

# LABOR ACTION

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## Western Policy in the Near East Crisis: Can the U. S. Take Over the Pieces of the British Empire?

By HAL DRAPER



Ghajar, Teheran  
"A third thief came and made off with the prize."

It certainly is not news that the British Empire has disintegrated before the very eyes of our own generation. The news in the last two weeks has been that a couple more chunks have fallen off the already ruined edifice.

The moves by Egypt and Iraq, on top of Iran's lion-bearding, have produced almost as much alarm in this country as in Britain itself. And it is true that they raise several other questions besides the simple right of a people to its national sovereignty. But reading the American press, one would scarcely be aware that national independence is involved at all.

The people of Iran, Egypt and Iraq (and there are others who will follow suit) want their own lands back under their own sole control, all of their land. They want national sovereignty, without buts or ifs. They do not want foreign troops imposed upon them and quartered on their territory because of the demands of foreign powers to which they must yield for fear of reprisals. They want to get rid of every last vestige of imperialist control.

In these desires they are 100 per cent justified. Not a single one of the other issues involved can even be approached on a democratic—let alone, socialist—basis until this is established.

It is these aspirations for full national independence which are being snidely referred to in the press as "Near East chauvinism," "fanaticism," "a nationalist malady," and other derogatory terms typical of imperialist minds. It is an index to American chauvinism.

It is legitimate to raise the question of Near Eastern defense against Russian aggression—but only on the basis of full Near Eastern independence from the U. S. bloc, not as a pretext for denying that independence.

It is legitimate and necessary to point out the reactionary character of the governments which are tweaking the British lion's tail—but not as a pretext for denying that

the peoples involved have the right to full independence even if they are also so unfortunate as to be saddled with reactionary governments at home.

Thus, a statement by Herbert Morrison, British foreign minister, slyly refers to Egypt as "a country . . . whose government foments international disputes in order to divert popular attention from much needed reforms at home."

### YES, IT'S POPULAR!

This may indeed be true of the Egyptian government, which is reactionary and corrupt. But:

(1) Morrison makes this point not because his heart is bleeding for the Egyptian people but in the course of his threat to use force if necessary to keep British troops stationed over the Egyptian people's land!

(2) We hope to see the Egyptian people themselves settle with their reactionary government—without foreign troops on their soil to get in their way.

(3) If the Egyptian government has moved against the British to "divert popular attention" at home, it is precisely because this move is fervently desired by the PEOPLE, and not just by the reactionary government. In fact, it is because of the reactionary and corrupt character of the Egyptian ruling class that such steps have not been taken before this. Morrison's sneer is misplaced.

The picture is: Even the ruling class which has so long been corrupted and controlled by British imperialism, even the reactionary

ruling class without whom British power would long ago have been more aggressively attacked before this, even this class no longer wants Britain there. They are turning on the former master like jackals in the days of the old lion's weakness, but that is as nothing compared with their previous crimes as collaborators and compradors of the imperialist power.

The same can be said for the governments of Iran and Iraq.

### WHOSE "LEGALITY"?

The noise raised about Egypt's unilateral denunciation of its treaty with Britain "is considered silly by the Egyptians," reports a correspondent. It is at any rate the sheerest legalistic hypocrisy. Egypt has been asking Britain to get its troops out since the end of the war, and four years ago it requested the UN Security Council to do something about it. The UN did nothing as usual. Egypt is now supposed to submit to the "legality" of a treaty which, like the original occupation by Britain in its heyday of power, was imposed on it at bottom by force.

It remains to be added that the atrocities from either the British or the Americans about the reactionary nature of the Egyptian government come with poor grace from states that are backing Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, Quirino and other polidons of democracy.

All this may be true, it may be said (unfortunately, by would-be liberals among others), but isn't it true that if Egypt ousts the British troops, it leaves the vital

(Continued on page 4)

## Reuther in Bureaucratic Move Against Stellato Opposition

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Oct. 12—The action today of the Reuther leadership of the United Auto Workers (CIO) in calling Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, before the entire international union executive board, and charging him with "publishing material detrimental to the interests of the UAW," raises certain basic issues important to the future of this union.

Is the Reuther leadership determined to crack down on Stellato and smash him, as an example to other opposition and to all critics, before the groundswell of anti-Reutherism becomes a major problem of concern?

Pressed by the spectre of increasing unemployment, speedup, and other factors making for discontent, the auto workers are certainly in an anti-administration mood such as preceded the disposal of the Thomas-Addes-Leonard leadership. Reuther's experiences at the various conferences in recent weeks must have come as quite a shock to him. Is he becoming a bit panicky, and is this behind the bureaucratic action against Stellato?

How hard-pressed the Reutherites in Ford Local 600 are for supporters was illustrated recently by the hiring of Tommy Thompson, bitter anti-Reutherite of past days, by the Reuther regime. He is now in the Ford department of the UAW.

The UAW leaders did not furnish Stellato a bill of particulars on the charges placed against him. He refused to answer questions until this was done. Stellato also utilized the occasion to blast Reuther's policies. He ridiculed the five-year contracts; he renewed his demand for a 30-hour week with 40-hour pay.

Is the Reuther regime now preparing to censor all local union papers, whether or not they are published in connection with the international union paper? And does this become a major fight for freedom of the press? These and many other questions remain to be answered by the action of the Reuther regime.

Very frankly, we are quite sus-

picious of this latest move because we have seen far too many examples where Reuther leaders identify themselves as the union, and where they take any criticism of themselves as a "blow at the union."

### THE BIGGEST BLOW

As a matter of fact, the biggest blow given the prestige of the UAW as a union, as well as a blow at the prestige of the Reuther regime, was the results of the NLRB election at the Burroughs Adding Machine Company last Thursday. This company, with a long record of paternalism, has resisted unionism successfully since the advent of the CIO.

The UAW petitioned for an election, after an organizing campaign, and was defeated by something like 5,000 votes to 800 for the union. The UE received around 300. This is the talk of Detroit. In the heart of the UAW, the UAW leaders were unable to organize a plant that large!

Who kidded whom about this campaign, and how much of a porkchopping expedition it was, instead of a properly organized campaign, are subjects that should occupy the attention of the top leadership as much at least as the attacks by Stellato.

# 'He Hasn't Got the Answers,' Say Delegates As Reuther Trips Up Before Chrysler Men

DETROIT, Oct. 11—Scheduled as a routine one-day affair, the national Chrysler delegate conference held here last week by the United Auto Workers (CIO) turned into a full two-day session which provided some surprises and shocks to the Reuther regime.

For it was the first major conference in recent times at which the shop union leaders dominated the agenda and the discussion, and dictated the tone and atmosphere of the entire event.

No sooner did the conference open than union leaders from the shop added important items like transfers to war plants, a Chrysler council-setup proposal, etc., to the agenda. These were accepted by unanimous action of the delegates.

After Norman Mathews, Chrysler UAW department director, reported on special negotiations with Chrysler on the speedup and other burning issues—from which no results were obtained—delegates took the floor to criticize and above all to discuss the problems in the shop which must be handled.

A vigorous speech by Jesse Cundiff, chairman of the shop committee of Local 7, posed all the speedup issues which confront the Chrysler workers. His report on the bitter fight against speedup at the Chrysler Jefferson and Kercheval plants, and his insistence that the union fight on all Chrysler fronts as a unified force, made a big impression on the conference.

### BLUNDER AT START

Backed by the entire Local 7 delegation, Cundiff demanded a report on the case of Jimmy Solomon, the discharged chairman of the Dodge local shop committee, and made a strong plea for an all-out effort of the UAW to get him reinstated, since the union had lost much prestige by letting this discharge remain unsettled.

A lengthy report by Mathews on the details of the Solomon case was interrupted by Delegate Al Nash of Local 7 to make a privileged motion for a two-day conference to take enough time fully to discuss the issues before the Chrysler workers, and this carried unanimously after Nash spoke on the subject.

Before Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, made his report, many delegates from the shops told the story of their speedup problems, and Jimmy Solomon of the Dodge local described in an effective speech the situation that had led up to his discharge. The Dodge local leaders in the shop had tried to compromise the speedup issue, even to the extent of agreeing to extra work, but the company was out for blood and got it.

In this serious and sombre atmosphere, Walter Reuther began his speech with a major blunder. He started his usual factional defense of the leadership with a blast at John L. Lewis' dictatorship in the United Mine Workers Union. Reuther was stopped cold by the delegates. With shouts, boos and yells, they demanded that he stick to the speedup issue and other subjects agitating the minds of the Chrysler workers. This, from a conference whose composition was overwhelmingly Reutherite!

Reuther retreated, even to the extent of not mentioning his pet

the failure of the education program to develop any new leaders or educate the ranks in unionism, and he gave examples of the status-quo mentality which prevailed on the international union staff.

It was a hard-hitting speech, delivered in a sober tone, and it was well received by the delegates. Reuther, as usual, rolled with the punch, using his standard "I can agree with much of what the brother says, but . . ." and then repeated his claim that the UAW was the most militant union in America, as if that were the subject in dispute.

For the next hour, Reuther was questioned from the floor on the speedup issue and on the second set of rules, the contract, which Nash had also explained did not permit a genuine settling of the speedup issue. The discussion on this point was embarrassing to Reuther, and to the international union representatives present, for it soon became evident that Reuther simply didn't know the Chrysler contract, and his suggestions were just not possible under the agreement.

Of course, when the routine motion to accept Reuther's report and to issue a press release blasting Chrysler, was made, the delegates voted unanimously for it. The subsequent press release gives the impression that Reuther had the solid backing of the

Chrysler conference for his views. This is far from true.

### HOT POTATOES

In fact, the outstanding result of the Chrysler conference is the fact that the shop leaders now feel they are better than Reuther when it comes to knowing and solving shop problems. "Hell, he hasn't got the answers," was a frequent comment during Reuther's discussion. This is something new in the UAW in the Reutherite circles.

The conference demanded action, and it was promised by Reuther on the question of transfers into new war plants. In the last war older seniority workers, by their very seniority, were kept on auto production until the end. Younger men were laid off and got the first and good jobs at war plants. Then the older seniority men were unemployed for a long while in the gap between auto production and war production. The union ranks want job opportunities in Chrysler war plants, for example, to go by seniority as the openings and promotions do now.

Perhaps the hottest potato in the UAW basket of problems right now, along with speedup, is the plight of the skilled trades. Workers in unorganized shops in Detroit make from 25 cents an hour to 75 cents an hour more than the men covered by UAW

contracts. And knowing how scarce skilled workers are, the skilled men are burned up at this situation. Furthermore, in many cases, the companies like Chrysler sent work elsewhere, to job shops, which apparently are owned by corporation big shots, rather than doing the work in the major plants, and this had cut out much overtime of the skilled workers. The latter are irritated.

Sometimes Chrysler brings in AFL men to do work which Chrysler maintenance men can do and have done, and this is a source of friction which almost caused a strike at the Jefferson plant last weekend.

Efforts to get a Chrysler council setup such as the UAW constitution mandates for local unions bargaining with a company with different plants failed at this conference because the issue had not been presented early enough to many of the delegates, and because one very effective argument was used against it: "If it's anything like the General Motors setup I wouldn't touch it. Look at the conditions of the GM workers!"

This argument, made by Art Grudzen, president of Dodge Local 3, a strong Reuther man, was very well received. It shows, however, even if the speaker didn't intend it, what the UAW secondary leaders think of Reuther's own creation, the GM setup.

# LABOR SCOPE

## PRESSURE IS BUILDING UP TO BREAK-THROUGH ON WAGES

By BEN HALL

When big labor struggles hit the front pages, the abruptness with which they are reported often gives a false impression. Steel workers or coal miners seem seized with a sudden, unpredictable, or even arbitrary militancy. For a second, everyone is terribly concerned and disturbed; editors of our daily press are again amazed and somewhat disappointed at that lack of "responsibility" which leads good American workmen to upset the public and the nation, in a capricious fit of anger.

What they cannot seem to understand is that behind every strike lie months and sometimes years of accumulated irritations and injustices, important or not so important, grievances which cannot be solved in any other way. The big mass strike which flares up suddenly is not the beginning of the fight but usually its culmination.

For the moment, labor news is squeezed into the inside pages. But the unions' grievances have not been smoothed away. The apparent lull reveals what is in the making.

### ROLE OF THE WILDCAT

Radio operators finally saw their wages increases authorized by the Wage Stabilization Board. But the weeks of stalling were ended only when a gathering strike movement which had already tied up several ships on the East Coast threatened to precipitate a general walkout. This week brings reports of the first large-scale wildcat strike movement in an important industry. New York longshoremen, in Brooklyn and West Side Manhattan, stopped work on October 15 in protest against the contract signed by their union, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

This contract provided for a wage increase of 10 cents an hour, all that was possible under wage board rulings. All the efforts of Joe Ryan, lifetime president of the union, and of army officials

have been of no avail. In effect, this strike expresses the discontent of the men with their union officials, with the wage board and with the shipping companies.

Wildcat strikes (not authorized by the union) are always a danger sign for union officials; they know that the rank and file use such methods to prod them into action and they feel uneasy.

### PRESSURE BUILDING UP

Labor leaders are building up a big pressure to break through the ceilings of the Wage Stabilization Board. The New York Times reports: "Shutdowns have occurred or are now going on in aluminum, copper, freight-car building, atomic-plant construction, aircraft, machine tools, and automotive parts." The UAW alone has four important cases pending before the board. And

soon the steel workers go into negotiations. Board rulings would only allow them a 4 cent hourly wage increase. It is doubtful that Phil Murray can accept such a meager sum.

The UE (Independent Socialist electrical workers' union) has threatened to strike General Electric if it does not agree to a wage increase above the ceilings set by the wage board. Perhaps it is bluffing. But if the UE begins to fight, it will inevitably push its CIO rivals toward greater boldness.

If it should win, other unions would have to follow suit. And if it loses, under pressure from the wage board and the Truman administration, the CIO unions would become more restive and uneasy under the overhanging threats from an administration which they support.

## Readers Take the Floor . . .

### Inspired

To the Editor:

Have just read your article [the article by Max Shachtman on the joint anti-war declaration of the Indian and Japanese Socialists—Ed.] in the October 8 issue of LABOR ACTION; it was, to me, a very inspired one. Also the news of the meeting between the Japanese and Indian Socialist groups was most encouraging.

I must admit that I read your article with some feelings of guilt, for in it you mentioned those people who are the "skeptics, the tired and retired people," etc., who won't do anything to form a Third Camp but would join it once it was already formed and the hard work done (by others) to form it.

My position has not been one of skepticism, rather it has been one of lethargy. After reading

your article, which showed a freshness of spirit as well as a proper humility toward the "backward peoples," as opposed to the chauvinism of the more "modern" and "civilized" countries of Europe, I felt my own tiredness and apathy to be unforgivable. I realize now that merely subscribing to LABOR ACTION periodically is not nearly enough. Henceforth I will join the activities of the Independent Socialist League, participate more fully in carrying out whatever duties are to be done and give as much money as I can to the League.

This reading of clothes and breast-beating was a long time in coming, and now that it has come, this once "tired and retired" individual will "lend the eye a more terrible aspect" (to quote Shakespeare) and plunge into the fray. If you wish, this letter may be published in LABOR ACTION. H.

# Western Policy in Near East — —

(Continued from page 1)

Suez Canal area defenseless against Russian aggression? Let us then reassure Egypt that we theoretically recognize her right to independence, but convince her that in practice she cannot change the de-facto situation without benefiting Russia alone. This is the line of U. S. policy, in effect.

This line might have some meaning for the Egyptian people if there were honesty behind it—that is, if these powers who now protest their non-imperialist intentions had not shown themselves up before this and even during their very protestations. As it is, "No remark is more common [in Egypt] than this: 'The West always has some excuse for maintaining its dominance, and now Russia is the excuse.'" (N. Y. Times.)

### THE IMPERIALIST MIND

Behind this common remark is a truth: the Western powers are not, to be sure, merely using Russia as an excuse to dominate Egypt; but they are socially unable and unwilling to "defend the Near East against Russia" without also dominating the Near Eastern countries for the benefit of their own imperialism.

—But still, wouldn't the ouster of the British be a help to Russian plans of aggression?

This is an open-and-shut question only to those who think of "defense of the free world" solely in terms of where the West can station troops (as Washington does), who think of the Near Eastern countries themselves only as military bases. But it is this imperialist mentality of the West which above all infuriates the peoples.

It is this imperialist approach of the West—including its ultimate "Submit to us or else you will be helping the Russians," all of which assumes that the people have to submit to someone—which greases the road for Stalinist in-

fluence in these countries and makes them a ripe field for Stalinist expansion, not a bulwark against it.

An Egypt garrisoned by British (or American) troops against the will of the people is no bastion against Russian expansion but an easier prey for it.

What this illustrates is the inability of the Western capitalist powers—demonstrated in country after country since the end of the war to—mobilize the "free world" against Stalinist expansionism on a democratic basis, and its ability to do so only on the basis of an overlord-vassal relationship.

It is an overlord-vassal relationship in so close a sense as almost to parody the social structure of feudalism, in which the serf served his lord in exchange for the latter's obligation to defend him. The Egyptians are told in almost so many words: You cannot insist on your national sovereignty, you must in fact yield at least part of your national freedom, so that we, the Power Lords of the world, may defend you against other bandits.

### EQUAL PARTNER?

Neither Washington nor London could hope to take their stand simply on the "silly" business of treaty legality. They came up with a "compromise." This was: to maintain the status quo in Egypt with one change, the replacement of the British troops by a five-power arrangement (U. S., Britain, France, and Turkey plus Egypt). Egypt would be an "equal partner."

"Equal partner" sounds very nice and fair and above all democratic—if one forgets that it means that Egypt is to be an "equal partner" with four other powers in controlling its own country. That is, the "fair" arrangement that is proposed is that it accept one-fifth sovereignty in the area under dispute rather than full control of its own country.

In addition: "The particular point of the proposals, about which the opposition [in Egypt] is centered, is that they are regarded as turning Egypt into a full ally of the West, pledged even to fight outside her own borders. This is referred to as worse, if anything, than the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty."

Anyone who argues that Egypt should be willing to become a full ally of the West would not be to the point, even if his faith in the Western imperialist war camp were justified. For the point is that the West has not shown its willingness to give Egypt its independence without strings and then discuss alliances. It is pointing a pistol. And it is, in turn, this very proof that the West has not changed its imperialist spots which rightly convinces the Egyptian people that they do not want the war alliance!

### CAN U. S. STEP IN?

In all of this, Washington is under several pulls, although the direction of its own aspirations is pretty clear. Its aim, in the course of the present inevitable disintegration of the British Empire, is double: to keep the former imperial subjects out of the orbit of the Kremlin—and to replace the weakened British power with its own overlordship.

The United States does not, and does not need to, substitute its own political control directly. For one thing, it has its economic and financial leading-strings. For another, it has its predominant power in the UN.

In the case of Iran, for example, there was a tug on Washington at the very start of that dispute to step into Britain's shoes directly, replacing the British oilmen with American oilmen while accepting the nationalization set-

up. There were American oilmen ready for the job and the consequent profits to be made. If the State Department put its foot down on this plan, it was in order not to drive the British into a frenzy of anti-U. S. hatred.

The proposed plan whereby a UN corporation or other body would take over Iranian oil would give the United States a bigger finger in the pie, at any rate, than the previous exclusively British control. The U. S. would not then consider the Iranian blowup a total loss—it would come out as the gainer. The same in general would be true for the proposed multi-power setup for the Suez area.

### DANGER OF CONTAGION

Another pull on the U. S. in the case of Iran, and no doubt to some extent in the case of Egypt, is the fear of the example of revolt. If a chunk falls out of the British empire, that is no skin off Washington's back—if it can step into Britain's place. But there is always the danger of "bad examples."

The Times' James Reston reports, for example, that the U. S. has been trying to "support the British in such a way that Iranian developments would not set a dangerous precedent in Venezuela, Saudi Arabia and other countries where our own oil concessions might be damaged."

He adds: "To reconcile Iran's nationalistic tendencies with her international commitments to the British, however, is almost as difficult as arranging a settlement in Iran that will not immediately lead the Venezuelans and others to demand concessions that we do not wish to approve."

Another Times dispatch indicates how this applies in the

Egyptian case: "It is certain that Western diplomacy will have to hold firm in Cairo and stick by a legalistic solution of the Suez impasse. It cannot allow ferment to seethe in Libya and French Africa." (Raymond Daniell, Oct. 14.) And then there are also Morocco, Algeria and points east.

On the one hand, as one must never forget, the inter-imperialist rivalries in the West go on in the midst of (even if subordinated to) the cold war—for example, the French accuse the British of stirring up nationalist feeling in France's North African colonies—while, at the same time, in the face of the demands from the colonies and semi-colonies for national independence, it is a case of "we imperialists must stick together."

This is the background on which Egypt raises its demand for national sovereignty, and it is in this writer of imperialist considerations—dominated above all by the capitalist-Stalinist rivalry—that the democratic demand for national independence becomes "chauvinism," "fanaticism" and a "nationalist melody" in the eyes of the West's policy-makers.

But in Egypt's anti-British measures—as in Iran's and Iraq's—we see not only the interplay of rivalries and antagonisms among the forces represented by the Western governments, the Kremlin and the reactionary landlord regimes of the Near East, but also the aspirations of the peoples for freedom from all their oppressors. If, as Herbert Morrison has said, these measures are popular diversions to placate the people, the exit of the foreign masters and their troops will leave these regimes face to face with their own people.

Then there will be another Power on the stage.

# The Fight for Democracy ON THE HOME FRONT

University of North Carolina officials have refused to allow any of its six Negro students to sit in student sections of football games. The officials ruled that the Supreme Court order giving Negroes educational facilities equal to those of white students did not include football game seats.

Attorney General McGrath has ordered a federal grand jury investigation of the Cicero riots. The NAACP, in a telegram to the Justice Department termed the local county grand jury proceedings "a grave threat to law and order" and warned that "if this perversion of justice is not corrected, anti-discrimination and anti-segregation laws will become meaningless and violence will be encouraged."

American Airlines was charged with violating New York State's civil-rights law by practicing seating discrimination against Negro passengers at LaGuardia Airfield. The American Jewish Congress, on behalf of Gabriel Gladstone, Brooklyn College graduate and former American Airlines ticket agent, is the complainant in this case.

As a result American Airlines has agreed to discontinue the practice of marking reservations with a code number designating passengers as Negro.

The senate Rules Committee continues its hearings on four cloture rulings designed to help prevent the filibusters by which so much civil-rights legislation has been blocked in Congress.

Part of the McCarran Act has been declared unconstitutional by a state court.

The southern District Court of California had before it a case in which the defendant, Frank Spector, had been indicted for violating a clause of the act which makes it an offense for "any alien against whom an order of deportation is outstanding . . . [to] willfully fail or refuse to depart from the United States" within the time set, or to "willfully fail or refuse to make timely application in good faith for travel or other documents necessary to his departure."

The decision by Judge Mathes held the second part void—that is, the clause on applying for travel documents. He argued that it was too vague and does not specifically declare what action is required for compliance.

The first part—failure to depart, etc.—was upheld by the judge but is again under attack in an Iowa case, on the ground that it hinges on the "travel documents" requirement.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California is fighting the case of Alexander Lobanov, a Russian seaman who came to the U. S. in 1943 and briefly worked for the Russian Purchasing Commission. In 1944 he was ordered back to Russia but refused to go, choosing to become a political refugee.

Lobanov shipped out on American vessels from 1945-50. Most of the time he was refused shore leave in the U. S. for lack of a passport. Not until late in 1948 did he get a continuing waiver of passport from the State Department.

Last January the Immigration Department picked him up and has kept him in a detention barracks since then. He has never been told why he is detained or what the agency intends to do with him. He has never found out why his entry into the country has been declared "prejudicial to the interests of the country."

Early next year, Doubleday will publish in book form the report by the ACLU on blacklisting in radio and television and loyalty-security problems in these fields. It deals with the methods of the notorious Red Channels and Counterattack (example: the Jean Muir case not long ago).

The study was made over the course of a year by ACLU board member and novelist Merle Miller, together with a team of investigators.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, published October 24:

THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION, by George Gaylord Simpson. Revised and abridged. A Mentor book, 192 pages, 35 cents.

A STRETCAR NAMED DESIRE, by Tennessee Williams. The text of the play. A Signet book, 144 pages, 25 cents.

THE HUMOROUS SIDE OF ERSKINE CALDWELL, edited by Robert Cantwell. A Signet book, 224 pages, 25 cents.

CORNBLAUD ARISTOCRAT, by Claud Garner. A Signet book, 240 pages, 25 cents.

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## Editorials

### The Foreign Policy of the A-Bomb

More bluntly than ever, in his speech at Wake Forest College on October 15, President Truman made clear that the foreign policy of the administration based its aim of "peace" on arming to the teeth and on that virtually alone. It could not have been put more plainly:

"Our policy is based on the hope that it will be possible to live, without a war, in the same world as the Soviet Union—if the free nations have adequate defenses. As our defenses improve, the chance of negotiating successfully with the Soviet Union will increase. The growth of our defenses will help to convince the leaders of the Soviet Union that peaceful arrangements are in their own self-interest. And as our strength increases, we should be able to negotiate settlements that the Soviet Union will respect and live up to."

It is an open statement of "peace" through an armaments race, an open confession that the foreign policy of the country is basically its military policy. It is the theory—if it may still be called such—which has preceded and led to every major war of our time.

We do not subscribe to the view that wars are caused by armaments races, to be sure. The third world war which looms ahead will be basically the result of the rivalry for world power of two antagonistic exploiting systems, Western capitalism and Russian Stalinism, and the cold war and its arms race are the instruments of this rivalry. But it is the latter which Truman paints as the road to peace!

The real meaning of the arms race was more truthfully pointed up during the last two weeks by a couple of other developments. While Truman talks of a "negotiated settlement" with the Kremlin on the basis of bigger and more destructive armaments, and the Kremlin continues with its usual demagoguery about its own dove-like intentions, both countries made more of an impression on the world by once again and simultaneously brandishing their atom bombs in each other's faces.

Stalin, casting aside (momentarily at least) Moscow's double-talk about its interest in atomic energy for peaceful purposes only like moving mountains and such, boasted of the new A-bomb which his slave-scientists have put together.

Gordon Dean, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, waved "tactical" A-bombs about in the international atmosphere, presumably to give America's allies more faith in this country's ability to

wipe opposition off the map—and to reassure them that the atom need not be used only to destroy cities.

Truman's road to peace—that is, the basis for his foreign policy—boils down to his faith in the "fantastic new weapons." Whatever these may be, they mean the ability to devastate the world. There is no other way out proposed either in Truman's speech or, more important, in the actual policies being pursued by the United States.

This picture should be kept in mind as we read the laments in the press about the unwillingness of countries like Egypt to become military bases for U. S. power. No one is idiot enough to suspect the reactionary ruling circles of a country like Egypt of pro-RUSSIAN sympathies; but the Near East peoples have no wish to be the proving grounds for either Washington's or Moscow's A-bombs.

You must permit your country to become our military base in order to defend yourselves against Russian aggression—this is what the Egyptians are told from the West. But the peoples have seen what it means to be "defended" by the Western protectors; they have seen it in Korea, and what they have seen there is that whichever side wins, the Korean people have already lost. Their land is ravaged; their country is torn up; their fields will be a No Man's Land even after the armies have departed.

American policy offers only the perspective of atomic-war-to-the-bitter-end. It is socially and politically incapable of fighting the dynamic Stalinist system by any other means—by countering its political and social appeal to the masses of the world who are through with capitalism and its imperialism, which they have known on their own backs for generations while they have not known the horrors of Stalinist totalitarianism.

These peoples will never become enthusiastic about fighting the Stalinist threat merely because they are told that the Russians want to enslave them, however true this is. The "free world" cannot be mobilized in defense of capitalism any longer.

We socialists do not want to live in peace with Stalinism—we want to destroy this scourge of the world working class. This cannot be done through an atomic war, except with the direst reactionary consequences both for the working class and the world. It can be done by building the forces of the Third Camp, by the organization of the socialist struggle against both war blocs.

## WORLD POLITICS

### NEHRU PUSHES THROUGH GAG LAW ON INDIAN PRESS

By PHILIP COBEN

American official opinion has been intensely grieved with Nehru especially since the Indian leader shot a gaping hole in the Japanese treaty conference by refusing to attend. The press started lamenting (more than ever, at any rate) that Nehru was not the able and idealistic statesman he was cracked up to be, and one might have expected that it would be only to glad to take another fall out of him in connection with his new press-gag law. Such was not the case. Few things better exemplify the hypocrisy of our Lords of the Press.

They editorially kicked the stuffings out of him when he took a step which (everybody knew and even admitted) reflected the desires of his people for an anti-war foreign policy. But they apologize for him when he takes a step which is as gross a violation of elementary democracy as can be found in any non-Stalinist country. It is clear that their sole criterion is neither democracy nor even views on foreign policy, but the extent to which he toes the Washington line.

At least the N. Y. Times virtually apologizes for and whitewashes his press gag.

This measure, which Nehru personally pushed through his parliament, is an atrocity. It forbids publication of "any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to incite or encourage" overthrow of the government, commission of a crime or sabotage, prejudice recruiting to or discipline in the police or armed forces, or promote "feelings of enmity or hatred" between different sections of the community, and it bans matter which is "grossly indecent, scurrilous or obscene or intended for blackmail."

It is plain, as the widespread opposition to the law in India contended with the support of virtually the whole Indian press, that the terms of this act are so broad as to give the government power to suppress any inconvenient criticism.

Both Nehru and the N. Y. Times have attempted to cite the blackmail provision as the main butt of the law. This is hypocrisy on the face of it. There are undoubtedly laws on the Indian books against blackmail already.

#### WHAT IS IT AIMED AT?

Not the least heinous provision of the law is the section which makes liable also the owners and operators of the press plant upon which the offending publication is printed. The effect of such a provision is to make it difficult for opposition publications even to get their stuff printed in the first place.

The Indian Stalinist movement is cited as another butt, in justification of the gag. It would be enough to point out that, even if the Indian Stalinists really menaced the country, the suppression of freedom of the press is a method of dealing with the danger which Nehru borrows from the witch-hunters of the United States. As a matter of fact, however, the Indian Stalinists are not even strong and influential, let alone in a position to present a "clear and present danger."

While "deploring" the over-all repressive character of the act, the Times finds that Nehru has acted "under heavy provocation." Its last point under this head is significant: "it could be pointed out with justice that one of the prime minister's objectives is to prevent scurrilous attacks on friendly nations such as ourselves." This gives the gag a plus-mark, in the editorialist's opinion!

In point of fact, the main opposition to Nehru in India comes not from the Stalinists but from the mass Socialist Party of the country. The press gag is not the first repressive act of the great democrat Nehru against this workers' and peasants' movement.

### ISL Program—in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today of each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

## YOU and SCIENCE

### "BW"—SCIENCE UPSIDE DOWN

By CARL DARTON

The small city of Frederick, Md., was recently in the news with a bit of whimsy: it had just paid off its Civil War ransom note. This indebtedness was encountered as a result of payment to a Confederate general to prevent the razing of the city.

Not as whimsical and not as frequently publicized is the fact that Frederick is the site of Camp Detrick, the headquarters for military research on biological warfare. Many of the "fantastic new weapons" of the past few years have originated in research in bacteriology and other biological sciences in this quiet town in the foothills of the Blue Mountains.

The center of civic activity in Frederick is the Francis Scott Key Hotel; and as one sits in its charming pine-paneled dining room he is inclined to play a game. It is a guessing game of endeavoring to pick out the scientists who have taken an hour or two off from the more deadly game of originating ghastly biological means of death.

Even though one may be familiar with the appearances, habits and idiosyncrasies of bacteriologists it is impossible to tell the scientists from the businessmen or even tourists who pass through en route to Washington. All appear to be highly civilized and respected members of polite society. There is no evidence of personality and emotional conflicts such as would be expected to occur in the professional descendants of Pasteur, Ehrlich and Walter Reed now engaged in applying their scientific heritage to destruction.

Dr. Theodore Rosebury, in his popular but informative book on biological warfare, *Peace or Pestilence* [McGraw-Hill, 1949, \$2.75] aptly calls it bacteriology upside down. "BW is an upside-down science, an inversion of nature. Normally we study disease in order to prevent it or cure it. This is bacteriology right-side up. But BW sets out to produce disease. It is not normal or natural but abnormal and artificial."

#### THE "ORGANIZED IRRESPONSIBILITY" OF THE SYSTEM

We can add that BW is not only an inversion of nature but also a perversion of man. One asks himself: How can this be? One hundred or even fifty years ago it would have been unthinkable for normal people trained in scientific ethics to apply their talents directly to evil purposes. The emotional conflicts would have tended to unbalance them. However, such are the characteristics of our times that while society itself is going crazy its inhabitants appear to act perfectly normal. The individual survives, at least some do, temporarily, while society as a whole dies.

C. Wright Mills in his book *White Collar* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1951, \$5.00) speaks of the organized irresponsibility of the individual in present-day culture. Though he uses this in reference to the managers of society it can just as well be applied to the scientists.

To quote Mills, "In a world dominated by a vast system of abstractions, managers may become cold with principle and do what local and immediate masters of men could never do. Their social insulation results in deadened feelings in the face of the impoverishment of life in the lower orders and its stultification in the upper circles. . . . The social control of the system is such that irresponsibility is organized into it." Like most others, scientists are caught in the web of organized irresponsibility.

As might be expected, however, scientists have not so entirely adjusted themselves to the contradictions of organized irrationality as have the businessmen and the managers. As a result, realizing that the individual reaction of a Fuchs, or a simple renunciation of all military research is not the answer, some scientists have attempted to find the social way out. This is the method of building responsibility, back into society.

We have written of the efforts of the Federation of American Scientists and the Association of Scientific Workers, and even of faint rumblings of social responsibility in such staid organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Some day the scientists may learn from the labor unionists that the group can do what the individual can never hope to achieve. If labor and science both can reach the common goal of a rational, democratically organized society, then scientists, all workers and humanity as a whole will truly be walking erect instead of "upside down."

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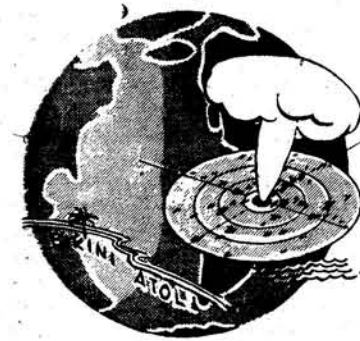
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# STUDENT SOCIALIST

October 22, 1951 STUDENT-YOUTH SECTION of LABOR ACTION — 4 Pages FIVE CENTS

## THE STUDENT-FEDERALIST CONVENTION: World-Federalist Youth, After Break from Adult Body, Faces Issue: Can a Federation of the Present Governments Bring World Peace?

By ROBERT MAGNUS



The period immediately following World War II produced a flourishing of liberalism which had a special impact on American students. Such organizations as the American Veterans Committee and Students for Democratic Action blossomed into popular, thriving movements which vigorously espoused many progressive views.

The political basis for this development was provided by the perspective of a durable peace through Big Three collaboration and agreement. It permitted American liberals to consider internal problems of domestic policy, uninfluenced by considerations of national interest in the sphere of world politics.

With the gradual worsening of international relations, however, and

the consequent intensification of the cold war, a political pre-condition for vigorous liberalism disappeared. They found it necessary to subordinate liberal criticism of the administration's foreign policy to the struggle against "communism," as well as to abandon programs of domestic reform in favor of rearmament. The ultimate symbol of the dissolution of the "new American liberal" was the support by some of its most prominent legislative spokesmen of the infamous McCarran Act—one of the most reactionary pieces of repressive legislation since the Alien and Sedition Acts.

The early growth of the World-Federalist movement in America can be traced to essentially the same sources as other liberal organizations. Beginning as a part of an international movement for world government NOW, American federalism flourished in an atmosphere of comparative world amity, fed on illusions about the non-existent Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the United Nations, and the idea of One World.

It elaborated the concept of world government into an almost universal cure-all which, if immediately and forthrightly applied, could solve the basic problems of war and international anarchy. Strengthened in its belief by the organization of the United Nations and the presumably "internationalist" policy being followed by the United States, federalism gained adherents in all sections of the population, including many prominent personages.

### IT CAUGHT ON

Supreme Court judges, congressmen and large corporation executives found it so expedient to endorse federalism that its proposals and resolution were adopted by several state legislatures. At the same time its attacks upon "sovereignty" and "international chaos" as the root of modern war secured steadfast adherents among fairly wide sections of the American student body.

American federalism, unlike its European counterpart which from the beginning was tied more or less closely with social-democratic tendencies, always consisted of divergent groups, mostly of a middle-class character. The more conservative elements could frequently be identified with distinctly pro-capitalist interests, as in the case of a Standard Oil vice-president who seemed to think world federalism a useful means to increase his company's world holdings.

The unification of all federalists

into one organization, the United World Federalists, was possible only because of the hazy character of federalist theory as a whole, and the typically liberalistic propensity for compromise at the expense of programmatic meaning. Even this, however, did not prevent one or two small splits from occurring.

On campus, the early federalist groups always tended to be relatively conservative in comparison with other liberal groups. Though there was some overlapping in membership, the activities of the student radical were more likely to be enlisted on behalf of the militant AVC or Wallace movement than in a student-federalist chapter which spent most of its time discussing the significance of Plato's Republic.

### TWO TENDENCIES

With the intensification of the cold war, federalism, like other organizations, was thrown into a severe crisis. Under its very eyes the world split into two warring blocs, and the United Nations was revealed as merely the spokesman for the stronger power combination. The accompanying war hysteria pushed the main body of federalism along the general path of subordinating its views more and more to conform with the needs of American foreign policy. It turned from "world government now" to a "partial Western federation" which by any name could be no more than an anti-Russian alliance.

But while this was the main drift, a significant tendency began to move in the opposite direction. While the "practical" bent of organizations like AVC and SDA made their ideological retreat from liberalism easy, the radical anti-national sovereignty aspect of federalism was a harder tradition to liquidate.

A fundamental opposition to the existing power structure in international relations provided the basis for the leftward development of a section of the student division: it began to criticize not only the half-way proposals of the official movement but also the tactic of shying away from mass work in favor of "pressure" on "influential elements."

Student-federalist chapters began to take a greater interest in questions of political action and

(Continued on page 4-5)

## Move to Gag Free Speech At U. of C.'s Sather Gate

By BOB MARTINSON

The University of California's Sather Gate is under attack by the Berkeley City Council.

To those unacquainted with the long tradition of untrammelled free speech symbolized by this "Hyde Park" for students, that news may be shrugged off lightly as merely another in the long list of attacks on free speech, free assembly and academic freedom.

The astounding lassitude of the democratic and liberal forces all over America has given aid and comfort to the enemies of freedom within and has advanced the propaganda aims of Stalinist imperialism without. The cold war on the campus has proceeded far beyond its avowed intention of removing the influence of Stalinism from our universities. As predicted by independent socialists long ago, the hysterical attempt to destroy the rights of Stalinists by reactionary and undemocratic means leads to attacks on all liberties. Here in one of our greatest universities is the proof positive of this view.

For Sather Gate is not merely "another" area in which students have the right to speak. It is much more important than that. It stands as a last reminder of exactly what is left of student's rights and freedoms in the epoch of the cold war.

### A TRADITION

A knowledge of its traditions and importance will not only aid in a militant struggle in its defense, but will point up to students all over America the "clear and present" danger of the "subversive" lists, the "loyalty" programs, and the general nationwide attack on academic freedom. Just what is Sather Gate? Physically it is nothing but the main entrance to the University of California at Berkeley. Since a great number of students constantly use the gate, it is the most natural place for street speaking in the area.

Through it have streamed generation after generation of Amer-

ican students. All the great political struggles of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been debated vigorously and at length before audiences of interested students. Anybody with a soapbox and an idea can stand up and be counted for what he believes.

It is nothing but that free marketplace of ideas of which Justice Holmes spoke so solemnly and about which the liberals have forgotten so quickly. Its function has been to educate students about political and social issues which were seldom discussed in the classroom, but which they, as adults, would have to decide.

At Sather Gate, wars have been defended and attacked, candidates proposed and opposed, programs debated and torn apart. As the university has grown, more and more non-student speakers have appeared to defend themselves be-

fore the critical and sophisticated student audiences.

Over the years the Gate has become more and more known as a "radical haven." It is daily attacked by the Hearst press, the reactionaries and bigots of all description. This concentrated barrage has led some to refuse to defend it on the grounds that it no longer represents a forum for all points of view. They would do well to ask themselves why it does not. Is it the fault of Sather Gate, or the fault of certain ideas, that "radicals" have most frequently used its facilities? Unlike the classroom tradition, the Gate is no respecter of "authority" or "position."

Further it is false that only radicals use the Gate. Both Richard Nixon, the conservative, and Helen Gahagan Douglas, the liberal, defended their candidacies

(Continued on page 4-5)

## STUDENTS AND PEOPLE OF BERKELEY WIN FIGHT AGAINST CITY GAG LAWS

BERKELEY, Oct. 10—On Tuesday, October 9, practically the entire city of Berkeley showed up to oppose the proposed ordinance on sound equipment and street assemblies.

Seldom in the history of this city has such a united and serious opposition ever appeared to oppose any piece of proposed legislation. Out of the hundreds of people in the audience there was not one single speaker for the street-assembly ordinance! Only three people spoke in favor of the sound-equipment ordinance, and this was merely on the mistaken grounds of opposition to vulgar advertising.

One by one, spokesmen for every single important Berkeley organization arose to condemn the ordinances outright for their obviously reactionary character. The specific reasons differed but the refrain was the same: the ordinances will abolish the traditional rights of the people of Berkeley.

The following organizations opposed the ordinances: Young Republicans of Alameda County, Democratic Party, Students for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, Independent Progressive Party, AFL Central Labor

Council, 18th Assembly District Democratic Club, the Associated Students of the University of California, Graduate Students Association, Students' Committee to Defeat the Ordinances (Socialist Youth League, Young Peoples' Socialist League and individuals), Socialist Labor Party, and the Cordones Village Tenants Council.

Against this array of organizations only two council members had the audacity to defend the ordinances, Berkeley and Pettit. Pettit is the administrative assistant to President Sproul of the university; Berkeley is a nobody.

In a face-saving motion the council unanimously referred the ordinances to the city attorney for "further study." During the discussion, however, it was brought out that these ordinances were never even discussed by the council before this, but were the product of the city attorney's and city managers' fertile imaginations.

Even though the proposed ordinances were not defeated outright, the motion was understood by everyone as a defeat for these measures. Civil liberties in America have won a battle, if not a war.

(Continued on page 4-5)

# Fight Breaks Out at U. of Chi. over Attack By Dean on Freedom of Press on Campus

By BILL HICKOK

CHICAGO, OCT. 13—This past week at the University of Chicago brought an amazing upsurge in student interest and activity in political affairs. The issue was Dean of Students Robert M. Strozier's suspension of the *Chicago Maroon* (official campus newspaper) and the removal of its Stalinist editor. The response was loud and excited and from all areas of student opinion.

The *Maroon* is the last significant area of Stalinist influence on Chicago's campus. It has remained such this long only because of the lack of a sufficient number of students with journalistic interests and enough political direction to join the staff and oust the Stalinists in a regular and democratic manner.

In spite of the Stalinists' growing isolation, they have continued to handle the *Maroon* in their accustomed crude and hackneyed manner. Meetings, lectures, debates, and publications sponsored by local student political groups pass through a highly selective inspection for relevance to the Stalinist "peace" line before being reported in the paper. Those that make the grade are distorted, if necessary to the point of falsification. Thus Stringfellow Barr ended up reading like Paul Robeson. Only the Stalinist Labor Youth League and local "peace committees" were guaranteed faithful write-ups.

### CHANGE PROPOSED

This behavior of the Stalinists is doubly stupid under current campus circumstances. It cuts them off from the students, who are overwhelmingly anti-Stalinist, and who also are unfortunately rapidly losing any remnants of political interest. It provokes the faculty and administration who are annually subjected to demands, in the form of investiga-

tions, for the reliability and allegiance of the university in the cold war.

By last spring, then, at the initiation of certain faculty and administration members, joint student-faculty discussions were held leading to Strozier's decision to recommend to Student Government that it and the *Maroon* staff set up a means of campus-wide election of the editor. Under its present constitution the election of an editor is the function of the staff, and the staff is open (officially at least) to all interested and able students. The *Maroon* was opposed to any change in its constitution. SG never got beyond a discussion of the legality of the dean's proposal.

### DEAN FIRES EDITOR

At the end of the spring quarter the staff elected its new editor. During the summer he was in East Berlin attending the Stalinist "Peace Festival" and is now "somewhere among the Peoples' Republics fighting for peace." The U. of C. faces another investigation, this time by Congressman Velde's committee. SG had done nothing about the administration's recommendations, and the *Maroon* continued as a serious snag on the U. of C. campus.

The dean acted. To the editor he wrote: "I find it necessary to remove you immediately from the editorship of the *Maroon*. Your action in sponsoring and attending the East Berlin Youth Festival demonstrates your lack of

qualification to edit a free and independent newspaper. To the *Maroon*: "I am today writing the Student Government to request it to proceed at once with steps for a new election, based upon my recommendations of last spring. . . publication is suspended until the Student Government has acted."

### OPPOSITION RALLIES

These announcements were printed in the last authorized edition of the *Maroon* on October 5. Immediately the issue was taken over and fought over by the whole student body. Unfortunately a student body grown lethargic with political indifference does not always find the most democratic methods to express its anti-Stalinism. Large sections, the fraternities and inveterate reactionaries, are not concerned with democratic methods in the first place. An uncomfortably large number of signatures, 1600 according to a right-wing spokesman in SG, were collected on petitions giving unqualified support to Strozier's action.

From among anti-Stalinist liberals and socialists who visited the first *Maroon* staff meeting last Monday arose the Temporary All-Campus Committee for the Preservation of Students' Rights. Its membership grew to about six times the founding handful in the course of the week and was successful in collecting several hundred signatures to its statement of position. It states itself in violent opposition to Stalinism and Stalinist control of the *Maroon*, but demands the withdrawal of the suspension of publication, defends the existing *Maroon* constitution, and seeks to pledge its members to join the staff and work to change the paper's policy in a democratic manner from within.

Student Government was divid-

ed and incapable of assuming a position or taking any action on the first few days of the week. They even rejected a proposal to set up an official all-campus committee to defend the *Maroon* with proportional representation for all campus organizations and unaffiliated students as was done last year in the Broyles Bills fight. Their initiative was limited to waiting for the *Maroon*-sponsored rally that took place last Tuesday evening in order to discover the direction of student opinion.

At this meeting the overwhelming majority very clearly expressed its opinion of the actions of the dean's office. The official speaker for the administration was howled out of the hall at the close of his speech. The anti-Stalinist of the majority was also clear, however, from the cold response to the standard lines of the Stalinist speakers about the "peace movements" in the East. It is clear the campus was concerned not with what happens to the editor but with the fact that the move of the dean's office was a "dangerous attack on their democratic rights."

### SHOWDOWN TO COME

By Thursday, the *Maroon*, the dean, and SG reached agreement. The absence of the editor beyond the latest date of expected arrival made the demand for his reinstatement meaningless and unsupported. SG succeeded in passing a resolution in favor of withdrawing the suspension of the *Maroon*, declaring a vacancy in the editor's post to be filled by an election by the staff according to its present constitution, and indicating its intentions to work on the problem of changing the methods of election by next spring. The *Maroon* staff insisted it had not changed its position on

its constitution but would discuss with SG. The dean had rid the campus of its Stalinist editor and won a congratulatory editorial in the *Chicago Hearst* paper. The real struggle over the *Maroon* constitution could well be postponed until a cooling-off period has passed and the students returned to apathy. So they may figure.

It is improbable that the coming *Maroon* election will produce anything but another Stalinist editor, given the present staff. Their conduct of the paper may be a little more restrained after their brush with the administration, but the independence of the paper and right of the staff to choose its editor will depend on the continued activity of those anti-Stalinist liberal and socialist tendencies represented in the All-Campus Committee.

Unless they succeed in bringing enough new people into the staff with a serious attitude toward working on the paper and changing its leadership, and unless they can continue to bring student pressure to bear on SG at its forthcoming elections and offer Strozier's proposals may yet prove successful. Without these changes in it, the staff will continue to be dominated by the Stalinists, and they are incapable of bringing any sizable student support to their program.

The pressure on the university from state and federal "patriots" continues to grow. Strozier has indicated once his disregard for democratic forms in his need to pledge allegiance to the right imperialist power. He will not back down in his proposal on editorial elections, for here his arguments at least have the sounds of democracy around them and, what is more, the proposed changes will guarantee against any future Stalinism in the campus newspaper.

## ADMINISTRATION TINKERS WITH CAMPUS ELECTION—

# Brooklyn: 'Double-Think' Gideonse Rides Again

By PAUL AXTELL

It appears that Brooklyn College's President Harry Gideonse has horned in on Harry Truman's "It's McCarthyism" act.

For some time now the American public has been treated to the spectacle of Truman—the originator of the subversive list and government loyalty purges—and administration supporters trying to shift the onus for the current wave of hysteria on to Senator Joseph McCarthy alone. The whole show has been rather sickening, for, as LABOR ACTION pungently stated the case in its issue of October 1:

"The issue of 'reds' is currently a profitable one in politics. It is not important whether Joe McCarthy believes what he says; or that he is a moral coward who is afraid to repeat his irresponsible charges outside of the safe walls of the Senate. We don't know whether McCarthy gives a damn about what he says or believes, and we don't care. This Wisconsin windbag could have and should have been retired by the people of his state so that he could return to his profession of slyster. But he was able to ride the hysteria of the cold war, make a hobby out of anti-radicalism and ride a train of events started by the administration itself."

It is altogether fitting and proper, therefore, that Brooklyn College's own local opponent of academic freedom should follow the line of the man in the White House.

The case involved is a legitimate one of civil liberties. Dr. Belle Zeller of the political science department of Brooklyn College, a well-known expert on political and economic pressure groups, was recently promoted to a full professorship by the New York City Board of Education. Protesting the action of the board, Alfred Kohberg a McCarthy supporter and prominent wheelhorse of Chiang Kai-Shek's "China lobby," declared that, since promotion was "not merely an honor, but a badge of character. . . we cannot believe that you [the Board of Education] are prepared to clear Professor Zeller at this time."

### GIDEONSE—LEFT HAND

Kohberg, representing an organization known as the "Joint Committee Against Communism," maintained that Professor Zeller had failed, in 1940, to testify before the Rapp-Coudert Committee which was then in the process of investigating the influence of Stalinist teachers in New York State.

In addition to this charge, he stated that "Professor Zeller had in 1936-37 been the head of the Brooklyn College Chapter of the Teachers Union (Stalinist). . ." Kohberg finally demanded a full-scale probe of "pro-communism at Brooklyn College."

The Brooklyn College *Kingsman* (Gideonse's house organ) reports as follows: "President Harry Gideonse, in discussing the charges which he dismissed as 'McCarthyism,' said

that the charges upon which Kohberg had based his request had been gone over by special committees of the Board of Higher Education both immediately after the release of the Rapp-Coudert Report ten years ago and again at the time of Professor Zeller's promotion in 1944. It was further revealed that Professor Zeller had delayed testifying only until the legality of such procedure had been established. . . The suggestion that an 'all-over pro-communist situation' existed at Brooklyn College was dismissed by the president as 'poppycock.' Mr. Kohberg was given time to present to the board any evidence he had to back his claims. . . It is presumable that if he had had such evidence he would have presented it when he was invited to."

*Kingsman* also reports that in a phone interview, Kohberg admitted that his group was not prepared to present any documented evidence of any deviation from standard teaching procedures by Professor Zeller.

It may well be asked if any such deviations were found in the practices of other purged Stalinist teachers, leaving aside the question of their abhorrent ideology. However, it all looks pretty good, doesn't it? Harry Gideonse, heaven help us, is now a defender of civil liberties!

And this writer, when first confronted with the facts, had to admit that in this clear-cut case of faculty rights Gideonse, for once, was on the right side of the fence.

But this pleasant surprise was short-lived, for, upon turning to the inside page of the same issue of *Kingsman* we are reassured that Gideonse, on a recent campus issue of student rights, is still working his old method of "academic doublethink."

### GIDEONSE—RIGHT HAND

*Kingsman* reports the surprise action of the Student Governing Council in voting in favor of conducting a run-off election between Willie Sandler and Dave Goldman, the two top candidates for president of Student Government in the spring election last term. Sandler (a candidate of the Independent Liberal Party) was a member of the Campus Coalition for the Reinstatement of Vanguard, suspended student newspaper. The coalition, which excluded Stalinists and contained, with the exception of the Young Republicans and Common Cause, every anti-Stalinist political club on campus, was branded by "Anti-McCarthyism" Gideonse as a little band of "midget-Maliks." Not even the Young Democrats were spared!

Sandler stated that the circumstances surrounding the recent election were so confused, contradictory, and unfair, that he could not accept its final outcome. "He cited the issuance of campaign material by Goldman's party [Campus Affairs—pro-administration] on the morning of voting despite a prohibiting election rule, and the use of school materials for the campaign. . .

In addition . . . he mentioned the confusion resulting from votes mistakenly cast by upper seniors, the confusion involved in the counting and recording of votes, etc."

This last point is a euphemistic gem. Last term, after numerous vote recounts, Sandler came out on top, though his final winning margin was smaller than the first tabulations. *Nevertheless, the last three tabulations revealed Sandler as leading by the same margin.*

By all democratic criteria it would seem that Sandler, having come out ahead in the last three countings, should have become the new president of SGA. In spite of this fact, however, the announcement appeared in the *New York Times* this summer to the effect that Goldman was the new student president of Brooklyn College! Obviously, the final count taken when school was out was the one which proved most satisfactory to the administration.

Need one wonder why Sandler asks for a runoff election? And need one ponder too long if there will be such an election? Finally, need one wonder, after the presentation of the above facts, if the attacks on "McCarthyite anti-democratic hysteria" by Harry Gideonse are any more sincere than those of Harry Truman?

And this writer, when first confronted with the facts, had to admit that in this clear-cut case of faculty rights Gideonse, for once, was on the right side of the fence.

# Is Jim Crow on the Way Out? Negro People's Fight Has Made Wide Gains in the South

By MAX MARTIN

Many significant gains in the struggle against segregation and discrimination have been made during the last few years. This is most clearly seen in the South because it is there that the Jim Crow pattern is most pervasive, most intense and most violent. Democratic inroads into the Jim Crow pattern stand out more glaringly against the background in the South than they do in the less obviously Jim Crow North. In an article in a recent issue of the *New Leader*, Lillian Smith lists a number of these gains. They include:

- (1) A thousand Negro students have been attending white colleges in the South during the past year.
- (2) Many white students are now enrolled in Negro colleges.
- (3) All Baptist schools of theology and many Catholic schools in the South now accept Negro students.
- (4) Negro graduate nurses are now integrated into the state branches of the American Nurses Association in most Southern states.
- (5) Public libraries of a number of Southern cities are now open to all regardless of color.
- (6) Dining cars on trains are now open to Negroes throughout the South.
- (7) About 750,000 Southern Negroes voted in the last national election and it is estimated that about twice as many will vote in 1952.

Most of these gains have been made through administrative, legislative and judicial action by governmental bodies. Particularly effective have been the various Supreme Court decisions which have forced open the doors of Southern colleges and universities to Negro students. More such decisions are in the offing, and the prospect of ending segregation in the schools of the South is now on the horizon. That this is so is evidenced by the fact that many states in the South are now for the first time making frenzied efforts to appear to be equalizing the facilities of Negro schools with those of schools attended by white students.

The "liberal" apologists for segregation have been pointing for many years to the "separate but equal facilities" myth as their alternative to the abolition of segregation. Even if this reactionary "solution" were to be put into effect, even if the school plant were of the same caliber and teachers in both Negro and white schools received the same training, there would still be no equality because the fact of segregation itself and the psychological consequences flowing from it would automatically and necessarily harm education in the Negro school.

### Students' Attitudes Changing

Leaving this aside, however, the truth, which everybody knows and which the Southern apologists have never before taken the trouble to hide, is that the per-capita expenditure for education of Negro children is very, very much lower than the expenditure for whites. Southern politicians never bothered to deny these facts because they never felt any need to. They felt so secure that they could cynically make holiday speeches about equal facilities and at the same time admit that they were not equal and that this would not change. If they now are making some real efforts to improve Negro schools and are trying to pretend that facilities are or soon will be equal, it is because they see the handwriting on the wall and recognize that the whole pattern of segregation is being threatened.

The first (and a very important) conclusion to be drawn from these developments is that segregation can be wiped out through the exercise of governmental power. The reason that this has to be mentioned is that the "liberal" apologists for segregation mentioned above, as well as many people genuinely opposed to segregation, have frequently asserted the proposition that governmental action cannot do away with segregation, that we "must first change people's minds and hearts and educate them out of their prejudices." Such people have furthermore claimed that if the government did attempt to end segregation the prejudiced white public would at best ignore the law and might very well react with violence in the form of riots against Negroes.

The changing attitudes are seen among white students in Southern colleges and universities. Student publications in schools in every state in Dixie have editorialized in favor of admitting Negroes to their graduate schools. Many polls have been conducted among students and these reveal that the social attitudes are today far less prejudiced than is commonly thought. About half of the students polled are for the admission of Negroes to their schools; approximately the same percentage are willing to eat with Negroes; and 10 per cent are willing to room with Negroes. Of symptomatic significance is the fact that at a recent oratorical contest held at the University of Charleston (South Carolina) first prize was won by a young student who made an impassioned speech against segregation, discrimination and bigotry.

Changes in attitude among whites was observed firsthand by a Negro member of the Socialist Youth League who made a trip through Virginia last summer. He reported a considerable difference in the atmosphere of Negro-white relations now as compared with previous years. Among his impressionistic observations are the following:

Whites increasingly call Negroes "mister" instead of "boy" . . . White storekeepers serve Negro customers in turn instead of keeping them waiting endlessly. . . Community dances and other social functions are attended now by Negroes and whites. . . A white man

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# With the SYL

By DON HARRIS  
National Secretary

The opening of a new semester provided the opportunity for most SYL units once again to take up their activities on campuses throughout the country.

Almost everywhere the political atmosphere becomes more frigid as the storms of the pro-war, anti-radical drive increase in depth and velocity. Even though not as large as expected, the draft has cut into college enrollment, with an even larger drop in the relative proportion of veterans and males. As staying in school has become the easiest way to stay out of the army, students who might otherwise be politically active are concentrating on "beating the curve."

In addition, there are everywhere new moves by college administrations to silence critical voices. At Cornell, for example, the dean of students recently announced that any student caught "advocating force and violence" would automatically be suspended (football players and ROTC members excluded).

Despite this atmosphere, SYLers are active throughout the country—playing a role in almost every significant struggle on behalf of student rights, few as such struggles may be. A few follow:

**Berkeley:** The SYL took a leading part in the entire struggle against the City Council ordinance banning public meetings (see the *Sather Gate* article in this issue.) It helped to involve many important forces in the Bay Area. The AFL, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Berkeley Democrats and Young Republicans, the YMCA and the Student Government have all come out against the ordinance, following the initiative taken by the SYL in helping to set up a campus committee.

**West Coast:** In addition to Berkeley, the SYL continues to operate on the main campuses. The new *West Coast Student Socialist* (now the organ of the entire West Coast SYL) will be off the press in another week with an improved format. The aim will be to sell it as a magazine for five cents per copy.

**Mid-West:** As announced in last week's LABOR ACTION, Gordon Haskell is now making the year's first tour speaking at meetings arranged by Mid-West units. Stopping at Buffalo, Cleveland, Oberlin, Detroit, Madison, Chicago and Pittsburgh, he will address audiences of youth and students on all campuses which still permit "political meetings" to be held. Where political meetings are banned, arrangements are being made for off-campus gatherings.

asked a Negro girl to dance with him at a community dance hall. . . A county "civic guide" booklet issued by the local American Legion pays tribute to the local Negro leaders as well as to whites.

Above all he reports that there is a tremendous feeling of optimism among the Negroes of Virginia. They are seeing progress and feel that much more of it is coming. Together with the optimism goes the feeling that segregation is on its way out, that they can now begin to look forward to wiping out the inferior and subjected status to which American capitalism has traditionally assigned them. They are determined that this shall happen and confident that it will.

To keep the picture straight it must be pointed out, of course, that most of the democratic gains have been made in those areas of social life which most affect the Negroes who are better educated and economically better-off. They are the ones who have benefited most from the inroads made into segregation. These changes are significant but for the most part they have occurred on the college campus, in Pullman dining cars, and in libraries. The overwhelming majority of Southern Negroes have no access to these institutions and their lives have remained the same. Still unaffected are the areas significant for the Negro masses, the movies, the streetcars and buses, the public schools, and most important of all, the economic position of the Negroes. But signs are appearing here too; the public schools seem to be next on the agenda.

We must now ask ourselves why it is that these changes are taking place. The first part of the answer lies in the struggle which the Negroes have been waging. For the most part this struggle has been conducted through court cases by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations. They have challenged almost every case in which a Negro student was excluded from a university and have brought suit over many other kinds of discrimination and segregation. What has to be explained is why it is that these efforts have now been resulting in victory.

Socialists have long maintained that Jim Crow is an institution maintained by capitalism for a number of reasons. Among these are the fact that it is to the benefit of the bourgeoisie to keep the Negro and white workers divided so as to prevent the masses of people from struggling for improvements in a united fashion, and in order to have a reserve of Negro workers to do the heavy, dangerous and dirty labor. These workers could be subjected to super-exploitation and the result would be increased profits for the capitalists. These motives are still operative but a series of changes in the objective situation of capitalism have resulted in the birth of needs and interests which run counter to these. The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1948 gives us some clues as to what these are.

### The "International Reason"

This committee, composed of outstanding industrialists and other public figures every one of whom has not the slightest radical idea or connection and every one of whom is a staunch defender of capitalist society, issued a report calling for the economic and political integration of Negroes into American society on a basis of equality. They give three reasons for ending the restrictions on Negroes:

(1) The moral reason: The discrepancies between our verbalizations about American democracy and the realities sap our moral fiber and weaken us as a nation.

(2) The economic reason: The low wages of minorities keep a potential market for goods from being realized and keep a potential source of increased production out of the economy.

(3) The international reason: The effect that America's treatment of Negroes has on the rest of the world—particularly Asia and Africa. It is clear that all of these reasons are part and parcel of the needs of the American ruling class in its war preparations for the coming showdowns with Stalinism. Very much related to reason No. 2 is the long-range industrialization of the South which has been going on for many years. The full realization of the potential of the South requires the destruction of its feudal heritage, and as part of this the ending of its treatment of the Negro. The unionization of many Southern workers has played an important role in creating the new atmosphere which is beginning to emerge. This long-term trend has been tremendously reinforced by the needs of the war economy which require more and more the utilization of all available manpower.

Important, above all, is the "international" reason. America's efforts to win the masses of the world to the Western capitalist war camp have been an outstanding failure. A part of the reason for this is the way minorities in America are treated. The Truman administration is aware of this, as is also its Republican opposition (witness Governor Dewey's speeches on his recent trip through Asia). A favorable climate is therefore created for actions to wipe out the "American Dilemma."

This situation by no means guarantees success for the Negroes. It does make it possible, however. Continued struggle is needed. The NAACP has to continue its policy of contesting all cases of discrimination in the courts. It must not confine itself to judicial efforts, however, but must enter the arena of mass struggle. In this connection the role played by A. Phillip Randolph's March-On-Washington Movement in forcing a reluctant Roosevelt to issue an Emergency Fair Employment Practices order must be remembered. Above all we need an alliance between white workers and Negro workers through the trade-union movement to fight side by side for democracy, economic improvements for the working class and Negro equality.

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# Free Speech at Sather Gate — —

(Continued from page 1-5)  
before large throngs of students there during the last elections.

Another reason for the predominance of unpopular opinions at the Gate is the university's Rule 17. This regulation prohibits all political or "sectarian religious" groups from speaking on the campus proper or using any of the facilities of the university. It does not (and should not) prohibit our present conservative faculties from voicing their opinions in the classrooms. But it does effectively silence minority opinion on the campus!

## MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS

The only way in which the student can learn about minority opinions is through listening to people who really hold and believe in these opinions. To describe an idea is not to advocate it, and Rule 17 prohibits the effective advocacy of minority opinions on campus. Radicals are thus pushed off the campus along with all other organized political groups.

Since the attack on civil liberties and academic freedom currently carries the banner of "anti-Communism," it would be of great value to see just what effect the removal of the Gate would have. Here is an opportunity to test a thesis often presented by independent socialists: namely, that Stalinism can really be defeated only by the democratic and aggressive countering of its ideas, its program and its practices.

During the 1930s, Sather Gate became the center of the great peace strikes. Each year for many years larger and larger groups of students abandoned the classroom and crowded around speakers at the peace rallies by the thousands and tens of thousands. They solemnly swore the Oxford Oath: never to support the American government in any war in which it might become involved. The students listened to attacks on war and imperialism, to a defense of the Soviet Union, and to demands for the rehabilitation of the "lost generation." Depression and war were the great evils of the time; the Stalinists' defense of the rapidly degenerating Stalin regime still had some popular appeal; and, most important, the

leaders of America seemed to have no solution.

## STALINISTS DECLINE

The success of the peace strikes frightened the administration, the regents, the conservatives in the faculty and the leaders of reaction in the area. They did everything in their power to destroy the success of the peace strikes, but no one could even propose doing away with Sather Gate as a meeting place.

World War II did away with this tremendous "revolt on the campus" by solving the questions of war and unemployment in its own way. The Gate lost its appeal as the Stalinists turned super-patriotic and the boys marched off to war. It was used intermittently but failed to excite any large sections of the student body.

During this period, the City Council of Berkeley, which has jurisdiction over the Gate area, passed a "Quiet Zone" ordinance which blocked off the campus area and prohibited the use of sound equipment in the immediate vicinity. This was of little account practically since sound equipment was very rarely used at the Gate in any case, but it was the first blow at freedom of speech.

During the post-war period, the Gate was monopolized for some time by the Stalinists and their front organizations, Young Progressives, Youth for Wallace, and the Labor Youth League. At the height of the 1948 presidential elections, the Youth for Wallace,

supported by hundreds of students, held meetings, demonstrations and campaigns at the Gate to push its point of view. Meetings were heckled by socialists, liberals and others but the great response to Wallace made their voices unheard.

The defeat of Wallace was the beginning of the end of Stalinist monopoly at the Gate. The Socialist Youth League was able over the next few years literally to chase the Stalinists from the Gate.

For the first time students listened and nodded approval to a real political attack on Stalinism. They were less enthused, naturally, by a vigorous defense of democratic socialism, but they listened in any case. The SYL became known as the Sather Gate group. Every group had to contend with its ideas and the Stalinists were least able to do so. Its attack on Dean Acheson was written up in the Bay Area newspapers and was heard by hundreds of students.

From this moment Berkeley Stalinism went into a deep decline and lost the gate to socialism and democracy.

The real value of Sather Gate only became evident, however, during the loyalty-oath fight of 1949-1950. This fight became a matter of national importance and the regents' victory became a justification for further attacks on academic freedom all over America. The Gate was constantly alive with opposition to the regents.

A united-front committee of twenty-six student organizations used the Gate as a rallying point for activity in behalf of academic freedom. It was absolutely indispensable in the fight and without it student action would have been crippled.

## CITY'S PRETEXTS

The loyalty-oath controversy ended with a rotten compromise—the regents taking all the honors. Since this time silence has descended upon the university community, outspoken opposition has ceased in the faculty and only Sather Gate remains as a forum for dissidents and political speakers.

The City Council is moving to shut down the Gate under the guise of speeding up the flow of traffic and prohibiting the "nuisance" of unregulated sound trucks. As is pointed out in an editorial in the staunch Republican newspaper, the San Francisco Chronicle, "The area just outside Sather Gate has thus become Berkeley's Hyde Park, and even if the meetings there do get in the way of traffic, we say it is better that traffic should be choked than that the students' right of discussion should."

The Chronicle forgot to mention that in order to do away with the right to speak at Sather Gate, the council's proposed ordinances would effectively silence the right to speak on every major street of Berkeley. Stationary sound equipment is also prohibited on every

major street. Thus freedom of speech for the students becomes equivalent to freedom of speech and assembly in the entire area of Berkeley.

## UNITED ACTION

It is precisely this point that the university's Daily Californian also forgot to mention in its otherwise excellent editorial on the matter. During the last councilmanic elections, the Democrats were almost the exclusive users of sound equipment and held many meetings on the major streets of Berkeley. As a matter of fact, the increase in votes for the Democrats (who nevertheless lost) was probably due primarily to their vigorous street campaigns. The proposed ordinances would prohibit all effective political campaigning and thus ensure the re-election of the present City Council with its conservative majority!

This aspect of the case has turned out a large opposition composed of the Berkeley Young Republicans, the San Francisco Chronicle, the AFL Central Labor Council, Harry Kingman of the University YMCA, and many others. If this opposition persists and grows stronger there is a good possibility of defeating the ordinances. What must be remembered in any case, is the close connection between student rights of free speech and the rights of the general population. By refusing to separate the two, free speech can be maintained in the entire city.

# Student-Federalists — —

(Continued from page 1-5)

civil rights. "Left-wing" organs like *Federalist Opinion* began to express the same ideas as were appearing in mimeographed discussion bulletins, and served as a focus for ideological reorientation.

As a result of this development, youth-adult relations became strained and crisis after crisis resulted, as the adult group tried crudely but unsuccessfully to intervene in youth affairs. Despite numerous attempts to compromise the issue and a misplaced emphasis on top-level maneuvering by youth leaders, the differences could not be patched up.

## THE SPLIT

The fight finally culminated in a split at the Des Moines convention of the United World Federalists in June of this year. Reacting against the conservative evolution of its parent body and a threatened withdrawal of funds, the Student Division presented to the convention in the form of an ultimatum a "credo" which was to be their condition for continued affiliation with UWF.

Although mild and virtually meaningless in itself, this credo was rejected by the convention, an act which led to the withdrawal of the youth. Since that time the old Student Division has ceased to exist for all practical purposes, being represented nationally by a continuations committee (the Interim Committee of American Federalist Youth).

It is this committee which prepared for the convention which will be held simultaneously with the publication of this first issue of the *Student Socialist*.

Before discussing the problems facing the convention of this new organization, we must make clear that our attitude toward it is that of the friendly critic; as an independent socialist organization, the Socialist Youth League views the appearance of a dynamic new student movement with complete sympathy. Though there are important differences between us, there are also many points of common agreement which should make possible frequent collaboration on concrete issues.

But for this new movement to be able to grow, or even stay alive, it is obviously necessary for it to extend further the development it has embarked upon. Cut off from the support, influence, and prestige of a parent organization, the new group must be able to justify its continued existence on the basis of some set of ideas which can be the basis for attracting and keeping new people.

For this purpose the old combination of emotional appeals plus vague political proposals is not sufficient. A concrete program must be worked out that will make federalism a meaningful idea in the present context of international politics. We believe that such a program does exist and that with it the federalist movement has an independent role to fulfill. But only on certain conditions.

Despite all of the discussions and struggles around basic political differences, the only expression so far of the tendency's ideological differences with traditional federalism are contained in the "credo" presented to the UWF convention. Yet this credo is so ambiguous that the UWF negotiating committee (set up to try to heal the split) could actually propose the inclusion of the entire statement in the formal UWF program.

## BASIS FOR A LINE

The beginnings of a viable program for federalism must be the clear-cut recognition that NO form of world government can be achieved by relying on the present governments of those countries whose policies are NOW determining—Russia and America.

Whatever their occasional verbal professions, both of these forces represent reactionary social systems intent only on preserving and extending their power. Neither of them has shown the slightest tendency to halt before the prospects of a new holocaust, nor to take any real steps toward its prevention.

In Russia, the people have nothing to say about the course their government pursues, because of the totalitarian terror which is exercised against all critics of the regime.

America, nominally democratic, has still shown itself incapable of securing the support of any foreign movement of a progressive kind. Instead, it has to rely on such reactionary figures as Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang and Quirino.

It is not difficult to see that the reason for this is America's consistent policy of suppressing anti-capitalist movements—whatever their political complexion—in line with putting the interests of its capitalist ruling classes above those of democracy and freedom. The rejection of both war camps, then, and the support of the "Third Camp" must lie at the basis of any new program. Instead of relying on reactionary governments, federalism must pose the idea of a federation of people's governments—governments which genuinely reflect their people's desires for peace, economic security, and national freedom.

The pre-convention conference at Berkeley, two months ago, provided a hopeful sign that federalism would adopt such a program as we have indicated. It passed a resolution proposing a "world-government-movement that is not identified with the governments of either bloc," though "hoping to work through the peoples of each." As opposed to both of the opposing resolutions which were presented, this was distinctly progressive.

One of the other resolutions called for support of the State Department's policy in the face of the danger of Stalinism. The other called for toleration of the Stalinist tyranny in an attempt to achieve the minimum basis for a world-federalist government. The adoption of either of these two positions (both of which have significant support) would subject the new movement to the same kind of degeneration which today affects both the liberal and Stalinist movements.

## FOR THE 3rd CAMP

The next most important problem is what forces should federalism seek to ally itself with in seeking its aims. In our opinion, it should turn away from its past middle-class appeals, toward di-

rect approaches to the movements of colonial peoples and working-class movements in such places as Labor Britain. Even here in America, the labor movement represents, as the greatest potential force for social progress, what should be the primary interest of federalists.

Finally, as many leaders are now realizing, the new movement can become a vital and effective force today only by becoming active on behalf of broader issues than federalism alone. It must espouse all democratic rights and fight the encroachments of democracy which are part and parcel of the war drive and which make all minority views difficult to popularize.

This will not, in the long run, serve to divert attention away from the basic purposes of federalism, but rather make it clear that these purposes rest on a comprehensive set of beliefs about human freedom and social justice. Concern over immediate issues and democratic rights cannot be a substitute for a viable program, but given such a program, local activities and concrete struggles are an essential for giving it life.

In devising its tactics, it is always necessary to consider the question of political collaboration. One danger that the new movement faces is penetration by, or succumbing to, Stalinist influence. While organizationally hostile to Stalinist groups, many leaders of the student-federalists have never articulated the political reasons on which opposition to totalitarian movements must rest. It is this which poses the danger to the new group, like others in the past and present, of moving toward becoming a political spokesman for Stalinist ideas.

The danger is not to be solved by "constitutional" barriers alone. Rather it can be avoided by clear-cut recognition that federalism does not stand for any kind of appeasement of Stalinism. Again, by becoming a broad, anti-war, Third Camp world-government organization, it can repel this danger as well. The road would then be open to cooperation with other third-camp socialist and anti-war groups.

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