

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

McCarthyism Against Education

By ROBERT FOGEL

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The first "gift" of the new Republican Congress to the educational community was the promise of a three pronged congressional witchhunt, which is 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.

That the witchhunts are intended to be more than a passing affair is made evident by the now four months of uninterrupted attack on the schools by the inquisitors. Already more than 60 teachers and students have been called before the committees, and 29 teachers have been fired.

PART I 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 are not 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 cover students, student organizations and textbooks as well.

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.

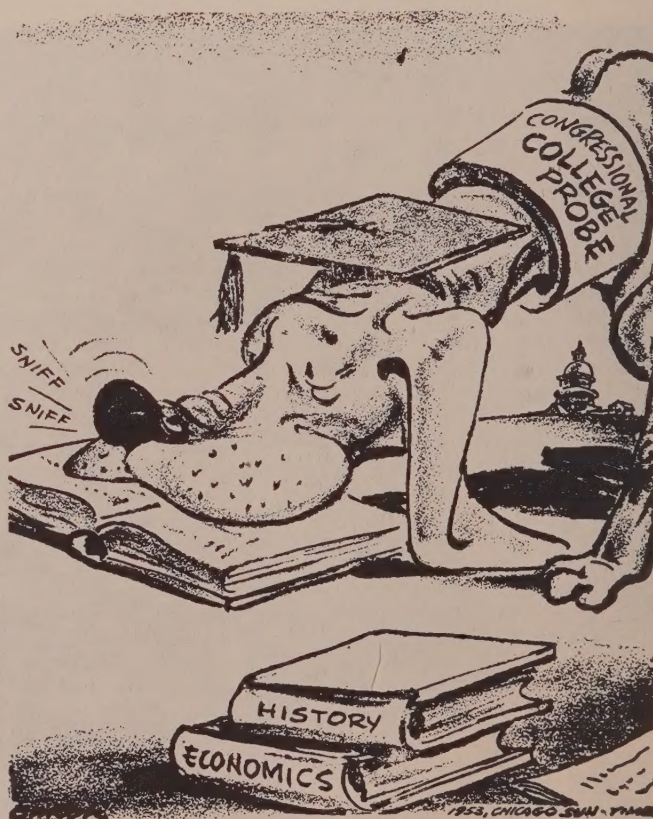
This is what makes an attack on the schools by McCarthy & Co. so dangerous. For they are no longer the most reactionary elements of the minority party. They are now leading figures of the party in power. The leader of their party, the President of our country, fought for the re-election of these ultra-reactionaries. Only a few months ago, the President said that his purpose and "the purpose of Senator McCarthy 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.

The inquisitors center their attack on the democratic rights of Communists for two reasons. One is that the Communists believe and fight for the things—peaceful cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, full equality for the Negro people, defense of the rights of the workers, and ultimately for socialism—which the witchhunters hate the most. And secondly, because the attack on the democratic rights of the Communists provides them with a convenient weapon with which to attack the democratic rights of all of the people.

In this respect the McCarthyites are following the classic path of the Nazis. Professor Franz Neuman of Columbia, in his study of Hitler Germany 'BEHEMOTH, write that "Reactionaries (in Germany just prior to the advent of Hitler to power) found in the Communist party a convenient scapegoat, not only in the attack on the Communists and Marxists but against all liberal and democratic groups. Democracy, liberalism, socialism, and communism were branches of the same tree to the National Socialists [Nazis] (and Italian Fascists). Every law aimed supposedly against both Communists and National Socialists was invariably enforced against the Socialist Party and the entire left, but rarely against the right."

It is all too clear that this pattern is being developed by the McCarthyites in the present witchhunts.



Reprint from the Chicago "Sun-Times"

BUT CAN HE READ?

NEW DEAL LIBERALISM—

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 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.

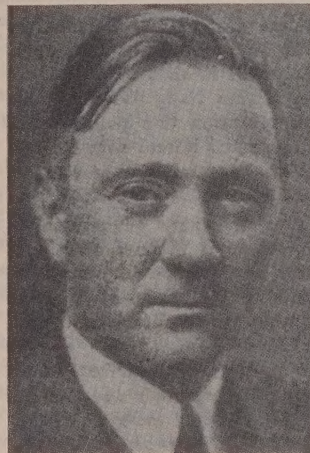
The destruction of a university system can take place in many ways. In Nazi Germany and in Fascist Italy, for example, the university system was destroyed long before the walls of school buildings crumbled under the impact of shells and bombs. It was the Nazi corrosion of the intellectual atmosphere, 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 their midst such eminent critics of social development, such innovators and radicals as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lewis, H. Morgan, Thorstein Veblen, W.E.B. DuBois, 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'



JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

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 pasts 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 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 in recent years.

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."

THE KOHLER PROPOSAL

The attack on education has already gone so far that students are now confronted not only with the danger of the intellectual emasculation of the universities but with their actual physical destruction. This danger was dramatically pointed up by the proposal of the Republican Governor of Wisconsin, Walter J. Kohler, to decentralize the University of Wisconsin. Under the guise of establishing an integrated system of education this political bedfellow of McCarthy plans to sever the liberal arts college from the rest of the university and spread it over some 21 communities throughout the state.

This is not a plan to expand educational facilities but to reduce them. It goes hand in hand with a plan to cut the state appropriation to the university by 20%.

An angry editorial by the editors of the Wisconsin Cardinal analyzed and exposed the implications of the Kohler "integration plan":

"The successful and fruitful contributions of the university in the past have been greatly indebted to the presence on the campus of a wide and varied college structure. Cooperation between departments, schools and colleges has given the university and state many worthwhile discoveries and benefits . . .

"From the coordinate works of the university have come a health giving Vitamin D irradiation process, discoveries on nuclear energy, and a political "Progressive" philosophy which brought reform movements to Wisconsin to see how it was done.

"To remove the Letters and Science College from the university would be to emasculate the liberal and forward atmosphere in which these triumphs have been nurtured . . .

"The Kohler integration system would virtually eliminate out-of-state and foreign students from liberal arts study in common with state students. The valuable interlearning process of customs, traditions, and personalities will be lost to state students.

"The death knell of graduate study in political science, commerce, economics, journalism, English, history, and all the others is sounded by the Governor's integration plan.

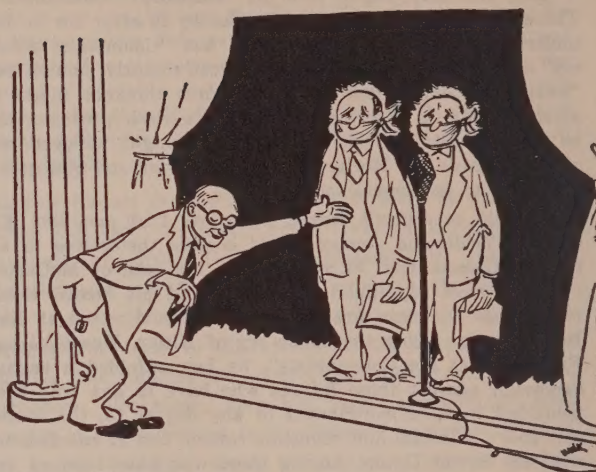
"The very existence of graduate work in these fields is based on the university structure which gives graduate students the opportunity to learn while teaching. The absence of any L & S schools from the Graduate school means that graduate fellowships and teaching assistantships are finished.

"The consequence is to kill higher education in the liberal arts in Wisconsin and to drive the best minds of the state to other universities outside the pale of integration."

This then is the Kohler plan—a scheme to reduce the University of Wisconsin from one of the leading educational institutions in the country to a third rate academy specializing in technical training. It is Kohler's novel solution to the "Communist menace". It flows from a McCarthyite mentality which reasons that since large universities invariably seem to produce "Communists", "radicals" and other "undesirables" the only solution is to get rid of the university.

This development in Wisconsin is no isolated phenomenon. Fearing education reactionary forces everywhere are hacking away at the universities. It is no accident that students in the city colleges in N.Y. are now confronted with a threatened budgetary cut that would completely eliminate eve-

'NYU Points With Pride'



From the NYU Evening News

ning and summer sessions in these schools, reduce the number of teachers, cut down on the library facilities and reduce the student body by 20%.

These things are the bitter fruits of the McCarthyite attacks on the schools, and they reveal the big stake of the students in the success of the struggle against the inquisitors.

PART II TOWARD 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.

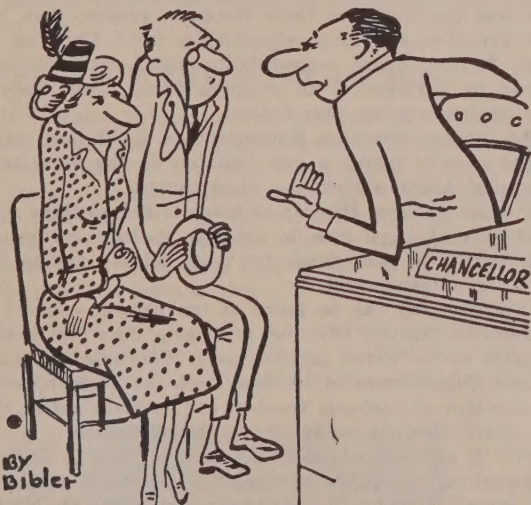
When Velde announced that among the schools he planned to investigate was the University of California at Los Angeles, the UCLA Student Council issued a statement which said, "We feel compelled to reply that investigation of thought is above and beyond the scope of any agency in a free society . . . 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 universities 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. These groups are not the only ones from which such leadership can come. They have, however, the experience, resources, prestige and connections with various campuses which put them in the position to make such leadership most effective.



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

From "The Oklahoma Daily."

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's Great Hall, 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.

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 have, of course, been many opportunities during past months for the NSA leadership to act. But while certain Regions of the organization have begun to initiate activities in defense of the universities, the real weight of the organization is yet to be felt. Indeed the National office of the NSA has doggedly refused to organize student activity against Witchhunts. The Christmas meeting of the National Executive Committee and the subsequent meetings of the National Interim Committee not only failed to produce any proposals for action, but did not even produce a position on the McCarthyite attacks.

This situation is not the result of neglect, or the product of poor organization. It reflects the fact that some leaders of the Association do not want to fight the witchhunters but rather seek to come to terms with them. The fact is that only a few weeks before the McCarthy, Jenner, Velde offensive began, Dick Murphy, President of the NSA boasted that "NSA is not on the list of any State or Federal investigating committees. As a matter of fact we've been given a clean bill

of health by the House Un-American Activities Committee, for what that's worth." (Cornell Daily Sun, Nov. 5, 1952)

Despite the vicious attacks of the inquisitors during the past several months this desire to be in the good graces of the inquisitors, still seems to be the main pre-occupation of certain leaders of the Association. Thus the March edition of the NSA paper (the first and only published since the witchhunts began) almost completely omits any news on the inquisition (as though it was merely the figment of someone's imagination). As a matter of fact the only article dealing with the witchhunts is a news story which reports that Velde denied that he intends to investigate the NSA and that he has placed his stamp of approval on the organization.

Of course it is not pre-ordained that this situation must continue. If those within the Association who desire to fight against the witchhunters assume the initiative, then the NSA can become an effective center for leadership to the students in the present crises.

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 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 witchhunts it is not the only organization from which such leadership can come.

The student Christian Movement, for example, with its hundreds of thousands of members in Y's and denominational organizations on campuses throughout the country can be a decisive factor in the building of student unity.

The effectiveness of the Christian Associations 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 students into action and pointing the road to unity. Similarly the student religious organizations at Ohio State University were



At a N. Y. State Student Christian Movement Conference Held at Hamilton College.

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.

PART III

IN DEFENSE OF THE TEACHERS

IN their drive to control the schools, the witchhunters have aimed their main fire on teachers.

The attack on the academic freedom of teachers did not, of course, begin with the McCarthyites. Ferdinand Lundberg in his book "America's 60 Families" writes:

"It was in the 1890's that there began a quiet campaign of terror against those members of the university social-service departments whose speculations were considered too bold for the comfort of the profit-making coterie . . .

The campaign of the industrialists and bankers against the social-scientist was occupied with economics, sociology, history and political science—Richard T. Ely, distinguished economist was placed under fire at the University of Wisconsin and at Johns Hopkins University. John R. Commons, historian of the American labor movement, was ousted from Syracuse University, which was financed by Standard Oil through John D. Archbald, who recognized the existence of no 'labor movement.' At Brown University E. B. Andrews was cashiered by espousing 'free silver', but by avoiding immediate issues Lester F. Ward, dynamic sociologist, managed to retain his position at the same school although he was, perhaps, the most subversive of all the nineteenth-century American social scientists—subversive, that is, from the point of view of the wealthy beneficiaries of the chaotic *status quo*."

EFFECT OF THE KOREAN WAR

THUS while harassment of teachers is not new, the era of the "cold war" has, of course, quantitatively and qualitatively intensified the witch hunts. Today it is no longer individual outspoken teachers who find themselves under attack. The offensive has widened to include the whole teaching profession. For now the objective of the "profit making coterie" is to breed a type of teacher completely subservient to their point of view.

Thus in the past several years instruction in our schools has increasingly become directive as the relatively few freedoms teachers have had have become even more restric-

ted. Teachers have been forced to inject anti-communist, anti-Soviet, pro-war lies into their classrooms as condition for continued employment. Teachers must be "definitely anti-Communist" bellowed the President of Bloomington College in 1948. And in 1950 immediately after the outbreak of the war in Korea the National Education Association issued a directive to teachers aimed at squelching any peace sentiments. "Everywhere teachers must warn pupils of the dangers of communism. Teach the truth about Communist aggression and explain what we have been fighting for."

About this time the whole academic community was shocked when Ralph Spitzer, a professor at Oregon State College, was fired because he wrote to a technical journal suggesting that before scholars close their minds to the biological theories of the Soviet scientist Lysenko they read his works. In bygone years this would have been considered not only a reasonable suggestion but an absolute necessity for objective scholarship. But in the atmosphere of cold war and "hate Russia", acceptance of which has been made a pre-requisite for teaching, this professor was fired. In explaining his action against the professor the President of Oregon State declared, that the teacher was fired because he supported "Lysenko in preference to what he must know to be the truth."

THE invasion of teachers rights has long since extended into areas beyond the classroom. One teacher was fired from the University of Colorado for running as a candidate on the Democratic Party ticket. At Langston University, a Negro school in Oklahoma, a professor was dismissed for chaperoning a group of 30 students who picketed the state capitol in protest against school segregation. And at City College in New York a mathematics professor was sacked because he was the vice-president of the Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, a huge housing project owned by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

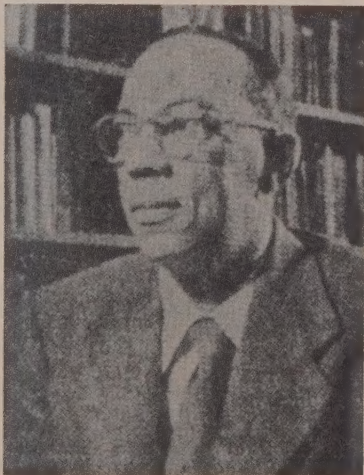
The McCarthy-Valde-Jenner inquisition against education cannot but severely intensify the persecution of teachers. The educational community has had an opportunity to learn just what to expect from the so-called Congressional "investigations."

TEACHERS ANSWER THE ATTACK

Last October the colleges and Universities in the New York City area was subjected to an "investigation" by the McCarran committee (now the Jenner committee). Invading the New York School with a tremendous fan fare, the alleged purpose of these alleged investigations was to ferret out teachers who were supposed to be injecting so called "subversive" ideas into the classrooms.

Once the "investigations" got under way, however, it became clear that the "investigators" were not one bit interested in investigating the teaching records of those they called before them and that the so called investigations were really star chamber political trials. Throughout the course of the "hearings" not a single question was directed at the question of the competency of the teachers, the quality of their instruction or the content of their courses. As was pointed out in an editorial in the Academic Freedom Bulletin of the NSA, "The inquiries did not deal with their performance in the classroom. The inquiries dealt with their private political opinions."

True to the democratic traditions of their profession, all except one of those who were subpoenaed refused to become the lackies of the inquisition. Their attitude was expressed



FORREST O. WIGGINS

by Professor Harry Slochower who was for 27 years a teacher at Brooklyn College.

"Of course, I could have saved my job.

"I was advised by some people who value comfort above human dignity to answer all questions, that is, to 'name names', and thus become one of the heroes of our time".

"Such action would indeed have incriminated me—I could not have looked you, my students, nor any decent person in the face."

For taking this position Dr. Slochower and 8 of his colleagues from Queens, Brooklyn, New York University, and Rutgers were summarily dismissed. Thus thousands of students were deprived of the excellent teaching of instructors with spotless records of 25 and 30 years of devoted service to their students and their schools. And a body blow was struck at the ability of any teacher to teach anything except that which met with the approval of the witchhunters.

It is important that students appreciate the courage displayed by these teachers and the contribution that they have made to the struggle for the defense of education. They are the modern heroes of the struggle against obscurantism and ignorance. It was their recognition of the need to defend the conditions for the search for truth, for the accumulation of knowledge, that led them to resist the inquisition. As Professor Bernard Reiss who was for more than 25 years one of the most popular instructors at Hunter College, said in a letter to his students:

"I felt myself in utmost agreement with the recent stand of the American Association of University Professors that 'legislative investigations which are in fact trials of individuals based on their thoughts and opinions which they may lawfully hold or express, or on their lawful personal associations, discourage freedom of thought, of inquiry and of expression, and are inimical to the nation.'

"As a social scientist, I saw the danger of furthering the imposition of orthodox beliefs upon members of the teaching profession which seems to be the aim of the McCarran Committee. I am therefore convinced that it was my duty to refuse to answer questions on my beliefs and opinions."

The courage displayed by these teachers has not been in vain. For the standard of resistance to intellectual terrorism which they have established is now being taken up by thousands of teachers and educators throughout our country.

Thus only a few days after Velde and McCarthy an-

nounced their intention to launch a new inquisition against the schools, 593 of the outstanding professors of history in our country put their names to a ringing statement of defiance to the witchhunters. They called on teachers everywhere to "vigorously resist the efforts to impose upon schools any narrow dogma in politics, economics, religion, or science, for learning itself is thereby threatened with destruction.

"They must also resist anti-intellectualism in the schools themselves, for if freedom of thinking and respect of intellectual effort are undermined there, it will be easy for demagogues to convince a larger public that intellectual effort is of little value in any case, and that freedom of thought is not worth preserving."

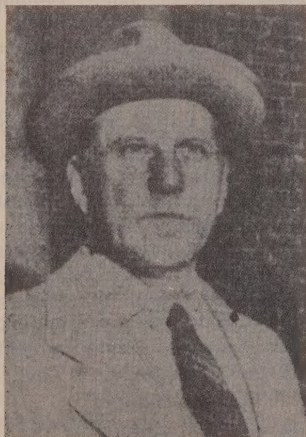
FACULTIES ORGANIZE AGAINST WITCHHUNTS

AT many schools the faculties are already organizing themselves against the witchhunters. At Columbia University for example, 200 members of the faculty met to discuss their approach to the inquisition. They heard Professor Richard Hofstadter say that those administrators and educators "who welcome the probe are stupid" and call on his fellow academicians to resist such "inquiries and quasi-trials by men of the character of Jenner, Velde, and McCarthy." At this meeting proposals were made for the formation of a public opinion organization for the Ivy League universities to counter the attacks of the witchhunters. The meeting set up a committee to draft a statement of principles on academic freedom.

But perhaps the most dynamic appeal for the unity of the American people against the inquisition was made by Mrs. Agnes T. Meyer, a member of the Board of Directors of the National Citizens Commission for Public Schools. Speaking before 17,000 delegates at the Convention of the American Association of School Administrators, Mrs. Meyer characterized Senator McCarthy as a "political adventurer," a "psychopathic character" and "a dangerous and ruthless demagogue." "The American people as a whole," she declared, "must now realize that they are the ones who make the climate of public opinion and that they must come to the defense of our public schools and of our institutions of higher learning. For the independence of our whole educational system will be jeopardized if Velde, Jenner and McCarthy are not stopped in their tracks before they get under full sail. Mrs. Meyer's speech reflected the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the teachers and educators at the Convention. For as Benjamin Fine reported in the New York Times, her address "was vigorously applauded by the delegates, representing every state of the Union. Spokesmen for nation-wide school groups, such as the National Education Association and the National School Boards Association, called Mrs. Meyer's address an 'historical event' and a 'rally point' for teachers to maintain independent schools."

It is not necessary to dwell long on the point that students must back up teachers and educators such as these. For there can be no doubt that those who most courageously oppose McCarthy and his crew will be the ones he is most determined to destroy.

Certainly students can show no less a responsibility to their teachers. They must rally behind those who defy the inquisitors. They must mobilize public sentiment for those who are subpoenaed. They must take determined action to prevent the firing of those so marked by McCarthy and his cohorts.



DR. BURGUM

PART IV

AGAINST COMPROMISE

IT would be a mistake to assume that all members of the academic community are willing to resist the witchhunters.

There are, for example, some teachers who have prostituted their profession by turning informers, by becoming lackies of the witchhunters. They have betrayed their colleagues, lied about and slandered their friends. These are the contemporary Judases. These are the men who have been willing to barter not only their own dignity but also the dignity of their profession for the price of a job.

VELDE'S COLLABORATORS

But, as one might expect, the drive towards cooperation with the inquisition is strongest in administrative circles. A whole number of college presidents have leaped forward with unusual haste to grasp the hand of the inquisitors. Typical of these is Harlan H. Hatcher, President of the University of Michigan. This University prexy was so anxious to put himself in the good graces of Congressman Velde that he did not even wait for formal notice that the House Un-American Committee was coming. Using a report in a local newspaper as his excuse, he wired (apparently the mail was too slow) Velde saying, "We read in the paper that the University of Michigan is named as one of the schools on your list for investigation. Although we have received no notice of your plans, we wish to assure you of our willingness to cooperate with you to the fullest extent."

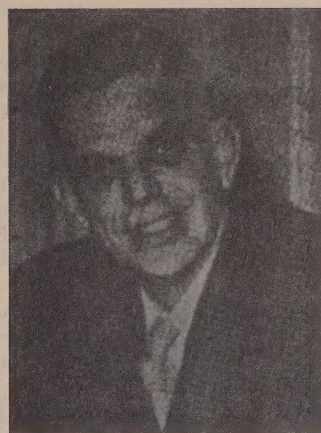
Hatcher's position is far from unique among college presidents. While some very influential administrations have spoken out against the inquisition, the overwhelming bulk have been welcoming it. In many cases the activities of such administrators have gone beyond those of Hatcher. Some have devoted considerable time to developing sophisticated theories aimed at justifying this attitude of collaboration. Others have made themselves virtual arms of the committees and have proceeded to suspend or fire teachers who have fought against the witchhunt. Among such administrators are Lewis Webster Jones, head of Rutgers, John Theobald President of Queens College, Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College and Robert L. Johnson (now head of the state department's propaganda network, Voice of America) head of Temple University.

NO statement that has been made on the witch hunts by college administrators has received more ballyhoo than the declaration adopted by the American Association of Universities on "The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and Their Faculties."

Since the American Association of Universities is the most powerful organization of administrators in our country, representing the presidents of 37 leading universities, it is bound to have an important impact on the present struggle against the McCarthyities and should be carefully examined.

WHO IS THE AAU?

The New York Times editorializing on this statement described it as the expression of the "freedom of the scholar", as a document "in the great tradition" as a statement "which ought to satisfy any reasonable person." Indeed, from a reading of the Times editorial one would draw the conclusion that the AAU statement is a modern Declaration of Independence.



CHANCELLOR HEALD

This would certainly be a remarkable achievement. All the more remarkable because it would mean that some of the most reactionary college presidents in the country had suddenly reformed. For among the men who make up the American Association of Universities are Harlan Hatcher, who, as we have seen, was so quick to throw himself at the feet of Velde; Henry Heald of New York University who fired the well known literary critic Professor Edwin Berry Bergum because Bergum refused to defile himself before the Jenner Committee, Robert Sproul, head of the University of California who instigated the infamous California loyalty oaths; and Howard L. Bevis, President of Ohio State University, who established the notorious "gag ruling" which required all speakers invited to the university to submit to a loyalty investigation.

Human nature being mutable, it is, of course, possible that these men have changed. Perhaps Hatcher has learned that supineness is not altogether becoming. And perhaps Bevis has recognized what a damaging blow to education his gag ruling is.

Indeed as one begins to read the AAU statement this possibility looms large: For in the beginning the declaration abound with thoughts like "open competition of idea", "the scholar has no obligation to keep silent in the face of popular disapproval", "the faculty of a university (must) be guaranteed freedom by its governing board", etc.

But no sooner are these fine sentiments put forward then they are contradicted. Good thoughts give way to a program of action that represents the negation of Academic freedom. And when the statement is taken as a whole, the fine sentiments become gross hypocrisy. It becomes clear that Hatcher, Sproul, Heald and Bevis have not changed.

For example at one point the high minded gentlemen who compose the AAU declare:

"To fulfill their function the members of the university faculties must continue to analyze, test, criticize, and reassess existing institutions and beliefs, approving when the evidence support them and disapproving when the weight of evidence is on the other side... The acknowledged fact that moral, social and political progress have not kept pace with mastery of the physical world shows the need for more intensified research, fresh insights, vigorous criticism and inventiveness."

Having made this point they turn around and warn that and teacher who takes them seriously will soon find himself

out of a job. Should a teacher on the basis of a critical examination of the existing moral, political and social institution come to the conclusion that they are grossly inadequate and should he vigorously express that opinion then he ceases to become a fit teacher according to the AAU conception of things. For the AAU says in no uncertain terms that "if any instructor follows communist practice by becoming a propagandist for one opinion (apparently two views on every question is an AAU qualification for becoming a teacher), adopting a 'party line' . . . he forfeits not only all university support but his right to membership in the university."

This then is an example of the "great tradition". Deep belief in an idea is made synonymous with "adopting a party line", vigorous advocacy of a point of view makes one



Fired Any Good Teachers Lately

a "propagandist," and both of these things make one a "communist," and a "communist" of course has no "right to a university position."

At another point the Association statement says:

"A university must therefore be hospitable to an infinite variety of skills and viewpoints, relying upon open competition among them as the surest safeguard of truth. Its whole spirit requires investigation, criticism, and presentation of ideas in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual confidence. This is the real meaning of 'academic' freedom . . . To enjoin uniformity of outlook upon a university faculty would put a stop to learning at the source. To censor individual faculty members would put a stop to learning at its outlet."

Of course it is possible that some might interpret this statement as giving support to those who oppose attempts at thought conformity. It might even be taken to mean that the AAU is urging that the academic community unite

in opposition to the congressional witchhunts. In order to dispell any such misconceptions the gentlemen of the AAU make it clear that they are in no way opposed to legislative "investigations". Not only is the AAU prepared to cooperate with the inquisitors but they demand similar cooperation from the rest of the academic community. For "even when the powers of legislative inquiry are abused," state these eminent administrators, even then "it is clearly the duty of universities and their members to cooperate in official inquiries."

Far from being the expression of "the freedom of the scholar" which the New York Times claims it is, the AAU declaration not only denies traditional academic freedom to teachers, but it would even deny to teachers the most fundamental benefits of the United States Constitution. Turning their fire on those who exercise their constitutional rights to oppose the witch hunters, the administrators announce that "invocation of the Fifth Amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to re-examine his qualifications for membership in its society."

Thus if a teacher is called before the witchhunt and is, as is the method of the inquisitors, denied the right to make a statement of his position, denied the right to confront his accusers, denied the right to cross examine witnesses against him, if under those conditions he invokes one of the few constitutional rights still left to protect himself from the McCarthyite frame-up, he would then have placed his job in jeopardy.

It should be noted that in taking the position that a teacher who exercises his right under the 5th amendment must "prove their fitness to teach," the AAU reverses the traditionally American concept that a man is innocent until proved guilty.

This of course, is a neat bit of footwork for administrators who would become the willing accomplices of the witchhunters. If this principle is accepted they need no longer consider his classroom performance. Simple exercises of the fifth amendment become grounds for dismissal and it rests on the teacher to prove why he should not be dismissed. In this way they hope to avoid the embarrassment of having to answer up to the question that those who have been fired are among the finest teachers in our schools.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PRESENT DANGER

THE whole bent and orientation of the men who make up the American Association of Universities is revealed in the section of their declaration entitled "The Present Danger". Surprisingly enough, this section does not deal, as one would expect, with the effects of McCarthyism on the campuses. There is no mention here of the fact that study and scholarship are being destroyed by the incessant witch-hunts. There is not in this section or in any other section a single word of criticism of McCarthy, Velde or Jenner or of any of the other men who are responsible for the shroud of fear that has been cast over the campuses. As a matter of fact, nowhere in the entire statement is there a single word describing, discussing or analyzing—let alone condemning—the grave inroads into American education that have been made by the fascist forces.

To the AAU "the present danger" to American education stems from "communism." The eminent college presidents bravely state that they "share the profound concern of the

American people at the existence of an international conspiracy whose goal is the destruction of our cherished institutions."

In this respect these high minded men are not above resorting to McCarthyite slander and fabrication.

In order to justify their capitulation to the witchhunters they attempt to palm off an incredibly distorted picture of teachers who are Communists. They present such teachers as sinister figures in an "international conspiracy", as villains guilty of "silencing criticism" and "impairing freedom of expression in the classroom," as individuals who "cannot disseminate knowledge or pursue investigations in the effort to make further progress towards truth."

To accuse Communists of being guilty of stifling criticism is indeed a novel approach. Would the gentle college administrators actually have us believe that it is the Communist who attempts to prevent students from thinking deeply critically about U.S. intervention in the Korean war, the Marshall Plan, Point 4, the North Atlantic War Alliance and the billions being poured into the coffers of the munition makers?

Everybody knows, and certainly the AAU knows, that it is not the communists but the men of the monopolies and the trusts who would stifle criticism. These are the men who fear social change. These are the heralds of orthodoxy. These are the people with a vested interest in the maintenance of the present system of capitalist exploitation on which they have grown so rich and powerful. They stifle criticism and "impair freedom of expression" because they want to hide the misery brought on by the exploitation of labor by capital, to cover over the truth that they have extorted tremendous profits out of the vicious system of jimcrow, to conceal the fact that they have extracted enormous profits out of imperialist war and colonial plunder.

The real truth, the truth the AAU fears to admit, is that far from stifling criticism the Communists are the severest critics of the capitalist system and its misery, its poverty, its slums, its racial and national oppression, its wars, its economic crises, etc. They are the severest and most articulate critics of the mad drive of Wall Street to war with the Soviet Union and to fascism at home. That is why the Veldes Jenners and McCarthys single out Communists for their severest attack. That is why their drive to thought conformity has marked the Communists as its chief victim.

No less false is the assertion of the AAU that Communists are incapable "of furthering progress towards truth." The fact is that Karl Marx did more towards the development of a science of society than any other figure in history. The great discoveries of Marx form the foundation of all dynamic social science. This is recognized not only by Communists but by all honest and informed scholars. Even the conservative Encyclopedia Britannica says that "the whole science of dynamic sociology rests on the postulate (s) of Marx."

Yet the AAU would deny this and would deny the fact that some of the greatest men in the arts, sciences and letters in our country and throughout the world are Communists. Among those who the AAU would have us believe are "conspirators" and purveyors "of falsehood and deceit" are such scientists as Frederic Joliet Curie, J. D. Bernal, Jacques Romain, Herbert Aptheker, Oscar Neimayer, Benjamin Farrington; such writers as Sean O'Casey, Martin Nexo, Pablo Neruda, Theodore Dreiser, Lloyd Brown; such artists as Pablo Picasso, Andre Faurgeron, Alfredo Sequeires; such composers as Shostakovich and Prokofiev.

THE position of the men of the AAU, of the Hatchers, Bevis', Sprouls and Healds is particularly insidious. They are the Trojan horse in the educational community. Ration-

alizing the vicious attacks of the inquisition they serve to dress up McCarthyism and to give philosophical justification to the intellectual reign of terror. Supposed servants of education and intellectual pursuit they are paving the way for the most ferocious anti-intellectual assault in the history of our country.

How is it that so many college presidents can so easily betray the most basic needs of a democratic education. The answer to this lies in the fact that college presidents are the servants not of the students and the faculties but of the board of trustees who hire them. For unlike other countries,



DR. HERBERT APTHEKER

the administrators of our schools are not chosen by their faculties but by boards of trustees composed of a small number of self-perpetuating individuals.

It is of course a well known fact that the boards of trustees are dominated by reactionary minded industrialists and financiers. Hubert Park Beck in his study of "Men Who Control Our Universities" revealed that 66% of the members of the boards of trustees of the universities that make up the American Association of Universities held major positions in business. More than half of the 400 biggest Wall Street firms had one or more representatives on the boards of trustees of our countries leading schools.

The anti-labor, pro-war, pro-fascist outlook of these big business trustees was revealed in their answers to a series of questions on major social issues. Beck reports that 81% of the men who dominate our educational system desired to cut down on the government relief programs for the unemployed. 40% were for taking away the right to vote for those on relief (and this at a time when there were some 10,000,000 people unemployed); 30% admitted their desire to outlaw the right to strike.

Among the trustees are men who are not only reactionary in general, but who are the financial angels of the most frenzied fascist elements in our country. They are the ones, as both scholarly and governmental studies have proved, who support the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the Mervin K. Harts and other open fascist groups. Thus Sewell Avery (University of Chicago has been one of the main supporters of American Action, Inc.; Alfred P. Sloan and Lamont DuPont (Massachusetts Institute of technology) finance Mervin K. Hart's National Economic Council; and Frank Gannett (Cornell) is the main figure behind the Committee for Constitutional Government.

To men of this stripe, McCarthy, Velde and Jenner are God sent. They are the perfect weapon with which to enlarge their fascist schemes. No wonder then they are bringing such pressure to bear on their hired administrators to clear the way for the inquisition.

CRIMSON APPEASES WITCH-HUNT

ATTITUDES of compromise and capitulation to the witch-hunters are also to be found among some students. Although, of course, motives of students who propound such ideas differ greatly from the administrators and although the reason they hold these false concept are different, the net effect is that these ideas, whatever their source, pave the way for the witchhunters.

The particular effect of such ideas among students is that it undermines student unity, causes confusion, and leaves students defenseless against the inquisition.

Consider for example a recent editorial which appeared in the Harvard Crimson on the day that seven teachers and two students were subpoenaed to appear before the Jenner Committee. On that occasion "the Crimson" which is on record against the witch hunts made the following comment:

"We believe, since there is no way to stop investigators, the soundest course is to speak frankly and answer each question honestly, as it comes. Revealing friends, heinous though it may be, is far better than tactitly incriminating a whole community. Those testifying must consider their relation to everyone around them, not merely themselves and immediate friends. They must answer, giving the committee all the information it wants, then speak their minds, tell the investigators the meaning of academic freedom and the evil of these highly publicized probes. Perhaps the committee members don't know. And perhaps the silence of so many has convinced them that beneath the surface of education is an organized subversive movement. Only speaking forth and leaving none of their doubts unanswered can possibly dispel this myth. It is up to those who testify, both students and teachers, to open their mouths and clear the imaginations of both the investigators and the public.

In the name of the defense of the university, the "Crimson" calls on studnts and teachers to capitulate to the witch-hunters. The "Crimson" policy of capitulation is based on four fatally false concepts.

The first of these is the idea that perhaps the inquisitors really believe that the schools are staffed with subversives. That therefore if students "cooperate", that is, become informers, for the committees, they will dispell the illusions of the inquisitors and save the schools.

That the "Crimson" should adopt this position is almost ironic considering that in an editorial published only three days earlier they castigated the President of Rutgers, Lewis Webster Jones, for propounding the very same theory.

In that editorial the "Crimson" reported that Jones had taken the position that "Investigators, if given a free run of the campuses, would find 'the overwhelming majority of our professors outstandingly loyal' . . . and relay this information to the public."

Jones' statement, said the "Crimson" on that day, "is analogous to the three little pigs telling the big bad wolf that they are not very tasty and asking him to sperad the news throughout the forest."

After correctly pointing out the spurious motives of the Congressional "probers" the "Crimson" suddenly reverses itself and seems to accept the very idea it ridiculed. Implicit in its reasoning is the concept that perhaps the inquisitors are really trying to ferret out "subversives."

The fact, of course, is that the witchhunters are not one bit interested in ferreting out subversives of which they are many in the school system. The real subversive, those who day in and day out are undermining the constitution of our country, include racist teachers and administrators who preach the theory of white supremacy and who bar Negroes,



From the Wayne Collegian

DROP IT

Jews, Italians and other minorities from equal opportunity in the schools. Among the real subversives are those college presidents who betray the interests of their universities by joining with the forces of reaction in smashing Academic Freedom among teachers and students.

Yet not one of these elements who are really subverting the best interests of our educational community are scheduled to be investigated and we can be certain that none will be by McCarthy, Velde and Jenner.

"SOUNDING BOARDS FOR DICTATORS"

FOR the "Crimson" to imply that perhaps there is something legitimate in the inquisition is a disservice to the struggle for academic freedom. There is nothing legitimate in the Congressional attacks on the schools. As Dr. George Benjamin head of the Division of Social Studies of George Peabody College warned, Jenner, Velde and McCarthy are trying "to reduce education in this country to a dissentionless training of their own choice. . . . They are not working on legislation. They are merely sounding boards and mouth-

pieces for would be dictators who find school boards harder to handle than politicians."

To cooperate with the inquisitors as the "Crimson" proposes, in order to dispell the "myth" supposedly held by them that the schools are staffed by "subversives" is suicidal. The witchhunters will not be dispelled by the "myth" for they do not labor under it. If some are fooled by the false cry of "subversion" certainly McCarthy, Velde and Jenner are not. They have raised the cry. They have created the "myth".

To act as the "Crimson" proposes would only play into the hands of the inquisitors and permit them to further enlarge upon the "myth" the Crimson would see dispelled.

The editors of the Crimson compound their first error with a second. They call on those subpoenaed by the inquisitors to show McCarthy and his crew the "evil of the probes" by "giving the committee all it wants to know" and then "speaking their minds." The editors believe that if students are "cooperative" then "perhaps the committee members" who "don't know" will harm they are doing will see the evil of their way and change. The editors of the "Crimson" thus propose that students and teachers become stoolpigeons, the better to be able to appeal to the good nature of the inquisitors.

MCCARTHYITES NOT MISGUIDED

Again the "Crimson" seems to display an incredible *niavete* in viewing the witchhunters simply as misguided men who don't appreciate the harm they are doing.

Is McCarthy a misguided investigator or is he a ruthless demagogue? It is hard to swallow this benign picture of the inquisitors. McCarthy, Velde and Jenner are no babes in knee pants. If McCarthy was shrewd enough to know how to save \$175,000 in one year on an annual salary of only \$15,000 then surely he is shrewd enough to appreciate the effects of such attacks on the schools.

For some reason the editors of the "Crimson" seem to assume that the inquisitors don't really want to destroy academic freedom and the Bill of Rights. There is, however, nothing to justify such an assumption. Everything points in exactly the opposite direction.

If the "Crimson" wants proof of this it needs only examine the reaction of McCarthy and Velde to the exposure of the menace of witchhunts contained in the speech of Mrs. Meyer before the Convention of the Association of American School Administrators. For some reason these gentlemen did not seem to appreciate Mrs. Meyer's contribution. They were not moved by one iota to call off their witchhunt. Instead they turned on Mrs. Meyer with a barrage of lies.

McCarthy's reply to her speech was, "I would waste no time reading speeches by the management of the Washington Daily Worker, much less answer them." (Mrs. Meyer's husband is the publisher of the Washington Daily Post.)

Velde went ever further. In an attempt to discredit Mrs. Meyer he released the false report that she was a regular contributor to the magazine "New World Review". How desperate Velde was is revealed by the fact that even though this story was immediately proved false he waited for a week before he benignly admitted he was "mistaken."

FOR the "Crimson" to portray the inquisitors as men who really don't appreciate that they are destroying demo-

cratic rights is a great disservice to the fight for democracy. It creates an illusion that covers over the basic fascist motifs of the McCarthyites. It disarms students and teachers who would defend education and leaves them at the mercies of the inquisitors.

There is, however, something more than *niavete* in the position of the editors of the "Crimson." There is also cowardice. And this leads them to resort to a position which is ethically indefensible. In the name of the defense of the university they call on students not only to betray their own ideas but also to betray their friends and relatives. The editors declare that "Revealing friends; heinous though it may be, is far better than tacitly incriminating a whole university community." Boiled down to its essentials the position of the "Crimson" is that students should throw their friends to the wolves and thus save themselves and the universities.

COURAGE IS "STRATEGICALLY SOUND"

What is wrong with this position is not only that it morally degrades those who put forward this Judas argument but that it facilitates the most insidious tactic of the witchhunters. For the ace in the hole of the McCarthyites is the policy of divide and conquer. They concentrate on scaring the timid and the spineless into throwing some to the wolves, the better to be able to destroy the whole.

IT was precisely to the "Crimson" line of thinking that Dr. Peter Gay, the well known author and instructor at Columbia University, recently directed himself in a letter published in the New York Times. Striking out against those in the educational community who would capitulate, Dr. Gay warns that "the investigators will attempt to drive a wedge into the academic community by concentrating on specific person, thus confusing the issue of principle . . . The timid will argue that we should throw a few persons to the wolves the better to save ourselves."

But Dr. Gay points out such a step far from appeasing the inquisitors would only spur them on. For the Witchhunters "will use the firing under pressure of any faculty member as evidence of the rightness of the investigations, and claim credit for 'cleaning up American education.' "Courage", concludes Dr. Gay, "is thus not only the one position morally possible but also the one position strategically sound."

How is it to be explained that a newspaper like the "Crimson" which has been outspoken in the defense of academic freedom and in its opposition to the witch hunts now calls on students and teachers to "cooperate" with them. How is the gullibility of the editors to be explained? What brought about their collapse when the witchhunters turned the pressure on their school?

The answer to this question is given by the editors themselves. "We believe," they wrote, "since there is no way to stop the investigators the soundest course is to . . ." etc.

The answer lies in their statement that "there is no way to stop the investigators." In this way the "Crimson" editors reveal that they believe that the McCarthyites cannot be stopped. Accepting this premise they conclude that the only course of action is to try to come to terms with the witchhunters, to try to find some basis for compromise, to throw the inquisitors a bone in hope it will satisfy them.

What little faith the "Crimson" editors show in the democratic traditions of our country and in the strength of the American people.

The McCarthyites can be defeated. As Mrs. Meyers put it, "An aroused and informed public" can halt the witchhunts. The duty of those who understand the menace of McCarthyism is to stand firm and fight to rally others behind them.

The fact is that powerful forces, forces stronger than the McCarthyites, have begun to recognize the meaning of the invasion of the schools and to act. Already such groups as the National Council of Churches of Christ, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the American Association of University Professors, the American Association of School Administrators have condemned the inquisitors.

To this array must be added the forces of the Negro peoples liberation movement which are striking out against McCarthyism.

Most important is the growing activities of the powerful labor movement of our country on this issue. Such groups as the United Auto Workers of the CIO, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and such trade union figures as Walter Reuther and James Carey have already taken stands against the inquisitors.

SURELY the editors of the "Crimson" must recognize that capitulation to the witchhunters is suicide. The best defense of the schools, the most important contribution the editors of the "Crimson" can make, is to build the resistance movement. The forces of democracy can win if they will recognize their strength and if they have the confidence in themselves to make use of it.

PART V FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

WITCHHUNTS against the schools are not an isolated phenomenon. They are a part of the general fascist offensive against the democratic traditions of the American people and part of fascism's special war against our Constitution.

The balance sheet of fascist legislation and legal and extra-legal attack is ominous indeed and includes the sentencing to jail or indictment of some seventy Communist leaders under the unconstitutional Smith Act for advocating the principles of Marxism; the passage of the McCarran Internal Security Act which, among other things, provides for the establishment of concentration camps (Five have already been built in Allenwood, Pennsylvania; Tule Lake, California; Florence and Wickenburg, Arizona; and Avon Park, Florida.) and which gives the President the power to condemn any citizen to these camps without trial. To this add the passage of the McCarran-Walters Act which denies Constitutional privilege to the foreign born and which, in a way reminiscent of Hitler's treatment of the Jews, calls for the annual registration of all non-citizens and requires that all non-citizens carry special passes. Add to these the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law and the new legislation now pending which is directed at taking away labors right to strike; the Congressional witchhunts in the trade unions, and in Hollywood, and the threatened inquisition into the churches. And to this add the genocidal campaign of brutality and violence against the Negro people of which one of the most shocking features is the legal lynching of scores of Negroes in frame-up cases such as those of Willie McGee and the Martinville 7.

It is on this edifice that McCarthy stands. From this vantage point McCarthy and his cohorts plan new and even more reactionary blows against the people.

That McCarthy is out to devour the whole hog has become painfully clear in recent months. That McCarthy's burning ambition is to transform our country into a fascist state with McCarthy as its fuhrer—is no longer a secret. Cabell Phillips writing in the New York Times of March 8 reported: "In some quarters it is said that he (McCarthy) aspires to the Presidency in 1956 and that he counts on his investigative record to win it for him."

A recent column by Joseph and Steward Alsop put it far less equivocally. "It is almost universally agreed," they said, "that McCarthy's objective is the Presidency, and nothing less."

To some who still tend to view McCarthyism as a quirk, as a political side show, this may seem as a misinterpretation, an exaggeration of the man and the menace he poses. For it might be asked, where will he find the political base for such a grab for power, where would he get the financial backing, where would he find the necessary organization, etc.?

McCarthy himself is not unaware of these problems and is busily at work attempting to solve them and already has made some progress. The Alsops, for example, assert that "For the first time in modern American political history, he (McCarthy) has succeeded in uniting behind him the whole assortment of small proto-fascist extremist groups. These have existed for a long time, but despite their effort to poison the political atmosphere they have heretofore been hardly more than a nuisance. Now they are altogether in one movement, which can exercise a balance of power in key areas."

But it is not only among the extreme fascist groups that McCarthy is attempting to consolidate his base. He has built up formidable support for himself in leading circles of both the Republican and Democratic parties. William S. White, of the New York Times Washington correspondents observed that McCarthy has "demonstrated enormous political influence" in Washington and that he has "to some extent interested Senators who have been among his old critics."

Nor does McCarthy lack financial support. Like their German counter-parts, fascist minded American monopolists know "a good thing" when they see it. And as the Krupps and Farbens poured millions into Hitler's coffers, so "McCarthy has," in the words of the Alsops, "demonstrated an appeal . . . to certain solid conservative elements. McCarthy has plenty of financial backing. He has important support in the press and on the radio."

How is it that only a few months after an election in which so many people expressed their alarm over the growing danger of fascism, that the menace of fascism looms greater than ever before. The answer to this lies in the Republican victory and in the character of the Eisenhower administration.

THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY AND MCCARTHYISM

Eisenhower and the Republican Party rode to victory on promises that they would bring about a cease fire in Korea, that they would cut down on the fantastic sums of money being spent for war, that under a Republican administration

McCarthyism and McCarthyite witchhunts would no longer continue. But no sooner was the election over than Eisenhower and his political bedfellows began to betray their promises. Eisenhower grouped around him some of the most reactionary figures in the country. He recruited his cabinet directly from billionaires row in Wall Street. Instead of pursuing his promise to end the war in Korea he attempted to spread it to the mainland of China.

The new strength of McCarthy, the greater danger of fascism, grows out of the Republican electoral victory and out of the policies of Eisenhower.

There are, of course, some, like the Alsops, who see the Eisenhower administration as a barrier against McCarthy and the fascist danger. But this illusion bursts like a bubble when one examines the Eisenhower record.

Far from restraining McCarthy, Eisenhower has speeded the man and the menace on its way. Eisenhower has publically given McCarthy at least tacit support and privately given him direct assistance. Thus in Eisenhower's press conference of February 25th, when he was asked to express his opinion on the McCarthy-Jenner-Velde witchhunts, he refused in any way to attack or criticize them. "He would be the last one to curtail or to attempt to curtail the Congressional investigative power," Eisenhower was reported to have said. Moreover, that the Administration was collaborating in the strategy meeting of Jenner, Velde and McCarthy on the campus witchhunts through the participation of the FBI and of the White House liaison aide Major General W. B. Persons, was indicated in an article in the Times of March 1st.

The basic agreement that exists between Eisenhower and McCarthy was dramatically pointed up when Eisenhower issued his executive order establishing a new government "loyalty" program. Before he announced his plans publicly Eisenhower invited McCarthy, Velde and Jenner in for a private briefing. So harmonious was their discussion that when asked his opinion of the plan, McCarthy replied, "Altogether it represents a pretty darn good program. I like it."

McCARTHYISM IN FOREIGN POLICY

Eisenhower's most fundamental contribution to the growth of McCarthyism has been his foreign policy. As yet, most Americans tend to view McCarthy as a factor only in domestic affairs and see no connection between McCarthyism and the foreign policy of the government. But the growth of McCarthyism, and the fascist danger in general, is inseparably linked to the bi-partisan, pro-war foreign policy

The relationship between the growth of McCarthyism and the policies of the State Department was noted by William White, who remarked that one of the reasons that "McCarthy's position is a more powerful one (under Eisenhower) than in the Democratic days" is because "he unquestionably is receiving a degree of State Department cooperation that he did not receive then."

It is not accidental that when he initiated his witchhunts, McCarthy singled out the State Department as the place in which he centered his attack on so called "communism" in government. The whole aim of McCarthy's attacks were and

are directed at speeding up the drive towards war with the Soviet Union. To achieve this he attacked a number of men in the State Department, who, even though they were faithful servants of the cold war, had in the past been connected in some way with Roosevelt's policy of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union.

Under the Eisenhower regime McCarthy's meddling in the State Department has increased by leaps and bounds. The whole world speaks in shock of the degree of McCarthyite influence over the foreign policy making of our country. Not only have Eisenhower and Dulles given McCarthy *carte blanche* in his investigations of "loyalty" in the State Department, but they have even permitted him to usurp the President's treaty making powers as evidenced in the agreement McCarthy negotiated with the Greek ship owners.

That the Republican administration has embodied McCarthyism in its foreign policy is all the more pointed up by the recent initiative taken by the Soviet Union to settle outstanding international differences. To the Republican foreign policy makers the pointed efforts made by the Soviet Union to settle the problem of disarmament, to settle the problem of the appointment of a new UN General Secretary, to settle the problem of air traffic in and out of Berlin; the compromise made by the Chinese Peoples Republic on the prisoner of war issue—to the Republican Administration, and especially to Dulles, these things represent not a new hope for peace but a new crisis which threatens the Dulles inspired foreign policy in the Far East, the existence of the North Atlantic War alliance, and the continuation of the gigantic armaments program.

The pressure of events and the demands of the American people have forced Eisenhower to declare that he desires to "meet the Soviet Union half way." It is no small thing that in his April 16th speech Eisenhower was forced to say, for the first time since he has assumed office, that "None of these (international) issues, great or small, is insoluble—given only the will to respect the rights of nations."

But despite these declarations the Republican Administration has yet to put forward a single proposal that would answer the Soviet peace initiative. Instead, Eisenhower and Dulles put forward new ultimatims and place new obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of international differences, schemes including such impossible demands as that made by Dulles: that the price the Koreans should pay for peace is the abandonment of all of their territory, including their capital city, up to a point 90 miles above the present battle line.

If McCarthy and the other pro-fascist forces in American life fulminate against every step to settle international differences it is because they realize that McCarthyism is a direct product of the cold war. They fear that the end of the Korean war and the settlement of the cold war will cut the ground from under them in their drive towards fascism.

In this respect they are indeed correct. Peace and democracy are indivisible. And those students who desire to carry the fight against the witchhunts in the schools to its logical conclusion—to the elimination of the cancer of McCarthyism from every aspect of American life—must more vigorously and more boldly take up the struggle for peace.

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