

STUDENT SOCIALIST

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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.

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

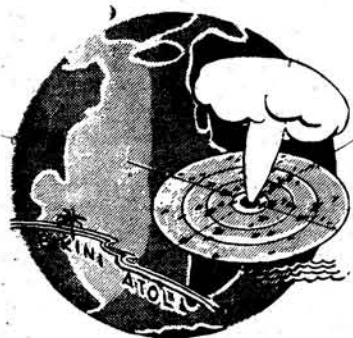
With the intensification of the cold war, federalism, like other organizations, was thrown into a severe crisis. Under its very eyes the world split into two warring blocs, and the United Nations was revealed as merely the spokesman for the stronger power combination. The accompanying war hysteria pushed 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

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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-S)

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.

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-Stalinism of the majority was also clear, however, from the cold response to the standard lines of the Stalinoid 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 unsupportable. 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 after, 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 shyster. 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 Kohlberg 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

Kohlberg, 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) . . ." Kohlberg 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 Kohlberg 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. Kohlberg 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, Kohlberg 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, 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?

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LABOR ACTION

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

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.

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 ordinances, 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.

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CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

Free Speech at Sather Gate — —

(Continued from page 1-S)

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 censure 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-S)

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 preconvention 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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