without funds, when educational standards are sinking. In the school year 1947-48 our public institutions spent \$708 per student for education. UMT would cost an estimated \$2,700 for each trainee. We would have a situation here where government money is not being spent for young people's education—but for war and death.

UMT must be seen for what it is. It is a bill designed to promote war, a bill which rests on the assumption that war is inevitable. "If there ever was a policy of fear," states Rep. O. K. Armstrong (R-Mo.) "of helplessness and hopelessness, this is it."

BUT the majority of Americans opposed this bill. They opposed this "helplessness and hopelessness." The majority of American people have so far waged a successful struggle against it. Some seventy organizations representing millions throughout the country, spoke out against this bill at committee hearings and were very influential in its temporary defeat. As the facts are brought to college students, there is a steady rise of opposition on the campuses. The debate at the University of Minnesota at which the Reverend Wilber Grose, advisor to the

Campus Methodist Student Association, stated that, "History plainly shows the failure of universal military training". The delegation organized by the American Youth Peace Crusade representing many campus peace organizations which went to Washington on February 26 to oppose the bill, the Greater Boston Students against UMT, formed by the students at Boston University and Harvard University, the rally against UMT sponsored by the YPA and Students for World Peace on the CCNY campus, all represent examples of student opposition.

Yes, the youth and students of our country are beginning to learn all about UMT, and they want none of it. They want none of this "military future" which is nothing more than a bottomless pit. They want to work, to study—to live their lives fully and completely. They don't want to fight any "phony" war or so-called "police action." They don't want to kill anyone and they don't want to be killed themselves. And all over the country they have united to defeat UMT.

But the advocates of war have not abandoned their plans for Universal Military Training. Representative Carl Vinson (D-Ka.) of the House Armed Services Committee was recently reported to be busy drafting a new universal military training bill to submit to Congress before adjournment. The American people must continue to wage a relentless struggle against any and all forms of UMT. We must not be caught off our guard. Only constant vigilance and protests will keep the threat of all-out militarization from becoming a reality.

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE
Published by Civil Rights Congress
(1951). Price \$1.00.

This petition, presented to the UN by William L. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the CRC, documents the brutal record of crimes by the U.S. government against the Negro people since 1945.

We urge every student to study the petition and condemn this practice.

FREEDOM NOW

A CRITIQUE OF GRADUALISM

by Robert Joiner

WHEN a white Mississippi youth is requested to speak at an N.A.A.C.P. Convention, and his speech is reprinted in the magazine *Crisis*, official organ of the National executive board, the event and the words deserve serious attention. The article, in the October, 1951 issue, entitled "A Southern Youth Views Educational Inequality in the South," is written by Alvin Krebs, former student of Mississippi University and editor of the student newspaper.

Why the invitation? Because Mr. Krebs had dared to suggest editorially, in his school paper, that Negroes be admitted to the University's graduate school. This, as a means of carrying out his theory that the answer "to the problem of improving the economic and social plight of the Negro in the South was to be found *first in education.*" There were two reactions to Krebs' recommendation. The school administration immediately dissociated themselves from the views, and the infamous Rankin, supported by the Dixiecrat press, termed the editorial paid for by "Communist money." On the other hand, several white editors of other school papers supported Krebs until they were intimidated by their administrations. The sentiment of the Mississippi student body was expressed when only 45 out of 3,000 signed a petition for his removal from the paper and a resolution in the student council to this effect was defeated. Further, Krebs was elected to the University's Hall of Fame. A cross-burning under his window and a threatened beating were repulsed by fellow students in Krebs' dorm.

AT the basis of Krebs' understanding is the belief that the Negro question is a "moral" problem, that racism is a reflection of tendencies toward prejudice within the white individual which grow out of the "objective situation." That is, that Negroes are "not as good as whites," and that they have not proved themselves. Therefore, says Krebs, the first task is for Negroes to improve themselves. We should support "educational equality" in

order to "instil into whites a respect for Negroes who had done well because they had been given educational opportunity." ". . . *Intelligent whites will begin to accept Negroes and give them the rights they deserve under the law, when they note that Negroes have improved themselves educationally and economically.*" [My emphasis—R.J.]

Mr. Krebs, the Negro people are not waiting for you, or whites generally, to give us our rights. It is not yours to give in the first place.

The history of three hundred years of struggle for freedom is ample testimony to the fact that there has been no waiting. The fight for the entrance of Negro students to the lily-white schools of higher learning is an important fight and should be supported. Not for Mr. Krebs' reasons but as part of the general struggle for the rights of the Negro people.

Further, let it be known now, to all those concerned, we do not have to prove ourselves, or improve ourselves, to whites in order to gain freedom.

Mr. Krebs' plantation patronism is exceeded only by his complete ignorance of reality (and I'm giving him the benefit of the doubt as to his honesty). Krebs says that education will mean better, more high paying jobs for Negroes. Apparently he believes, in his ivory tower, that the denial of education to Negroes is based upon *bad* attitudes in the mind, that the heart is being misled, rather than recognizing that this denial is part of the entire system of oppression which seeks to maintain a cheap source of labor!

This is the obvious contradiction, without even mentioning the fact that the entire system of economic exploitation makes it difficult for most Negro families to keep their children in school for more than a few years.

THE Negro question in the United States is agrarian in origin," states Harry Haywood in his book

Negro Liberation. "It involves the problem of a depressed peasantry living under a system of sharecropping, riding boss supervision, debt slavery, chronic land hunger and dependency. In short, the plantation system, a relic of chattel slavery." . . . "Slave whipping barbarism at the center of 'enlightened' twentieth-century capitalist culture—that is the core of America's 'race' problem." The drive for greater profits is responsible for the maintenance of the system of super-exploitation and its major mind-warping propaganda line—racism. That's why Mr. Krebs was called 'Communist' by Rankin, the protector of the vaults. The money belt is the most sensitive part of a banker's anatomy—touch it at any point and it reacts.

We are forced into city ghettos, and their rural equivalents, to the benefit of the real estate interests who charge exorbitant rentals. We are deprived by law in the South, and by "subtler" means in the North, of adequate medical care. Forced into segregated, inadequate schools, jimcrow theatres, restaurants, jimcrow housing, and finally jimcrow cemeteries.

These conditions of life are deliberately perpetuated through force and violence, bomb murders and legal lynchings, the poll tax and denial of education as means of stopping the right to vote. This policy has kept our enemies in political office year after year and has compounded the system of oppression. Had we the vote, we, along with our allies amongst the disfranchised poor-whites, would vote the criminal servants of the rich out of their Governorships and Police Commissionerships and Presidencies.

OBVIOUSLY, in the light of these conditions, the road to progress lies primarily in the struggle against the roots, not the branches. Mr. Krebs would have us wage our major campaign against the branches and gradually change things. Were we to do this, his conclusion that "the day of the abolition of segregation is far off" would be a gross understatement.



by Robert Braun

If ten Negro youth were to be admitted to graduate schools every day it would take over 3,000 years to achieve freedom. The advocacy of the "gradualist" policy boiled down is essentially this, and Mr. Krebs states it: "the wounds of time" and the Civil War were bitter pills for the white supremacists to swallow. It has left a lasting impression which only time can heal. So, take it easy Negro people, don't fight too hard, don't press for too much at once. Do things easy-like so that whites could get accustomed to it a little at a time. The mind works that way.

Gradualism is an enemy of the Negro people. The theory has the objective effect of slowing down struggle, of splitting white people away from unity with the Negro people by encouraging pessimism and fatalism about the possibility of victory now. It considers the *feelings* of the reactionary, KKK-minded whites before the *lives* of Negroes. It places the main blame on the individual white and hides the source of this ideology—the super-profiters. Lastly, it serves to delude the Negro people, disparage our heroic struggle and postpone the day of our complete liberation.

The historic petition to the U.N. charging the U.S. Government with the crime of Genocide against the Negro people has this to say about the use of the "gradualist" theory: "This concept of gradual evolutionary improvement of the plight of the Negro people has been

held in the U.S. for over three hundred years—but increasingly Negroes are subject to mass murder, segregation, and discrimination on the basis of race. Gradualism flourished particularly during the 200 years of slavery . . . but the institution, constantly increasing in size and power, was not extirpated until the Civil War, when it was done suddenly rather than gradually."

To support his gradualist theory, Mr. Krebs states that "like the walls of Jericho, the walls of intolerance and injustice are tumbling down in the South." The proof? "Already in a bloodless revolution among southern colleges, Negroes attend classes with white students in 12 of 17 states that have heretofore insisted on segregation in education." What Mr. Krebs neglects to mention is that in every one of these colleges, the Negro students along with their white allies had to wage major campaigns including student demonstrations, carrying the case to the Supreme Court.

Further, the C.R.C. petition on Genocide cites documentary evidence that the crimes against the Negro people have been on the increase since 1945, and that they have taken a sharper turn upward since the outbreak of the Korean war, against all colored peoples. For every Negro youth entering school, hundreds have been forced to leave because of the rising cost of living due to the war economy, and the disproportionate number of Negro youth drafted into the armed forces. What this brutal pattern calls for is not timidity and gradualism, but boldness and strength on all fronts in order to break through for freedom now.

MR. Krebs wishes the N.A.A.C.P. success in its pending campaign for the admission of Negroes to the professional schools in Mississippi. If it should fail he says it will be because of the C.R.C. who used "scare tactics" in attempting to save the life of Willie McGee, murdered by the state of Mississippi in its portable electric chair. In spite of all the evidence proving McGee's innocence Krebs feels that he was guilty but that the death penalty was "unfair."

Only through the heroic efforts of the C.R.C. and Mrs. McGee was he given reprieves for 5 years. But since it was a "left wing organization" . . . "and only cared to stir up hatred throughout the world," the C.R.C. alienated the "good people" like himself. He (Krebs) wanted to help McGee "and all oppressed men" so badly that he agreed to the frame-up, did

nothing, and now red-baits the organization which struggled to save McGee's life. That's a good one.

He continues and "advises" the N.A.A.C.P. to continue its struggles in the "dignified" manner that it has in the past and commends the organization for working "quietly" and "conscientiously." He suggests that they "restrict" their "efforts to the courts" and refuse the support of left wing organizations. (Perhaps the same courts that framed Willie McGee.) Imagine that! A white man telling the Negro people how, and with whose support, we should or should not struggle. Krebs actually calls for the pitting of Negro against Negro, a splitting policy which can only serve the enemies of the Negro people.

UNLIKE Mr. Krebs I, a young Negro man, advocate the fullest type of democratic mass activity to achieve the immediate goals of: the vote now for Negro representation in Congress and on the Court benches, anti-lynch legislation with the death penalty for the guilty now, for an end to segregated education—for the admission of Negro students to white under-graduate as well as graduate schools—now. We Negro people demand land reform and an end to the oppressive "modern" plantation system. The program of the National Negro Labor Council for 100,000 new jobs for Negroes and for 1,000,000 signatures on a petition for F.E.P.C. forms another part of our major plan for freedom now.

This action must involve all the Negro people, and their true white allies, be they "red fronts, green fronts, or black fronts." World history demonstrates to Mr. Krebs, and all other white Americans, the necessity of joining with the Negro people and the other oppressed peoples of the world, who have one by one broken from the imperialist yoke, in our march for freedom. The author *invites* Mr. Krebs; but does *not ask his permission*, to join *our* (the Negro people's) program, recognizing that the freedom of all Americans is inextricably interwoven with that of the Negro people; that the oppression of the Negro people is part of, and in many ways prepares the way for, an attack on all other sections of the nation.

This is the historic epoch of peoples' liberation victories all over the earth. China, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Morocco and Israel are some examples.

We Negro people are part of this rushing current, and we shall be free in *this historic generation*.

IMPERIALISM

by Herbert Weiss

ECONOMIC BASIS
OF UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

OFFICIAL statements concerning the foreign policy of the U.S. government speak in lofty, self-righteous tones of "American moral leadership." On October 25, 1945, President Truman stated: "We seek no territorial aggression nor selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small."

And the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg uttered the pronouncement: "American imperialism? Frankly, I think it's simply silly. . . . Everybody with a grain of sense ought to know we plan no conquests anywhere, that we ask only 'justice' and the 'open door' and 'democratic good will' and peace around the world."

Both these gentlemen may be regarded as politicians, more or less bound to respect public opinion. Now let us consider one further statement made by a less inhibited practitioner in the field, the late General Smedley D. Butler: "I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force, the 'Marine Corps'. . . . And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short I was a racketeer for capitalism. Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916."

The practice of United States foreign policy certainly would appear to be at variance with its stated objectives. And there is good reason for this discrepancy. The reason lies in the fact that the United States is an imperialist country, indeed the world's dominant imperialist power.

IMPERIALISM has an economic base in the growth of monopoly in the United States. During the latter half of the nineteenth century U.S. capitalism underwent a rapid process of centralization. Large-scale industrial production, made possible by technological advances, required the investment of greater and greater amounts of capital. Ruthless competition—an initial feature of the system—led to

hundreds of thousands of business failures and vast enrichment for a few. Through this process economic power, ownership and control of the country's wealth and resources, became concentrated in the hands of a few large corporations called monopolies. By 1890 monopoly had begun to dominate fully the national economy.

In the years since, monopolistic control of economic life has become the main characteristic of U.S. society. By 1939 the report of the Temporary National Economic Commission revealed:

1—1/10 of 1% of all corporations owned 52% of the total corporate assets of the United States.

2—1/10 of 1% of all corporations earned 50% of total corporate net profits.

During World War II the process of industrial and financial concentration was accelerated. Thirty percent of all war contracts went to ten corporations.

The years 1890-1950 witnessed the merger of industrial and bank capital. Outstanding is the control of U.S. Steel, General Electric and General Motors by J. P. Morgan's First National Bank; control of the aluminum trusts by the Mellon banking interests; control of the Chase National Bank by Rockefeller Oil interests and Metropolitan Life Insurance's ten billion dollars in assets in southern landholdings.

The growth of monopoly and the merging of industrial and bank capital are one of the basic features of imperialism. As this is true of the United States it is also true of England, France and other leading capitalist countries.

WITH the accumulation of large amounts of capital the problem becomes what to do with it. Uninvested capital means loss of profit. In 1898 Senator Beveridge stated frankly:

". . . Fate has written our policy for us. The trade of the world must and shall be ours. And we shall get it as our mother England told us how. . . . Our institutions will follow our trade on the wings of our commerce. And American law, American order, American civilization and the American flag will plant themselves on shores hitherto bloody and benighted by those agencies of God henceforth made beautiful and bright."

Export of capital was the solution found

by big business to the problem of the saturated domestic market and the declining rate of profit. Seizure of economically undeveloped countries provided a vast source of cheap labor and cheap raw materials. Investment in foreign markets has brought super profits. For example, Firestone Rubber averages seven percent profit in the domestic market and twenty-six percent on foreign investments. General Motors averages twenty-five percent profit domestically and eighty percent on foreign markets. Standard Oil of New Jersey averages eleven percent on the home market and thirty-three percent on the foreign market. In 1948, it is estimated, seven and a half billion dollars accrued to U.S. capitalists from super-profits (profits over and above the domestic rate).

Export of capital and the resultant super-profit, therefore, comprise a central feature of imperialism.

In seeking markets for the export of surplus capital, the foreign investors meet with competition from capitalists of other countries. A solution to this problem was attempted through the cartel system. This is a system whereby the industrialists of the U.S., Britain, Germany, France and other capitalist countries agreed to divide the world market in their respective industries. Standard Oil, for example, had a cartel arrangement with I.G. Farben Industrie of Germany prior to World War II.

Cartels, however, do not succeed in eliminating international competition. The insatiable need of the capitalist groups in each country for more and more profits compels them to be at each other's throats constantly, in an effort to gain control of the entire world market in their industry. Every cartel becomes the scene of ruthless struggle among its participants. Thus, while the peoples of the world—including our own—shed their blood in the fight against fascism in World War II, the capitalists of the United States gained control of international markets through the defeat of Germany and Japan.

TO millions of people throughout the world imperialism means economic, political and military domination of their country. In achieving this domination imperialists make use of many forms. The form may be outright ownership as a colony; control of resources through con-

tracts forced upon a weak government; stationing of troops ostensibly to protect lives and property; bribing the rulers of a country into accepting economic advisors with unlimited powers. There are many forms of imperialist control but regardless of form the basic pattern is always the same—control of the national economy, exploitation of people and resources, brutal suppression of all efforts towards independence and freedom. Even though the United States, unlike Great Britain, has often avoided seizing countries as outright colonies, its foreign policy since the 1890's has adhered to the basic imperialist pattern.

Thus, the United Fruit Company dominates to this day most of Central America; Anaconda and Kennicott copper dominate Chile; and Firestone Rubber Company virtually rules Liberia. These are but a few

for which the U.S. taxpayer bore the brunt. The Foreign Policy Association reported: "During the period of U.S. rule from 1906-1946 it is doubtful whether the living standards of the tenants and agricultural laborers registered any marked improvement over the miserable conditions of nineteenth century Spanish rule."

This state of affairs, typical of conditions in U.S. controlled areas, refutes the myth that U.S. imperialism raises living standards. However, it may be argued, at least the U.S. has given colonies their independence without strings attached and without bloodshed. Three revolts in the Philippines in thirteen years ought to dispel the latter misconception. As for the notion that no strings were attached to Philippine independence in 1946, the U.S. Army still maintains twenty-three bases and economic interests such as National

steel plants of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company in Birmingham, Alabama; Dupont interests who control the Allied Chemical and Dye Company, Union Carbide and Carbon Company and the Celonese Corporation of America; Standard Oil (Rockefeller) which has under lease 613,903 acres of land in Alabama.

THESSE are only two examples of U.S. imperialism. In countless others—Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba—the pattern is the same. Control of the economic and political life of the country by U.S. corporations. As a result there is increased poverty in these areas with each successive year of U.S. imperialism.

It is no wonder that President Truman has to resort to hypocritical doubletalk to mask the realities of U.S. foreign policy. Imagine the upsurge of wrath that the President would incur from the American people if he, not Leo Welch of Standard Oil, had said the following:

"American private enterprise is confronted with this choice: It may strike out and save its position all over the world, or sit by and witness its own funeral . . . our foreign policy will be more concerned with the safety and stability of our foreign investments in the future than ever before. The proper respect for our capital abroad is just as important as respect for our political principles. . . ."

The Truman Administration may spend millions or billions of dollars on the Voice of America in order to foster the myth that it stands for freedom and democracy. But all the money in the world cannot possibly mask the brutal exploitation and contempt for humanity that constitute the heart of imperialism.

The system of imperialism as the final stage of capitalist development can and must be understood and fought. The pattern of conquest and domination over the lives and cultures of millions of people all over the world has led to the two most devastating wars mankind has ever witnessed. And the imperialist program of U.S. big business today is the major factor working toward a catastrophic world war.

In a forthcoming article we shall examine the allegation that the Soviet Union pursues a policy of imperialism, in light of our analysis of imperialism. We believe that a clear understanding of the two different economic systems in the world today will aid immeasurably in working out a realistic program for peaceful co-existence between the countries of Capitalism and the countries of Socialism.

We suggest reading *American Imperialism* by Victor Perlo for further information.



examples of widespread United States domination.

One concrete illustration of imperialism is the U.S. control of the Philippines. A war was fought with Spain ostensibly to free Cuba from Spanish exploitation. In the process, the Philippine Islands were conquered. The Filipino people resisted the U.S. troops valiantly for three years.

Following the subjugation of the Philippines, U.S. capitalists used their prize as a source of gold, hemp, sugar and chromium. It also served as a base for further penetration into the Far East, where other imperialists had an edge. The Filipino people insisted on independence and revolted in 1923, 1931 and 1935, necessitating a huge expenditure on troops

City Bank, Goodyear Tire and Standard Vacuum still wield vast political and economic control in the islands.

ONE of the most brutal crimes of U.S. imperialists is the oppression and exploitation of the Negro people within the very borders of the United States. Four billion dollars a year is made from the exploitation of the Negro people. This exploitation is maintained by an official pattern of murder, lynching, denial of the vote, by discrimination in jobs, housing, education, by the spread of the poisonous myth of white supremacy.

Who profits from this oppression? Northern big business. More specifically the Morgan interests who control the huge

HOLLYWOOD has ballyhooed across the land that the current crop of "Negro interest" films are: "honest portrayals" . . . that "hit home" . . . and "pull no punches" . . . etc. If any white American thinks this is so, that Hollywood, after its long, disgraceful history of anti-Negro movies and hiring policies, has suddenly become the champion of the Negro people's struggle for first class citizenship, he should go to the nearest theatre in a Negro community where such a film is being shown, and see just how it is received by the Negro audience. For the Negro people are after all, the *real* critics and experts on the question, and precisely not the hired press agents of the multi-millionaire movie producing concerns.

A white American would find, in any case, bitter-laughter and at other times passionate, collective anger, not at all in the places where the makers of the movie have intended these reactions. And this is why:

There was hope among the Negro people when these films first began to be advertised, that at last, the same Hollywood, which had boasted to the whole world about its "taboo" on films about Negroes, was going to give some treatment of their struggles. And so they went in great numbers to see the first: *Home of the Brave*. And this is what they saw: A Negro soldier on duty in the South Pacific, is almost called an anti-Negro name by a white buddy. This incident, along with the death of his friend, stuns him into a paralysis. He is cured by an Army psychiatrist, who tells him that it is all in his mind. "That he is just like everyone else." He returns to the United States, and pals up with a white ex-GI who wants to go into business with him, in a fine demonstration of Negro-white fraternity, on which the movie ends on.

And when the Negro hero suggested that a partnership with himself would not be easy, because of racism in this country, a white man's answer was to lift an empty sleeve and say that *he too* knows something of this kind of a problem. This then is the equation of the Negro oppressed—a one-armed white man.

Leaving the theatre, a Negro person reflects on what has been said: "Your 'oppression' is in your minds. All you have to do is take your *fifteen millions* to mental-therapists and just let them convince you."

SO here again is the old answer to our charges and protests. We say, for three hundred years in this unfriendly land, we have been brutalized enslaved, cheated of dignity, wages, life and everything but hope itself. We charge it of the *white rulers* of this country. It is they who are guilty, and today because the colored peoples of the world hold the balance of power and are conscious that they do, our protests sound all over the world and make it difficult for the transporters of State Department hypocrisy, so that the *responsible agencies must find a new lie to quiet and confuse the struggle*. Hence, the fable of *Home of the Brave*: the same fable that is elaborated on and taught in our college classrooms, and printed in great volumes by dead-serious "scholars." The new lie in 1951, that is to replace the outmoded open claim of "inferiority" that went

"Your feelings, your deep protests, your great organizations of struggle, your angry eyes, your mighty songs of protest . . . indeed your raised fists across the land, are really, in spite of all we have done to you (lynchings in the night, Harlem and Southside ghettos, empty iceboxes, the hurt in the faces of your children, your gouged and bloody eyes . . .) are nothing more, nothing more than . . . "persecution complexes."

So leaving the theatre, we know that once again in history, our hope has been betrayed. And we almost "expect" *Pinky*, which comes next in the story of:

A fair-skinned young Negro woman who "passes" while she is going to nursing school in the North, where she meets a young white doctor. He wants to marry her until he follows her South and learns that she is a Negro. He becomes discouraged, when she refuses to give up

THE NEGRO IN HOLLYWOOD FILMS

I: FROM THE LIFE OF THE

Lorraine Hansberry is a young Negro poet, journalist, and staff writer for the Negro monthly *Freedom*.

with chattel slavery. Long winded professors and *slick new movie scripts* tell the same vile lie, which emerges in *Home of the Brave*: "The source and the root of Negro oppression, lies in the persecution complex of the Negro. So, why make such a big issue of it? Does not every individual have a problem of some kind? Here for instance, is a *white man* without an arm, and he is a decent fellow, but must we crusade for him? Must we organize meetings and organizations and protest about his one-armedness?"

This is the infamous outrage of an answer given to the Negro people who say: "But we are not discriminated against because of our individual personalities or habits. A Negro is usually lynched by people who have never known him—or her. Those who refuse to hire Negroes, refuse to hire *Negroes*, not individuals. The legislation in the Congress that permits and encourages the Klan and the Poll Tax (and they must be considered 'encouraged' until they are outlawed) is not discriminating against a Negro here and there, but **SOME FIFTEEN MILLION BLACK FOLK**. The *whole* Negro people!" This is why any equation of the Negro question in this country with the individual problems of a white man is senseless. This is why it is an insult and a perpetuation of the hide-the-truth theory to imply, or rather openly say to the Negro people:

her identity as a Negro, just to marry him. The insults to the Negro people in the film pile up. We meet "Aunt Dicey," *Pinky's* grandmother, complete in bandana, who just "loves old Miss Em" who has exploited her all her life. And then there are the scenes of the razor toting Negro woman, and the "shiftless, good-for-nothing, lying" Hollywood-standby-character of a Negro man. Finally the story ends with a great act in a court room, in which justice is awarded to the Negro over whites . . . in the Deep South! This is the supreme insult. Hollywood is making a mockery of one of the most terrible facts of Southern life, where a Negro's chance in the courts is not any shade removed from his "chance" before a howling lynch mob. But Hollywood has no time to indict this truth . . . or indict a system which causes people to "pass" in order to get training, or jobs, or to marry. Rather, the sympathy is aimed at the white supremacist suitor, who just can't bring himself to marry a self-avowed Negro.

As in *Home of the Brave*, there are aspects of even this film that show that Hollywood has felt the pressure of the insistent demands of the Negro people for honest representation: the near-rape scene of the Negro woman, the cheating of Negroes in the local store and a few other things. But this just doesn't outweigh the final feeling the film leaves, which is first of all, Hollywood's absurd

preoccupation with the "passing" theme, which is certainly a mighty low topic in importance among the Negro people themselves. It further indicates that Hollywood hasn't really moved too far since *Imitation of Life*, which never stirred up love for the movie industry among Negroes either. In fact it is interesting that in a sense they have moved backwards, inasmuch as in *Imitation of Life* the similar role given to the white actress Jeanne Crain was at least given to Freddie Washington, a Negro. This is not minor, since, if Hollywood ever really wanted to do a theme close to the hearts of the Negro people and of real importance, it would do something on the great question of un-employment, felt so deeply within the ranks of America's most oppressed. And which certainly includes their artists, actors, dancers and musicians.

it is the highly educated middle-class gentle-folk in the courts who are the friendly, persevering allies of the Negro people. And again it is the Negro people who reject this very lie. While it is true that Negroes know that white supremacist doctrine does often line up white workers with the lynchers—they know beyond that, that it is the "legal" bodies that commit, protect and encourage terroristic outrages on the Negro people both in the North and in the South. Witness: the police at *Cicero and Peekskill, Columbia, Tenn.*, witness the Sheriffs in *Opelousa, La.*, and so bitterly recent—Groveland, Florida. And witness all over the South the open and free functioning of the Ku Klux Klan!

Of course if Hollywood had ever had the remotest intentions of really tackling the problem of anti-Negro violence in a serious way, by no stretch of the imagina-

tionally is: *Negroes should not deceive white people.*

The *Lost Boundaries* story would also have us believe, finally, that the thing that drives Negroes to pass is not oppression from white America at all, but rather, according to the film, the one act of prejudice that is shown against the ambitious young Negro doctor, *is from his own people.* What an ugly lie. Seekers of truth have but to walk into a Negro institution anywhere in America and find Negroes of every hue teaching, administering and learning. In a Negro hospital not only fair skinned Negroes, but white doctors themselves are to be found. In fact if there were any element of importance around the question of Negroes discriminating against Negroes it would be the precise opposite of how it occurred in *Lost Boundaries.* It is *blackness* that has been made despised in America and not the other way around. But it is ridiculous and sinister to make a thematic problem of discrimination among Negroes, while the real enemies of the Negro people, *the white ruling class* in this country, stand so clearly outlined for all the world to see. And it is this point which makes *Lost Boundaries* the most fiercely dangerous of all, for within its story, *is an attack, clear and sharp, directed against the very unity of the Negro people.*

America might laugh at this farce of an attempt if the lives and happiness of such a large percentage of her people were not involved. Indeed, if *her whole people* were not involved. And somewhere, Americans must summon up their collective anger and force Hollywood to take this rudimentary beginning, and to begin to make films that *will have meaning* in advancing the struggles of the Negro people; the formula for such movies would be simple: *reality.*

Once Hollywood is forced to deal with the *real* problems of the Negro people, they will be busy making films about *lynchings* that did come off—or that *can be stopped* by the mass strength of Negro and white all over the country; or about job-hunting when you are black; or house hunting or school hunting, about restaurants, hotels, theatres that do not admit. When Hollywood bosses begin to hire Negro writers to perhaps write the *Harry T. Moore Story* or the *Harriet Moore Story* . . . then, it will answer its own vicious projection of Negro "future" as characterised in its latest title: *No Way Out.*

NEGRO PEOPLE—A WAY OUT

by Lorraine Hansberry

A third film *Intruder in the Dust*, presents us with Lucas Beauchamps, a proud, dignified Negro who is *almost* lynched. The big to-do of the film deals with the inability of a young white Southerner to make his inherent urge toward justice compatible with the white supremacy around him. The result is that he gets a lawyer for Beauchamps, who, according to this fantasy, is freed because: *the evidence is in his favor.* So while the lynch mob goes quietly away, Lucas Beauchamps walks away from the jailhouse, unmolested, in the Carolina dust. This story is from the pen of a notorious son of the South, William Faulkner, who can hardly claim naivete for presenting such an inaccurate picture of the South. This movie beyond all others shows Hollywood's role as a deliberate one: daring to suggest that a lynch mob has a conscience, that it stands about patiently and orderly waiting to see if it will be just or unjust to lynch a Negro; it suggests further that if Beauchamps had been guilty, then . . . *a lynching might have been justified.* And so significant: Nowhere in this film is there the identifying of the real organizers of the usual lynching mobs, the highly organized terrorists: the Ku Klux Klan and the local sheriffs and deputies. Instead, according to *Intruder in the Dust*, the lynch mob is a spontaneous uprising of workingclass whites, and

tion could it have brought itself to select for a beginning the work of Faulkner, who sees in the life of his beloved Southland, something gently fascinating and sensitive. In his eyes, the South is what Hollywood has always fancied it to be in its rich sympathy for the slave system and slave holders. Witness *Gone With the Wind, Birth of A Nation* and *Tennessee Johnson.* It is logical that Hollywood, which portrayed the anti-Negro tyrant Andrew Johnson as a fine, homespun people's hero, could put into to the mouth of a "liberal" white southern attorney in *Intruder in the Dust* the words that the Negro is "our (the middle-class white South's) conscience" . . . modern for: "the white man's burden."

And so by the time the fourth movie is released we know what to expect. We know it is no accident that the consecutive messages of these first films have been: 1) Negroes have no special problem. 2.) There is justice in the South. and 3) Negroes are still "the white man's burden" and nothing more.

THEN comes: *Lost Boundaries*, and things really get ridiculous: A Negro family "lives a lie" for several years and then they are "found out" and promptly ostracised by an indignant town. Until the local Protestant minister makes a kindly sermon one Sunday morning on tolerance, and the whole town forgives *them.* The end. And the 4th point ob-



FOR nearly three weeks last August Berlin was the city of youth from every corner of the world—united in a magnificent Festival of culture, sport, discussion and friendship for peace, the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace.

The Festival was a living refutation of the inevitability of war; it posed before all youth the happy creative life which peace will bring. It brought forth strikingly the broad basis of common interests and desires of all people which can do away with wars. It captured the determination and energy with which young people all over the world are moving toward world peace.

History has never seen such a meeting of youth—26,000 from 104 countries together with 2 million German young people—of all religious, and diverse political beliefs. In the setting of wars already raging, the danger of world war, barriers erected between peoples, deteriorating living, working and studying conditions and the suppression of democratic liberties in many countries, the Festival assumed the most profound importance.

With ringing clarity it revealed that the youth of all nations, upon whom the bitter price of war falls, reject war, demand peace and friendship and will fight together to win these demands. The youth met not as enemies, but to build their friendship and solidarity against a new war. Under the impact of the Festival, barriers between people fell, myths of hatred between nations were demolished, and the future of friendship and cooperation revealed.

By train, ship, bus, plane and foot the youth arrived. Songs and flowers welcomed them to Berlin, indeed the entire German Democratic Republic, beautifully decorated with the flags of all nations, with vivid paintings and posters

of young people of all lands in national costume, with colorful banners proclaiming in a hundred ways the password of the Festival—*Freundschaft*, Friendship let all youth live together in peace!

Symbolizing the cornerstone of the Festival—unity of all people for peace—were the flags of all nations and especially the grouped flags of the Five Great Powers—United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, China and France. The resounding call of the Festival was for negotiations and a Pact of Peace between the Big Five as the first step toward world peace.

Invitations to the Festival had gone to virtually every youth and student organization in the world.

The response was tremendous. From trade unions, peasant unions, schools, churches, factories, farms, artistic groups, sports clubs—they came, representative of the most varied beliefs. To recall but a few—the Italian youth theatre, the best Czech shockworker, heroes of the Chinese liberation struggle, British Conservative students, outstanding Soviet dance groups, African youth dancers, Korean youth from the battlefield, factories and schools, Danish Christian leaders, Iranian peasant youth, the Lyon University choir and French Boy Scout leaders, Austrian and Venezuelan Catholic Youth leaders, Hungarian world champion athletes and our United States delegation of 85 Negro and white members, including a young steelworker from Chicago, a leader of the YWCA, one of the outstanding Negro artists of our country, the editor of the Chicago *Maroon* and the daughter of a lynch victim of the South.

HIGHLIGHTS of the Festival were the hundreds of meetings of delega-

tions—of the Big Five, United States and Korean, French and Vietnamese, British and Malayan, Chinese and Indian, United States and African, and on and on. Delegates exchanged opinions about peace, discussed their struggles for peace and better conditions of life and work, described their lives and activities, established personal friendships, sang, danced, exchanged gifts. From the meetings the delegates emerged arm in arm, more convinced than ever that peace can be won, more determined than ever never to go to war against each other.

The program of the Festival almost precluded sleep for fear something might be missed. Delegations presented national cultural programs throughout each day, sometimes in theatres, sometimes on outdoor stages which dotted the city. The best performers and groups joined in international competitions during which Miss Hope Foye, outstanding young Negro woman singer in our delegation won Second Prize in folk singing. The performances depicting cultural heritage of each people, were a panorama of life and color beautiful beyond anything we had previously seen.

Friendly international sports competitions and the World University Games ran concurrently bringing together thousands of the best young sportsmen. In the University games over 2000 student athletes from 42 countries participated, establishing 42 World University Records and 51 new national records. But one example—an outstanding British university basketball team played a most friendly game with the Korean student champions, symbolizing their determination to end the Korean war and establish peaceful relations between their peoples in which the youth can meet in friendship rather than on the battlefield.

festival of peace

by Michael Ellison

Mr. Ellison is one of the Americans who went to the World Youth Festival.

There were 2,500 students who participated in 13 meetings of students in different fields of study with German students and professors. They discussed scientific problems and advances in their fields, their present studies and activities, the role of their professions in the struggle for peace, and established contacts for future cooperation and exchange of study materials and student delegations between their universities.

SSOLIDARITY of young people, especially from the imperialist countries, with the youth and students of colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence culminated in a special day when all Festival participants honored these youth. National exhibitions set up by the delegates and a great international youth art exhibition were to be seen throughout the city. After the Festival, many delegations travelled through European and other countries bringing the message of the Festival to hundred of thousands of youth and students who could not attend.

But the significance of the Festival cannot be fully appreciated outside of its setting, Berlin. Ten years ago, Berlin was the center of world fascism and war, fountainhead of national oppression and racism, where German youth were the instruments of the oppression of other peoples. Last summer the youth of the world met in a new Berlin with a new German youth. In the German Democratic Republic they saw factories, farms and schools rising from the ruins which fascism and war brought, a country where war propaganda is now a crime and where racism and anti-semitism are outlawed. They got to know the new German youth who are building a new country, consciously struggling against all vestiges of fascism, seeking peace and friendship with all peoples. There was the young German immigration officer who grasped the hand of a Jewish woman in our delegation and said with warmth in his voice, "Welcome to you especially, welcome to a new Germany."

There was the young German worker who is the mayor of his town. There were the countless German youth who talked, walked, sang and danced arm in arm with Soviet, Polish, French, British, American, Chinese and African youth. The spirit of the new German youth was magnificently expressed in the great demonstration during the Festival of 1 million youth from all parts of Germany against German remilitarization for peace.

The contrast in Germany—ruins of the last war and vast new constructions for peace—posed sharply before every delegate the choice which confronts youth today. The youth at the Festival overwhelmingly chose the path of peace.

THE Festival marked a new stage in the struggle of youth for peace—a stage when young people from every country of the world have come together in a common front for peace. The participants in the Festival emphasized in dozens of ways that no problem of youth can be solved, no aspiration achieved, without peace. The demand for peace, for decent living, working and studying conditions, for democratic rights, has broken across national boundaries and forged this common front; the central demand of this front is for negotiation of international disputes, conclusion of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, universal disarmament and allocation of funds for health and welfare.

The Festival vividly underscored the essential role of internationalism in this struggle for peace. International youth ties stand solidly against the division of the youth into opposing camps, overcomes national antagonisms, generates tremendous international solidarity, and allows all to benefit from the best experiences in each country. United international actions permit the youth to throw their maximum strength against a new war.

The Festival demonstrated the all-encompassing character of youth actions for peace. Whatever be the interests and

abilities of the young people—whether they be related to work, living or study conditions, to culture, science, art or sport—each has a place in the struggle for peace. The Festival clearly showed that when each of these interests and abilities are linked to the work for peace, then there is hardly a group of young people who will not join in.

The influence of the Festival extended deeply into every corner of the world, strengthening youth peace work everywhere. In the discussions, local festivals and competitions many new groups, deeply concerned with peace but previously inactive, joined in common action. National Festival Committees in most countries united organizations which had never before cooperated, as in India where 20 such organizations formed the national committee with headquarters in the New Delhi YWCA. Since the Festival, these united groups have extended to other issues and actions.

These experiences of the Festival are of the greatest importance for us in the United States. In our country, the youth are more and more demanding peace. In the face of the war drive the winning of youth and student unity for peace and of cooperation and ties with youth of other lands are crucial tasks today. By learning about and understanding the experiences of the Festival, its preparation and follow-up in the different countries, we will be able most effectively to win these united actions.

United States youth can play a full role, together with youth of all lands, in ensuring the victory of peace and friendship between all peoples.

* In the next issue we shall have an article dealing with the attacks upon the Festival, the role of the United States delegation and the opportunities for world peace the Festival opened for us in the United States.



Portrait of an African student delegate by an American student artist.

THE FALLACY THAT THE U. S. FREED PUERTO RICO

Wm. Vila is a Puerto Rican youth leader and teacher at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

by William Vila

HISTORY text books contain the fallacy that the United States, out of the "generosity" of its democratic heart fought Spain in 1898 to "free" Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. This fallacy is particularly dangerous at this time since it is utilized by spokesmen of United States imperialism to camouflage its military aggression, as in Korea, and plans of world conquest.

The *New York Times* of September 10, 1950, entitled an article written by Senator Douglas as follows: "Democracy's Answer to the 'Big Lie'—Senator Douglas cites United States and U.S.S.R. history to show we work for peace and oppose imperialism."

Let's look at United States history and see if the Senator's claim is true.

From its very infancy the ruling class of the United States entertained ideas of expanding into Latin America. This was expressed even prior to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine when Secretary of State Adams asserted to the United States minister to Spain (April 28, 1823) that "the annexation of Cuba to our federal republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."¹ This explains why the United States was opposed to the liberation of Cuba and Puerto Rico by the other Latin American countries. At the time that the liberating armies of Bolivar had defeated Spain the Congress of Panama was called in 1826. On the agenda of this inter-American meeting was a proposal "to consider the conditions of the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico; (and) the expediency of a combined force to free them from the Spanish yoke. . . ." They knew that their newly won independence was endangered as long as Spain continued to subjugate their sister nations in the Caribbean. But the United States official policy opposed this plan and instructed her delegates to the Congress that she "could not see Cuba's freedom guaranteed by either European or American powers."

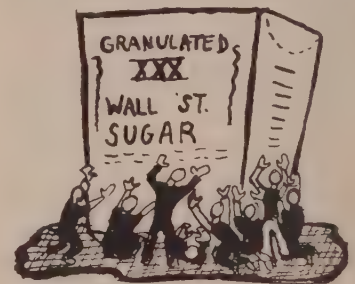
As a matter of fact, in 1825 the United States authorized its minister to Spain to reveal to the Spanish government this country's interest in Cuba and Puerto Rico: "The United States are satisfied with the present condition of those islands in the hands of Spain, and with their

ports open to our commerce, as they are now. This government desires no political change of that condition. . . this country prefers that Cuba and Puerto Rico should remain dependent on Spain."² Thus it appears that the United States not only *didn't* "free" Puerto Rico and Cuba but actually *prevented* the total completion of the liberation of the people of Latin America. The rulers of the United States wanted Spain to maintain its foothold in the Caribbean so that at the right moment the United States would wrest it from Spain and convert it into a beachhead to spearhead its conquest of Latin America.

TWENTY years later in 1846, the United States attacked Mexico and later annexed half of its territory. This brutal attack against Mexico was no whim of the moment, but a well calculated plan to expand slavery to the whole of the Western Hemisphere. The plan was considered in 1823 by President Monroe's cabinet when they were discussing the proposal of Great Britain which invited the United States to join with them in an Anglo-American declaration against any further colonization of Latin America. According to John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State in Monroe's Administration, "The object of Canning (British Secretary of State) appears to have been to obtain some public pledge from the Government of the United States, ostensibly against the forcible interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America; but really or especially against the acquisition to the United States themselves of any part of the Spanish American possessions. Mr. Calhoun (Secretary of War) inclined to giving a discretionary power to Mr. Rush (United States Minister to Britain) to join in a declaration against the interference of the Holy Alliance if necessary, even if it should pledge us not to take Cuba or the province of Texas. . . . Without entering now into the enquiry of the expediency of our annexing Texas or Cuba, we should at least keep ourselves free to act, as emergencies may arise, and not tie ourselves down to any principle which might afterwards be brought to bear against ourselves."³

BUT the appetites of the slavocrat expansionists was not to halt at the Rio Grande. The United States had scarcely finished devouring the northern provinces of Mexico when the discussion for the next steps began to take place. The spokesmen for "manifest destiny" had not learned to couch their plans in the demagogic forms used by the present day imperialists. Thus it was that Congressman Davis from the slave state of Mississippi felt free to predict openly in 1859, ". . . We may expand so as to include the whole world, Mexico, Central America, Cuba, the West India Islands, and even England and France (we) might annex without inconvenience of prejudice, allowing them their local Legislature to regulate their local affairs in their own way. And this, Sir, is the mission of this Republic and its ultimate destiny."⁴ Later, in 1867, Secretary of State Seward boasted: "Give me only this assurance, that there never be an unlawful resistance by armed force to the . . . United States, and give me fifty, forty, thirty more years of life, and I will give you the possession of the American continent and control of the world."⁶ Now the United States pretends that its policy has always been based upon "Freedom and Justice."

Some apologists for imperialism argue that Puerto Rico has now more freedom under the United States occupation than it enjoyed before 1898. They say this to hide the fact that, as a result of their



struggle against Spain, the Puerto Rican people were on the verge of independence at the time of United States intervention. In 1868 the Republic of Boriquen was proclaimed in a revolt that was crushed shortly afterwards. Despite this setback the movement for independence gained momentum and united with the Cubans

(Continued on page 19)



STUDENTS AROUND THE WORLD

... JAPAN is now under the occupation of United States troops and with the recently concluded "Peace" treaty more U.S. military bases are being built. Below we are reprinting parts of a letter addressed to American students from several Japanese student organizations at the Tokyo Women's Christian College:

"... We passed our childhood, adolescence and half our youth in the dreadfulness of the last World War and lost our fathers, brothers, and friends. Many brothers and friends, whose full growth was arrested and who forfeited their lives in the battles, left writings of their frank doubts about war on slips of paper and letters. These words tell us that we should never repeat the tragedy of war. We swear to those dead relatives and friends that we will keep peace, even if we meet great difficulties.

"On October 25, about one hundred thousand students in Tokyo gathered in the Diet building under the surveillance of many policemen, and protested against the government about the Peace Treaty and its additional treaties. We shall fight against conscription just as you do. We know that we must keep peace. Everyone who has this will for peace must unite in one mighty effort. We surely believe that by our incessant effort and indomitable courage peace will be won. You are not alone. And neither are we Japanese students! We shall never be defeated by the power of warlike men of the world! In order to establish a happy world Japanese and American youth have to march towards peace with the firm belief that peace is in our hands!"

... The people of EGYPT are demanding an end to British occupation and aggression. They do not want Egypt or the Middle East used as United States and British war bases. In this struggle for liberation, Egyptian students have played an important and heroic role.

... Among the many student demonstrations was the general strike of 6,000 Cairo University students on October 16th of last year in protest against the presence of British troops in their coun-

try. Similar demonstrations were held in Alexandria and other cities. According to the United Press 7,500 workers and students marched on British, United States and French Embassies shouting: "No more foreign soldiers in Egypt!"

On November 20th a large student demonstration took place in the streets of Cairo. Their demands were expressed by the following slogans:

"Egypt does not want to conclude imperialist pacts."

"We demand conclusion of a treaty of friendship with Russia."

"We demand the recognition of the government of the Chinese People's Republic."

... Students throughout the world are supporting the struggles of the Egyptian people and students. Large demonstrations were held in Syria and Lebanon, organized by university, high school and primary school students. ... Students of VIET NAM, who are participating in the struggle to liberate their nation from French imperialists and United States intervention, sent a letter to the Egyptian people stating:

"... we have the support of millions of youth in Asia, Africa and throughout the world, who resolutely take their stand against the imperialist aggressors and war-mongers; for we are united in the invincible camp of the people for Liberty, National Independence and Peace."

... In PAKISTAN the Students Union of Karachi organized a mass meeting on November 19th, on the occasion of "Defend Egypt Day" at which more than 6,000 students participated. ...

... In CHINA, students of the National Peking University and Moslem professors sent their support. ... The youth of TRIESTE sent a letter in support of the Egyptian people's struggle for peace and national independence. ... Support and messages of solidarity have come from many international organizations representing many millions of people. Among them were the International Union of Students, the World Federa-

tion of Democratic Youth, the World Peace Council and the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

... IRAN—During the October 30th demonstrations of Teheran students for solidarity with the struggle of Egyptian students, police attacked the students who are also fighting for improvement in their educational conditions. The government in retaliation closed down Teheran University for 9 days. The students organized 15 protest meetings in front of the university, braving bayonet attacks, tear gas, clubs and knives. But as a result of the students' demonstrations and support from all sections of the population, the University was opened.

... On November 17, International Students' Day, government police and troops cordoned off Teheran University to prevent students from observing the day. The students were attacked again and again, but they succeeded in entering the University grounds and celebrating.

INDIA — When U.S. Ambassador Chester Bowles went to address the Calcutta University student body, students critically questioned Bowles as to why the United States government opposed the Asian liberation struggles and armed puppet governments. They wanted to know why the Chinese government was not recognized and why "a network of military bases all over the world" are set up by the U.S. government. Cries of "Shame! Lies!" greeted Bowles' lecture on the "American Way of Life" until he was booed off the dais. After the speech, Calcutta students organized a demonstration, carrying posters with "Hands off Asia" slogans.

Announcement

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to let my story

I was writing a new story. Somebody interrupted me in the middle and asked me to put my signature on an Appeal for a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers. I scribbled my signature, being in a hurry, and resumed the thread of my story.

I had just written, "She was lying awake in a dream-laden moonlight, so near to me that I could hear her breath and feel the motions of her body, whose fragrance filling the air caressed my limbs, and made me feel as though I had felt a shower of rain after a long drought, or the golden ears of wheat swinging, or the new-blossomed mango-trees waving riotously with a keen breeze."

It struck me that the above similes were rather too many and I should strike off at least one. But my mind had strayed away from the story. The appeal which I had just signed began to dance before my eyes. Out of its wording a phrase began to pop at me . . . "the danger of a world war." I tried to read again the lines which I had written myself. "Dream-laden moonlight" . . . but "the danger of a world war" had as if cast upon my lines the black shadow of a thousand demons.

Once again I bent my mind on choosing the best simile, "golden ears of wheat swinging. . ." I began hearing the drumbeat of the harvesting festival alongside the rustling of golden wheat-ears out of which emerged a vague outline of a new story. It was a story that had been taking shape in my imagination during those days—the story of a tenant who standing near a heap of wheat was thinking to himself: "There lies a heap of wheat—my own, but I can't touch it now, nor can my new-wedded bride from whom I stole many an hour to make love to this crop. Before long this dear crop will be seduced by the plunderers. The landlord's jeep will whirl in with clouds of dust trailing behind it, whips will crack in the air and the beloved wheat will be carted away. Whips

will crack in many another field and wheat will be carted away from many another heap!"

. . . And at the end of the story all those real masters of the wheat heaps, with their wives and children stand like a human wall behind which they hide the wheat as they would their daughters and sisters. Against this human wall, the satanic whips prove powerless. It stands unmoving, invulnerable and gradually rises up in the whole country and swells to the size of the Chinese Great Wall, protecting the chastity of virgin wheat.

But once again the thread of that story snapped. The vanquisher satans, it appeared to me, were heaving forward the atom bomb in order to wipe out the wall.

THE story that I was writing, had soon be given to the press, so I diverted my mind from the atom bomb and tried to think of the second simile, "like new-blossomed mango-trees. . ." How suggestive are similes! In a second, yesterday's scene at the mango stall came before my eyes. The stall was very crowded. Well-dressed people were enquiring for the best variety of mangoes. However, a little distance apart, there stood an inconspicuous woman with a child holding fast to her hand. The child was eyeing the mangoes with such hunger that seemed to rage like a storm.

That scared, inconspicuous woman at last sighted a rotten mango in one of those heaps. Taking courage in both hands, she asked the shopkeeper, "How much will you charge for this rotten mango?" For a while the storm in the child's fly-infested eyes abated.

"Two annas," the shopkeeper replied indifferently.

"Two annas . . . two pice," muttered the woman counting the two pice in her hand as she walked away. The storm in the child's eyes became fiercer.

This child now stood in front of me, the storm in his fly-infested eyes raging terribly fierce. And there were millions

of children like him in the world—somewhere it is a mango, somewhere it is an apple, somewhere a piece of bread—these cause storms to rage in so many bleak eyes like his. And now that humanity everywhere was astir to see those stars twinkle in those eyes and was going to put a stop for all time to the storm of those soul-searing denials and was going to fill the laps of all children with mangoes, apples and grapes, the enemies of mankind seemed determined that there should be no mangoes for children but atom bombs, no milk for children but atom bombs, no schools for children but atom bombs!

And the atom bomb was hovering above the dream-laden moonlight and wanted to usurp its place on the firmament by blasting the moon. The atom bomb was coming in between me and my beloved where I was not prepared to tolerate even an ornament. The atom bomb was stuck up in the same manner between all the lovers of this world. Until the atom bomb was thrown out beyond the frontiers of life, every love story would remain incomplete.

AND I felt a new consciousness surging within me. My signing on a piece of paper was not a mere formality but a pledge on my part to see a great human purpose fulfilled. Those lines which demanded the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the Five Great Powers wrote the greatest love story of Man. By signing this Peace Appeal, I had defended my stories, and all those stories which have been written and are yet to be written all over the world. I had signed it because I love my stories so much that I cannot be indifferent to the fate of the characters of my stories.

I had not signed for the sake of some intangible and abstract principle but so that young girls may continue laughing and singing beneath the banyan tree down where the sun is setting in golden

Navtej is a leading Punjabi writer. This story was submitted for the Berlin Youth Festival cultural competition.

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separate the grain from the husk. I had signed for this reason: that millions of signatures like mine will have the power to keep the breeze of peace always blowing.

I had signed because the struggle to recast life in its entirety according to new human patterns is the source of all Beauty for me. And it is this source of Beauty that the perpetrators of Ugliness all over the world want to destroy by unleashing a new world war.

Until today, life had not been able to reach its Mahiwal,* the Lover. Like Sohini,* the sweetheart life has been beguiled into swimming through uncertain waters on an unbaked earthen pitcher. But now the consciousness of the unity of all mankind has ultimately brought the auspicious hour of union near and everywhere life is going to embrace its Lover Mahiwal. And those people who have always cheated life with unbaked pitchers want to delay this hour of union further by means of a war. I want peace because every pore of my body is aquiver for this great union.

* An allusion to a very popular love tale of the Punjab; Sohini was a potter's daughter, who fell in love with a handsome trader, Mahiwal. In the darkness of night, on a baked earthen pitcher she used to swim across the river to her rendezvous. Her malicious sister-in-law came to know of it, and one night stealthily she replaced Sohini's baked pitcher with an unbaked one. Sohini did not notice the change. The unbaked pitcher dissolved in the turbulent river, and Sohini was drowned while her lover Mahiwal waited at the other end.

U. S. and Puerto Rico

(Continued from page 16)

in a concerted effort to free both islands. They decided to free Cuba first. Then in 1895 the Cubans, with the aid of Puerto Ricans (2500 participated) and other Latin Americans, started their revolution. Three years later the United States stepped in and hypocritically pledged to the Puerto Rican people "... protection to you and your properties, exalting and imposing on you the guarantees and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." These "blessings" include the right of Truman to send Puerto Ricans to Korea to fight for the "freedom" of Koreans. And yet Puerto Ricans can't vote for the United States President or Congress which sends their sons to die in Korea.

THE contempt for the intelligence of the American people expressed by the ruling circles in this country is seen by the editorial of the July 7, 1951 issue of the *New York Times* which had the gall to point to Puerto Rico as "proof" that the United States is *not* imperialistic. "Puerto Rico is providing a notable example of enlightened control by a governing power. The whole of Latin America has been watching the Puerto Rican experiment with admiration. As evidence of 'American imperialism' Puerto Rico will stand examination by our harshest critics." But three months later the United States policies in Puerto Rico underwent severe "examination" by its "harshest critics"—the Puerto Rican people—in the form of a three day revolt led by the Nationalists. Thus was exposed the "enlightened control" that the United States had in store for the rest of the world. The support given Puerto Rico by the people of Mexico and Cuba symbolized the "admiration" that Latin America had for United States policies in Puerto Rico.

Is this the history of the United States to which Senator Douglas was referring, to "show we work for peace and oppose imperialism"? Surely not.

Thus, history refutes Senator Douglas.

¹ House Executive Documents, 32 Congress, 1st Session, no. 121, p. 7.

² American State Papers—Documents—Legislative & Executive of the Congress of the United States, Commencing March 4, 1789 & ending March 3, 1859.

³ The Diary of John Quincy Adams—1794-1845, p. 301-2.

⁴ Congressional Globe, 35 Congress 2 Session, p. 705, Feb. 2, 1859.

⁵ Bailly, J. A. Diplomatic History of American People, p. 392.

A sketch by Navtej

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floods. And that all of us together may remold the shape of life nearer to our hearts' desire; so that all the girls of my land may be enfolded in the clasp of dance and music; so that all those backs which have grown bent scrubbing the dirty utensils of others might become supple enough for dance; so that all those throats which have lost their melody on account of ceaseless beggary might quiver with songs; so that the children returning from school might bathe and swim and make merry in that streamlet. And that those children, who instead of going to school are tending barefooted in scorching wilderness the herds of landlords, may be able to enjoy the cool shades of cheerful schools.

In the fields yonder, farmers are waiting for a favorable wind for winnowing. Life with its expectant face uplifted has always waited for peace in order to

The Gallup Poll has shown that 70 per cent of the American people are in favor of a meeting of the Big Five. This same sentiment has already been expressed by more than six hundred million people throughout the world who have signed the demand for a Five Power Peace Pact. This is the version of the Appeal which is now being circulated on U.S. campuses.

PEACE AND GOOD WILL . . .

As part of the American College Community, we recognize the present international tension as a threat to the pursuit of our futures, and our very lives.

We feel that war MUST NOT serve as the solution to international disputes.

We feel further that scientific progress has placed us in an age where war would mean devastation and catastrophe to humanity.

We believe that the principles embodied in the charter of the United Nations represent the highest hopes of all peoples everywhere for world peace. We feel it is the responsibility of the five major powers, upon whose unanimity the strength of the United Nations is based, to transcend their individual differences and to establish a foundation for world cooperation.

We, therefore, call upon the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the Chinese People's Republic, and France to negotiate their differences and to reach a working settlement which will ensure a permanent and universal peace.

frame-up exposed

FROM THE RECORD
OF THE
ROOSEVELT WARD TRIAL

by Walter Ross

ROOSEVELT Ward, Jr., Negro youth leader of the Labor Youth League is another victim of a jimcrow frameup. After having been indicted on charges of "draft evasion," he was seized without a warrant by the F.B.I. and extradited to the more racist court of New Orleans, La. There he received a six-hour trial whereupon he was convicted and sentenced to three long years in a southern prison.

The fact that the government was forced to drop its first charge of "draft evasion," that the second charge of "failure to report an address where mail might reach him" was undeniably proved false carried no weight at all with the white judge and the nearly all-white jury. Despite the fact that Roosevelt Ward had received mail at 799 Broadway, that the F.B.I. had even seized him there, that his draft board admitted *not* contacting him there while knowing he couldn't be reached at his home address—all these things were completely ignored. And thus, it became conclusively evident that Mr. Ward was the victim of a frameup. Although he offered himself for induction many times, he was consistently rebuffed, breaking all precedents—the intent thus became openly revealed; the government did not want him in the army, and overcame all contradictions by trying him in New Orleans and having him sentenced to three years in jail.

Now it is time we looked at that very court record itself, for therein lies the complete exposure of this jimcrow frame-up.

MR. Ward was indicted on two counts: first, he "did unlawfully and knowingly fail to comply with an order to report for induction." But as the trial progressed, government attorney Baldwin admitted "it is quite evident . . . that the government is unable to prove this defendant did . . . receive, or had, orders to report for induction. . . ." Roosevelt Ward had never received any mail telling him to report for induction, therefore he could not wilfully ignore a notice which he

never received. (p. 69)

Second charge: he "did unlawfully and knowingly fail to furnish said local board his correct address where United States mail might be delivered him," violating the Selective Service Act, sect. 1641.3. Now Mr. Ward is questioned:

Q: "Where were you in the habit of having your mail addressed to you? *A:* 799 Broadway.

Q: I show you these envelopes . . . [to] identify. . . . *A:* They are all letters that I received at 799 Broadway addressed to me." (p. 46)

The Court admitted this as evidence, thus definitely establishing 799 Broadway as an address where mail could reach Mr. Ward *at any time*. Further:

Q: At the time you returned the completed questionnaire . . . , did you furnish . . . your address? *A:* Yes.

Q: What address? *A:* New York Organizing Committee for the Labor Youth League, 799 Broadway, New York City." (p. 45-46)

The Court Record shows that he "gave the address 72 W. 107th Street" also, thus supplying the Board with both his home and business addresses. Yet, in the cross-examination of Board official Christia:

Q: . . . you sent one of the communications . . . to 72 W. 107th St.? *A:* That is correct.

Q: . . . you forwarded the order to report for induction to the same address from which that had been returned? *A:* That is correct.

Q: And on no occasion did you forward a letter to 799 Broadway? *A:* No sir." (p. 36)

Thus the draft board knew an address (799 Broadway) where U.S. mail could reach Mr. Ward, but chose not to send the notice there. Actually, this was in direct violation of Sec. 1642.41 of the Selective Service Regulations. This section provides that any person who maintains only temporary residence should be contacted through his permanent place of employment. Faced with the acute hous-

ing problem in Harlem, Roosevelt Ward was forced to move frequently, but his business address remained the same; mail reached him there. His draft board, not he, was at fault.

The lie is doubly exposed by the fact that the Board *had contacted his first business address*, Wilburforce University, in Ohio, when his original Louisiana home address had been vacated. But when the questionnaire arrived in New Orleans from New York, what happened?

"*Mr. Coe:* And the only place in which you can record new employment is the statement of the registrant at the time of signing the questionnaire . . . ?

Christia: No other . . . than . . . at the time he submitted his questionnaire.

Q: So to get the current employer's address, . . . you would have to refer to that sheet? *A:* Yes sir." (p. 40)

Yet, by *Christia's own admission*, this was never done for the new business address, but only for the temporary home address of 72 W. 107th St. In other words, there was no attempt on the part of the draft board to record the change of business address.

HOWEVER, if it were unaccountably true Mr. Ward has been faulty in supplying the necessary address, he still would be innocent, for the judge told the jury that they "must be convinced *beyond a reasonable doubt* . . . that he *knowingly* failed to do so." (p. 77) Yet the cross-examination of Mr. Ward proved that he had relied partly on the fact that his roommate's Board had contacted him at his business address. Furthermore, FBI agent Malone admitted that he had had "no difficulty" at all in arresting Mr. Ward at 799 Broadway. (p. 44)

Is there not "reasonable doubt" of guilt if his roommate had used his own business address successfully? Is 799 Broadway only usable by the FBI, and not by the draft board?

But the fix was in. In six short hours the jury was picked, the witnesses heard, the verdict decided, and the sentence meted out. In a white supremacist court before a white supremacist judge, in a white supremacist state, one thousand days of an innocent Negro youth's life were framed neatly into hysteria's package, scheduled for shipment to the insufferable hell of a Louisiana jail.

This precedent is aimed at all of us. To preserve the right to struggle against war and jimcrow, form a Roosevelt Ward Defense Committee on your campus. Protest to Attorney-General McGrath. Fight to smash this frame-up NOW!

The pages referred to are in the court record of Mr. Ward's trial.

student notes

“STOP blowing the infernal sirens . . . leave the kids alone in school, take down the signs . . . that are a constant reminder of war,” says the *Adelphi* College paper *The Delphian*. “. . . ask for a repeal of the atom bomb and for disarmament. Do all you can to work for peace.” Stating that the USSR has no “airbase in Mexico or Canada . . . submarines off our shores . . . troops marching south on the Alcan highway . . . planes wandering over our country,” the paper charged that we are being prepared “for a war that ‘no one wants’” . . . A *Harvard* Peace Council is being chartered, and has started a campaign against UMT. . . .

The *New York Times* published a national survey on education, and found that “the schools . . . are beginning to feel the effects of the Korean conflict. As a result they face a gloomy year. Many educators are worried lest the gloom continues for another decade.” . . . James Berry, *Lincoln* University journalism student, and a Korean vet, told the *Lincoln Clarion*: “everyone over there is fighting and dying in a useless war. . . .” In another issue, the *Clarion* asked: “What fear-produced madness drives a nation to believe that there is security in possessing more atom bombs than another nation? Anything produced for . . . destroying industrial capacity cannot but reach a point of no return. . . .”

The *Wisconsin Daily Cardinal* called for “a strengthening of educational freedom” in 1952. “The answer for us is not in building bigger and better ROTC units or . . . more powerful A-bombs” but “in education for peace.” . . . Six hundred and eighty-five representatives to the *Association of American Colleges Conference* in Washington opposed UMT as “unnecessary, fantastically expensive, educationally undesirable, morally hazardous, and politically dangerous. . . .”

More than 500 students at *Michigan U.* have signed a Young Progressives’ petition to President Truman calling for a cease-fire in Korea. . . . Alan Kimmel, ousted *Chicago Maroon* editor, writes of his visit to Moscow in that paper: “Nowhere are there any recruiting posters, military displays, maps of the U.S. show-

ing bombing targets, or proposals to drop bombs on Chicago or New York.” When the Moscow students asked him what their Chicago counterparts thought of the USSR, he told them “no free speech, press, or choice of jobs. My response was laughter and looks of disbelief. Yet, ironically, while still in Moscow, I learned that I had lost my *Maroon* editorship.”

The manager of the *Harvard U.* Theatre told a *Crimson* interviewer that “in the last year war pictures have been poison here—just poison. . . .”

Twenty members of the CCNY psychology department wired President Truman, protesting the murder of Samuel Shephard, Negro youth, in Groveland, Florida, citing the whitewash of the guilty sheriff as “a decision to legalize lynching.” . . . John Bright, All-American Negro halfback of *Drake University*, who was deliberately slugged by an Oklahoma Aggie racist player, won the Nils V. Nelson national Sportsmanship Award. . . . The *City College* evening session paper, *Main Events*, quoted figures proving that while the Negro people account for more than 10% of New York City’s total population, only 1½% of all regularly appointed teachers in that city are Negroes. . . .

WITCHHUNTERS on the *Temple University* campus received a setback when 400 students laughed at the “loyalty” bill arguments of one Judge Musmanno. The latter attacked the “loyalty” of an ROTC student, who said he did not “wear this uniform because I am loyal to the government” but “because I am loyal to the people of this country.” He was defended by the *Temple News* which warned of future “Intimidation by the advance guards of the Pechan Bill.” . . . 500 *Boston U.* students heard Prof. Dirk J. Struik, suspended MIT math instructor, speak against his indictment on charges of “conspiracy to overthrow the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.” Sixty professors have joined a Dirk Struik Defense Committee. . . .

Queens, New York campus leaders are circulating a resolution for academic freedom, proposing its inclusion in the

Student Council constitution and Faculty Council rules. Noting attacks at *Ohio State*, *Chicago*, and *Brooklyn College*, it states that “these incidents are violent abrogations of the basic tenets of Academic Freedom, which must never occur on the *Queens College* campus. . . .” Sponsors include the presidents of the Student Body, Students for Democratic Action, NAACP, Class of ’52, LYL, Young Progressives, Anthro-Soc Club, and Young Republicans, the editor of the *Crown*, and seven Student Council reps. . . .

Commenting on the new *California U.* policy of banning speakers labeled “subversive” by the Attorney-General, the *Daily Californian* declares: “A university which has as its base . . . a smoke-filled Un-American Activities committee room can never hope to point out effectively to its students the path toward becoming well-rounded human beings. . . . This is still the *University of California*—not the *Uniformity of California*.” . . . The *CCNY Campus* told of Education students being “warned to refrain from their activities or be dropped from the education sequence. Others reported . . . discrimination by teachers in grading, which were a direct result of the student’s political viewpoint.” . . .

Genocide, U. S. A.

(Continued from page 5)

the Moores, to stop the crime of genocide. Students at Wisconsin and Western Reserve, at Brooklyn College and Sarah Lawrence, at Northwestern and CCNY, at the New York School of Social Work, have already spoken out. Let us unite to demand action from the President, the Justice Department and the Florida law enforcement authorities. Let us have telegrams and petitions, demonstrations and class stoppages. Let us make the Florida orange rot in the box. Buy no Florida oranges, take no Florida vacations! Let us make the white supremacists feel it where it hurts them most—in their moneybag hearts!

1 From the U.N. Convention on Genocide.
2-3 *Negro Liberation* by Harry Haywood.
4-8 *We Charge Genocide*—Civil Rights Congress.

JIMCROW ON CAMPUS

N.Y.U. students
fight
discrimination

by Martin Golden and Marjorie Epstein

A campaign to remove questions of "race" and "religion" from the registration cards at New York University (NYU) is currently in process. It began, fittingly enough, right after Independence Day, 1951. At that time, a committee of two students at the NYU Law School, representing the Student Division of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), met with Ralph F. Bischoff, the Assistant Dean of the Law School, to discuss the possibility of removing questions from the registration form dealing with the students "race" and "religion."¹ They told the Assistant Dean that these questions "could provide a basis for discrimination as regards awards, degrees, scholarships, employment by the University and recommendations by the University for study and employment elsewhere."² The Dean replied that this in-

National Student Association (NSA), which joined later, a conference was called to discuss the entire question of discrimination at NYU before the student body.

THE fact is that the School's employment policy is jimcrow, top to bottom. All of the porters, elevator operators and maids are Negroes while all the guards, starters, and hostesses are white. There are less than 20 Negro teachers out of several thousand on the faculty. Assistant Dean Bischoff himself admitted "To my knowledge there has never been a Negro instructor at the Law School."³ Moreover, Negro students apply for jobs at the School employment agency and are told that there aren't any or are made to wait for months without results—white students apply and the jobs more quickly appear.

The racist character of the administration is graphically illustrated by the sworn testimony of Dr. Allan T. Newman, former dean of the NYU Dental School, before the Special Investigating Committee of the City Council of New York, in 1946. He said: "I was Dean of the NYU Dental School for a period of fifteen years prior to May, 1944. . . . During the fifteen years that I was Dean, there was a preponderance of applications from boys of the Jewish faith, and of necessity, the student body was preponderantly Jewish. In May, 1944, Chancellor Chase called me to his office and condemned me for permitting such conditions to exist. . . . I refused to change the policy of accepting students on any basis except their qualifications and, when faced with the necessity of doing so, I resigned."

To divide the students on religious and particularly racial lines is one of the big goals of the Administration. They are attempting to do this by nurturing white supremacist concepts in the minds of white students. Such vicious textbooks as Morrison and Commager's *Growth of the American Republic* are used in the history department, instead of books like Aptheker's *Documentary History of the Negro People* and Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*—books which show the

militant struggle which the Negro people have waged to be free. Moreover they allow a bigot like Professor Ralph Betts Flanders to teach that the slaves were happy and did not fight to be free. Dean Kastner tried to split the Committee to Remove Questions of Race and Religion by inviting only the NSA to his office for the presentation of proposals. This failed, though Kastner tried to intimidate the Committee chairman and another Negro student whom he constantly called "boy."

It was precisely this point that Judge Hubert T. Delany, eminent Negro jurist and keynote speaker at the student conference, stressed—student unity, especially unity of Negro and white—as the *sine qua non* of victory. Judge Delany, a national board member of both the NAACP and NLG, stated that his experiences as a Negro student in the NYU Law School proved to him that there is discrimination and further investigations substantiate all the charges of present day discrimination at N.Y.U.

IN the course of his talk, the Judge also called the *Washington Square Bulletin* a Hearst-like paper because it published an untrue front page story alleging that the N.Y. State NAACP did not support the campaign, on the very day of the conference. In spite of this the conference was a well-attended and militant one. Over 400 Negro and white students attended even though finals were only two days off. These speakers blasted the "race" and "religion" questions as being irrelevant and pointed out, on the basis of the Newman statement and the jimcrow employment, the dangers inherent in such queries.

Two days later the *Square Bulletin* printed a front page retraction of its false conference day story. By 11:00 A.M. that morning you couldn't find a paper. Indignant students demanded to know why the newspaper hadn't checked its facts. They also wanted to know when the Bulletin was going to drop its equivocating policies and come out 4-square against the disgraceful questions. The paper, after admitting its "mistake," accused the Committee of having shown

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY - SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

FIRST NAME (MR., MISS, MRS.)	
CITY	STATE
ZONE NO.	
CITY	STATE
ZONE NO.	
BUSINESS ADDRESS	MARRIED
YOUR RACE	RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION
DEGREES	DATE OF 1st REGISTR. IN SCHOOL EDUC. N.Y.
A. DEGREE <input type="checkbox"/>	ED. D. DEGREE <input type="checkbox"/>
M. D. DEGREE <input type="checkbox"/>	INDICATE NUMBER OF GRADUATE PROGRAM
FULL ADDRESS	STUDENT'S SIGNATURE
FULL TITLE OF COURSE	

formation was needed by the State Commission Against Discrimination and by the NAACP. These two organizations were asked about this and denied it. The latter, as a matter of fact, vehemently condemned such questions.

The student body was aroused and interested in the fight against discrimination at NYU. As a result Negro and white students moved into action. A delegation was chosen to meet with the National Lawyers Guild on December 26, 1951. This meeting afterwards constituted itself a Committee to Remove Questions of Race and Religion from the Registration Forms at NYU and it also called for the abolition of all other forms of discrimination at NYU.

After Mr. Harold Dent, a Negro student, was elected chairman of the coalition committee of NAACP, NLG, and

"ingratitude" for its "unbiased coverage." The paper has *not* been unbiased but even if it were, since when do students have to be grateful for truthful reporting? This lily-white paper clearly expressed its contempt for the students whom it is supposed to be representing. It goes on to term Judge Delany's charge against the paper a "phony," even though the evidence clearly upholds his charges.

One of the most important results of the campaign has been the growth of the NAACP into one of the most powerful organizations on campus. In the 3 weeks of the campaign, it tripled its size. Its Negro History Program which was supported by the NLG and Young Progressives of America, was a huge success. This growth shows why the administration is afraid to yield on the removal of the questions. They know that such a student victory would lead to an even greater increase in the democratic student organization and a stronger and broader fight against discrimination. For instance, many students want to know why NYU hasn't had a Negro player on the varsity basketball team in 11 years.

BUT who is responsible for the discrimination at NYU? The school's trustees who make this policy. A summary check in *Who's Who* revealed that they are, with few exceptions, intimately connected with big business. James Loomis Madden, for example, who was acting chancellor during the campaign, has since 1927 been a vice-president of Metropolitan Life Insurance Corp., the corporation which refused to allow Negroes to live in its Stuyvesant housing project. Such other companies as RCA, U.S. Steel, Consolidated Edison, Swift & Co., and the NAM, who make super profits on the exploitation of Negro workers are included. These monopolies feast on 4 billion dollars in super profits drawn every year from the sweat and blood of the Negro people who thus die

a slow death from starvation and disease. Is it surprising that these giants who thrive on and impose discrimination on the nation do the same at NYU through their representatives on the board of trustees?

These same trusts are also responsible for the increase in tuition, which is now \$20 a point.—This all time high increase will undoubtedly be more difficult for Negro students than white, therefore, it also seems to force Negro students out of school by placing extra economic burden on them. A victory at NYU, the largest school in the country, would be a powerful impetus to strengthening and spreading the fight.

THE fight at NYU is a fight for life. For example, it is a fact that the NYU Medical College graduated only 35 Negro Doctors between 1924 and 1942.⁵ This exclusion policy, which is a national one, makes for a shortage of Negro doctors. In Mississippi, to illustrate this, there are 22 times as many white doctors in proportion to the white population, as there are Negro doctors to the Negro population.⁶

The students will have to be made more aware of the whole white supremacist context in which the "race" and "religious" questions are found. It will also be necessary to get statements of support from public figures, like the Mayor, as well as from the trade unions. The NYU public relations department has proved very sensitive.

In order to win the students must be united. While the Negro students suffer most from the policy of discrimination—it is a known fact that NYU discriminates against Jews, Catholics and other minority groups also. The Administration has tried and will try again to split the students. If we stick together we can lick *every* form of discrimination on campus.

Free Abdel Hamouda

OPPORTUNITIES for students to live and study in other lands is one of the surest ways of promoting cultural understanding and interchange among the students of the world. For U.S. students it is important that we be allowed to study in other countries and that students from these countries receive the same opportunity here. Here is the shocking story of how the ability of foreign students in our country to freely study was violated. Abdel Mohsen Hamouda, Egyptian student taking his Ph.D. at the Colorado School of Mines, committed the criminal offense of speaking "publicly in favor of the . . . demand that the British get out of the Suez Canal Zone." He was arrested without a warrant and held for deportation, put in solitary confinement for 24 hours and denied requests for X-rays of an unhealed broken arm. Chief Immigration Officer Hamaker's comment? "We're not interested in democracy; we just have a job to do. . . ."

The National Council of Student Clubs of the Labor Youth League issued an important statement on the case which is heartily endorsed by the editorial board of *NEW FOUNDATIONS*. Excerpts are printed below: We emphatically protest the persecution of Abdel Moshen Hamouda, Egyptian citizen . . . he is now being held in \$10,000 bail pending deportation . . . the bail is 20 times greater than the amount usually levied in such cases.

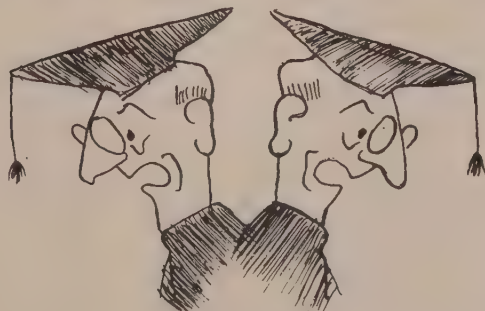
The arrest of Mr. Hamouda and the attempt of the Immigration Department to have him deported is another expression of foreign policy of the Truman administration—of suppressing the just and legitimate demands of the Egyptian people and of all peoples fighting for their independence. . . . The persecution of Mr. Hamouda must be seen as . . . an effort to intimidate all foreign students studying in this country, to force them to desert the cause of independence of their people or suffer brutality and deportation. . . .

We call on all student organizations to protest the persecution of Mr. Hamouda by the Office of Immigration, to demand immediate lowering of bail and an end to the efforts to deport him.

DOUBLE TALK

A—There is no discrimination at NYU.

B—What is your race and religion?



THE question of Academic Freedom has always been an important question to me as it has been to most other students. But I don't think I really felt the full impact of the danger to Academic Freedom that exists until I was involved. I was subjected to a personal attack by a teacher for speaking out in a classroom for what I believed.

The incident occurred when Professor I. Berkson, who teaches the History of Education at the College of the City of New York, stated that there was slave labor in the Soviet Union. When asked what his sources of information were he became very angry and demanded that information refuting his statement be brought in.

The next day when I brought in some documented evidence to prove my point, the teacher invited me into his office where he began to probe into my personal and political views. When he found out that I believed in Socialism and favored peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union he accused me of being against the Constitution and of trying to overthrow the government. He told me that he was going to put a disloyalty mark on my record card in order to prevent me from teaching.

I was being told that my fifteen years of schooling was for nothing. The terrible crime I had committed was to raise a question in class about the Soviet Union, to doubt a statement that there were slave labor camps in the U.S.S.R. It was because I had tried to refute the Big Lies about the Soviet Union and in doing so speak out for peace and friendship between nations, that I had been persecuted.

The next day, the teacher tried to oust me from the class. This would have been a deep blow against the freedom of every student. Other students in the class had the same idea. A struggle had to be waged at once in defense of free speech and against the whole loyalty check setup.

The School of Ed has a "loyalty"

ON THE U.S.S.R.

- 1 Refer to USSR resolution in United Nations calling for investigation of slave labor in all countries, including Soviet Union.
- 2 D. N. Pritt, King's Council, former British Labor M.P., foremost trial lawyer of Europe: *New World Review*, Apr. 1951, pp. 4-5.
- 3 *Russia With Our Own Eyes*, Report of British Workers' Delegation, published by *New World Review*.
- 4 George Morris, Labor Editor, *Daily Worker*, D.W., June 4, 5, 6, 8, 1951.
- 5 Dr. Herbert Aptheker in *Masses and Mainstream*, No. 3 (11), Nov., 1950 pp. 46-60.

WITCHHUNT IN THE CLASSROOM

by Marvin Sandler

check system which requires every teacher to comment on the loyalty of each student. *Observation Post*, a student undergraduate newspaper, put it this way, "... this is a system which makes every instructor a potential informer."

IN spite of this intimidation and because they were sick and tired of conditions in the school of Ed, most of the students in the class got into the fight. As one student in the class put it, "... If they can take away the freedom of speech of one student it endangers all the students." All the students in the class, Negro and white joined in the fight to protect free speech. The Negro students militancy and leadership helped to firmly rally the class. A number of Negro students expressed the belief that any attack on freedom of speech was an obstacle in the struggle for Negro rights.

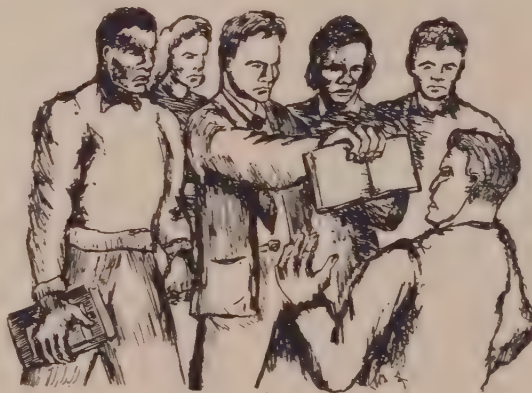
During this time a bigger struggle was going on involving large sections of the

a while. In at least twenty classes the students got up and asked that this case be discussed.

Delegations visited the Dean of Education. He pleaded with the delegations not to "make a mountain out of a molehill." It was obvious that the administration did not want their loyalty system exposed. It was clear that they were afraid of the temper of the students. *Campus*, an undergraduate newspaper, branded Berkson's actions and demanded my reinstatement in the class with no disloyalty mark against me.

There were fifty student leaders who issued a statement condemning Berkson's actions, and urging my reinstatement. These leaders included the presidents of Hillel, NAACP, YPA, Students for World Peace, Laugh Society and the Labor Youth League, among others.

ON Wednesday, December 12, this headline appeared in *Observation Post*, "Sandler Reinstated by Dean Tur-



student body. The Student Council, both newspapers and a number of student organizations were protesting the banning of Paul Robeson, who had been kept from speaking in Great Hall because he speaks out for peace, full equality for the Negro people, and against thought control methods. The atmosphere that this struggle created made it possible for students at C.C.N.Y. to begin to see that they must unite to defend their freedom and help to contribute to the subsequent victory that was achieved in my case.

In the next few days the students expressed an anger and a fighting spirit that hadn't been seen at City for quite

ner. No Disloyalty Notation on Record." The students had won a victory.

However as far as many students are concerned the fight is just beginning. According to O.P.:

"What is needed now is a reaffirmation of the maintenance of Academic Freedom on the Campus. Students must feel free to discuss every aspect of every situation which arises in the class. They must know that they can disagree with the instructor and know at the same time that their marks, their future and their records will not suffer from this disagreement."

FOR WORLD STUDENT UNITY

**The International Union of Students
Call for United Action
in Defense of Peace**

Published by NEW FOUNDATIONS



WE the editors of NEW FOUNDATIONS, find it necessary to make available to students in the United States two basic documents of fundamental significance to our well-being. They discuss ways and means students throughout the world can join together to work for peace. These documents are the open letter to the United States National Student Association from the International Union of Students (IUS) in which the IUS sets forth a number of specific proposals for cooperation between NSA and IUS, and the open letter of the IUS to the students of the world on the forthcoming Unity Meeting.

Both of these documents on ways and means of achieving peace and better conditions of life and study have been received by many student councils and organizations throughout the country. Yet there has been little in the student press to indicate the existence of the IUS, the documents, or the forthcoming Unity Meeting. For this reason, we find it imperative to print and distribute these materials. We urge all students to read them, study them, discuss them, and act upon them.

BEFORE us, American students, stands a unique opportunity to take action for world peace. This spring the international student Unity Meeting, organized by the International Union of Students (IUS), will be held to unite student organizations of all countries in a common program for peace and international cooperation, for national independence, for improvement of student living and studying conditions, for cultural,



scientific and sports interchange between students.

The Korean war, the war economy, and the intensified arms race have brought increasing difficulty and misery to U.S. students. Living and educational costs mount, enrollments drop, democratic liberties are destroyed, oppression of the Negro people is intensified, the young people are taken by the military in their most formative years, science is militarized and education placed in a straitjacket of conformity to war preparation, lost liberties and educational deterioration.

Peace is essential to halting this destruction of our education. The international student Unity Meeting is one of the greatest developments in the struggle of all students for peace. Occurring in the midst of the drive toward war, when efforts are made to divide peoples and instill belief in the inevitability of war, the Unity Meeting will demonstrate that discussion and negotiations between youth will succeed in uniting them irrespective of their beliefs, in a common program to defend their interests. It will find and set forth

a united program for peace, for independence of all peoples.

Drawing upon the successes and experiences of students the world over, it will establish international action to improve student economic and social conditions, to defend their liberties. It will give rise to broad interchange of cultural, scientific and sporting materials and delegations, thus building international understanding and enriching student lives. The meeting, putting into practice the demand for international negotiation and cooperation, can unite the overwhelming majority of the world's students.

ALTOGETHER there are 8,000,000 college students in the world. Students of different political opinions, and religious beliefs, they are of many different nationalities. They live in different types of societies, colonial, capitalist, socialist, but being students they have the same aims, needs and aspirations. They may differ in their traditions, but as students they need scholarships, textbooks, a democratic education.

They may differ in their political opinions, but they all wish to develop international cooperation, exchange their knowledge with students of other countries. They may differ in their opinions about the form or content of curriculum but they all agree that national independence is a condition for the development of a democratic education. They may differ in their opinions as to where the threat of war originates, but they all agree that peace is a prerequisite to study and work.

Of the world's 8,000,000 students, 5,336,060 are joined together in the International Union of Students. The IUS is the students of London, Moscow, Havana and Budapest, Peking and Glasgow, Teheran and Calcutta: the IUS is the student organizations of 71 countries. It is led by them through their elected representatives, who in its governing bodies formulate its policy according to the constitution approved by the first World Student Congress in 1946. The greatest single group of students who are not members of the IUS are the students of the United States.

Today we in the U.S. are isolated from students of other countries. We know little of their work and activities. This isolation is primarily the result of the refusal of every major U.S. student organization to strive sincerely for international cooperation, to distribute or even respond to the repeated proposals of the IUS. In plain terms this means that world student solidarity for peace is the responsibility of the students of the United States. We cannot refuse to meet that responsibility. Every organization sincerely interested in peace, in student welfare, must respond to the call to the Unity Meeting.

THE IUS recently addressed to all U.S. student organizations, Councils and newspapers extensive proposals for cooperation. The IUS stated: "Regardless of differences which may exist, even on the causes of the present danger of war, the IUS is confident that cooperation can be achieved. What is necessary is a sincere desire to discuss together and carry out every possible means of building cooperation." This letter is reprinted in this supplement to *NEW FOUNDATIONS*: in our opinion the proposals correspond to the best interests of US students. What peace loving student can reject this call?

The Unity Meeting results from the unanimous decision of the last IUS Council meeting, on a proposal of the National Union of South African Students, to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee of the IUS and representatives of national student organizations not members of IUS, to establish the basis for full cooperation. The decision received the support, to mention but a few of the 80 organizations representing 5.5 millions of students of 71 countries members of the IUS, of the British National Union of

Students, Student Section, Anti-fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, All China Student Federation, All India Student Federation, National Union of Finnish Students, Brazilian National Union of Students, Student Section, Free German Youth, Iranian National Union of Students, and the Federation of All Japan Student Autonomies.

Enthusiastic support has come from outside the ranks of the IUS. The National Unions of Students of Australia, Canada, and Venezuela, present at the IUS Council as observers, joined in planning the meeting. The National Unions of Denmark, Italy, and Holland have already decided to participate.

develop such cooperation. Students on all campuses must insure that they do.

We believe that all student organizations, whatever their character, should distribute and discuss the IUS call for the meeting and the IUS proposal for cooperation, and should prepare their proposals for the meeting. We believe that all student newspapers should open their pages to discussion on the meeting and the issues it poses.

We call upon all students to make preparations for the Unity meeting one of their most important activities, to integrate discussion of unity closely with their day to day life on the campus. To create this spring united student action in our



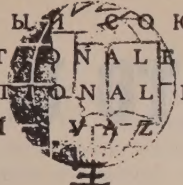
THE student struggles throughout our land for peace, academic freedom, against the oppression of the Negro people, reveal clearly student sentiment. In our opinion, a full representative U.S. delegation at the Unity meeting is essential for winning of these struggles. It is the responsibility of student organizations, especially the NSA, NICC, NAACP, Hillel, Methodists, and others, to join in the Unity Meeting, express the will of U.S. students for peace and international cooperation, and actively

country—for peace and the safeguarding of our education.

Active preparation for the meeting by students of all organizations can provide a major breakthrough in resolving existing differences. International cooperation will give us many new avenues for action, bring us the experiences of students elsewhere, and provide a great international solidarity for peace—among all students throughout the world!

THE EDITORS
NEW FOUNDATIONS

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
 МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
 UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
 UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
 MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
 世界學生聯合會



PRAHA II, VOJTĚŠSKÁ 12, ČSR

Dear Friend,

OURS is a world threatened by the grim menace of war. It is a world in which every attempt is being made to divide us up into two irreconcilable parts, in a state of constant cold war. And one way of preserving peace stands out sharply—the development of greater understanding and friendship between the people of all countries, so that united they will reject with loathing any attempt to plunge them into another war.

The students of all the world share the desire of all the peoples of the world for the bridging of the gaps which exist in the international student movement. They share the belief that although differences of opinion exist between them, the points on which they agree are far more important, far more vital.

All over the world, the spirit of determination to earnestly seek to cement the friendship of all students has grown. The discussions in different universities on a national level and their echoes in the student press show it. And it was in the interpretation of this spirit that the Council meeting of the International Union of Students held in September, agreed unanimously to call a meeting of organizations not affiliated to it. The Council resolved:

“Considering that student unity and cooperation is a prerequisite of successful work for student interests on the basis of the broad programme of activities for the satisfaction of student needs and interests and the many constructive proposals for future international student cooperation emanating from this Council meeting, the IUS deems it necessary that increased efforts be made for greater cooperation between the IUS and the student organizations non-members of the IUS on a concrete programme of activities for the benefit of students all over the world and for the finding of a basis for the maximum possible cooperation or the possibility of affiliation or reaffiliation.”

The very method of drafting this resolution was a great indication of the desire of students in all countries for unity. For

the resolution was drafted at a meeting between the representatives of the IUS Secretariat and the representatives of the National Unions of Britain, Canada, Australia, Scotland, Finland and South Africa—all national unions which have expressed strong disagreement or reservations with aspects of IUS policy. These students, after lengthy discussions, found a basis for agreement on the necessity of calling a meeting in order to discuss a united programme of action by all students, so that the needs of students can become the basis for a common programme of action. Unanimously these delegates presented their resolution to the Council, and unanimously the representatives of over 5 million students from 71 countries endorsed the unity call.

The discussion at such a meeting should centre on the main needs of students. Students are among the first to suffer the evil effects of war. Already they are experiencing the effect of increasing armament expenditure on education budgets. The main demand of students is the peaceful settlement of international problems by negotiations, the reduction of armament budgets and the increase of the education budget. The overwhelming support for these demands was seen in the support given to them by the representatives of the students of the world at the IUS Council meeting, when unanimous agreement on these aims was found between students from such diverse national student organizations as those of Britain, the Soviet Union, South Africa, Brazil, India and Finland.

It is in the interests of every student, whatever may be his differences with the IUS, to participate to the full in a concrete programme for the satisfaction of student needs—a programme which will include the demands for: new university buildings, libraries and laboratories; reduction of fees, scholarships, free health care, cheap text books, reduced transport fares, guaranteed employment opportunities and the full democratic rights of student organizations.

These demands are common to all students. It is in the common interest of all students that they come together and

discuss the best means for united international cooperation, for the satisfaction of these demands.

HOW will students be able to satisfy these needs by united action? We put forward the following programme:

—The placing of student demands before international bodies, including educational, teachers, students, youth, women and workers organizations.

—Regional and national needs conferences.

—Development of student self-help activities, such as cooperative hotels, canteens, stores, booksharing and printing.

—Extension of the campaign against tuberculosis.

—Development of the work of International Student Relief.

—The prevention of militarization of curricula, and of fascist or racist teachings in schools.

—International sports programmes.

—Widespread cultural exchanges.

—Exchanges of study material between faculties and scientific societies, exchanges of delegations, international faculty meetings.

The Council unanimously agreed that at the forthcoming Unity meeting, students from all over the world should gather with constructive and positive suggestions for such a united concrete programme of activities.

We address this letter directly to students all over the world. Convince those who harp constantly on differences of opinion that now is not the time to concentrate on discussing differences. Discuss our proposals at meetings and in the press and formulate your suggestions for the unity campaign. Mandate your representatives to put forward constructive proposals for united action and for building of mutual understanding and goodwill. Never before has international student unity offered so fruitful a field of work. Never before has it been so vital. **NOW IS THE TIME FOR US TO DISCUSS OUR POINTS OF AGREEMENT!**

Yours, sincerely
 JOSEPH GROHMAN,
 President of the IUS

INVITATION TO U. S. STUDENTS

A LETTER FROM IUS
TO THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

National Student Association
Student Union Memorial
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado
U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

RECENTLY the Council meeting of the IUS, attended by the representatives of 6 million students from 86 countries, unanimously set forth a rich and varied program of student work for peace, for improved studying and living conditions for students and for increasing international student cooperation and friendship. As well, on the initiative of the National Union of South African Students, after unanimous agreement with the representatives of the National Union of South African Students, British National Union of Students and the Finnish National Union of Students (members of the IUS) and the National Union of Australian University Students and the National Federation of Canadian University Students (non-members), the Council issued a call for a meeting between the IUS and non-member and disaffiliated organizations to strengthen cooperation and achieve affiliation of these organizations on the basis of the program adopted by the Council.

Some weeks ago the results of the Council were sent to you. On this occasion we wish to place before the National Student Association a number of specific proposals for cooperation between NSA and IUS. The results of the Council have opened further new perspectives for cooperation and unity of students of all lands, of widely different beliefs, for peace and understanding, for the satisfaction of the burning problems of students.

The importance of such cooperation, both for students in the United States and their colleagues in other lands cannot be minimized. The overwhelming majority of U.S. students desire peace and friendship between peoples, desire an expanding education, desire mutual cultural and educational interchange, just as do the students of other lands. War, war prepara-

tions, tremendous military expenditures, growing obstruction to normal economic and cultural relations between peoples, are further dividing the world, undermining the living and educational standards of young peoples in many countries, and threatening the lives of all. Cooperation between U.S. students and students of other lands, especially the millions united in the IUS can be an important contribution to peace, to the well being of all.

Regardless of differences which may exist, even on the causes of the present danger of war, the IUS is confident that such cooperation can be achieved. What is necessary is a sincere desire to discuss together and carry out every possible means of building cooperation. To achieve this aim, we place before you the following proposals:

- 1. The main resolution of the Council states: "Confident that peace can be achieved the Council expresses its whole-hearted support for the solution of all international problems by peaceful negotiations, especially the continuation of negotiations in Korea, to a peaceful solution of the conflict. The Council calls upon all students to work for the reduction of armaments expenditures in all countries, and the granting of more funds to education." As the best practical step towards these objectives, the Council called upon all students to support the conclusion of a pact of peace between the five great powers.

- 2. We propose that the NSA actively support these peace proposals, that you circulate them to your members and stimulate discussion upon them. We are prepared to print and distribute an article by NSA on these proposals if you will distribute to United States students an IUS article on the same subject. The IUS is prepared to participate in an international seminar or other meetings, also participated in by the NSA to discuss student work for peace.

- 3. As unanimously decided at the IUS Council meeting, the IUS and its member organizations are initiating national and international campaigns for the opening of all levels of education to all youth; for adequate scholarships, hous-

ing, eating and health facilities; for increased educational facilities, an end to discrimination and safeguarding of full democratic liberties for students. These demands are enumerated in the main Council resolution and the Declaration of the Right to Education and Culture. We invite the NSA to stimulate widespread discussions on these actions among U.S. students, to support the demands before the governmental and educational authorities in the U.S. and support the placing of the demands before the UN and other international organizations. We propose that the NSA, through the questionnaire recently sent by the IUS to all student organizations on these problems, provide the IUS with the experiences and proposals of its students for carrying further this campaign, and that it engage in an active exchange of experience with students of other countries on the best means of realizing these demands.

- 3. We have already placed before you the call for the international unity meeting issued by the IUS Council. We invite the NSA to support this meeting, to give it wide publicity, and to stimulate discussion on it among U.S. students. The IUS is prepared to print the opinions of the NSA on this meeting in World Student News if the NSA will ensure the wide distribution in the United States of an IUS article on the meeting and generally on international student cooperation.

- 4. We propose that the NSA give its full support to the struggles of students of colonial and dependent countries for national independence and a democratic education especially by working for the end of colonial wars now raging, and by increasing its student relief activities. We urge the NSA to accept the invitation of International Student Relief to participate in its governing bodies and to work with the IUS for cooperation between student relief organizations on the basis of relief distribution solely according to student needs.

- 5. We invite the NSA to join actively in the cultural program for the coming year. This will include international cultural competitions, exchanges of exhibi-

tions, works of art and literature, films, manuscripts, records; exchanges and tours of student cultural groups, and contacts between art students and faculties whereby experiences, material on study methods, etc. are exchanged. We urge you to publicize this program, assist the participation of U.S. students and insure that the students send to us their proposals and requests in this field.

• 6. We invite the NSA to facilitate the participation of U.S. students in the program for students of specialized disciplines. This again includes exchanges of study material and student work between schools and scientific societies, exchange of student delegations, and international conferences. It also includes the contribution by students of their special knowledge to general student campaigns for improved conditions, i.e. medical students planning student health services, architectural students designing hotels, canteens, etc. We invite you to publicize this program and facilitate students sending their proposals and requests to the IUS.

• 7. We invite the NSA to assist U.S. student sportsmen in joining in the many sports activities of the IUS this year. This program, set forth in principle by the team captains and representatives of International Sports Federations during the XI World University Summer Games, in which 42 countries participated, and by the IUS Council includes: friendly international sport competitions, exchanges of sports materials and experiences, student sport delegations and international sports camps. Specifically, we are planning an international Chess tournament this winter, an international winter sport camp in Czechoslovakia this winter, international competitions in basketball, volleyball, table tennis, and other sports next summer, and summer sports camps with facilities and instructors.

• 8. In addition to the above, in order to further international contact between students we invite the NSA to facilitate the participation of U.S. students in the international student camps held by the IUS next winter and summer. These camps, which will be held in Czechoslovakia, Italy and Rumania, will include cultural and sports programs, tours, discussions on the life of students in the country and international student cooperation.

In order to carry out this program we propose to increase the exchange of ma-

terials and reports between NSA and IUS. The NSA is on the IUS mailing list to receive all publications; we hope in return to receive all material put out by the NSA.

As in each of the past years we invite the NSA to send an official delegation to the next Council meeting of the IUS in the coming summer. We hope that a reciprocal invitation will be extended to the IUS to send a delegation to the next Congress of the NSA.

In order to carry out this program, we hereby extend an invitation to the NSA to send at the earliest possible date representatives to meet with the IUS Secretariat for discussions, on cooperation between U.S. students and the IUS and the settling of any difficulties which may be outstanding.

Furthermore, in order to increase understanding among students, we make the following proposals: the NSA sponsor the selection, by students of U.S. universities of a delegation of student representatives. The IUS is prepared to support with its member organizations a visit of this delegation to the countries of these member organizations, if in return the NSA will support and arrange a reciprocal visit of the IUS delegation to U.S. universities.

WE have put these proposals before NSA and all U.S. students, confident that they correspond to the interests of all U.S. students and that they are an excellent basis for strengthening cooperation and understanding among students. We see no valid reason why such a program cannot be carried out. We are certain that it will be an important contribution to world peace and the improvement of students' conditions.

However, it is necessary for us on this occasion to take up certain important issues which have been seriously hindering the cooperation of U.S. students with the IUS, and their colleagues throughout the world. We have received the resolutions of the international commission of the last Congress of the NSA. We were surprised at the many inaccuracies contained in these resolutions, and at the apparent lack of information which has been given to NSA members and even Congress delegates concerning international student activities, particularly the relations between the IUS and the

NSA. We believe that viewed objectively, many of the decisions of the Congress do not contribute to the furthering of international student cooperation, but rather bring closer the danger of a split among the students of the world.

The resolution on the IUS states that the IUS "has given no indication of its willingness to cooperate with American students in their National Student Association." The truth is quite opposite. The events of the last year speak for themselves.

THE IUS has repeatedly made proposals for cooperation to the NSA to which there has not even been a response. Following the II World Student Congress and the NSA Congress of 1950, the IUS sent to the NSA a detailed series of proposals for cooperation. No reply was received. The IUS invited the NSA to the XI World University Winter Games and the Winter Camp in February 1951. No reply was received. The IUS invited the NSA to the International Student Travel Meeting in February 1951. No reply was received. The NSA was invited to attend, together with other non-member national unions, the IUS Executive meeting in Berlin where one of the main subjects was international student cooperation and unity. From this meeting the Joint Statement on Unity was issued. The NSA did not reply to this invitation. The NSA was invited to the International Student Sports meeting last spring. No reply was received when material was sent to NSA in celebration of February 21st, Day of Struggling against Colonialism, the NSA leaders wrote stating that they did not wish even to receive the material! No reply has been received from the NSA to the invitation of the International Student Relief to participate in the governing bodies and activities of that organization. The NSA was invited to the IUS Summer Camp, 1951 in Italy. No reply was received. No reply was received to the invitation to the XI World University Summer Games 1951. The NSA leaders did not accept the invitation to participate in preparing the III World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and did not publicize the Festival among U.S. students. When the IUS accepted the NSA proposal to send only two observers, even these persons did not attend. Finally, disregarding even the specific mandate of the 1950 NSA Congress, the leaders of NSA did

not accept the invitation to participate in the Council meeting of the IUS, September last.

During this period, the members of NSA were never informed of these invitations sent by the IUS, even though these proposals were of the most practical and specific nature.

Furthermore, *not one* communication containing proposals for cooperation was received by the IUS from the NSA. Yet the resolution of the last NSA Congress states that the IUS "has rejected the efforts of U.S. NSA to find some common basis for continued constructive relations"!!!

The resolution of the 4th NSA Congress on the IUS is virtually identical with the resolution passed one year ago. It contains for instance, the same 12 "characteristics" which the NSA wishes in an international student organization. One year ago the IUS sent to the NSA its answer to these points in the form of its reply to the very similar points raised by the Scottish Union of Students at the II World Student Congress. This reply expressed agreement with many of the points and readiness to discuss others. No word has been received from the NSA on this matter for one year. Were the students and NSA delegates ever informed of this IUS reply? Why is it that these points are now repeated unchanged, as though there had been no IUS reply? It is certain that these points, if discussed between the organizations can be satisfactorily settled.

WE fail to understand why the leaders of the NSA refuse even to answer IUS letters, refuse to inform US students of IUS proposals, spread thoroughly false statements about the IUS, and refuse to attend any meetings where discussions could be held. These actions indicate opposition to cooperation, rather than support of it.

Our belief that there has actually existed a systematic undermining of cooperation is strengthened by the chronology of events and other decisions taken by the NSA Congress. During the past year, Mr. Lowenstein, in the name of the NSA, has rejected cooperation with the IUS, and has repeatedly called for the establishment of a new international student organization. Some of his remarks brought a vote of censure from other student organizations at Stockholm and the comment of the London Times Educa-

tional Supplement that they "would no doubt meet with the full approval of the State Department." Recently, Mr. Lowenstein, again in the name of the NSA, told the Congress of the NFCUS, "we are doing here what our big brothers, the foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be doing on a larger scale in Ottawa next week." He then proceeded to openly oppose an exchange between Canadian and Soviet students!

Now the NSA Congress has called for the establishment of an international "instrumentality" to coordinate the actions of certain national student unions, has decided not to cooperate even in practical matters with the IUS, and has officially spoken of establishment of a "World Student Union." This series of events, culminating in the decisions of the NSA Congress, clearly reveal that active efforts are being made to split the students of different countries, impede truly international student cooperation, and above all, prevent US students from cooperating in any way with the millions of students, in the IUS. While we do not believe that a majority of US students desire this course, the facts remain.

We are convinced that the facts of the past year, amply demonstrate the justice of our assertions. Since, however, the position expressed in the resolutions of the NSA Congress was undoubtedly prevalent, the IUS once again expressed its desire to discuss all of the questions raised with a view to increasing cooperation between the five million students in the IUS and the students of the United States. We reiterate our proposal for a meeting between representatives of the

IUS Secretariat and the U.S. NSA. This meeting could take place in the coming weeks at a place to be mutually decided.

We believe that excellent possibilities exist today for developing ever greater international cooperation of students of all lands. What is necessary is to sincerely work out such a program together.

TODAY, when the threat of war is the same for one and all, regardless of beliefs or nationality, it is more urgent than ever before that unceasing efforts be made for international understanding and cooperation, against the danger of a new war. Such cooperation between all peoples is the power which can preserve peace.

We express again our desire to cooperate for peace and better student conditions with all U.S. students and the NSA. We have placed before you our proposals for such cooperation. We look forward to receiving from you in the speediest time your reply to these suggestions and any further proposals which you may have. We take the liberty of circulating this letter to Student Councils in the United States.

With best wishes to United States students; may the coming year see a fruitful and active cooperation develop between them and the students united in the IUS for peace, friendship, and better conditions of life and study.

*For the Secretariat of the
International Union of Students*

JOSEF GROHMAN
President

PAOLO PESCE
Deputy General Secretary

new foundations

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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.