

new foundations

FOR PEACE, A DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AND A SOCIALIST FUTURE

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS



Educate and inform the whole mass of the People; they are the only sure Reliance for the preservation of our LIBERTY.

Thomas Jefferson

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor FREEDOM, and yet depreciate Agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

Frederick Douglass

MILLIONS ASK- CLEMENCY

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have received a stay of execution until March 30, pending the possibility of an appeal to the Supreme Court. This stay was won by the intervention of millions throughout the world. Labor unions, religious figures of every denomination-leading educators, of many political views and with varying opinions on the guilt or innocence of the Rosenbergs have called for clemency. The Pope has interceded with the President, informing him of the countless appeals for clemency he has received. The Chief Rabbinate of France representing the Jewish clergy, has appealed to the President. The N. Y. Times on Feb. 22 gave a full account of the vastness of the outcry, citing the fact that in France, for example "Almost without exception there is a feeling that the sentence has been too harsh.

This response has been awakened by the facts of the conduct of the trial and the harshness of the sentence. Many cannot but doubt a trial where the conviction is based on the testimony of one witness Greenglass, whose fate depended on making the statements that the prosecution wanted. Many such as Albert Einstein and Harold Urey do not believe it credible that the scientifically ignorant Greenglass could have transmitted any sort of complicated scientific information. Others are alarmed by Judge Kauffman's statement, upon which he based his sentence, that the Rosenbergs alone were to blame for the Korean War.

Yet the fact is that there remains grave danger that the Rosenbergs are to be executed. President Eisenhower has refused to grant clemency without even pausing to consider the report of the government pardon board submitted to him only a few hours before his statement. Both the Pope's message and the statement of the French Rabbinate, were pigeon-holed when they arrived in Washington.

If clemency is to be won, millions who have not yet made known their opposition to the death sentence, will have to speak up. We on the campus share this responsibility. Already students have been joining in the fight for clemency. On a number of campuses such as the University of Michigan and at Oberlin College, students statements called for clemency. The Cornell Daily Sun, even though it believed the Rosenbergs guilty, has urged that the death sentence be set aside.

Individually, in student statements, in resolutions by campus organizations we should inform the President of our desire that he reconsider granting clemency. Time is very short. Many spoke out for the life of Willie McGee, but their number was not enough and too late. Let us be sure that now we act in time to halt those who would inflate an atmosphere of hysteria by sacrificing the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In the days immediately ahead, it is up to each of us on the campus, no matter what our views on other issues, to make it clear that the American college community stands for clemency.

ON THAT EXTRA NICKEL

We regret that we have been forced to raise the price of NEW FOUNDATIONS to 25c. Due to the rising costs in nearly everything, including publishing (as reflected in the higher prices of nearly all other magazines), we found it impossible to make ends meet and still publish three times each semester. We know that all readers who bought NF at the old price will continue to support the magazine, one incidentally which has been permanently expanded to 28 pages, at the very least, and which includes coverage of events heretofore absent from our pages. We are convinced that students want to read a Marxist student publication, and that the extra nickel will not deter them from buying it.

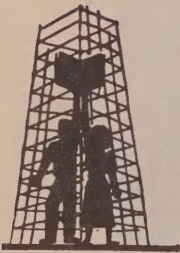
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VOL. 6, No. 3, MARCH, 1953

new foundations

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.



PRINCIPLES:

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

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

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NEW FOUNDATIONS is published at 575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, N. Y. by the New Foundations Cooperative Press. Entered as second class matter November 26, 1947 at the Post Office in New York N. Y. Subscription rate \$1.00 for 6 issues (U. S. and Canada); \$1.25 foreign; single copies 25c.

On Stalin's Death

Millions in all parts of the world have mourned with the Soviet people the death of Joseph Stalin. Stalin has been mourned because of what his leadership contributed to the welfare of all humanity. Stalin who led in the building of the world's first socialist country, who organized the great defeats of Hitler's armies before Moscow and Stalingrad, that turned the tide against Fascism who set the challenge of building a communist society of abundance in the Soviet Union, pointed the way to a future for all peoples of peace and security.

With Stalin's death our country's press has reported endlessly stories

of a "struggle for power" in the Soviet Union and has urged "bold" steps to take advantage of this supposed "struggle." Yet if anything the grief manifested by the Soviet people at the death of Stalin reveals how illusory are any hopes of dividing the Soviet people from their leaders. The fact is that the Soviet Union, its people and government, is thoroughly united and holds now to the basic policies to which it has always held. Particularly noteworthy for our country and in our highest national interest, is the fact that the Soviet Union continues Stalin's policy of seeking peaceful co-existence between capitalism and

socialism. Prime Minister Malenkov re-asserted this policy at Stalin's funeral when he said "a policy of peace between nations is the only correct policy which corresponds to the interests of all nations." Such a policy stands in sharp contrast to the statements of those whose "bold" steps could lead only to war. Urgent is the need to insist that our government agree to the direct negotiations necessary for a settlement of differences. To assure such a settlement would be a lasting tribute to the vision worked out by Stalin and Roosevelt, the vision of the peace that would continue for "many generations."

Editorial

TWO MONTHS WITH THE GOP

EVEN if one did not know very much about the policies of the new Republican administration a great deal could be learned about this administration by looking over its personnel. Even more than the 20's when Andrew Mellon was the Secretary of the Treasury, our country is governed today by men who come to the government directly from positions of control in some of the nations leading financial interests. The new secretary of the Treasury is George M. Humphrey, president of the M. A. Hanna Co. controller of the National Steel Company which even today maintains company unionism. Mr. Humphrey sits on the boards of directors of at least 20 corporations. As Director of the Budget, Pres. Eisenhower has appointed Joseph M. Dodge, president of the Detroit Bank and a director of the Chrysler Corporation. The Secretary of Defense is Charles E. Wilson whose classic statement "what is good for the country is good for General Motors and vice versa" made it clear exactly whose interests he would defend. And for the leading diplomatic post of Ambassador to Britain Chase National's Winthrop Aldrich has been selected.

"Big Business" has come personally to take charge of things in Washington. The policies this new administration is furthering is in full keeping with its personnel. In just the few weeks since Jan. 20 the Eisenhower administration has made it clear is proceeding under the motto—"the public be damned."

The desire of the American people, expressed through countless polls and by the very election of Eisenhower because of his promise to end the war, is for peace in Korea. Yet, Eisenhower, instead of taking the slightest step that could lead to an end to the bloodshed, brandishes the "Big Stick" with his action of openly giving free reign to Chiang Kai Chek to attack the Chinese mainland. This attack can only be carried out with U. S. direct military support. And this "Big Stick" mentality is revealed also in the ultimatum given the other North Atlantic Pact governments that they must proceed within 75 days to begin building the "European Army", with its core of re-armed Nazis of Western Germany, or else U.S. funds will stop.

On the domestic scene the new government is showing not a bit of concern with such needs of the people as repeal of the Taft Hartley Act and a genuine civil rights program with teeth in it. Rather the government is concerning itself with intensifying even further the emasculation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This is going on in the name of combatting the "menace of Communism." All Senator McCarthy has to do is talk about "subversives" in the State Department, or the colleges, or the films. Today hardly an official exists in Washington who'd oppose McCarthyism or discuss McCarthy's own proven corruption, for fear of being added to the list of the "subversive." With his "record" McCarthy even gets promoted by the Re-

publican victory to be head of the Senate Committee Investigating Government operations.

THE college community in our country can by now have a pretty clear idea of what the new administration holds out as the outlook for the future. From one arm of the government, Selective Service, comes the withdrawal of deferments for thousands of students whose right it is to complete their education. The inroads of the draft are making it impossible for young men on the campus to be certain from one month to another that their studies are not to be broken off.

From Congress and from several committees in Congress at the same time comes the threat that for those who remain, academic freedom is to be stored in moth balls as an old fashioned idea.

As we go to press the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security headed by Senator Jenner has begun the grim parade. An English professor at Queens College and a Physical education professor at Brooklyn are among the first victims of the committee's inquisition. The usual pattern is repeated—no concern with the teachers' record in the classroom, no interest in scholarly achievements—only the question "Are you now or have you ever been..."

The Jenner committee is only the first to hold public hearings. The House Committee on Un-American Activities under ex-FBI man, Rep. Velde has announced an inquiry into the system of Rhodes scholarships and the Labor Youth Lea-

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2 Months With the GOP

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gue chapters on the campus. Velde has already sent a bevy of investigators around the country to look for the most likely places to open the assault. And, of course, one must not forget that the mentor himself Senator McCarthy has said that the colleges are on his list also.

The present and coming attacks on the colleges make it clear that either the college community acts to defend the right of free expression on the campuses or else the colleges will have to study and discuss nothing that McCarthy or Velde might find offensive. This need to act on behalf of democratic rights is surely not faced by the campuses alone. It is faced in the first place by labor which senses the danger to its interests represented by an administration that supports Taft Hartley and openly speaks as a defender of the corporations. Certainly with labor, with our country's trade unions, that played such a role in the whole development of free public education it is possible and necessary for the campuses to find the staunchest support.

ALREADY certain significant developments are taking place in the fight for free expression. The speech of Mrs. Agnes Myer in which she condemned the witch-hunts, has served as a rallying call for educators throughout the country. Worthy also of particular mention is the excellent civil liberties conference. This conference, which had among its sponsors Albert Einstein, Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Rev. and Prof. Paul L. Lehmann, demonstrated that many of the nations leading intellectual figures, many leaders in education, are alarmed at the danger of repression and are prepared to act to meet this danger.

These figures are not alone in their alarm. The fear that great sections of the public, of the college community, have of the Eisenhower Administration is thoroughly justified! The combination of reckless moving into new adventurous actions abroad with accompanying suppression of civil liberties should alarm anyone concerned with our nation's true interest. If this alarm results in unified action against such policies, by all who oppose them not even the Republican administration will be able to stand unmoved.

The attacks on academic freedom will be a test of the ability of students to act in defense of the universities. This attack is national in scope. It will have to be met nationally, by students of every region, of every organization, put-

ting aside other differences to work for the same objective. There is no reason why this cannot be done! Unity in defense of our education can and must be achieved.

Roosevelt Ward Case Ends in Victory

ON FEBRUARY 2, the Supreme Court unanimously acquitted Roosevelt Ward, Jr. of the charge of failing to report his correct address to his local draft board. Reversing the decision of the lower courts, the high court took scarcely two weeks to unanimously agree that the case against the Negro youth leader had no basis in fact.

Ward, New York Administrative Secretary of the Labor Youth League, had been seized by the FBI in New York two years ago, and whisked down to a New Orleans jim crow court several weeks later. Here he was tried, convicted and sentenced all in one day, to three years in jail. Although the FBI found him at the very address which he had given to his draft board; and although he repeatedly offered himself for induction—an offer that has always been acceptable in such circumstances—despite all this, he was given an unprecedented sentence for a violation he did not commit.

As the facts in the case began to emerge, as Roosevelt Ward himself fought to present his case to the public, the protest began to mount. It swelled to such proportions as to finally include hundreds of Negro and white churchmen, trade unionists, youth and student leaders, as well as tens of thousands of people from all walks of life and of all political persuasions. 50,000 post cards protesting the frame-up and the denial of the right to travel were sent to the Justice Department. Although undoubtedly most of these persons did not necessarily agree with all of Roosevelt Ward's beliefs, they did agree that such a crude attempt to railroad the 22-year-old Negro youth to jail—that this was a threat to the liberty of all of us, and especially the youth.

We greet Roosevelt Ward, Jr. upon his acquittal, and honor the courageous battle he waged, amid all the threats of FBI and New Orleans "justice".

The freeing of Roosevelt Ward is a victory for all youth, Negro and white, for, as he himself said, it is upon "the countless number of people of all stations of life . . . and the legion of plain ordinary people who supported my fight for justice . . . that the responsibility for my victory rests."

Southern Conference To End Segregation

IN AN historic conference on "Youth and Racial Unity Through Educational Opportunity", Negro and white students, teachers and college officials from nineteen Southern states met in Columbia, South Carolina during the last three days of 1952.

Initiated by the Southern Educational Fund, the conference brought together one of the largest assemblages of representatives from both all-Negro and all-white colleges, as well as some where unity of Negro and white have already broken through the jim crow bars. The delegates vigorously and thoroughly discussed all the aspects of their experiences and thoughts concerning the ending of the barriers to an equal education for Negro students in the South.

However, the conference was not limited to discussion only. It culminated in a main resolution which took a position unalterably opposed to any segregation in education, and which called on the President, the Attorney-General, and the Supreme Court to aid in the elimination of segregation from the nation's educational system. The resolution was sent to the President.

The fact that Negro and white students in the South of our country are ready to actively participate in the struggle to end jim crow in education may not be new, but this conference is certainly proof that despite the obstacles, often including open terror, unity of Negro and white can be forged.

We believe that students in other parts of the country, can take heart in this stirring action of these Southern students, and work to end the inequalities that still exist in their institutions. For if the students of the South are prepared to do this, then certainly their fellow students in the North and West must be prepared also.

Moreover, the conference at Allen University opens up the possibility of students—Negro and white—in both North and South, to join hands in a common struggle. It has become increasingly clear to the white student of Mississippi, or Alabama, or Georgia that the "separate but equal" theory is responsible for the situation which finds less money allocated per student to both Negro and white in the South than anywhere in the country. It is in the interest of the white student too, that such unity must develop!

McCARTHYISM VS. EDUCATION

By Robert Fogel; Nat'l. Student Director, Labor Youth League

The first "gift" of the new Republican Congress to the educational community was the promise of a three pronged congressional witch hunt, which are unprecedented on the U. S. campuses. In rapid succession, Harold Velde, head of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; William Jenner, leader of the Senate Sub-committee on Internal Security (formerly the McCarran Committee); and the infamous Joseph McCarthy, now head of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, announced their intentions to "investigate" higher education.

As this pamphlet* is being written, the threatened inquisition is just beginning to unfold and its impact is still to be fully felt by the schools of our country. But already the two hearings of the Jenner Committee and the three or four of the Velde Committee have resulted in the firing, or suspension of 7 faculty members.

THE SCOPE OF THE WITCHHUNTS

From the outset these Congressional pundits have made it clear that the scope of these "investigations" is to be extremely broad. They will not be confined simply to one university or even to universities in one part of the country but will be nationwide in character. Twenty-five colleges and universities have been listed by Velde as places that will be given a going over. Included among these are Harvard, MIT, CCNY, Columbia, Brooklyn, N.Y.U., Hunter, Howard, Michigan, Wayne, Chicago, Wisconsin, Minnesota and California. The actual number of schools faced with such investigations, is however, much larger. Thus, leading Negro educators have warned of the danger that a wholesale onslaught will be made against Negro colleges and universities. In contrast to the recent McCarran "investigation" in New York which confined itself to persecuting teachers, these excursions will cover students, student organizations and textbooks as well.

So intent are McCarthy and company upon their drive against the schools that they have, for the moment at least, made the educational system their first target, giving it priority even over the labor movement, government, the movies, etc.

Hungry for the headlines that follow from such a witch-hunt, McCarthy, Velde and Jenner are reported to be engaged in a furious behind-the-scenes struggle to determine who is to get the "juiciest cases". The battle for the headlines has become so intense that the highest Republican figures have been called in to mediate and to delineate the individual areas of the hunt.

Republican leaders are, however, more than mediators in the quarrel over publicity. The attacks on education, which are being spearheaded by McCarthy, Jenner and Velde, are an integral part of the grand strategy of the Republican Party for stepping up the drive to fascism.

This is what makes an attack on the schools, by McCarthy & Co., so dangerous. For they are no longer the most reactionary elements of the minority party. They are now leading figures of the party in power. The leader of their party, the President of our country, fought for the re-elec-

tion of these ultra-reactionaries. Only a few months ago, the President said that "the purpose of Senator McCarthy and he had 'of ridding this government of incompetents, the dishonest, and above all the subversive and the disloyal, are one and the same.'" (New York Times, October 4, 1952.)

To smooth their path, the inquisitors have tried to give the impression that the schools are being "undermined" by Communists and that their investigations are directed only at Communists. But these men must know that there are very few Communists or Marxists left in the schools today. One of the shames of our school system has been the hounding from their positions of Communists and Marxists, many of them outstanding teachers and scholars, simply because of their political beliefs.

The elaborate preparations that have been made for the present "investigations", the thousands of dollars that have been appropriated to it, the assignment of not one but three congressional committees to the education field indicates that the objectives are much bigger than simply persecuting the few Communists and Marxists that may have thus far been overlooked by previous withhunts.

NEW DEAL LIBERALISM, A PRIME TARGET

IS IT accidental that in announcing his targets Velde has used the very vague term of "suspected Communists?" There can be no doubt of who McCarthy is after for he has



underlined that not "Communists" but "Communist thinkers" are his target. As the Denver Post recently pointed out, "Suspected Communists" and "Communist thinkers" might be most anybody... Many an able and admirable professor can be smeared into oblivion because Velde might 'suspect' him

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*NOTE: This is the first section of a new pamphlet on the Congressional witch hunts and their meaning for the nationwide, college community.

The concluding sections of the pamphlet deal with the questions of the fight to unify the entire academic community in defense of education; an evaluation of the advocates of compromise; the fascist danger inherent in these new attacks; and the relationship of these attacks to the demand for peace in our country. These sections will appear in the following issue of New Foundations, volume 6, number 4.

of Communism, or McCarthy might consider and charge his 'thinking' to be Communistic."

It would be difficult indeed to believe that men like McCarthy, Velde and Jenner would confine themselves to attacking Communists. Particularly in the case of McCarthy even the most superficial examination of his record would reveal that his main fire has always been directed at New Deal liberals. Using the battle cry of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, "Get the Communists", he has unfolded a savage campaign against those figures who have in any way been identified with, or contributed to any degree to, the Roosevelt policy of social and economic reform and of co-existence with the Soviet Union. Among those who have been on the receiving end of fire are such figures as Professor Owen Lattimore of John's Hopkins; James Wechsler, editor of the New York Post; Archibald MacLeish, poet; and Professor Phillip Jessup of Columbia and roving ambassador for Truman.

WHAT IS AT STAKE

THE machinations of McCarthy and company will affect the education, the whole future of hundreds of thousands of American students. For in the most fundamental sense what is threatened by the Congressional inquisitors is not simply the fate of this or that individual but the very existence of the American university system as we have come to know it.

The destruction of a university system can take place in many ways. In Nazi Germany and in Fascist Italy, for example, the university system was destroyed long before the walls of school buildings crumbled under the impact of shells and bombs. It was the Nazi corrosion of the intellectual atmosphere, it was the substitution of Nazi chauvinistic propaganda for the scientific study of history, economics, literature, it was the debasement of science for the criminal war designs of Hitler and Mussolini that sounded the death knell of German and Italian education. The buildings still stood, teachers still lectured, students still attended classes, but the system of higher education was shattered.

That the corrosion of the intellectual atmosphere of our universities is already well advanced is undeniable. It is a fact that our schools, which once were considered to be among the freest in the world, which once could boast of having in its midst such eminent critics of social development, such innovators and radicals as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lewis H. Morgan, Thorsten Veblen, W.E.B. Du Bois, Vernon Parrington, have already been forced in large measure to conform to the mental patterns of the witchhunters.

Almost two years ago a New York Times survey of 72 colleges and universities revealed that "A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking the college campuses in many parts of the country limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth."

But perhaps the most revealing picture of the debasement of our educational system was drawn by Justice William O. Douglas in his eloquent dissent on the Feinberg Law. In that dissent he revealed a situation in which "principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for tell-tale signs of disloyalty.

"What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to socialism? Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of 'The Grapes of Wrath'? What was behind the praise of Soviet progress in metallurgy in the chemistry class? Was it not 'subversive' for the teacher to cast doubt on the wisdom of the venture in Korea?

"What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance; their papers are combed for signs of disloyalty their utterances are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classroom.

FOR MANY of those students who have tried to shield themselves behind the illusion that "it can't happen here," the events of the past few years have proved to be a costly experience. The list of cases involving the imposition of loyalty oaths, the banning of books, the dropping of courses, the firing of teachers, the proscription of student organizations, the censoring of newspapers, the expulsion of students has long since become too big to recount.

Through this school of hard knocks, however, tens of thousands of students have come to realize that the only answer to the extremely powerful forces who desire to fascize our campuses and our country is, as the Harvard Crimson has pointed out, "public pressure in the opposite direction."

It is no surprise then to find that students throughout the country are now responding to the witchhunts with a resistance movement, which, while it is still in its initial stages, is broader in scope and more determined than anything that has developed previously.

Student newspapers on one campus after another have sounded the alarm. The Columbia Spectator in a special four page supplement warns that: "We can be certain that a series of investigations of University teachers will result in widespread fear to teach anything in class other than the Gettysburg address and some of the less controversial stanzas of Hiawatha."

The Wayne Collegian, which reprints a letter written by a German student in 1933 describing the Nazi terror in German schools at the time, states that, "When certain individuals believe that they are able to judge and dictate what other individuals shall discuss and exchange ideas about, the whole concept of democracy is crumbling."

TOWARDS STUDENT UNITY

But the movement against the witchhunts has gone beyond the stage of mere alarm. The process of mobilizing the strength of the student community has already begun to unfold.

At the University of Wisconsin, for example, the spark for student unity has come from the school newspaper, the Wisconsin Cardinal, which has been carrying on a journalistic crusade against the menace of McCarthyism. At the university a committee of student leaders has been established to spur on the mobilization of that campus against threatened investigations both from Congress and the State Legislature. Included in this committee are the editor of the Cardinal, the former Regional chairman of the NSA, the leader of the SDA, the Chairman of the Joint Council on Human Relations, the regional chairman of the National Student Conference, and the Vice-Chairman of the Student Union.

Student Councils, which often have had the reputation of being the last to act, have taken the lead in a whole number of places.

When Velde announced that among the schools he planned to investigate was the University of California at Los Angeles, the UCLA Student Council issued a statement which said, "We feel compelled to reply that investigation of thought is above and beyond the scope of any agency in a free society . . . We individual members of the Student Executive Council, by a vote of 13 to 1, hereby state our emphatic disapproval of any interference with freedom of thought, which we consider this to be. And we urge all uni-

versities to voice similar disapproval."

At the University of Chicago the Student Council took the initiative by calling a campus wide conference to discuss the threatened witchhunt. Representatives of 85 student organizations including all of the political groups, the fraternities and sororities, the living cooperatives, the dorms, the religious organizations and the departmental clubs participated. The conference decided to set up an "All Campus Civil Liberties Committee. A statement of principles was adopted which read, "The purpose of the All-Campus Civil Liberties Committee shall be to develop and articulate a comprehensive program in defense of that full academic freedom which is indispensable to the continued excellence of our University." The conference set up a rules committee and planned further meetings to work out the details of a concrete program.

While the student struggles against the inquisition are nationwide in scope, there is yet to emerge a coordinated national movement. The need for national student unity and leadership is obvious. For the character of the Congressional inquisition is such that it directly threatens students throughout the country. Action on a given campus, therefore, no matter how broad is insufficient in coping with this national menace. Only by joining the strength of the movements on the various campuses, by giving them clear direction, by concentrating the force of the student community at the most vulnerable points of the witchhunters can the student protest be most effective.

The logical centers for such leadership are the well established major national student organizations. It is these groups above all others that have the experience, resources, prestige and connections with the various campuses which are the indispensable pre-requisites for making such leadership effective.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NSA

On no student organization does the responsibility for such leadership rest more heavily than on the National Student Association (NSA). The NSA, which is the coordinating center for 300 student councils representing over a half million students, is considered by many to be the most representative student organization in our country. The Association has a clear obligation to provide leadership against the witchhunts which arises not only out of the needs of the present moment but also from its constitution which states that one of the primary purposes and functions of the NSA is "to maintain academic freedom and student rights."

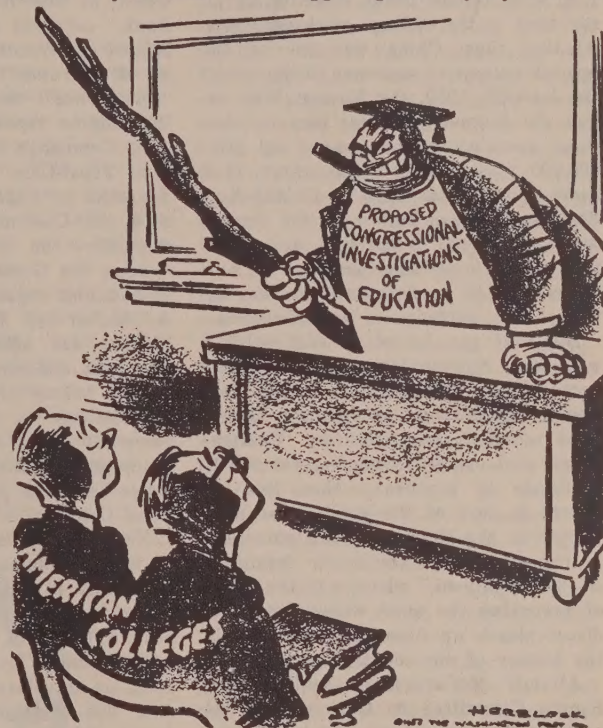
The strangulation of democracy on the campuses has many times forced its attention on the NSA. In April of 1949, for example, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Association noted that, "On numerous occasions recently, the long-established principles of academic freedom have been subverted for no proven reason and to the detriment of our educational system . . . We have noted that faculty members have been dismissed, students expelled, and similar punitive actions taken by legislatures or administrations of educational institutions, without due regard to the principles of academic freedom."

Yet despite this resolution and many others like it, the national leadership of the Association has been found wanting in the struggle to defend democracy on the campuses.

The fact is that while the National leadership of the NSA has been able to find the time to send its representatives to all corners of the globe to attempt to line up students of other countries behind the State Department's cold war foreign policy, it has not been able to find the time or the people to give leadership in the many struggles against abridgements of students' rights on our campuses. While the NEC has appropriated tens of thousands of dollars to such

projects as the formation of an anti-democratic Western Union of students, it has not appropriated a fraction of that amount for petitions, publications and defense funds with which to organize a single campaign against a single violation of academic freedom.

The few occasions when the Association has acted it's been too late and too little. The NEC did not pass a resolution on the suspension of the school newspaper and the firing of its editor by the administration of the University of Chicago until three months after the issue was settled. It was almost a year after the struggle against loyalty oaths in



California began that the national leadership of the Association took official note of it. In scores of other cases such as the banning of Paul Robeson from CCNY, the firing of the editors of the Daily Northwestern, the murder of Enus Christiani, a Negro student at N.Y.U., the firing of Professor Wiggins, the first Negro teacher at Minnesota, the NSA has completely absented itself.

I'll Learn Ya

Some student leaders have expressed the opinion that the NSA is now confronted with its greatest test. They believe that if the Association wishes to, it can strike out boldly and give concrete and effective leadership against the witchhunts.

There are many lines along which the Association could proceed. Students on different campuses have spoken of the need for immediate conferences on a local, regional and national level that could bring together students from the many different schools and from different organizations. Such conferences would give them an opportunity to discuss their varied ideas on how to deal with the menace that confronts them all and to work out programs around which all students, regardless of background or affiliations could unite. NSA could play an important role in the organization of such conferences.

As we noted earlier, the student council at UCLA has called on all universities to voice their disapproval of the

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Who Are the Witch-hunters?

By Walter Ross

IN THE middle of June, 1950, some Chinese Nationalists, living in the U.S. and abroad began speculating in soybeans on the Chicago stock exchange. At that time, China was one of the largest sources of soybeans in the world. On June 25, 1950, the Korean War began. On August 16, it was revealed that these speculators had cleaned up \$30,000,000 "just before" the war.* That these speculators, close to Chiang-Kai-Shek, could have known of the coming war (a supposed "surprise"), and therefore of an impending shortage of soybeans, cannot be definitely proven, although the evidence is overwhelming.

But that one Joseph A. McCarthy, a notorious representative of this self-same China Lobby, did, during this period, withdraw \$10,000 from a special bank account for "fighting Communism" and use it, through a friend, to speculate in soybeans—that this occurred is part of the public record.¹

Such is the character of a man who is the epitome of the super defenders of "Americanism," who are in the midst of preparing the most wide-spread and direct attack on American education in the history of our country.

Already McCarthy, as head of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, has announced that he will investigate school "subversives," by which he means "exposing communist thinkers."² (From "communists" to "communist thinkers"—are "thinkers" next?). And upon what does McCarthy's right to "fearlessly seek out the truth" and root out "un-Americans" from education rest? Let us look at the record.

ON the floor of the Senate, McCarthy has distinguished himself in the field of education by voting against the Hill amendment to the tidelands oil bill, which would have provided desperately needed funds for improvement of the nation's schools and the raising of teachers' salaries. It can be seen that the Senator's "interest" in education is not just one of the moment. His brand of "Americanism" had led him to vote for an injunction against the steelworkers, against price controls, against aid to local public health units, and for the retaining of the filibuster that kills any chance of even a vote on civil rights legislation. That is part of McCarthy's public record on behalf of the people. And what of his not-so-public record?

Was not loyal Joe the man who, "greatly over-extended in his loan position at the Appleton (Wisc.) State Bank," accepted an endorsement of "a \$20,000 six-month note" from one Russell M. Arundel?³ Naturally it was a "coincidence" that Mr. Arundel was Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Company; that precisely at that time Pepsi-Cola was lobbying for the decontrol of sugar;⁴ that at that very time the Chairman of a Senate Subcommittee on sugar who "was attacking the Government for its manner of handling sugar control," was—Joseph A. McCarthy! That on December 9, 1947, a day after McCarthy's \$20,000 note was endorsed by Arundel, he appeared before the Committee on Appropriations "to interrogate the Army Secretary . . . regarding the Army's purchase of Cuban sugar, which purchase had been previously criticized by Pepsi-Cola."⁵

No doubt McCarthy used every ounce of the "intellectual strength" he plans to display in battles with liberal-minded professors, when he managed to deposit \$172,000 in one Washington bank from January 1, 1948 to November 12, 1952, on a salary of \$15,000 annually. And was it proper for the Senator to accept \$10,000 from the Lustron Corporation for a little piece on housing, which corporation "was then almost entirely subsidized by agencies under the jurisdiction of the very committees' of which Mr. McCarthy was a member?"⁶

But perhaps these are too leading questions for the leading protector of American education from "evil influences." However, Honest Joe has decided magnanimously not to go it alone, generously parceling out the cutting up of the campus with a couple of veterans in the field: the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The first has become known as the McCarran Committee, after its former boss, Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.). However, with the recent change of scenery in Washington, it will henceforth be labeled the Jenner Committee, after the eminent Senator from Indiana.

In addition to voting against federal aid to education and along with McCarthy right down the line, this particular would-be "investigator" sponsored

his own little contribution to the public welfare in a proposal to publish the names of persons receiving public relief (which was adopted as a rider to the 1951 tax bill)—a most profound service. This representative of the real estate lobby in the Senate (according to Robt. S. Allen's *Truman-Merry-Go-Round*) will now lead the fight for free inquiry on the campus.

BUT THE change of chairmanship does not leave Pat McCarran out in the cold by any manner of means. His claim to the position of interpreter of the Bill of Rights to professors of Constitutional law who may still retain the notion that said document was created to protect, not oppress, the people—his claim to such a position runs through a long line of "home-grown Americanism."

He pushed Congress (albeit, a very pliable Congress) into granting a \$10,000,000 loan to whom McCarran considers the epitome of "Americanism," ("off-shore variety"), Francisco Franco, dictator of Spain.

And, of course, he is the author of that law, among others, which the CIO described as one which "fosters the concept of second-class citizenship and perpetuates racial and nationality discrimination"⁷—the McCarran Immigration Law. (Characteristically, he lumped all the critics of this law together—from the Communist Party to the governments of Western Europe to Harry Truman—as part of the "left-wing stripe.") But such things are becoming fairly well-known about Sen. McCarran. What may not be so well-known is that this champion evil-hunter admitted the following in an anti-trust suit against various Nevada gambling interests:

—That he interceded with the Internal Revenue Bureau in 1950, asking for a tax cut for the Flamingo Hotel in Las Vegas. The hotel, once owned by the late gang-leader, "Bugsy" Siegel, was reported to be one of the largest gangster-run gambling houses in the country, according to the Senate Crime Investigating Committee.

—That he did not pay for his Nevada campaign headquarters in 1944 and 1950.

—That he lives "on the house" in various Las Vegas hotels.⁸ Thus, the good Senator is eminently qualified as a standard for all interested in impeccable citizenship (as well as setting the latest style in free-loading.)

AND NOW we come to the intellectual giant of all "investigating" committees, experienced in other fields but relatively new on the campus—the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Under its new chairman, Rep. Harold Velde (R-Ill.), it has announced an intended sweeping attack, in "perhaps 25 major colleges and universities which we definitely know have, or have had, subversive activities," including Harvard, M.I.T., Johns Hopkins, and the University of Chicago.⁹

Noting that education is a "very fertile field for investigation," Velde said that since "the youth of today will be the political leaders of tomorrow, it is very vital that we should educate them in the true spirit of Americanism." It would be extremely informative, to say the least, to examine just what Velde and his Committee defines as "the true spirit of Americanism."

The honorable Congressman from Illinois has himself revealed part of the definition on the floor of the House, voting for a segregated hospital for Negro veterans, against rent control, for the McCarran Immigration Law, and for a Taft-Hartley injunction against striking steelworkers, among others. This personal record is further ennobled by the "American" heritage of the Un-American Activities Committee, which Velde no doubt intends to continue.

It is a Committee that sought the help of one Gerald L. K. Smith (another "American institution?") in rooting out "subversives" from Hollywood, resulting in the following brilliant exchange:

"THOMAS (J. PARNELL): You would not say Frank Sinatra was a Communist, would you?"

"SMITH: He may not be that intelligently."

"THOMAS: Would you say he was a sort of Mrs. Roosevelt in pants?"¹⁰

And there is some evidence as to how the Committee operates when questioning "real Americans" as compared to "subversive educators," for when this same Gerald L. K. Smith was on the stand, the following ensued:

"THOMAS: Do you believe that you have been anti-Semitic?"

"SMITH: I insist on answering that with my statement."

"CHAIRMAN: Your statement, Mr. Smith is in the record."

"RANKIN: Mr. Chairman, if this man wants to read his statement . . . I think he should be permitted to do so."¹¹ And "Mr. Smith" read his statement.

But when the world reknown astronomer, Dr. Harlow Shapley, head of the Harvard Observatory, sought to have his attorney accompany him into the

hearing room, Rankin bellowed: "I make the rules for this committee. Call the captain of the guards!"

It is this committee which the late Franklin D. Roosevelt described as "sordid, flagrantly un-fair and un-American;" and which impelled the *New York Times* to editorially ask for its abolition, assailing its "crusade against acts, associations and thoughts which . . . (it) has taken upon itself to define as 'un-American.'"¹²

It now become pertinent to relate the records—public and private—of these "investigators" of our campuses to the clearly discernable pattern emerging. Hardly a more apt description exists than the one used by the U.S. War Department, in an orientation exposé of fascism, released March 24, 1945: at a time when our country was fighting Fascist on the battlefield.

"Any Fascist attempt to gain power in America would not use the exact Hitler pattern. He would work under the guise of super-patriotism, and super-Americanism." And why the initial singling out, in their self-proclaimed super-patriotism, of the Communists Again the U.S. Army has the answer:

"In their systematic destruction of all opposing groups, Hitler and Mussolini had the Communists first on their



"Jumping Joe \$172,000"

lists. Among the early opponents of fascism, the Communists were in the forefront."¹⁴

And the fact that the drive is not just aimed at "Communists," can be seen in the most virulent attacks by all these Committees against labor, the force that Hitler had to destroy before he could be said to be in power.

That these "ultimate of the breed of the political Stone-Age men now darkening the Washington scene" have the unmitigated gaul to set themselves up as the determinants of what is or is not American, and now, of what students can and cannot study, is not only related to just the drive toward

fascism; for the latter drive has always historically been linked integrally with the drive to war.

AFTER NOTING McCarthy's flyer in soybeans, a commodity made scarce with the seeming foreknowledge of the Korean War, we find that McCarran is also up to his ears in this racket: In 1947, he proposed to Congress an advance of \$1,500,000,000 to Chiang-Kai-Shek, one-half billion of which was to be spent for silver in the U.S. Of course, it may be just a coincidence that McCarran's home state, Nevada, is one of the largest silver producers in the country, and that these silver owners back McCarran election after election. One might suspect that the man whose committee was responsible for the firing of some of the most outstanding teachers in New York City, something he has recommended be expanded to the whole country—that his anti-Communism has a "silver lining."

When their entire records of corruption, against civil rights, anti-union and anti-Negro can be seen, they can be viewed not just as men using "wrong methods," or just as enemies of free speech. Rather, McCarran's pro Franco and anti-minority stands go hand-in-hand with his denial of democracy for college teachers and students. McCarran's fight for the China Lobby is integrally linked to his vow to get "Communist thinkers" on the campuses. These "investigators" are corrupt to their very core, and because of this they cannot be given any leeway. Their drive is aimed not at isolated professors, but at education as an institution. It is their kind of mentality that Justice Douglas warned would turn the schoolroom into a "spying system."

The fact that they themselves are not so sure of the final outcome was revealed in an interview with McCarthy by the *U.S. News and World Report*, in which he said impending "investigations" will be "unpopular," because the minute you try to expose "Communists" in education, "from coast to coast . . . all Hell breaks loose." We rather believe the Senator's prediction will prove correct.

FOOTNOTES

- * *New York Herald-Tribune*; Aug. 16, 1951
1. Official Report of the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Elections; Jan. 1953
2. *Columbia Daily Spectator*; Jan. 9 1953 p. 4
4. *ibid.* 5. *ibid.*
6. *New York Times*; Jan. 10, 1953; p. 16
7. *CIO News*; Aug. 18 1952; p. 6
8. *New York Times*; Jan. 7, 1953
9. *U.S. News & World Report*; Dec. 30, 1952
10. Proceedings of House Committee on Un-American Activities; Jan. 30, 1946
11. *ibid.*
12. House Committee on Un-American Activities: 100 Things You Should Know About Communism And Education; 1948; p. 1
13. *New York Times*; Dec. 25 1948
14. U.S. Army Orientation Bulletin: *Army Talk*; March 1945

The Truth About the Prague Trials

There has been widespread discussion throughout the world concerning the recent trials in Prague of fourteen officials in the government of Czechoslovakia, as well as the indictment in Moscow of nine doctors, charged with wilfully prescribing a wrong and harmful treatment to several ailing Soviet leaders. Since a large percentage of the defendants in these particular cases were Jews, the story has been spread that the Soviet Union and the Communist-led countries of Eastern Europe have embarked on an official program of anti-Semitism.

Due to the many distortions of fact, and in many cases actual falsehoods about these trials, we are presenting the following excerpts from a pamphlet by Dr. Louis Harap, the noted editor of *Jewish Life*, progressive monthly. Dr. Harap's complete pamphlet can be obtained by sending \$.10 to *Jewish Life*, 22 E. 17 St., Rm. 601, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

LET US first consider the widespread outcry that the trial was "anti-Semitic" and intended by the Czech government to initiate direct incitement against the Jews as "scapegoats internal difficulties. Amid the babel of drastic accusations of anti-Semitism, there are some counsels of caution. Thus, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, at the Philadelphia Zionist Organization fund dinner on December 2, 1952, declared: "I am not ready to draw conclusions" about the trial.

The widely publicised charge that Jews are being used as a "scapegoat" is false, for one reason, because the alleged need for it does not exist. Recent UN reports have shown, on the contrary, that Czechoslovakia is rapidly advancing in industrial production despite the damage inflicted by the conspirators. The UN *Economic Bulletin for Europe* issued in August 1952 shows that Czechoslovakia increased its industrial production at a greater rate since 1948 than any of the Western European countries, even though the rate of increase was much smaller than in any of the other people's democracies. The most recent *Bulletin*, issued at Geneva in November 1952, shows that in the first two quarters of 1952, Czechoslovakia increased its industrial production at a higher rate than any of the other people's democracies. Thus the "scapegoat" theory is not based on economic fact.

We shall have more to say below about the truth of the charges. First, however, we should like to deal with the accusation that the trial was "anti-Semitic"—that is that Jews were tried because they were Jews.

A scrutiny of two of the most authoritative articles thus far available to us and in which we would expect to find the presumed evidence of "anti-Semitism"—*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, official weekly paper of the Cominform, for November 21 and November 28, 1952—shows that in no instance were any of the accused referred to as "Jews"! Nor do we ever see any reference to an "international Jewish conspiracy," a phrase supposedly quoted from the trial testimony in the American Jewish Telegraphic Agency report widely published in the English-Jewish press the weekend of November 28, 1952. The accounts in the Cominform bulletin do refer to "international Zionism" and "Jewish bourgeois nationalism." In other words, the trial record refers to men not as Jews, but as adherents of an ideology held by some Jews and opposed by other Jews as well as many non-Jews. We shall deal in the next section with the question of Zionism at the trial. What we here wish to emphasize is that the target was not Jews but adherents of an ideology, which is only one of a number held by Jews.

But it was not the ideology of the accused that was on trial. They were charged with certain criminal acts of high treason, espionage, sabotage and military treason.

Even though the *Jewish Day* is hysterically agitating about the "anti-Semitism" of the trial, its editor, S. Dingol, was constrained to write on December 6, 1952, that "At the trial there was not one single word referring to the 'Jewishness' of the accused. There was reference simply to their 'Zionism' and 'bourgeois nationalism.'"

Where Anti-Semitism Is a Crime

The absence of any reference to Jews as such is easy to understand. In the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, anti-Semitism is a crime against the state, explicitly written into the constitution, together with a prohibition against all forms of racism and discrimination. What is more, this prohibition against anti-Semitism and racism is enforced.

In the course of this trial, the Czechoslovak press made it quite clear that it considered Zionism an evil force. It is hard to deny them justification for this view in the light of the revelations of the Prague trial about the use of Zionist organizations for espionage. But *Rude Pravo*, official Czechoslovak Communist organ, on November 25, 1952, reaffirmed the Communist Party's implacable condemnation of anti-Semitism: "It (the Party) must fight against Zionism. Lenin already pointed out that anti-Semitism and Zionism, or any form of fostering Jewish exceptionalism, are only head and tail of the same coin. Our Party has always emphasized that anti-Semitism is hostile to the working class, that it is base and beneath human dignity."

The editorial goes on to say: "Our Party, as a consistently internationalist Party, always fought against anti-Semitism." Slansky had in fact used this hatred of anti-Semitism to further his designs. The Prague radio has stated that Slansky "was well aware that anti-Semitism is foreign to the principles of a Communist country. Nevertheless, he used his anti-Semitic argument as camouflage to protect his anti-state espionage center."

In other words, Zionism is an ideology that is held by some Jews—and, it must be emphasized, opposed for a variety of reasons by many others, including certain Jewish religious groups, thousands of Israeli citizens and even by bourgeois assimilationists among wealthy Jews all over the world (for instance, the American Jewish Committee) and also by communists. Hence, it is simply untrue to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism, for what anti-Zionism opposes is an ideology and not Jews as such. To hold otherwise is to assert something as absurd as, "anti-Republicanism is anti-Americanism" or "anti-Jimcrow is anti-American" or "to be anti-Tory is to be anti-British" or "anti-Malanism is anti-South Africa."

Jews As-Leaders

In the *New York Post* of December 23, 1952, Seymour Freiden wrote an article full of outright lies about the people's democracies in which he states: "As in nazi Germany, being a Jew has become synonymous with a crime against the State." The malicious falsity of this statement is obvious, among other things, from the hard fact that many top leaders of the people's democracies are Jewish. Here are some of these Jewish officials. In *Czechoslovakia*, Minister of Justice Stefan Reitz; at least seven members of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party; Dr. Gertruda Sekaninova-Cartrkova, head of the Czech UN delegation at the current General Assembly. In *Poland*, Yakub Berman, third on the national list of candidates to the Sejm (Parliament) in the recent elections; Hilary Minc, vice premier and head of the State Commission for Economic Planning; Zambrowski, together with the first two, a member of the Polish Politburo. In *Rumania*, Bugitch, successor as foreign minister to the discredited Ana Pauker; at least four members of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' (Communist) Party. In *Hungary*, President Matyas Rakosi and his two chief aides, Erno Gero and Zoltan Vas.

Consider: Jews occupy some of the highest and most important positions in the socialist countries. What anti-Semitic government has ever placed Jews in the highest posts? What sense can there be in the accusation that these countries are "officially anti-Semitic"; more, that they have now stepped into Hitler's shoes in relation to the Jewish people?

The Czech people's democracy is an implacable enemy of anti-Semitism and Zionism. It is no secret that communists have always opposed Zionism as a reactionary ideology. The anti-Zionism that has emerged from the Prague trial is nothing new. Much as it may horrify many well-intentioned followers of Zionism, what was exposed was that *Zionist organizations and individuals lent themselves to treasonable activity against the Czechoslovak people under the instigation primarily of U.S. intelligence.*

II: The Question of Zionism

LET us examine more specifically whether there is plausibility in the charges made in the trial against certain Zionist leaders and Zionist organizations.

One thing should be clear at the outset. *The conspirators were punished for deeds, not thoughts.* The deeds, whose actuality was bolstered by evidence and documents and witnesses, which led to the confessions, were directly intended to inflict damage on the people's Czechoslovakia. Hence it is contrary to fact to say, as did the *New Republic* (December 8, 1952), that "the trial serves warning on all Jews who remain under Communist rule that from now on Zionism, even Jewish activity, is a crime punishable by death." Zionist belief and other bourgeois-nationalist opinions are not unlawful in people's Czechoslovakia; sabotage and espionage are unlawful—as they are in capitalist countries—even if perpetrated under the shield of Zionism.

The charge against certain Zionists and Zionist organizations was that they engaged in espionage and activities to undermine the people's Czechoslovakia. Slansky testified that he used them "because the Zionists were conducting hostile activity aimed at the liquidation of the regime in Czechoslovakia." Especially did Slansky point out "the abuse of the emigration scheme under which Jews left for the capitalist countries, thereby removing from Czechoslovakia property of an unjustifiably large value and causing grave economic damage to Czechoslovakia."

Zionism as "Bourgeois Nationalism"

What is true in Zionism that makes these charges credible? Some of the defendants at the trial were shown to be Jewish "bourgeois nationalists" in the Zionist form. The role played by this ideology in the operations of some of the defendants supports the belief that Zionist ideology is harmful to the interests of the working people—that is, the majority—both in capitalist and socialist countries.

"Among Irm anti-Communists and anti-Russians the prevailing attitude as a result of the testimony seems to be that the defendants bungled their operations and were foolish enough to get caught. In other words, those who hope for the overthrow of the Communist regime feel that shrewder persons are required to achieve this end. Ned Russel. New York Herald-Tribune: 10/20/52.

Anti-Semitism, says Zionist theory, is inevitable in any country in which non-Jews are the majority, even one in which the working people are the ruling power. Therefore the enemies of all Jews are all non-Jews and the Jewish question can be solved only by isolation of all Jews in Israel, whither they should immigrate. (The fact that American Zionists today refuse to emigrate to Israel does not alter this ideology but only shows its bankruptcy and the gap between theory and practice.) Zionist theory denies that the working class movement is anti-racist in principle and the hopes for the final eradication of anti-Semitism rest upon the success of that movement. Zionists deny that the enemy of the Jewish people are those who exploit all the workers for profit and who further their aims by means, among others, of dividing the workers by anti-Semitism.

It is this refusal to acknowledge that basic class divisions exist and operate within a nation or national group that is the essential characteristic which Jewish bourgeois nationalist shares with all other forms of bourgeois nationalism, whether Slovak, American, Yugoslav or any other variety. Thus Zionism holds out as the "solution" to the Jewish question "ingathering of the exiles," the immigration of the entire world of Jewry to Israel. Yet the primary desire of Jews, as of all other people, for a happy and prosperous life remains unrealized and frustrated in a capitalist Israel. In effect, therefore, the Zionist movement diverts the attention and energies of the Jewish masses from alliance and common struggle with the working class. Yet an organic part of the struggle of the workers is the combating and finally the eradication of all forms of racism and discrimination, which are tactics of an owning class.

But Were They Guilty?

But, the reader may say, even if all this is true, there is still a wide margin between policy openly expressed and public opinion.
(Continued on next page)

licly pursued and the kind of sabotage and espionage of which Zionists and others were accused and convicted in the Prague trial.

It is hard to believe that 14 men, who possessed considerable ability and were noted public figures, would all confess to something for which they knew the penalty was death unless they were guilty of what they confessed. The only sane conclusion at which one can arrive is that these men confessed because they were confronted with irrefutable evidence of their guilt.

Anyone who even superficially examines the Prague trial in a rational way learns that the heart of the case was not "Zionism" but the attempt by United States intelligence to use Zionist organizations, among others, to Titoize Czechoslovakia. The essence of the matter was stated by the prosecutor. "State Prosecutor Joseph Urvalek said," the *New York Times* reported on November 27, "that the accused stood in the row with Premier Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Laszlo Rajk of Hungary, Traicho Kostov of Bulgaria, Lucretiu Patrascanu of Rumania, Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland and Koci Xoxe of Albania." Not a single one of these men is a Jew. Certain Zionists were used by the Czechoslovakia agents of this anti-state conspiracy for Tito-like purposes. Do Zionists who are caught in a crime have immunity? Is a Jew exempt from legal prosecution for specific crimes because he is a Jew?

The world Zionist movement is only one of a number of movements being used by anti-communist intelligence agencies, headed by American intelligence, to undermine the people's democracies from within. When Zionists are caught at such espionage and sabotage, they are punished not because they are Zionists but because they broke the law and seriously endangered the existence of the state. Zionists and other Jews, as well as many non-Jewish Americans, may not agree with what is being accomplished in the people's democracies. But they certainly cannot deny the right of these states to protect their very existence and the construction of what the people of these countries regard as a life of increasing happiness and abundance by ferreting out all agents, Zionists as well as others, who threaten this construction by overt criminal act.

McCARTHYISM vs. EDUCATION

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witch-hunts. The NSA could take up the initiative of the students at UCLA and ensure that every major student body in the country is on record against the inquisition.

The Wisconsin and Illinois Regions of the NSA have called for the holding of academic freedom weeks during which time, through varied activities, students could demonstrate their devotion to the Bill of Rights and the principles of Academic Freedom. If the National leadership of the Association were to take up the initiative of these regions there could be a national demonstration of faith in the foundations of our democracy and a determination to defend them that could make even a Jenner, a Velde and, yes, even a McCarthy pause.

A number of student newspapers have spoken of the need for students to bring pressure to bear directly on Congress to halt the witchhunting committees. Signatures in hundreds of thousands have to be collected on petitions, letters and telegrams. The NSA could play a major role in the development of such activities.

OTHER CENTERS OF LEADERSHIP

WHILE THE NSA has an important role to play in the fight against witch-hunters it is not the only organization from which such leadership can come.

The Student Christian movement, for example, which is one of the most important forces in student life, can be a decisive factor in the fight for student unity. With its hundreds of thousands of members in Y's and denominational organizations on campuses throughout the country, the SCM represents a giant core around which the unity of the entire student community can develop.

That Christian Associations can be an extremely effective force in the fight for academic freedom has been demonstrated on many different occasions. At the University of Pennsylvania and again at the University of Oklahoma, the CA's were real spark plugs in the fight against the state loyalty oath bills, organizing protest meetings to inform and stimulate student into action and pointing the road to unity. Similarly the student religious organizations at Ohio State University were one of the main centers of resistance against the "gag rulings" of the administration, going so far as to suspend their "Religion in Life" week program as an

act of protest.

The Committee on Effective Citizenship has stated that, "Our Christian faith places upon us a moral responsibility to exercise these rights, (freedom of thought and expression) and to defend those whose freedom is abridged." Never before was the threat to these freedoms greater than it is now. Therefore the moral responsibility which Christian students feel, a moral responsibility which undoubtedly is shared by students of all religious faiths, must have an even greater urgency than before.

The Student Christian Movement can fulfill that responsibility now by taking a new initiative in the organization of student action against the witch-hunters.

No more practical step can be taken to defend those whose freedom is abridged than to organize student sentiment in their behalf, to raise funds for their defense and to fight for their re-instatement.

No better way can be found at the present moment for students to practice effective citizenship than for them to organize on the widest possible scale, visits and delegations to their Congressmen to let them know the student view on the question of academic freedom and to place before them the student demand for an end to the inquisition.

What is applicable to the NSA and the Student Christian organizations is equally applicable to scores of other student groups. Students for Democratic Action and the NAACP have long been looked to by students as centers of struggle for democracy on the campus. The timeliness and boldness of their action can be a very important factor in building the student resistance movement. Action is now demanded from those student organizations which have usually stood apart from, or lagged behind, others in the fight for academic freedom such as the fraternities and sororities, the student unions, the International Relations Clubs, the honor societies and so on.

The present situation represents a test also for such a crusading organization as the National Student Conference which was formed last April at Wisconsin. Because it encompasses some of the most forward looking students on the campuses, because it understands better than most, the need for unity of all sections of the campus community, it can play an important part in stimulating united action and in injecting into the struggle a crusading zeal which the present moment demands.

On the bookshelf:

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE!

reviewed by Elaine Morris

NO ONE will argue that it is very difficult, indeed almost impossible, to tell the life story of one human being within the small span of 190 printed pages. The details and events, as well as the innermost thoughts and emotions of people are much too complex to be recorded in pet phrases and metaphors.

Yet it is possible, within such limited space, to show a vivid picture of a particular struggle in a person's life, during the course of which the whole character and personality, indeed the essence of the person's life past and present, as well as what can be expected in the future, emerges in bold relief.

Such a book is W.E.B. DuBois', *In Battle For Peace!*

Excitingly yet modestly written, *In Battle For Peace* tells how the great Negro scholar and historian, W. E. Burghardt DuBois, fought for the freedom of his people for over fifty years, and for the freedom of all humanity, and how this fight for freedom led him to be indicted on his eighty-third birthday by the United States Government, as a "criminal" and a "foreign agent."

But let us start from the beginning. Dr. DuBois will say, that it began way back because for all of his eighty-three years that he can remember, he has always searched for Truth. To him, the search for Truth is the most noble aim in life—and with the search for Truth must go the fight for justice. This twin endeavor, Truth and Justice, are not abstractions to him, but have led him to strive to win complete equality and freedom for his people, the Negro people of the United States, as well as for all other darked skinned peoples of the world. His fight for the freedom of these people took many forms, from writing documentary histories such as *Black Reconstruction*, *The World and Africa* and *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, to helping to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. DuBois search for Truth and Justice, led him on to become the champion of the rights of all people, not only the colored peoples. With a great humanism and a scientific understanding of the forces at work in society, it was inevitable that he should fight against whatever oppresses and degrades humanity, and against those who would be mad enough, to try to destroy peo-



ples, to murder them for wanton profit. It is logical then, that Dr. DuBois should emerge as one of the staunchest advocates for peace in this country today—for anyone with a love for people will hate war. And it was precisely this, his hatred of war and his efforts for peace, that caused the Truman Administration in 1950 to indict this great American, as a "foreign agent." Surely, Peace is not "foreign" to the American people! Only those who profit from war and fear the people, hate peace, wrote DuBois.

IN SPEAKING of his deep desire for world peace, Du Bois writes that after the Second World War he realized that not from the inner problems of a single, social group, no matter how pressing, could the world be guided.

"I began to enter into a world concept of human uplift, and one centering about the work and income of the working class. I emerge into a world of war and weep

"Hail and Hail again
Uncounted dead of all the Wars of all
the Worlds!
Outnumbering the living
Millions to one.
Hail and farewell!
Brood of blood-clotted babies
Birthed in bitter pain.

Sired of Old Man Murder,
Mothered by the harlot, Gain!
Nursed in the cripple brain of senile
Senators
On the milked gold of venal Congress-
men.
Trained by Generals, tricked by tawdry
tinsel,
Singing to martial music, trumpeting
to drum:
March, March, Robots, March!
Kill, kill, ever kill; . . .

. . . If cowards die let brave men live
To face the sky.

Let all be one and one vast will
Cry: Stop, Halt, Hold!
Awake O Witless, drear and dread
Awake O Mothers of the dead
Save the World!

Save the children and their dreams
Save the color and the sound
Save the form of faiths unfound
Save civilization, soul and sod,
Save the tattered shreds of God!
War is murder, murder hate
And suicide, stupidity
Incorporate."

* * *

THE PROSECUTION stated that the Peace Information Center which was formed in 1950, and of which Dr. DuBois was one of the organizers, was an agent of a foreign principle. It received money and instructions from the World Congress of Partisans of Peace, and it was at their instruction, that the Stockholm Peace Appeal was circulated here in the United States. Therefore, the Peace Information Center's officers were guilty of crime for not registering as agents of a "foreign power."

But the hysterical charges of the Department of Justice were distortions of the truth. They could not show any contractual relationship between the Peace Information Center and the World Congress of the Partisans for Peace. They could not prove that any money was received by the PIC (Peace Information Center) from a foreign organization. In fact, they could not prove that the officers of the PIC were "foreign agents." In reality, at the crux of the prosecution's entire case was the attempt to take international solidarity for peace, and call it conspiracy! Practically every nation in the world today has its own independent peace movement. Practically every nation with a

(Continued on page 27)

APARTHEID:

White Supremacy in South Africa . . .

THE history of European entry into Africa in the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries represents one of the most horrifying examples of the "fruits" of the search for new ways of "accumulating wealth." Prompted by this motive, emissaries of the wealthy classes of Spain, Holland, France and England armed with the modern weapons of warfare, entered upon the shores of Africa, pillaged, destroyed the native cultures and dragged off millions of Africans destined for the brutality of slavery.

With the overthrow of slavery, attention was turned toward the exploitation of the vast resources of Africa, as a new source of wealth. A paramount consideration of the new industrial classes has been their ability to achieve even greater profits through maintaining oppressively low wages and outright enslavement of the Negro people. The political rule of the African nations was and is designed to maintain the hold on the economy, to perpetrate the doctrines of white superiority and black inferiority. In 1945, British-backed Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa declared that every white man in South Africa believes in the suppression of the Negro except those who are "mad, quite mad".¹

IT is against this pattern of colonial exploitation and racist rule that the peoples of Africa initiated actions aimed at casting off this domination. These efforts for independence are today evident in Kenya, Tunisia, Egypt, the Gold Coast and South Africa.

In South Africa, the program of passive, non-violent resistance against the racist laws passed by Prime Minister Malan's regime being waged by the Bantu and Indian peoples, has gained international prominence and support. The recent history of this country affords striking testimony of the nature of colonial rule and the determination of these peoples to achieve national independence and freedom.

Since the end of World War II, the supremacy of England is being rapidly replaced by U.S. financial interests. For example, the New York banking group before taxes.² The Negro miners are drastically underpaid . . . The majority . . . receive approximately \$11.20 a month. The Negro miners have no union . . . Their base pay has been increased only once in 30 years. They live in 'compounds', with from 20 to 48 in a room."³

of Ladenburg, Thaelman and Co. and Lazar Freres & Co. (a Rockefeller interest) merged with British interests to control extensive mining properties and over 100 South African industrial companies. In 1948, they joined with the Texas Oil Co. in the manufacture of oil from the coal deposits in that country.

Through the Anglo-American Corp., a Morgan holding company, the Morgans have controlled more than 40 South African and Rhodesian companies, including diamond and gold mines. The O'Kiep Copper Co. Ltd. and the Tsumeb mines are 70% controlled by the Newmont Mining Co. and the American Metal Company. At O'Kiep, the African workers receive 13c an hour and at Tsumeb, 50c per day. In 1950, the two companies derived a profit of well over \$1 million

states C. L. Sulzberger (*N.Y. Times* 1/20/53)," that both the United States and Britain are intensely interested, because of their military requirements for uranium in *preserving tranquility in South Africa*". (my italics).

THE brutal policy of racism and severe exploitation resulted in laws in the 1930's forcing the Bantu population off their land in order to provide a "cheap labor supply" to induce foreign investors to come to South Africa. Today, the Africans, who outnumber the whites more than 4 to 1 are restricted to less than one seventh of the total land area. The Masters and Servants Act, for example, makes it a crime for Africans to be "neglectful of duty" or absent without leave from employment. For "breach of contract" for going on strike, African



South Africans Defying Train Segregation

before taxes. The Negro miners are drastically underpaid . . . the majority receive approximately \$11.20 a month. The Negro miners have no union . . . their base pay has been increased only once in 30 years. They live in "compounds," with from 20 to 48 in a room."³

The discovery of Uranium deposits in South Africa, which are fast becoming the largest source in the world, has made for an even increased desire on the part of the U.S. government to influence the course of events in that country. Malan has several times threatened that unless he and his policies are supported, these deposits "might be lost to the Western world". For U.S. industrialists, the discovery of Uranium as a by-product of gold mining has meant increased profits, since these mines are, by and large, owned by them. "It is thus evident,"

workers are subject to criminal prosecution.

For those Africans who have remained on the farms to work for white owners, the government upholds the Native Service Contract Act of 1932. The *Natal, South African Mercury*, in an article entitled "Treated Like Slaves" pointed out: "Conditions akin to slavery exist . . ." (June 28, 1947).

From the period of 1936 to 1946, the average death rate in three major cities for the Bantu population doubled, and was 20 times higher than that of whites. Infant mortality ranged, in 1942, from 150-700 per 1,000 babies (as reported by the government appointed National Health Service Commission.) From the same source, they reported: "One factor stands out pre-eminently—the grinding poverty of almost all the non-European

(non-white) population . . . almost all 8 million Natives must be classed as paupers . . . The evidence we have received strongly suggests that their poverty is increasing and their health deteriorating . . ."

IN 1948 Daniel Malan and his Nationalist party achieved control of the Union government. Apartheid is the declared objective of the government and implies permanent white superiority over the non-whites who constitute 80 per cent of the Union's population. The character of this policy is represented by the following quotations: "The policy of eventual intermingling (between Negro and white) is rejected because it will lead to unnecessary clashes between the two races, will dig the grave for the future of the white race, and will therefore be of a great disadvantage to the Christian culture in Africa".

"The Bantu should be taught that he cannot ask for political rights in white territories . . ."

Through his control in the government, Prime Minister Malan succeeded in instituting the "legal base" for this racism. These laws include the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, Color Bar Acts, acts to forbid Negro and Indian workers to join trade unions with white workers, acts to enforce segregation and discrimination in the schools, the Bantu Authorities Acts and many more. Now, with the development of mass opposition to the Nazi-like regime, Malan has forced through the Suppression of Communism Act, which defines Communism, as "any doctrine or scheme which aims at the encouragement of feeling of hostility between the European and non-European races." In the *N.Y. Post*, Sept. 28, 1952, Professor Mathews, Professor at University College, Fort Hare, answered the latter law, saying, "I resent the suggestion that the African people require Communists to teach them to defend their rights. Ever since the Bantu encountered the Europeans on the banks of the Great Fish River long before the Communist Manifesto was even thought of, they have struggled for equal rights in the land of their birth . . ."

A MALAN adherent made the basic position of his leader and the South-African Nationalist party clear when he said, "We aim to segregate them completely, living as far away from us as possible . . . Then, if there's trouble, we know where to drop the bombs." *Time*, Sept. 3, 1951). Malan himself, in 1943 declared that "only a German victory will guarantee white supremacy in South Africa." Further, he opposed the destruc-

tion of Nazism since it represented a "wall against Communism".

From the Bantu youth of South Africa, the racist Malan government and his predecessors have stripped their right to a free, well rounded education. Here, the weapon of racism has founded a school system based upon the segregation of the Africans, Indians and whites. Primary education is compulsory for white children. It is not for the Bantu children. In '46 there were 455 thousand European children and youth in educational institutions, 649 thousand Bantu and 226 thousand Asian students. The majority of Bantu and Indian children never reach a school of any kind. The few who do reach primary school class (with 50-90 pupils in each) 60% are forced to leave after 2-4 years of education because of economic circumstances.⁶

On the secondary school level only a few schools for the Bantu people have "the standing recognized by the educational authorities for the preparation of students for college examinations . . . only 3.4% of Bantu students in contrast to 17.2% of European pupils were in secondary schools in 1946."

THE "Non-Europeans who manage to such a system as far as matriculation may attend certain classes at the Universities of Capetown or Witwatersrand, and external classes at Natal University College, or they may try to educate themselves at Ft. Hare Native College. Only the *Herrenvolk* (the white students) may attend Stellenbosch, Rhodes, Pretoria and other institutions of University status." The possibility of entering a University is squelched for most of the African and Indian youth by the fact that all must pay exorbitant tuition fees for their incomes. The average amount in 1946 was about \$245, except at Fort Hare where fees were about \$40 per student.

B. M. Kies, graduate of Cape Town University, gives an account of his experiences. "In the lecture rooms, non-Europeans are usually allocated certain seats by the Professors, and white students do not usually share the same benches, in the Labs non-whites are always grouped at the same tables; in the Medical schools, the corpses are mostly non-Europeans, but white and black students don't dissect the same body."⁷

"At Fort Hare College, run by the Church of England, and the Methodist missionaries . . . The staff is hand-picked; the library is hand-picked; the place is riddled with spies." Because of these conditions "almost every session sees student demonstrations and strikes, expulsions and police intervention."⁸

SINCE the inauguration of his regime, Malan has waged consistent attack on the few gains the students were able to make. In 1950, the South African government invoked the pernicious Immigration Regulations Act to prevent South African students from attending any University outside of their restricted areas. Under this Act, the Bantu people may only travel from one province to another with special permits. The attempt to smash the non-segregation policy at Witwaterstrand was met with sharp protest from the Witwatersrand Student Representative Council and the National Union of South African Students. The Transvaal Indian Youth Congress addressed a moving appeal to the U.N. for justice in the treatment of all non-European students. It was sent on behalf of "young men and women who have been condemned to live and die in the slums and ghettos of South Africa. For us 95% of whom are native born and bred in this country—the government has left no place to partake of the joys of life and liberty." In each of these cases the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) has worked to rally the support of students throughout the world.

INCREASINGLY students in the United States are speaking out in support of their fellow students, freedom fighters in South Africa. The pages of our student press are beginning to carry the story of the brutal repression of the pro-Nazi Malan regime of South Africa. The pages of the *Chicago Maroon* and the *Harvard Crimson*, as well as many others across the country have been opened to student expression on this question. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has expressed full support for the defiance of Malan's racist laws and has offered support to the African National Congress. In our classrooms, lecture halls, dorms and labs, petitions and protests are being organized and sent to the U. S. delegation at the United Nations demanding an end to Malan's obvious and flagrant violation of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

Footnotes:

1. The World and Africa—W.E.B. DuBois, Viking Press, page 43.
2. Spotlight on Africa—newsletter published by the Council on African Affairs, New York City.
3. New York Times—C.L. Sulzberger, 1/21/53.
4. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southwest Africa to the General Assembly—Document A/2261—page 71.
5. New York Times—C.L. Sulzberger 1/24/53.
6. Africa—Continent of the Future—Haynes—Chapter on South Africa.
7. "Student Forward"—Article by K.M. Kies.
8. Ibid.
9. I.U.S. Bulletin—monthly publication of the International Union of Students—1950, 1951, 1952.

Fighting McCarthy in His Own Back-yard

One of the first open, aggressive reflections of infiltration of McCarthyite ideology among the students has occurred at Wisconsin University. These expressions have been manifested mainly through the activities of the campus Young Republican club (YGOP).

On December 18th, the YGOP passed a resolution which called for keeping "all groups affiliated with, and doing the work for the Communist Party, from using the facilities and sanctions of the university to promote an ideology which is meant to destroy our freedom . . ." In different words, this resolution paralleled the threats of McCarthy to investigate "communists" and "communist thinking" in the colleges and universities.

John Fritschler, Big 10 chairman of the YGOP, provided the concrete clue by which the real intention and direction of this proposal should be evaluated. Speaking at a meeting in support of the statement, he cited, as an example, the *Daily Cardinal's* opposition to the Mundt-Nixon witchhunt bill, which was reported in New Foundations. Thus, the *Daily Cardinal*, the Wisconsin student newspaper, which is openly opposed to Marxism but speaks out against the whichhunts and Senator McCarthy, is singled out as a definition of the phrase, "doing the work of". It is the great body of liberal-minded students, then, who occupy the center of the YGOP and McCarthyite attention. A *Daily Cardinal* editorial spelled out the scope of the concept "communist thought". "This can mean", the paper said, "only that all those who disagree with McCarthy 'think like communists'."

BEHIND THE RESOLUTION

There can be no doubt that the intention of the resolution is to silence opposition to the pro-fascist thinking of McCarthyism. With respect to the campus, it is aimed at the very heart of a democratic education—the right of students and teachers to the open, free discussion of ideas. "The university Young Republicans", stated the *Cardinal* "grossly violated this universally accepted idea . . ."

While the resolution was directed against education itself, the activities and procedures of the YGOP flaunted the established, democratic procedures of student government. The purpose of

the Young Republicans was, not to consult the student body, but 'to go over their heads' and impose their ideas on the campus. The pattern was, as John Fritschler stated, "to take this to the legislature—" since "the regents have no power to oust subversive groups," The Republican controlled legislature is the intended means by which the YGOP is seeking to impose their thinking. At the meeting at which the resolution was passed, this same approach was set forth. Joan Rappaport, regional chairman of the National Student Association (NSA), pointed out that the YGOP actions were in violation of the principles of academic freedom as established by the Wisconsin student board. In answer to this, Jack Silbaar, member of YGOP, remarked to the audience, "I don't give a damn what the student board thinks. You know which has the power between the legislature and the student board."

On the one hand the resolution calls for the use of the established university apparatus to initiate the witchhunt. On the other hand, this McCarthyite nucleus exposed their genuine attitudes by the remarks of Bill Isbell, chairman of the newly formed and as yet unrecognized, Badger Veterans Organization (BVO), who voted for the motion. When reminded that his organization was still unrecognized he replied, "We are not waiting for the red tape of the university to act upon important issues."

THEIR FASCIST NATURE

The direction of these activities are so bold facedly in the traditions of fascist mentality that even one of YGOP's own members, Lawrence Eagleburger, compared it to the situation "of so many German universities in or around the year 1933".

The situation poses many important dangers for the student body at Wisconsin. It serves, basically, as a courier of the threats of McCarthy and Velde to 'investigate' the campus students and faculty. The obvious function of YGOP is to weaken the growing opposition to the new attacks on education by spreading out the carpet of intimidation and fear.

This growing opposition to McCarthyism has already expressed itself in different ways on the campus. Underlying these developments is the important thread of the realization that opposition to this pro-fascist ideology calls for a

defense of the university, and its principles of democratic education.

One of the outstanding examples of this defense has been the contributions of the *Daily Cardinal*. In regular editorials it has made its position clear. A combination of extracts from these editorials gives testimony to the service it is performing for the students in this struggle. Starting with January 6, they state:

FROM THE STUDENT PRESS

"Intellectual freedom is the basis of a democratic education . . . We have already gone too far down the road toward making conformity synonymous with loyalty."

"We have a choice to make. The kind of security the McCarthys and the McCarrans would have can be attained only in a totalitarian garrison state." On January 15th: "The McCarthys, Velde . . . are moving fast toward the colleges, and students must meet the challenge to their education . . ."

"The present period requires increased determination on the part of the students and faculty to stand up to the menace of restricted academic freedom. The student body and faculty can best head off this threat to our educational freedoms."

"The University has a long and proud position of free inquiry. Now would hardly be the time to let it end."

The feelings and movement of the students themselves have evidenced themselves in two important ways.

When, at the invitation of the Labor Youth League, Mr. Abner Berry, the Negro Affairs Editor of the *Daily Worker*, came to speak on Marxism, 600 students came down to hear his views. During the meeting a few hecklers who tried to disrupt were immediately silenced by the audience with shouts of 'let him speak'. During the question period, Mr. Berry was asked to state his views on the Rosenberg trials, the atom bomb, the sort of government he would like to see in this country, etc. This meeting, coming in the midst of the YGOP campaign, was a sharp reaffirmation of belief on the part of the students in their right to a democratic education. It represented a forthright defense of the right of free inquiry and discussion against the attempts to

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THE average movie-goer will probably see LIMELIGHT with the current barrage of innuendos and slanders against Chaplin in the back of his mind. In fact the very seeing of Limelight itself will be quite an achievement, for such groups as the American Legion are attempting to prevent moviegoers from seeing the film.

Publicity, especially articles such as appeared recently, has attempted to impugn the great comedian's devotion to democracy. The movie goer will indeed have a hard time relating this to what is presented in LIMELIGHT.

Chaplin's new film is built on a story about an old comedian, Calvero (Chaplin), who has lost his touch and taken to drink; he saves a destitute young dancer, Theresa (Claire Bloom), from suicide, nurses her to health in body and mind, and to success in her art. In the process Calvero himself is able to regain his own art as a comedian.

IT is a simple story, yet the film is far from skimpy. It has the fullness, the skill and simplicity, the beauty and the excruciatingly funny routines that only Charlie Chaplin knows how to bring to the screen. Yet if this picture is a flower among the voracious weeds that Hollywood today turns out for screen fare, and it unquestionably is, then it can be explained primarily by its powerful and wonderful message.

* * *

LIMELIGHT carries one into a struggle between an optimistic, healthy view of life, which sees the possibility of solving one's problems in real life, versus the view of pessimism and despair, which sees the "solution" through escape from reality. The former point of view is powerfully expressed by Calvero and permeates all of LIMELIGHT.

THERESA wants to die; what is there to fight for, she asks and Calvero impassioned, answers, there is everything to fight for; for life itself! Even the sun, he says, does not have the power we have, for we can think, we have life if only we will fight for it!

Expressing this view the picture describes a relationship between the old comedian and the young and talented dancer which makes some very important points. Calvero takes the sick dancer to live in his apartment; their relationship is devoid of the smutty references and crudely put sex motives of Hollywood; and although Theresa becomes attached to and dependent on Calvero, and wants to marry him, he says *no*. Such a love between an old man and a young just matured woman, based on pity and delusion would be false; and Calvero says that in his old age *he must have truth,*

movie review:

by AL STAWSKY

LIMELIGHT



truth and dignity! Yet the old man continues to have a mature and sincere affection for her, and her respect and unselfish concern for him continues and grows as she begins to appreciate his wiser view of the matter. The real and unselfish concern for the other's success and well being, even though their ways have parted, are movingly depicted.

IT is a relationship which is honest and principled, which is based on mutual respect and the desire for people to grow and develop their potentialities. (Calvero says he must go forward, for that is progress.) It is based on a mature view of the problems of life, on the ability to fight to solve them and not run away to despair and pessimism.

* * *

The technique and artistry give body and a special beauty to the film. (The versatile Chaplin directed, and created the music and choreography as well.) The "philosophical" passages are not really tedious for while he is speaking, the old Chaplin of silent films is also in action; he is going through the antics of smelling the fish for breakfast, or spitting mouthwash out the third story window in the classical style, and throughout the first scenes where Theresa is saved from death, Calvero is tipsy while heroic. In this way Chaplin makes a special point of not allowing, on the whole, the sincere and moving matter of the film to fall to the level of Hollywood's super-sentimentality, and histrionics.

At several points there are delicious

diggs at soap operatics. When Calvero is worried over the recurrence of Theresa's weakness on her opening night, he kneels behind some scenery and begins to pray for her; it's strictly ham and, then a stagehand peeks in and stares; the audience roars while Calvero lamely explains that he was looking for a button.

THERE is enough of the old "silent" Chaplin in the three comic routines and throughout to "roll them in the aisles." Chaplin, Melissa Hayden, Nigel Bruce, Buster Keaton and others are excellent. The music, choreography and unelaborate but skillful photography round it out on an equally high level.

* * *

IN conclusion one must admit that there are many things LIMELIGHT does not depict or say. The question it deals with are answered too generally and abstractly. Who and what is stifling human dignity? How and with whom must one fight to achieve happiness and a full life? Such questions are not answered. But it is what the picture *does* say which is important; and the message and art of LIMELIGHT, though perhaps limited in a general sense, are things which *must be fought for* today to be had at all. All those interested in honest and humanist art should fight to keep LIMELIGHT from the treatment given MONSIEUR VERDOU, Chaplin's previous film which was literally and completely forced from the screen.

THE RISING TIDE

BEHIND the fight of the Negro people for full educational rights in the South is developing a movement of Negro and white youth which should attract the attention of youth movements of the country as a whole. For in some places in the otherwise jimcrow southern states, the university campus is assuming the look of a democratic oasis. Indeed, the white students, for reasons which will be dealt with later on in this article, are in advance of most of the organized white workers in the matter of taking a militant stand against jimcrow. Another important facet of the fight for schools is revealed in southern school statistics showing the constant influx of Negro youth into the labor force of southern agriculture and industry. What has been shown so far in the educational struggle emphasizes the part to be played in the southern labor and Negro liberation movements by Negro and white students.

Negro students are militant and restive. In many places high school students, showing a maturity usually found only in colleges, are themselves leading the fight for schools. This was dramatically demonstrated in the November, 1951, strike of 750 students of the Adkins High School in Kinston, North Carolina. The strike was planned, organized, and executed by the students without any outside help from an adult group. Not even the parents of the students knew that they had planned the strike until November 20, when they stayed out of school and marched through the streets of the town in a protest parade.

STUDENTS FORCE ACTION

This action soon attracted the attention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other groups, but not before the students had forced an appointment with the School Board. By their action they have corrected a situation wherein they had to attend school in a garage which they, themselves, had built, along with other oppressive conditions.

C. B. Stewart, the school principal, said of the action: "In all my 12 years here I have never known it to happen before."

THE conditions which furnished the fuel for the Kinston, N.C., flare-up of students exists in just about every southern state. And the possibility of such actions spreading to other areas has an influence on the entire movement



Students at Allen University Conference to End Segregation.

against school jimcrow. But, turning to statistics, one sees another side of the Negro youth's problems in the South.

In Mississippi, where this writer visited last summer, there are two senior colleges for Negroes maintained by the state; and there are eight additional private colleges—five of them junior colleges—maintained by churches and private institutions. In the school year of 1949-50, some 2,650 Negroes attended these colleges, more than half of whom, incidentally were young women.

But Mississippi maintains five senior colleges and 14 junior colleges for whites, while private agencies and churches maintain five junior and five senior colleges. There were attending these 19 institutions in the year 1949-50, according to state figures, 20,597 white students, 6,642 of whom were women.

These attendance figures are completely out of kilter with the population figures, for estimates are that there are more than 1,000,000 Negroes in the state's 2,178,000 census figure for 1950. Just how this lop-sided educational picture is produced is learned from the figures of elementary and high school attendance figures.

Back in 1947, the state Superintendent of Education reported that there were 385,000 educable white children and 492,000 educable Negro children. But by the time the 1949 school census was taken the enrollment showed only 250,000 Negro children enrolled and 220,000 white children. Question? Where did the

242,000 Negro children go? To the cotton fields? To the newly founded factories?

A clue to this is found in the distribution of the children in the elementary grades. There were 87,000 Negro children enrolled in the first grade in 1949 as against 37,800 white children, but by the time the eighth grade was reached there were only 14,000 Negroes and 21,600 whites! Some 65,000 Negro children had vanished as school pupils and had become workers on the farms or in factories.

The figures for Mississippi illustrates the pattern in education affecting some 5,000,000 Negroes living in the Deep South. While every state will not parallel Mississippi, the trend, based on the figures issued by state superintendents of education, is the same.

EFFECTS OF JIM CROW

THIS extensive "weeding out" process of the jimcrow system, the retarding effects of inferior elementary school facilities (1,718 Negro one-teacher schools; 60 white one-teacher schools, in Mississippi), is bound to give the surviving high school students more maturity. Their determination to pursue their education is greatly enhanced by the rugged character of their struggle to master "the R's." On the other hand the tens of thousands of Negro youth who fall by the way side, victims of educational jimcrow, make youth a potential force in the organization of Negro industrial workers and farm laborers.

The continuing thirst for education on

The struggle of Negro and white students in the South for democracy on-and off-the campus . . .

by Abner Berry, Negro Affairs Editor of the Daily Worker

the part of these by-passed students is evidenced by the pressure on the part of Negro, young adults for extension courses and adult education activities. In South Carolina, where there is developed an adult education program, the Superintendent of Education reports that a majority of the enrollees are Negroes. So the pressure for an education runs from Negro elementary school children and their parents to graduate students—the main mass of Negroes are affected.

Legal attacks by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have opened the doors of state universities in all but six southern hold-outs. Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina have retained their lily-white status. Horace Ward, an Atlanta Negro, has been fighting for two years to gain admission to the University of Georgia law school. His application was turned down for the second time in January, 1953, under rules adopted in September, 1951, following his first application, requiring admission by a newly-worded examination. The "examination" was a dodge to get around a federal court directive.

GAINS BEING MADE

Despite the six jimcrow hold-outs among the southern states in the matter of graduate education for Negroes, there were reportedly more than 250 Negro students studying in southern state-supported institutions. (Civil Rights in the United States, Balance Sheet of Group Relations, American Jewish Congress and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.) The same source also reported that some 20 privately operated colleges and universities, which formerly had admitted only white students, had accepted Negroes. At the University of Oklahoma and at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Negro graduate and summer school students numbered upward of 400 during 1952.

IN ALMOST every instance where

Negro students came onto "white" campuses for the first time, there were groups of white students—led by southerners—to welcome them. White undergraduate and graduate students at Oklahoma U. fought militantly against attempts to jimcrow the first Negro student there. George Rucker a white Oklahoma U. student and president of the schools student senate told the Oklahoma City NAACP convention:

"I might mention the student newspaper at the university which gave full editorial support to you in your fight to open the doors of the university to all citizens of Oklahoma. I can report that in spite of predictions that there would be 'incidents' and perhaps even violence, the acceptance of Negroes as fellow students at the University of Oklahoma proceeded as a matter of course."

Rucker told the story of how the white and Negro students joined in breaking jimcrow in the classroom and in the previously all-white town of Norman, Oklahoma, seat of the university.

"On our campus," Rucker reported, "as elsewhere, it has been shown that integration is the answer to the so-called 'Negro problem,'—that the fastest and surest way to eliminate misconceptions and stereotypes in regard to the different races, is to let them know each other."

For a white Virginian this is an advanced position. But in almost every university in the South there are sizeable groups of white students who agree with it. Their liberal arts and science studies have brought them to the point of disillusionment with the racist policies of the state governments. But mixed in with this advanced position on breaking jimcrow in the South, is a naive concern for classes and the role of classes in the oppression of Negroes. This naive concern has within it the germ of reaction which turns the southern campus progressive of today into the "liberal" compromiser with racist reaction after graduation and entry into business or a profession.

EVEN a casual observation of the southern campuses reveals the need among the students for a perspective which can only come from an understanding of Marxism. For the problems confronting the advanced students on the campus is part of the problem which confronts the working class organizer, the Negro elementary school pupil and parents and the opponents of the racist governments. And, it is only a Marxist outlook which will reveal the dominating position of southern (and northern) businessmen and manufacturers over the governments whose policies the students oppose.

What is needed first, in the opinion of this writer is to imbue the southern white students with an understanding that it is the working class and not the students who will banish jimcrow from the South. While it is true that today they are in advance of the southern workers on the

Negro question and in understanding the need to fight the social blight of jimcrow, it is also true that unless they can impart this understanding to the workers, the students inevitably must slip, or be pushed back into, the slough they now detest.

For it is through the organizations of the workers that they can gain a contact with the parents of the millions of jimcrowed elementary school children. It is through the unions and the union struggles for higher wages and against job discrimination that the students will be extending the scope of their campus fight. This is not to say that students will become automatically the leaders of workers, but that they will be able to provide a certain stimulus through various forms of activity.

There is no doubt that the body of white students, joined with the white workers in the fight against racism, could make an historic contribution to social progress in the southern United States and come into closer unity with the tens of thousands of Negro college students.

WHAT has been said of the white students in the South applies even more so to the Negro students. Negro students traditionally have held a position of honor in the Negro community where an education, "book learning" had to come the hard way. Potentially, each Negro student was viewed as a leader of the Negro people. He presumably was being educated to serve. However, the very education he receives, loaded as it is with ruling class propaganda, in many cases moves the Negro college student away from the struggles in which the Negro people are engaged. He is tempted to take the middle class way and to look upon the oppressed mass of Negroes as "unsuccessfuls" in capitalist competitive society. He will rebel at his lack of middle class privileges due to jimcrow, but will often compromise on issues affecting the masses of Negroes.

This is why there were many suits for admitting the few Negro graduate students in southern universities long before the basic "Three R's" for the millions of Negro school children were tackled. That is why some Negro organizations, including the NAACP, limit their actions against jimcrow to legislation and court action, eschewing mass protest and strike action which would involve masses of Negroes in the fight against their jimcrow system. There are

(Continued on page 26)

IF someone were to catch Sen. Pat McCarran in an unguarded moment and ask what his worst enemies were he would undoubtedly answer "Labor and Learning." For the Nevada Sen., along with his younger confrere Sen. McCarthy and other like-minded Congressmen, represents the danger of Fascism, and to Fascism of any brand, the power of organized labor, combined with the illumination of scientific knowledge, is anathema. Wherever Fascism has reared its ugly head its first objectives have been on the one hand to suppress any and all movements of the working classes for the improvement of their circumstances, and on the other to stamp out the influence of rational, progressive ideas. These ideas, arising largely out of the labor movement, have in spite of continuous opposition on the part of academic obscurantists, taken root on the campuses and in the sciences. Therefore, with the suppression of labor and its leaders there follows the suppression of all rational thought, and the purging of the universities.

It is perhaps difficult under normal circumstances for students to grasp the direct and vital relationship they have with the labor movement. But under the two-pronged attack against Labor and Learning being waged by the McCarran ilk this relationship is becoming ever clearer. McCarran knows, if many of us students do not yet fully realize, that our future, our right to develop freely and fruitfully in our chosen field, depends upon the strength of the working people, on their defense of peace and economic progress. At the same time, McCarran realizes that the free development of our nation's intellectual forces must lead inevitably to the development of a science of human relationships capable of leading all men out of the misery of war and depression, and thus out of the clutches of McCarran's friends: the grafters, the war profiteers, the racketeers. This is what McCarran fears most, and this is why he embraces the butcher of Spanish democracy, Franco. This, too, is why he uses Bella Dodd, eager "Witness" for the McCarran Committee, avowed enemy of the "open mind", to inform on teachers who are sincerely dedicated to human enlightenment. And this is why he promotes anti-labor legislation in Congress, while offering his services to mine and factory owners to "hunt witches" in the more militant unions.

MANY students are already familiar with the pattern of McCarranism in education. However, we cannot

forget that the brunt of the McCarran offensive is, and will be increasingly, borne by organized labor. The two pieces of legislation bearing McCarran's name, though ostensibly directed only at Communists and other alleged "subversives", are clearly aimed at intimidating and shackling the labor movement as a whole, as is shown readily by the united opposition of all sections of labor to these measures.

A penetrating analysis of the first McCarran Law, the "Internal Security Act of 1950," made by the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union shows how the loose wording of the law makes practically any militant liberal or labor organization liable to prosecution as a "Communist front" organization on the basis that these organizations "further and promote the objectives of the Communist movement". Especially dangerous for labor are provisions in the law for labeling as "Communist" organizations which "fail to disclose" their membership or "hold their meetings in secret". Anyone familiar with the organizing struggles of labor knows how important secrecy is in the early stages

persecuted, and some deported, under former immigration and naturalization laws, including the great West Coast leader Harry Bridges, who broke the grip of the corruption-ridden Joe Ryan dictatorship in the Longshoremen's Union. Now this new law threatens a quickened tempo of persecutions. Recently arrested was John Steuben, editor of the militant *March of Labor* magazine. Steuben was a key figure in the organizing of the steel workers, and among the charges against him are some concerning union activities during the famous Little Steel strike of 1937 which was so ruthlessly suppressed. This retrospective indictment flagrantly violates the Constitution, and if upheld in the courts will set a dangerous precedent for the violation of the rights of all of us.

The McCarran-Walter law includes many gimmicks directed at specific categories of workers, as, for example, workers who migrate seasonally to and from the U. S. territories, and foreign-born seamen. It also could seriously hamper intra-union cooperation in the international unions, i.e. unions which have affiliates in the territories and Canada—which includes most U. S. unions. One such union, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter

McCarran vs. Labor

of organizing to protect union members from exposure and black-listing by management. And today especially, as industry moves south and union organizers face the arrogant hostility of both management and the "Law" in the reaction-ridden white-supremacy states, any restrictions on union privacy will greatly increase the perils of organizing. As the MCLU put it, under such circumstances the Internal Security Board would hold "life and death power" over labor unions.

MCCARRAN's more recent contribution, the infamous McCarran-Walter Act, widely attacked for its racist immigration quotas, takes the United States on another giant stride toward fascism. According to this act thousands of foreign-born labor leaders, whether citizens or not, can be deported, and otherwise subjected to surveillance, harassment and persecution. All that is needed to end the career, and perhaps break up the family of a foreign-born citizen is the sworn testimony of a private informer as to "subversive" acts alleged to have been committed by the accused as far back as 50 years, acts which need not have been illegal at the time. Already at least 40 labor leaders have been

Workers, has been leading the attack by labor on McCarranism. As the leading union in McCarran's home state it has consistently opposed his reactionary activities, and recently published a thorough expose of his underworld connections. Consequently Mine-Mill has been subjected to typical McCarran harassment, but has come through it unscathed and determined to end the intimidation of labor.

THE spirit shown by Mine-Mill in its unwillingness to knuckle under to McCarranism has heartened all of labor—and it can well serve to hearten the rest of us who are threatened with attacks in one form or another. As students we owe much to the labor movement; organized labor has spear-headed every progressive step in education, from the struggles for universal free primary education in the last century to the recent fight in New York State for a free state university. As labor recognizes its stake in free education, so should we recognize our stake in a free labor movement, and continually work for closer cooperation toward our common democratic goals.

D. FOSTER

Kenya Student Fights Deportation

ON November 5, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service sent a letter to Mugo Gatheru, an African student in his Junior year at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, requesting that he leave the country within 30 days or else face arrest and ultimate deportation. Mugo Gatheru comes from Kenya, a land where the independence movement has been accompanied by a demand on the part of the people for adequate education. The educational facilities for the 5,500,000 Africans (with 30,000 white Europeans living among them) are totally inadequate. In 1946 there were only 326 African children attending secondary schools. Today there are only 6 Kenyans who have attended college. The Kenyan Government (a 56-man legislative council composed of 46 whites, 6 Africans, and 4 Indians) prevents the people from obtaining a college education abroad.

In the past year the U.S. Immigration Service has carefully screened students coming to the U. S. from Africa, and more recently has restricted the number allowed to enter to a tiny trickle. One important reason for this is that these militantly anti-imperialist and anti-racist students from Africa have an immense impact on the question of the suppression of the Negro people in the U. S. They further help to reveal to American students the true character of imperialism as a result of their own experiences.

OBTAINS SCHOLARSHIP

In 1948 Mr. Gatheru obtained a scholarship to Roosevelt College in Chicago. The U. S. refused him a student visa because the British colonial authorities refused to give Mr. Gatheru a "certificate of good conduct." The main charge against Mr. Gatheru was that he wrote letters to English newspapers in Kenya asking why it was that Kenyans were not allowed to vote and were not permitted to go abroad to study. He was also associated with the Kenyan African Union and its publication, "*African Voice*."

As a result of great sacrifice by his mother in selling the only form of wealth available to the Kenyan people, cattle and livestock, Mr. Gatheru was able to go first to India and then to London to study. While in London he again applied for a visitor's visa to the U.S. which he received in the Spring of 1950. Later Mr. Gatheru received a student's visa and he studied at Roosevelt College, Bethune-

Cookman College in Florida and now at Lincoln University.

ATTEMPT TO DEPORT HIM

IN justification of the deportation, the government claims he entered the country illegally—when he applied for the visa in London he did not mention that previously he had been refused a visa. This pretext was discovered two years after Mr. Gatheru's entrance into this country and despite the fact that Mr. Gatheru states that he was not asked whether he had ever applied before. Another very vague charge and pretext is that Mr. Gatheru is deportable under the 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act. No elucidation of this point has been given. In a letter of December 18, signed by Thomas M. Jones, a Lincoln history professor and Chairman of the defense committee, "Friends of Mugo Gatheru," is stated:

"His correspondence, dating back to 1946, and his behavior in this country and in India indicate that he has been motivated solely by his desire for an education and his desire to improve the educational standards of his people, whose condition is such that it is virtually impossible to obtain even a secondary education without a super-human effort."

The racial character of the deportation is evidenced in two ways: (1) An initial proceeding of this type against a Kenyan student strong in the defense of his people's rights. (2) The university involved is Lincoln University, a center of Negro education and a school known for its ties with the struggle of African peoples for independence; a number of leaders in these movements having studied at Lincoln. (e.g. Drikwenna N. Kvmah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast.)

IN defense of Mr. Gatheru, a movement of considerable magnitude has developed. In the forefront have been the students of Lincoln. The defense committee, Friends of Mugo Gatheru, is based mainly on Lincoln students and professors. On Nov. 25 the Lincoln Student Senate passed a resolution saying in part:

"We the Student Senate of Lincoln U. hereby express our wholehearted support for Mr. Mugo Gatheru in his efforts to remain in the USA in order to obtain an American education. We are proud to state that we have a strong faith in Mr. Gatheru's integrity as an

individual and in his ability as a college student . . . We feel that the deportation order sent to Mr. Gatheru by the US Immigration Bureau should be reconsidered and subsequently revoked."

Dr. Horace Mann Bond also took an active part in organizing the defense. Many discussions have taken place at Lincoln, and the school paper is printing several articles on the case. Lincoln's Chapter of NAACP has been active in stimulating support at Lincoln and at other colleges in the area. Students have been speaking at various church and civic groups in the Philadelphia area. The National Students Association Regional Conference passed a resolution presented by Lincoln opposing the deportation and calling upon member schools to support Mr. Gatheru. A similar resolution was passed by the Student Council at neighboring Swarthmore College. This resolution was passed after discussions in the Race Relations Club, National Students Convention Committee, Young Progressives of America and the student newspaper. After the Council resolution and after a presentation of the case by Mr. Donald Stock, President of Lincoln U. NAACP, at the weekly assembly of Swarthmore College a referendum was submitted to the entire student body. The vote was 487 in favor to 39 opposed. After supporting Mr. Gatheru in a court proceeding the referendum states:

"There are many foreign students here at Swarthmore, all of whom may be affected by the principle in this case."

SUPPORT GROWS

A good deal of publicity has been given the case by the "*Nation*", starting with a three page article on Nov. 29 by St. Claire Drake, a professor at Roosevelt College who taught Mr. Gatheru. There have also been articles in the Negro press and a limited amount in other newspapers. Several church, civic and social groups are participating in the defense as is the Phila. Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

EDITORS NOTE

Influenced undoubtedly by the protests described in the above article the government has dropped deportation proceedings against Mugo Gatheru. According to his lawyer, Cornelius McDougald, Mr. Gatheru will make application soon for a renewal of his student visa that expires April 30 so that he may continue his studies.

THE LIVING JOHN REED

JOHN REED was thirty-three when he died in Moscow in 1920. In his lifetime he watched a world wither and crumble in the blast of war and then he saw a huge area of it change and turn young again. He was among the first who crossed the frontier to socialism and after crossing it he gained in maturity, free finally of the pestilence of lies and the cruel illusions of the old order. Reed knew that the Russian Revolution had brought a new era to mankind and not even the most savage pressures, the whole army of federal police, all the self-appointed keepers of the American mind, could stop him from interpreting its meaning to his own countrymen. In the Russian Revolution he recognized the fulfillment of ideals and the practicability of dreams he held in common with innumerable Americans long before November, 1917.

It was at Harvard (1906-1910) that Reed blossomed. Harvard found him boisterous and full of pranks. What he wrote for the *Lampoon* and the *Monthly* was not too different from the things hundreds of Harvard undergraduates have published.

Reed also sensed the rebel tradition at Harvard, especially toward the close of his undergraduate days when Harvard's Socialist Club, with Walter Lippmann as president, blasted local orthodoxy. In a blurred but articulate way its members recognized the cleavages in their community. Reed never joined the Club, one of several such groups launched at different universities by Upton Sinclair and Jack London, but he was impressed by the freshness in its thinking and by the talk about politics and the world.

As head of the university's Cosmopolitan Club his contact with students from many nations expanded his view just as his feelings for the local rebels sharpened his defiance of the college aristocrats. He could not, however, make up his mind where he stood in his relations with the rebels and the aristocrats. His drive was in the direction of the serious and he found a comfortable bond between himself and the insurgents. Yet the rewards that went with social position at Cambridge were too tempting to be tossed away. He hungered for recognition from all sides. In its quest he spilled his boundless energy into campus activities—literary, athletic, the horse-play that made him different superficially but could not hide his desire to get on in the world according to the rules of his upper-class milieu.

IN NEW YORK, after he was graduated and had taken a trip to Europe, Reed found himself in the midst of the intellectual dissenters who mirrored the reform and radical movements of the two decades before the first world war. These intellectuals, mostly of the middle class, had discovered the hollowness of a monopoly-encased culture. Their beliefs were a curious mixture, with the essential ingredient a revulsion from the grisly sermons of Puritanism and the tyranny of big business stifling the creative man.

OTHER INFLUENCES

He also listened to the labor leaders, the Socialists and radicals. Some of them he met through Lincoln Steffens, his father's friend. There was little soul scratching in this process of learning nor did Reed become the victim of a tormented ego such as affected other novices in social discovery. He had a cold scorn for the frauds "who cling to the skirts of Change." But the ideas he encountered had impact upon him only as he could place them in his catalogue of experience. He was strongly attracted to the Wobblies. They were in the vortex of labor struggles and represented fighting spirit. To Reed their ardor made the Socialists seem dull. He had met Big Bill Haywood, the Wobbly leader and a Left-wing Socialist, and Haywood's knowledge of the underdog's life fascinated him.

THE LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

IT WAS in war, either between classes or between states, that Reed learned quickest. In the strike of silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey (1913), Reed had his first contact with labor in active warfare. He was arrested and spent four days in jail. At first he approached the strike as though it were a lark, but his deepest sympathies were aroused when he saw the terror inflicted by the police. More than 2,300 workers had been hauled into the county jail. And like its predecessor at Lawrence, Massachusetts, a year before, the strike in the Paterson textile mills had shocked the country with its revelations of starvation wages while the mill owners stored away enormous profits by exploiting workers and adulterating the silk. The Wobblies who led the strike quickly drew in radical intellectuals from New York. For several weeks the strike became the focus of Reed's life. He was infuriated by the

beatings given the weavers. The talk about labor in a pleasant Fifth Avenue salon took on a different meaning.

Paterson shook Reed. He learned for himself what books and talk could not teach. Again he worked primarily through his eyes. He saw the oppressors and how they squeezed the lives of workers. But if Paterson shook Reed, it did not shake him into making a lasting commitment beyond the strike itself.

Mexico was a stiffer experience than Paterson. Reed had been assigned to cover the revolt of the peons against a new set of dictators. The assignment came from the *Metropolitan*, a magazine with a large circulation. For Reed it was the big break. He felt flattered that he had been chosen. He was only twenty-six and eager to prove himself.

On his return home he defended the guerrillas and showed the harm American interference would bring to the Mexican revolution. When the clamor for intervention reached a high pitch, he wrote in the *Metropolitan* that war against the Mexicans would bring nothing but tears and disaster. To be sure, he said, "American soldiers will have nothing serious to anticipate in the opposition of the Mexican army. It is the peons and their women, fighting in the streets and at the doors of their houses, that they will have to murder." And what would be changed after American troops left? Nothing. The great estates would be "securely re-established, the foreign interests stronger than ever, because we supported them, and the Mexican revolution to be fought all over again in the indefinite future." It would mean, as he wrote in *The Masses*, imposing on Mexicans "trust government, unemployment, and wage slavery."

THE COLORADO STRIKE

IN APRIL, 1914, shortly after he came up from Mexico, Reed learned more of tyranny that went with wage slavery and trust government. At Ludlow, Colorado, mine guards aided by the state militia had, burned a tent colony of striking miners, massacring their wives and children. The strike was one of several violent conflicts in Colorado mines which at times assumed the proportions of civil war. Reed painstakingly traced the web of intrigue between sheriffs, governor, company town officials and mine owners—between the state apparatus and finance. And

by John Stuart

This article is an abridged version and is reprinted from the monthly literary publication, "Masses & Mainstream."

driven home to him again was the unbridgeable chasm between two classes. He wrote about the strike with scrupulous attention to detail. The whole effort marked his growth as a class-conscious writer not easily satisfied with recording his impressions, but digging deeper into the play of forces behind them.

There could now be little doubt about Reed's relationship to workers and their struggles. He knew better than ever where he belonged and where he was at ease and, most effective. He wrote that "the workers produced all the wealth of the world, which went to those who did not earn it." This seemed to many of his Harvard classmates a horrid forfeiture of his social rank. In their eyes Reed's life was shaping into a strange pattern.

Reed admitted readily that in the early days his knowledge of working-class theory was crude. But he was arriving at Marxism by the pitted route of experience even as Lippmann was discarding his socialist ideas in prim essays. Reed sensed the intellectual sham of it. He rejected the Lippmannesque view of the world and of himself and he would not yield to those friends who shook their heads over his imperiousness to their brand of reason.

WORLD WAR I

THAT was a subtle pressure which Reed withstood. It was nothing however, compared to the humiliation inflicted upon him by the warmongers who pleaded the justness of the imperialist war that had broken out in 1914. He would not lend himself to the treachery of supporting the war makers. He kept saying "this is not our war" and to fight it became a fixed passion. Reed called it a traders' war and he would not be taken in "by this editorial buncombe about liberalism going forth to Holy War against tyranny."

And then he asked the compelling question: "Whose war is this? Not mine. I know that hundreds of thousands of American workingmen employed by our great 'patriots' are not paid a living wage. I have seen poor men sent to jail for long terms without trial, and even without charge. Peaceful strikers, and their wives and children, have been shot to death, burned to death, by private detectives and mili-

tiamen. The rich have steadily become richer, and the cost of living higher, and the workers proportionally poorer. These toilers don't want war—not even civil war. But the speculators, the employers, the plutocracy—they want it, just as they did in Germany and England; and with lies and sophistries they will whip up our blood until we are savage and then we'll fight and die for them." It is a cold economic force," he added in another angry note, "that fanned the fires which burst into this war. The issue is clear with these forces there is no alliance, for peace or war. Against them and their projects is the only place for liberals."



THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

AS THE war moved on fragments of news began coming through of insurrection in a large part of Europe. Reed's delight was boundless, for it appeared to him that this was the beginning of the new phase of life he had hoped for in a soul-searching piece he wrote when he was almost thirty. The news from Russia stirred him most. It seemed to be the first crack in the imperialist war firmament. Reed had been in Russia in 1915 when he was reporting the war on the eastern front and he had glimpsed something of the country's turmoil. At the time he could not quite answer his own question: "Is there a powerful and destructive fire working in the bowels of Russia, or is it quenched?" Even when the czar was overthrown he still did not believe that a great change was taking place

Reed now sought the interconnection

between things, the continuous process of shift and change. The difference between most of his earlier writing and that on the revolution was the difference between the close sympathizer and the participant. His identification was complete; he had finally come to know that the revolutionary movement was the anchor of his life. His work thus gained an emotional power beyond a skilled use of adjectives in a rhythmically constructed sentence. What he wrote about the Russian Revolution in *Ten Days That Shook The World* with its extraordinary weaving of significant detail into a triumphal theme was a measure of the great leap forward he had made.

The book has its serious defects. He was careless in reporting the vote of the secret October meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee to launch an armed uprising. Reed's lack of familiarity with the parts played by the individual members of the Committee, especially that of Stalin, resulted in his assigning to Trotsky a role that did not square with the facts. Yet *Ten Days* was the first account in America of the Russian Revolution's universal impact.

REED'S CONCLUSIONS

THE boy from Oregon became a prophet of the socialist future. And that future, he discovered for himself, was attainable only through the toil of organization, with the workers consciously fighting for it in their own Marxist party. The war and the revolution had completely exposed the failures of the American Socialist Party and Reed joined with its Left-wing forces to remove the deadly leadership from control. When the attempt failed, he helped to establish what became the Communist Party of the United States.

He was a pioneer in the exact sense that he tried to pierce the misty thinking that befogged the question of how the promise of American life was to be reached. He was among the first Americans to attempt a genuine Marxist answer.

The years since Reed's death have magnified his work in the cause of American-Soviet friendship. In a land not darkened by war madness or by a set of rulers who must blot out the memory of its anti-imperialist heroes, Reed's name would be etched in the national consciousness. Yet it lives as a luminous symbol of peace, of a patriotism that demands one's country play an honorable part in the progressive history of mankind.



“... **I**NVESTIGATION of thought is above and beyond the scope of any agency in a free society.” So stated the Student Executive Council of the University of California at Los Angeles, as it assailed the announced “investigations” of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Noting that “Previous attempts of government to interfere in education . . . have ultimately led to those pressures which bring conformity of thought and control of the material allowed to be taught”, in a 13-1 vote, the Council expressed “emphatic disapproval of any interference with freedom of thought, which we consider this to be. And we urge all universities to voice similar disapproval.”

Such action came in the face of the suspension of the humor magazine *Scop*, which printed a satiric piece on Vice-President Nixon’s slush fund alibi, and the rejection of George Garrigues as *Daily Bruin* managing editor, because his father, a former Los Angeles Daily News editor, had been mentioned in a State Un-American Committee report. . .

STUDENTS at Rutgers University in New Jersey also reacted to the intensified witch-hunts by picketing the College of Pharmacy in protest against the over-ruling by the Board of Trustees of a faculty committee’s decision that two professors who were called before the McCarran Committee not be fired. The 275 students acquired hundreds of signatures on petitions and paraded with signs protesting the dismissals . . . In an action similar to the one at UCLA, the Student Council at Princeton Univer-

sity passed a resolution condemning any forthcoming “investigations” as a violation of academic freedom on the campus.

AT Chicago University, the All-Campus Civil Liberties Committee (ACCLC) was reactivated, as representatives of 85 student organizations and dormitories pledged “to develop and articulate a comprehensive program in defense of that full academic freedom which is indispensable to the continued excellence of our University.” The ACCLC was instrumental in helping to defeat the infamous Broyles Bills, an Illinois edition of the Mundt-Nixon Bill . . .

The *Columbia Spectator*, in a special supplement on what to expect from the various Congressional committees, editorialized:

“The prospective Congressional investigations of alleged communism in the nation’s universities will develop into an hysteria the likes of which has seldom been seen . . . We can be certain that a series of investigations of University teachers will result in widespread fear to teach anything in class other than the Gettysburg address and some of the less controversial stanzas of *Hiawatha*.” (1/9/53)

In a post-election meeting, the Young Democrats of Alabama, as reported in the Alabama U. *Crimson-White*, went on record as officially opposed to McCarthyism . . . *The Syracuse Daily Orange*, in an editorial entitled “America First—McCarran; Democracy First—American”, referring to McCarran’s “answer” to critics of his Immigration Law, spoke of the “absurd implication by Sen. Mc-

Carran that those people who do not agree with him are putting something else before their Americanism.

“If this be the case, Mr. Senator, you had better get out your broom, because it means there are a lot of undesirables right in your own backyard” . . .

The *Chicago Maroon* warned that the McCarran Committee’s attack on the United Nations was itself “working to suppress civil liberties . . . subverting the purposes of the UN.”

IT is long past the time these infringements on our basic freedoms should have been opposed by the American people, and as students, our responsibilities are doubled, for the academic world is also under constant attack,” continued the *Maroon*, noting that “One no longer has the right to have a conscience without first getting it approved by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee or the House Un-American Activities Committee . . .”

Calling Senator Joseph McCarthy “the 20th century’s answer to the Salem witchhunters”, the managing editor of the *Georgia Red and Black* in a column titled “Rebirth of Fear”, condemned the oncoming “investigations” of the campuses. “. . . Judging from the effect of previous McCarthy actions, I would venture to say that the harm being done to the people of the United States by all college ‘subversives’ would not equal that committed by this one articulate rabble rouser . . . He has been a deplorable contribution to our civilization . . . He has sown the deadly seeds of fear, distrust and suspicion which are always the fertile forerunners of intolerance.”

These “seeds” were evident in a headline in the New York U. *Square Bulletin*: “BULLETIN PETITION ADVOCATES U.S. CONSTITUTION; MOST STUDENTS, PROFESSORS RELUCTANT TO SIGN”. . . Although many said they “would sign the Declaration and Constitution . . . no matter where or what”, a group of pre-med students refused to sign anything “because they wished to get into medical school”, while “A misguided history major ranted the petition had direct quotes from Karl Marx’s ‘Das Kapital’ which he said he had read last year . . .”

AT the University of Georgia, while students were home for the Thanksgiving holidays, the Head Proctor ordered a so-called “routine furniture inspection” of the rooms in Clark Howell Dormitory. This “routine inspection” included an admission of having “looked into closets and some desk drawers.” The

STUDENT NOTES

explanation? "to make sure the drawers were not stuck or something"! "A Rank Intrusion" is what the Georgia *Red and Black* entitled an editorial opposing "such high-handed procedures . . . After all, a student does not sign away his right of privacy when he enters the University, regulations or no regulations, and expects to be treated like a gentleman until proven otherwise by his actions."

Despite the hysteria prevalent about the campaign for clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, students joined millions of Americans on this issue . . . The *Cornell Sun* came out editorially for such clemency. This position was supported by several "letters-to-the-editor" . . . The *Chicago Maroon* devoted its entire "Beyond The Ivory Tower" page to the case, with a nuclear studies institute student pointing to many doubtful points in Greenglass' "scientific data," while a member of the university's Rosenberg Committee scored the trial's hysterical atmosphere . . . The Chicago Student Council voted to wire Judge Ryan (S. District of N.Y.) to reverse the death sentence . . .

An ex-GI condemned the Michigan State administration for demanding a full term's rent in advance for barracks housing. Asking whether they "realize that very few veterans have been paid", the student went on to point out that he does not demand the full term's subsistence in advance: "I have to wait to pay rent, plus insurance, furniture bills, doctors, and many more. All I can do is wait . . . I recommend the housing office follow suit." . . . Rising publishing costs forced student papers at the Universities of Nebraska and North Carolina to cut at least one issue a week . . .

THE Phi Kappa Literary Society of the Univ. of Georgia went on record after a fiery debate, as opposing the proposed amendment to the state constitution which would install the county unit vote system of electing the governor in the general election as well. It was this system which enabled Herman Talmadge to become governor although he received a minority of the popular vote . . .

In an editorial entitled "Restaurant Asked To Change Policy", the Louisville Univ. *Cardinal* (1/15/53) called upon

the "Loophole", an off-campus restaurant, to bow to the official college policy of no discrimination because of color of skin. Negro students having recently won the right to attend Louisville, the paper asks that places such as the "Loophole," which are dependent upon the campus for most of their business, respect the example set by the University, and "the status of all U. of L. students, who are its most loyal customers."

A STRUGGLE to tear down the jim crow bars at Cincinnati's amusement park, Coney Island, was reported in the U. of Cincinnati's quarterly magazine, *Profile* (Winter, 1952). The fight was led by the Cincinnati Committee on Human Rights (CCHR) a pacifist group, which has forced an amendment before the City Council which would deny licenses to amusement places which discriminate. Despite the fact that they were attacked, and arrested for "disorderly conduct" (to be released only after a 9-day hunger strike), the CCHR has continued its active campaign, and the *Profile* writer has urged his fellow Cincinnati students to "Let Coney Island management know how you feel about its discriminatory policies. . . The public must be listened to, but they must first be heard."

THAT the demand for an end to the Korean War was ever-present in the minds and hearts of students all across the country is evidenced by just a glimpse at various expressions in the student press.

"In a few weeks the government is going to steal two irreplaceable years from my life.

"During those two years, I may be required by my government, in time of peace to kill and possibly be killed in Korea . . .

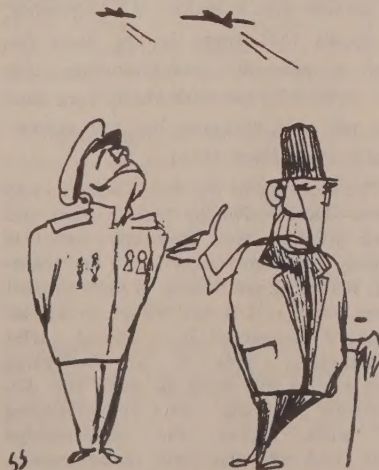
"Korea is a complete, utter, useless waste of lives and time . . .

"I am not particularly anxious to kill any of my fellow men. In time of war and in defense of my country, I would, naturally . . ." So wrote Nicholas Beck, managing editor of the Los Angeles City College *Collegian* (11/25/52).

An editorial in the University of Cincinnati *News-Record* (1/8/53) warned that "We must realize . . . that should we push on to the Yalu, or to the Amur or the Lena or the Yenisei we would still be facing the Russians and their allies across the river.

". . . We have no more time for wars of flag-waving men and sighing women . . . not for futile wars and senseless victories; not for worthless miles and non-existent glories bought with valuable material and invaluable lives; but for principle; for peace. Peace in our time and perhaps—just perhaps—forever."

The Faculty-Graduate Committee for Peace at *Chicago University* sent an open letter to President Eisenhower calling for an immediate cease-fire in Korea. Emphasizing that the POW issue was the sole obstacle to a truce, they affirmed that continued negotiations need not prevent cease-fire. They noted that we have suffered 40,000 casualties in the first fifteen months of truce talks . . .



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WISCONSIN

(Continued from Page 13)

straight jacket education.

Another source of opposition to these attacks developed toward the end of January, when a group of student leaders on the campus joined together in a committee. The committee is composed of some members of the *Cardinal* including the editor, members of the student board, including the vice president, the president of the former Students for Stevenson, the vice president of the Student Memorial Union, a member of the American Association of University Students in Defense of Academic Freedom and some un-affiliated students. Its statement of principles says: "We establish a committee of individuals and group representatives to oppose any forces, such as investigations, which would impair the free and effective functioning of our university, and to contribute in bringing the meaning of academic freedom to students, faculty and the community."

TWO PRONGED ATTACK

There can be no doubt that this seriousness is merited, for the students are actually faced with a two pronged attack. McCarthy has approached the destruction of education from one angle. The Republican Governor Kohler has submitted a plan for the decentralization of the University which is aimed at destroying the physical existence of the school as a liberal center of study. The plan, presented before a joint session of the Wisconsin legislature, calls for the separation of 'specialized training' and the liberal arts by removing liberal arts from the campus and spreading it out over 21 institutions. The Governor has set down a general de-emphasis of the liberal arts program in favor of more attention to engineering, law and medicine. He gave as justification for this move, the anticipated enrollment of 25,000 "within a few years." "I do not believe that the interests of our young people will be served in an institution with an enrollment of 25,000," he said.

On January 20, the *Daily Cardinal* presented a careful analysis of the Governor's plan. It pointed out that loss of this university to the liberal arts students would weaken the entire character of this education for lack of an adequate center of research. It would eliminate physical and social sciences. It would create a "state university federated together in an unproductive administrative tieup, bureaucratically smooth and intellectually barren."

This two pronged assault on the University of Wisconsin points out that the

central objective of McCarthyism is not the attack on Marxist and progressive students and faculty. It strikes much deeper—right to the heart of democratic education itself.

SOUTHERN STUDENTS

(Continued from Page 19)

also rules that only college graduates may be paid officials of the NAACP.

Marxism, an understanding of the national question and the special role to be played by Negro and white workers—but especially the role of the Negro workers in the Negro liberation movement—would give Negro students a real weapon to guide their undergraduate militancy. This militancy is at present being dulled by class collaboration policies and compromises with the rich philanthropists; it is being tempered with snobbery of a different sort, but with the same result, as that from which the white students suffer.

THE conscious fight against racism and war cannot arise spontaneously. Students must know who is to blame for what ails them; for whom was Jim Crow invented to serve and who controls the government which enforces it. Who is responsible for a war economy which cuts down on the humanities in favor of military subjects and "pure" science to be used on military projects.

Just as doctors, dentists and engineers do not arise because someone wishes it subjectively, neither does a truly scientific understanding of society and what is to be done about its shortcomings come in answer to the feeling of good fellowship. Goodfellowship and a feeling of oneness with humanity is a beginning. It shows that there is the basis for such a scientific understanding; this has to be followed with the science that can not only diagnose but can scientifically prescribe a cure.

The students in the South—Negro and white—have shown by their actions and their attitudes that they know what is wrong. They have shown, and are showing, that they are willing to fight against those wrongs. It is not enough to win an oasis of democracy in a sea of racist dictatorship. This is an indication that we do not have to have the dictatorship at all. An understanding of what makes the dictatorships click and of who can really master them, can make of the whole southern land—indeed, of the nation as a whole—the real garden of democracy wherein will bloom the flowers of peace.

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The lone wren hovers over the burnt
crust of a man

Fearless of the bayonet in his hand.

A human cinder crouches welded to a
tank

And a company of dead men lie arrayed
as they marched in rank.

A lad named McDougall, Jones or Smith
lies face to face with Wang Soo

As the quiet flow of dawn conceals their
races with a veil of crystal dew—

The wind whails softly through a twisted
bugle

Vain and unheard,

Though ten thousand men are summoned,
not a one stirs nor speaks a word—

A withered blade of grass, a twisted tree
Plays host to the disheveled and fallen
infantry

As the lonely little wren flies toward the
rising sun

And the night breaks as quiet flows the
dawn.

—Robert F. Williams

Letters To The Editor

Dear Editor:

AS a graduate student of physics and as a citizen I would like to comment upon Joliot Curie's, (former head of France's Atomic Energy Commission) letter to Warren Austin concerning bacteriological warfare.

Every American scientist and citizen should be alarmed at the enormous amount of effort being employed to produce weapons of mass destruction. Who does not know that most of the popular thinking about nuclear physics is in terms of atomic and hydrogen bombs? Likewise in Biology there is an enormous amount of effort being spent perfecting methods of bacteriological warfare.

All this effort is justified and rationalized on the basis of the myth that the Soviet Union is out to enslave the "Free World." Consequently such preparations are merely of a defensive nature. Yet the Soviet people with the full support of their government unanimously signed

peace movement circulated the Stockholm Peace Appeal calling for the outlawing of the atomic bomb, as well as carrying on independent activity for peace. What could be more natural than the fact the representatives of all these peace movements should meet together in a World Congress of the Partisans for peace? There have been international gatherings for sports competitions science, economics, fashions and everything else one could possibly think of. Certainly it would be ludicrous to call any of these events "foreign conspiracy."

The interests of the peace loving peoples of the world demand not only various national peace movements, but also international solidarity among all the peace organizations of the world. Peace, like war, is not simply a local affair!

The prosecution's case was so obviously phony and flimsy, and the pressure of the peoples of the world for justice was so great that the case was thrown out of court! It never reached the jury! There was not a shred of evidence to support the wild charge. Indeed, why had the charge been made at all? What did the Department of Justice stand to gain by bringing the Peace Information Center's officers to trial? Was it just Dr. DuBois and the three other de-

the Stockholm Peace Appeal pledging that the Soviet Union would not be the first nation to drop an atomic bomb. The Soviet Union signed the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925 prohibiting the use of bacteriological warfare. The United States Government persecuted peace loving people who distributed the Stockholm Peace Appeal in our country. . . . The United States and Japan were the only two nations among the great powers not to have ratified the Geneva Protocol.

. . . The people of the world have every reason to be alarmed. More convincing than categorical denials that the United States has not used bacteriological warfare in Korea would be an absolute prohibition of the production, research, and development of means of spreading disease and pestilence.

SCIENCE is a lofty endeavor . . . The fight for the peacetime application of science is the fight for humanity itself. Let the just demand of science for peace and brotherhood sound throughout the land.

Respectfully,

Robert Schor.

pendants who were on trial? Or was Peace on trial? Was it not the desire of the American people for Peace as exemplified by the life and struggles of Dr. Du Bois the thing that was being tried in the courtroom those weeks? Was it not the freedom of the American people, to think and speak, which stood on trial in that courtroom those weeks? Of course it was!

ONE of the basic points which Dr. Du Bois makes in his book, is that it was the combined efforts of hundreds of thousands of people in this country and of millions of people all over the world, that made it possible for a decision of acquittal to be handed down. These people, who fought for justice in DuBois' case came from very varied backgrounds, of widely differing political points of view. And Dr. DuBois did not reject the support of any of them, for he knew, that despite differences among them, fundamentally all were decent human beings who were anxious to defend a fighter for peace. He knew that a victory for him would mean victory for the Negro people and their leaders, and for all the democratic forces in our country today. One victory in the battle for Peace, will herald thousands more to come. To all of us who love humanity and cherish life, *In Battle For Peace*, will provide inspiration!

Dear Editor,

The NEW FOUNDATIONS which I brought to India have been widely appreciated and praised from all circles. Students who have seen your paper are surprised at how in the face of such hostile pressure and various obstacles, you have not only kept it going, but improved its quality. We take our hats off for those people who are carrying on our struggles through NEW FOUNDATIONS in the U.S.A.

With greetings,

K. S. R.

Calcutta, India

The editors invite our readers to write their comments, criticisms and suggestions to us—
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