

VOLUME VI, NUMBER 4

# new foundations

FOR PEACE, A DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AND A SOCIALIST FUTURE

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS



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## BROWNELL SPREADS THE ATTACK

ATTORNEY General Herbert Brownell, on April 22, asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to order 12 organizations to register with the Justice Department. The Labor Youth League, a Marxist youth organization, was one of the groups requested to register under the McCarran Act. This Act itself had been a center of controversy in the last Congress. Major organizations including the AF of L, the CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, opposed it. Prominent persons, including ex-President Truman, opposed it. Truman declared in his veto message: "It would put the Government in the tough control business . . . The course proposed by this bill would make a mockery of the Bill of Rights and of our claims to stand for freedom in the world."

It is true, according to the act, that all organizations branded "subversive" have a right to a hearing before the Subversive Activities Control Board. But there is little doubt as to a "hearing's" outcome. For into the McCarran Act is written the statement that a world-wide communist conspiracy exists and the Communist Party is the instrument in this country for carrying out it will and that the Communist Party in turn creates "Communist Front" organizations which can be spotted when any aspect of their program coincides with the Communist program.

The Labor Youth League is an independent youth organization whose purpose is to educate the youth in the spirit of scientific socialism. Its officers and program are determined by democratic discussion and election. It does not hide the fact that it has fraternal ties with the Communist Party, but this in no way contradicts the independence of the League.

The Labor Youth League was attacked for its stand on issues, issues which won the support and participation of

youth outside the ranks of the League, issues which were not provoked by the League, but which arose largely out of the war policy pursued by the Administration. The charges of subversion include advocacy of the peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict on the basis of an immediate cease fire, favoring the outlawing of the atom and hydrogen bomb, asking amnesty for victims of the Smith Act, opposing the conviction of Lt. Leon Gilbert, and opposing the enactment of various legislation including the Universal Military Training Bill, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Mundt-Nixon Bill. The League was also accused of defending one of its leaders, Roosevelt Ward, Jr., whose conviction under the Selective Service Act was **unanimously** reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court. Perhaps Brownell will, in time, declare the Supreme Court subversive for agreeing with the Labor Youth League's position.

**B**y specifically singling out the LYL for attack, the Administration hopes to see a halt in the fight youth is conducting for peace, academic freedom, and Negro rights. It hopes to deter youth from fighting on these issues by branding these issues "subversive." Yet young people—students or industrial workers, Negro or white—cannot cease fighting on the issues which earned, for the LYL, the brand: "subversive". For them to do so would mean submission to atomic warfare, to the McCarthy witch-hunts, to the increased brutality against the Negro people.

The LYL has fought on issues in the interest of all American youth, even those who may disagree with its Marxist ideas. By defending the LYL's right to exist, all American youth are defending their own right to fight for a better future.

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# new foundations

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### PRINCIPLES:

NEW FOUNDATIONS is a publication guided by the principles of scientific 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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# The Spotlight Is On Peace

THE events of recent weeks have made irrefutable the proposition that an immediate end to the Korean War and a general settlement of international differences are possibilities thoroughly practical. Sick and disabled prisoner of both sides have already been exchanged. The North Koreans and Chinese, in order to end the needless bloodshed, have agreed with the proposal that any prisoners who remain after the initial exchange should be handed over to a neutral power until their final status is determined. If this action made distraught those who profit from war contracts, if it caused a deep sag in the stock market in New York and the rubber market in Singapore, it was welcomed nevertheless by people throughout the world.

What has happened with regard to Korea has highlighted what the newspapers and radio of our country entitle "a new peace offensive." And, indeed, they have used this term with great frequency as of late. First it was the speech of Soviet Prime Minister Malenkov in which he said, "There is no disputed or undecided issue today which cannot be solved peacefully by mutual agreement between the countries concerned. This applies to our relations with all states, including our relations with the United States of America." This speech threw into considerable confusion those newspapers which for a few weeks had grown rather fond of saying that with the death of Stalin the supposed danger of "Soviet aggressiveness" had increased. Then there was the agreement reached in the UN on Dag Hammarskjold, the new secretary-general. And now there is the editorial in *Pravda* endorsing that section of Pres. Eisenhower's April 16 speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which he said that not one of the world issues in dispute is insoluble. The press, of course, has attempted to pour cold water on the newest peace possibilities. It expects that with the current atmosphere of witch-hunting, with the repeated lurid tales of the "Communist Meanace", that all that need be done is to imply that peace proposals originating in the Soviet Union and China have some sinister purpose and they will be rejected out of hand. However, the press certainly reckons without considering that people of the world, including the overwhelming majority of the American people, desire peace; without considering that proposals that would lead toward peace would be welcomed no matter from what source they come. *The way is open for every country to take the initiative for peace, for the United States as well as the Soviet Union. Any power can take such initiative and be assured of a hearty welcome.*

IN the situation created by the newest peace possibilities the biggest question mark is what will be our country's response. In his April 16 speech, Pres. Eisenhower said that the aim of U.S. policy is "true and complete peace in Asia as in the whole world." Yet in the same speech he repeated the elements of a foreign policy that could only lead to World War and catastrophe for our country. The President speaks of peace with the Soviet Union but offers, as the only basis for peace, the unconditional acceptance of the terms of United States foreign policy. Even so conservative a newspaper as the *London Times* remarked that no country would be prepared to discuss peaceful agreements on un-

conditional terms. Pres. Eisenhower speaks of "respect" for "the rights of all other nations", and yet moves to give all out support to the French imperialists in their colonial war against the people of Indo-China.

Beyond the President's speech one notes with alarm the speech of John Foster Dulles made just two days after the President's. Dulles made a major point of the "importance" of supporting Chiang Kai-Shek as a means of overthrowing the legally constituted Chinese government. Rather than proposing, as steps toward peace, the lifting of the economic blockade against China and an end to the farce of excluding 475 million people from the UN, Dulles considers the propping-up of bankrupt Chiang to be a great achievement of State Dept. policy. And certainly, in contradiction with any proclaimed objective of peace is that fact that our nation's leading witch-hunter, Sen. McCarthy, is daily being advanced as a figure having a determining say in the formulation of foreign policy. Our country's foreign policy cannot be considered as being safely embarked on a course of peace when the fascist McCarthy is permitted, even more, encouraged, to carry on as diplomatic negotiator; when this pillar of repression has virtual veto power over the employment of State Dept. personnel.

If the present opportunity for peace is to be utilized, then peace cannot be left in the hands of the military and corporate interests who today dominate the Republican administration. The desire of the people for peace was instrumental in producing the few statements by Eisenhower that at least in words recognized the possibility of negotiations. If the will of the people for peace is made more articulate, if the congressmen and the President know that the public insists on an end to the Korean War and a general peace settlement, neither Eisenhower, Dulles or McCarthy will be able to carry us further along toward war.

THIS critical period in determining whether we move toward world war or peace cannot by-pass the American campus. Pres. Eisenhower has spoken of how the funds now being spent for armaments could do wonders for precisely such fields as education. We know well enough today how little of the government budget is being spent for education. We know the encroachments of the draft that reach out to every male student and has already interrupted the education of many.

We of the American college community have a responsibility to enter fully into the fight for peace. Of fundamental importance in securing an end to the present rate of infringement of academic freedom is the removal of the preparations-for-war atmosphere that have given them impetus. Individually, and particularly in our organizations, let us discuss and take action urging our gov't to enter into concrete peace negotiations with the Soviet Union. With this should come from the campuses, which have had first hand experience with McCarthy and all he stands for, the demand that he be removed from the making of foreign policy. And above all, after three years of needless war and when every possible opportunity exists for peace, should come the unified expression of the colleges—End the Korean War Now.



# SHOULD COMMUNISTS TEACH

THE darkness of bigotry is settling over the American campus. Academic freedom is being converted into the "freedom" to be jingoist and super-patriotic. Time was, prior to the rise of big business in the United States, when the great issue of teachers' and students was the right of religious dissent. Today it is not a question of God but of Caesar. The witch hunters seek out not those who participated in a devil's sacrament in the Reverend Parris' pasture as at Salem in 1692, but those who attended a Communist meeting in so-and-so's home or a rally for American-Soviet Friendship at Madison Square Garden. To make the analogy, and the difference, complete we need only compare Cotton Mather's pronouncement: that to deny the existence of the Devil is worse than diabolical—with Sidney Hook's charge that the ignorance of many Americans respecting the "evils" of Communism is "almost perverse." (New Leader, April 6, 1953, p. 59.)

WHAT we are witnessing is not only an attack on the right of Communists to teach, but an attempt to destroy any independence of thought, any criticism of current U. S. domestic and foreign policy. Students and teachers are not to be allowed to have any thoughts that even remotely imply that the United States today does not have the best possible social and economic organization in the best of all possible worlds. Such interference with the freedom of teachers and students to discuss, to examine the evidence, to come to their own reasoned conclusions has long existed, but it had a rebirth after the end of World War II, has grown with the development of the "cold war", and has reached new levels in the course of the war in Korea. McCarthyism is operating in multitudinous ways, not only through Congressional "investigating" committees against teachers, but also through other Federal agencies inquiring into students' political and social attitudes and following "up leads like persecuting attorneys." (Dean Carl W. Ackerman, Columbia University School of Journalism, quoted in N. Y. Times, April 14, 1953). The fight against this growing menace to our schools and colleges is being seriously hindered by a poison that has been seeping into intellectual and academic life in the United States. Its chief expression is the notion that you can save academic freedom and intellectual honesty in our institutions of high learning while Communists are thrown to the anti-democratic and fascist wolves.

It is the purpose of this article to analyze the issues involved, to uncover the concealed premises and draw out the logical consequences. It's time to establish that the notion that there can be differences of opinion held in our colleges and universities, and complete freedom to teach for all but Communists, is a shameful fraud. One of this doctrine's worst features is that it is accepted in many professorial and student circles,



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especially in the midst of a red scare, as a purely pragmatist expedient—a cheap way of getting the dogs (of congressional committees) called off by throwing them a bone.

To the best of my knowledge this whole notion that appears to accept complete intellectual freedom while denying it to Communists was begun by Sidney Hook and first incorporated in the statement of policy of New York's "New School" in the late 1930s. For years the "New School" has proclaimed its position in its Bulletins under the heading of Non-Partisanship:

"As an educational institution the New School follows a settled policy of neutrality with respect to political, religious and social party groupings. It does not inquire whether a lecturer's private views are conservative, liberal or radical; orthodox or agnostic; aristocrat or proletarian; but no member of the Faculty can be a member of any political party or group which asserts the right to dictate in matters of science or scientific opinion. The New School undertakes in no way to restrict the lecturer's freedom of utterance. The New School considers that it has ful-

filled its obligation when it has assured itself of the scholarly competence and teaching capacity of its instructors."

It is an interesting fact that only 1 or 2 teachers of the New School have ever been called before any state or national investigating committee. The reason, perhaps, is that its faculty has been so well screened and so carefully controlled.

BEFORE going into a more careful analysis a few general observations might be helpful. First, it is significant that being regarded as a Communist, whether that means a general theoretical Marxist or a full-fledged Party member, has not been found, in Europe, to be incompatible with academic integrity. A Professor Benjamin Farrington, for example, of Swansea College, Wales, writes and lectures for the London District Committee of the Communist Party. And no one has heard of any investigation by Parliament or any other body as to whether Professor Levy, J. B. Haldane, J. D. Bernal, Maurice Dobb, George Thompson, and other respected British professors were or were not members of the Communist Party. They are treated on the merits of their teaching, scholarly work, not their political affiliation. The same is true in France, Italy, and other bourgeois-democratic countries. This is a distinctly United States phenomenon, though, unfortunately, exportable with other Marshall Plan goods.

Secondly, it is based on the typical police agent's theory of the Communist Party as a bandit gang that holds its members by violence and murder. This theory has been re-enforced by so many thriller-dillers from Kravchenko to J. Edgar Hoover that the police and some university presidents and senators even believe it themselves. I recently, for example, found a New York City detective who, when told that a certain Jefferson School window display included a draped picture of Stalin together with a display of his books and pamphlets, exclaimed: "I never knew he wrote any books. Really? He wrote books?" The fantastic calumny that the Communist Party "asserts the right to dictate in matters of science" is a belated reply to Marx's trenchant observation in 1873 that the bourgeoisie no longer dares to ask if a proposition in social science is true, but only if it is expedient. We might ask who it is in our country today that has



# IN OUR COLLEGES?

By DR. HOWARD SELSAM

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the authority "to dictate in matters of science or scientific opinion?"

Third, this whole theory blithely rests on the naive notion that our institutions of higher learning, public as well as private, are truly free, are "neutral with respect to political, religious and social party groupings," unconcerned with whether their teachers are "conservative, liberal, or radical; orthodox or agnostic; aristocrat or proletarian." But it is precisely inquiry into and discussion of the source of their authority, the influence of wealthy alumni, big banks and corporations, monopoly capital in short, that is one of the things they most want to prevent through their attacks on Marxism and Marxists. How ill it befits the New School, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Chicago, or Princeton to claim impartiality with respect to the ruling economic forces of our society? Their trustees are representatives of the biggest insurance companies, banks, railroads, industrial corporations. Their money comes from individual millionaires who, of course, are a mere integral part of the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S. today or directly form the corporations. A new committee has recently been formed to aid higher education. It is called the "Council for Financial Aid to Education." It will advise those concerned with higher education how to secure financial help from the nation's corporations and business concerns. The leading spirit of the committee is Frank W. Abrams, chairman of the Board, Standard Oil of N. J.; and it includes Irving Olds of U.S. Steel, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. of General Motors and Henning Pentz Jr., President of Armstrong Cork.

Yet the university Presidents who run to this committee for help have the audacity to claim "objectivity." In the recent statement drawn up by the Presidents of some of our biggest academic institutions and adopted by the Association of American Universities on March 30, 1953, it is claimed that the university must "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."

But all of this is introductory to the analysis of the three central questions

concerning the right of communists to teach. In my opinion these are:

1) Are our universities and colleges possibly capable, under existing political and economic institutions, of "objectivity," impartiality, true freedom of thought and research regardless of where it will lead?

2) Are Marxists, Communists, capable of objective pursuit of truth and of a kind of teaching which clearly presents alternatives to student minds and allows them the fullest opportunity to judge the issues, examine the evidence, and reach reasoned conclusions?

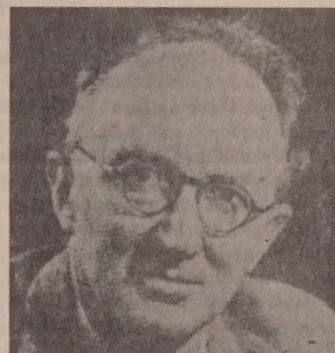
3) Can there be any academic freedom, any untrammelled pursuit of knowledge and truth, so long as the doctrine persists that Communists do not have the right to teach?

## NO IMPARTIALITY

(1) The answer to the question whether our universities are objective and impartial as they so vehemently protest to be, can only be an emphatic No! But two things are involved here; one is their inability to be objective and non-partisan. The other is their inability to admit to any partisanship as opposed to the Marxist's affirmation of his. Just imagine a professor of Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, City College standing before a class and saying: "I am partisan, I am speaking not for the truth, objectively, but for Standard Oil, General Motors, U.S. Steel, the Chase National Bank. What I tell you about economics, philosophy, history, represents the interests of the maximum profit of the biggest imperialist monopolies." No! They dare not do that. They dare not tell the truth. Their partisanship prevents scientific objectivity. Too often they are only the "hired prize-fighters" Marx spoke of, their incapability of following ideas wherever they may lead in concealed by this pretense of the open mind.

OUR institutions of higher learning are necessarily and inevitably an integral part of that body of institutions and ideas which constitutes the superstructure of capitalist society. They exist to help maintain that society, to help preserve the existing economic relations. Were any of them to fail to do this they would be closed, either by economic strangulation or direct interference of the state for example, through the denial of tax exemption, ability to give degrees, etc.) and new ones opened in their places.

But this question need not be argued. The Academic Freedom Policy recently adopted by our universities referred to earlier is quite explicit. A few quotations reveal the bias behind the facade of sci-



BENJAMIN FARRINGTON

entific objectivity. When our universities officially affirm: "Free enterprise is as essential to intellectual as to economic progress," they are categorically asserting the inherent and eternal superiority of capitalism over all other economic formations. Is this compatible with all the pious assertions in the policy statement concerning "investigation, criticism and presentation of ideas in an atmosphere of freedom?" The statement asserts that "a university does not take an official position of its own . . . on political questions or matters of public policy" and yet goes on to say: "We condemn Russian communism as we condemn every form of totalitarianism" and asserts that scholarly integrity and independence renders impossible "adherence to such a regime as that of Russia and its satellites."\*

Is this premise compatible with the statement's assertion that university teachers "must continue to analyze, test, criticize and re-assess existing institutions and beliefs, approving when the evidence supports them and disapprov-

(Continued on next page)

\* We cannot allow to pass unnoticed the cheap slander: to believe that socialism would be preferable for our country to monopoly capitalism and can be brought about only by working class leadership in our nation's life is to give allegiance to "Russia." American Communists have no other goal than our American well-being in a world of peace and plenty for all.



ing when the weight of evidence is on the other side?" Finally, the statement asserts that our universities' scholars and teachers "are united in loyalty to the ideal of learning, to the moral code, to the country and to its form of government."

These are good things to which progressives certainly adhere: "Loyalty to the idea of learning," loyalty "to the moral code" and "to the country." But today our "form of government" is only too often made synonymous with capitalism.

The whole thing is a miserable sham. The stool-pigeon's and police agent's lies about Marxism are accepted as gospel truth beyond the realm of scholarly examination and discussion. Loyalty to capitalism and to the capitalist state are pre-conditions for admission to the university's community of free scholars. The final result is that teachers and professors may come to any conclusion so long as these are in conformity with the principles, needs, interests of U.S. monopoly capitalism. The whole miserable rigmarole is a device for giving the appearance of freedom of thought and objectivity while at the same time guaranteeing that they will never go so far as to threaten U.S. imperialism and its policies.

This policy means that every teacher and scholar is allowed to search for the truth up to the point where he might find the analysis of Marxism-Leninism true and the program of the Communist Party of the United States wise. At this point he must either: (1) refuse to carry out the logic of his beliefs in Marxism, among which beliefs is that of the unity of theory and practice, or (2) act on his rational beliefs and be dismissed from his position and outlawed from his chosen profession.

## COMMUNISTS AND GOOD TEACHING

2. This brings us to the second main question: are Marxists, Communists, members of the Communist Party, capable of pursuing truth objectively and of fulfilling all standards of good scholarship and good teaching? That this is so is borne out in innumerable cases as a matter of fact. One has only to name and survey the records of a number of teachers suspended or expelled as admitted or alleged communists from our higher educational institutions to see the truth of this. Incidentally, in none of these cases was a single issue raised in all the proceedings concerning either academic competence or teaching ability

or class room "indoctrination".

Some of these, it is true, were dismissed allegedly for invoking before the investigating tribunals the privilege given us by the Fifth Amendment, a privilege itself attacked by the Universities' Academic Freedom Policy as placing "upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position." It is "dammed if you do and damned if you don't." The theory here is, of course, testify to your being a communist and let us dismiss you for that, or don't testify and we will dismiss you for non-cooperation with established authority. This reasoning conveniently ignores three facts. One is the pressures up to and including prison sentences for contempt when a witness testifies to his political affiliations and then refuses to be a stool pigeon and name his colleagues. Another is that no one is safe today from the hired informer or personal enemy who can be bought or otherwise secured to give lying testimony which he cannot refute. A third is that many honest persons resent the violation of the first amendment with its guarantee of freedom of speech and thought and refuse to be a party to such proceedings. It is clear that every decent person, conservative as well as progressive, must uphold the right of teachers to invoke the fifth amendment and thus to refuse to be an active participant in an inquisition into the "heresies" of which educators may be suspected.

But let us turn again to the case against communist teachers. It has been stated so often that it has become a shop-worn formula. Two quotations will suffice. President Raymond B. Allen of the University of Washington has said that a teacher who is "sincere in his belief in communism" cannot "at the same time be a sincere seeker after truth." And New York City School Superintendent William C. Jansen recently said that teachers "should measure up to standards no real communist could meet."

Such statements, first foisted on the educational world by the renegade from communism, Professor Sidney Hook, are nothing but a bigoted bit of shabby name calling. Yet they are often coupled with protestations of independence of orthodoxy, with claims to progressivism. But when a biologist can be dismissed from an American college for suggesting, in a professional chemical journal, that our scientists owe it to themselves to investigate the theory and claims of Lysenko, our educators had better go easy on charges about the inability of anyone to be a sincere seeker after truth

or that communists destroy "intellectual integrity." And in a society which makes heroes and heroines of a Louis Budenz or a Bella Dodd we had better be cautious about levelling charges that communists destroy "moral integrity."

Alexander Meiklejohn answered these charges against Marxist teachers four years ago when he asked what advantages are offered a scholar by the Communist Party as compared to those offered by the presidents and trustees of our universities. He wrote: "But, in general, the only explanation which fits the facts is that these scholars are moved by a passionate determination to follow the truth where it seems to lead, no matter what may be the cost to themselves and their families." (N. Y. TIMES, magazine section, March 27, 1949.)

**B**EFORE it is too late we had better ask ourselves, following Professor Meiklejohn, who in our schools shows willingness to make sacrifices—economic, professional—for the truth as they see it, for justice and freedom as they understand it: the teacher who conforms, who trims his sails to suit every wind, who is never in disagreement with his superiors, the School Boards and trustees, the prevailing climate of opinion, or the Marxist, the communist, who stands firm on a principled position? It is high time that our educators, whatever they may think of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, or of communists, individually or collectively, stop being so provincial and puerile as to repeat endlessly this shibboleth about communists having no intellectual or moral integrity.

The issue here is not the truth or

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falsity of Marxism anymore than it is that of the truth or falsity of Keynesian economics, pragmatism, Freudianism, or any other philosophical, historical, social-economic teaching. The issue is only the right of anyone to embrace this teaching and to act accordingly. Here, again, Professor Meikeljohn has expressed beautifully the position of the Communist teacher: "In a word, they, [the Communists] do not accept Communist beliefs because they are members of the party. They are members of the party because they accept Communist beliefs."

What the red-baiters and witch-hunters dare not openly admit, though one suspects they know it in private, is that the Marxist is being hounded out of the schools and colleges under a wretched sham, just as the communist or militant-class conscious worker is hounded out of the factories and in many cases the trade unions, because he does not conform. In the case of educators, the holders of the purse-strings want to get Marxists out of the schools because of their stand on behalf of freedom of thought and speech, because of their speeches or writings outside of the classroom, because of their belief in, and ability to present, a scientific approach to history and society. It is not their intellectual honesty that is in question but the conclusions they have reached concerning peace, democracy, and the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The whole issue is thus clearly part of the class struggle, a manifestation of it in the sphere of ideology. Just as under the infamous Smith Act leaders of the Communist Party are tried and imprisoned for conspiring "to teach and advocate" Marxism-Leninism, so through legislative investigations, supported by Boards of trustees of colleges and universities, educators are threatened and the privacy of their thought and political affiliation invaded.

## THE ISSUE IS ACADEMIC FREEDOM

3. So long as the notion persists that Communists do not have the right to teach, there can be no academic freedom in our country, no genuine search for truth wherever it may lead. So long as this persists what Spinoza said of "Academies that are founded at the public expense" will hold true of all our institutions of higher learning. They will serve "not so much to cultivate men's natural abilities as to restrain them." (Political Treatise, ch. VIII, sec. 49.)

As it stands now, and has developed increasingly over the past decades, our professors are only too often afraid to

discuss Marxism, the Soviet Union, dialectical and historical materialism, or to express any criticism of capitalism, imperialism, and so on through an almost endless catalogue. They are afraid to cite Marxist-Leninist works for their students. They are often enough afraid to read any Marxist writings for fear they be known to have read it or, indeed, lest they themselves become convinced. The ostrich policy in this situation becomes a genuine alternative. "There really is no danger," a teacher might well say to himself, "so long as my head is buried in the sand—why then should I run the risk of taking it out to see?" It is a dreadful thing to see people lose their intellectual and moral integrity, place respectability above truth, safety above reason. Yet this has increasingly become the rule in our colleges.

WHAT is most serious about the dismissal of a few real or suspected communists from teaching positions here or there is the effect this has on their colleagues who remain behind, safely or precariously, as the case may be. They are not the same people once they have witnessed a friend or colleague thrown to the wolves. They become smaller people, members of the League of Frightened Men, even though dressed up in smugness and complacency.

Let educators be for or against Marxism as they please. Unless they have enough faith in their own beliefs and in the principles of democratic discussion to grant Marxists the right to compete in the "market-place of ideas," they will find themselves sinking ever deeper into ideological conformity and goose-

stepping regimentation. It is time that American educators recognize that Marxism is a serious and substantial body of thought that must be treated in a rational and responsible way.

The failure to take such an approach to Marxism is helping only to put our whole educational system in the hands of witch-hunting obscurantists, acting on behalf of the big banks and corporations. Unless this dangerous trend is rapidly reversed incalculable damage will be done, not only to all higher learning but to democracy and culture in our country.

## COURAGE AND CLARITY

IF academic and political freedom are to be preserved in our country the growing fascist inroads on the campuses must be halted. They cannot be halted on the assumption that all others can be safe if Communists are deprived of the right to teach. Under this assumption no one is safe and no real freedom can be protected. There is increasing protest on the campus against the encroachments on traditional liberties. This protest must be joined in by all, teachers and students, progressive and conservative. They must carry the fight off the campus to the trade unions and every kind of organization. Not a day passes but that some new group, organization, or individual leader points to the danger of destroying all our traditional liberties through the methods being used allegedly to save them. Our liberties can be saved, but the hour is late. Courage, energy, and above all, theoretical clarity on the issues, are indispensable for victory.

## RECORDS

Pulse and pressure carefully note  
and listen to the heart.  
Sample the blood, X-ray the lungs;  
Check the eyes against the chart.  
This is the blood that will silently gush  
red from shrapnel's incision.  
Measure it carefully, draft board, doc,  
Inscribe it with precision.  
Somewhere a youth lies mangled in snow,  
reddened bone too broken to mend.  
Somewhere a bookkeeper works for a  
living—  
enters another dividend.

BOB NORDAU  
1-19-53

## MONDAY MORNING BLUES

The lunch bucket sits in the crook  
of the arm,  
The newspaper's folded up.  
Smoke and flame  
billow, billow

From rusty furnace top.  
Heavy as lead the steps today  
in the cold October morn',  
Heavy to drag your body out  
of the bed that's soft and warm.  
You punch your card,  
You stow your clothes,  
walk to the black machine.  
Outside gray clouds scud along  
before the wind that blows.  
O Monday morning's the worst there is.  
The weekend sleeps behind.  
Another week to rack your bones  
and feed your flesh to the same  
old grind.  
Weary to walk, sluggish to work—  
The week stretches away.  
Far in the blue, blue future  
sits  
Friday.

BOB NORDAU  
6-52



# THE THREAT AGAINST

WE'VE often heard the depression youth slanderously characterized as the "lost generation," just as the present generation of youth is currently being vilified as the "silent generation" and the "beat generation." Now it appears that some people would like us to be the "last generation." Not satisfied with the present rate of human destruction, these products of A-bomb mentality argue that if there were no Japanese in Hiroshima when the A-bomb fell, no one would have been hurt. In like manner, they argue that to avoid using young men for cannon-fodder, we should prevent them being born in the first place! And to punctuate this lunatic logic, they even proclaim that the very existence of these "cannon-fodders" is the cause of wars, depressions, and other ills of the world. In short, there are "too many people in the world." This neo-Malthusian theory has been making the rounds of capitalist newspapers, magazines, and books. Thus the authors of *Human Breeding and Survival*, Burch & Pendell, claim to have presented "... scientific evidence pointing to the conclusion that population pressure is a fundamental cause of war, want, despotism, and a host of other evils."<sup>1</sup> The solution to this "problem" is the fascist proposal to sterilize all people who don't have a minimum wage or education, or who live in slums, or who are foreign-born; in short, all those citizens who are not in *Who's Who!* This is an open attack against workers, Negroes and other minorities, foreign-born, and all the young people in shops and campus. This is an attempt to place the burden of the problems of capitalism on the backs of the non-Anglo-Saxon people of the world. Thus, the very existence of large numbers of people in the world is the basic "cause" for the difficulties encountered by capitalism. This is like the captain of a sinking ship whose engines had broken down, cursing that "if it wasn't for the blasted ocean, my ship wouldn't be sinking."

Let's examine in detail the arguments advanced by these modern Malthusians. The war-makers in our country are not satisfied that their enterprises cause death, they are even against birth. Here are some typical statements: "Next to the atom bomb," says Robert C. Cook, editor of the *"Journal of Heredity"*, "the most ominous force in the world today is uncontrolled fertility. The scramble for bare subsistence by hordes of hun-

gry people is tearing the fertile earth from the hillsides, plunging millions of human beings into utter misery."<sup>2</sup> Also, "There is every reason to believe that the economic development of Puerto Rico, ... has been retarded and hindered by the growth of numbers, and that the level of living is much lower than it would have been had the population not grown at all."<sup>3</sup> Also, "Why have so many

ments unwittingly admit: "Egyptians Eat More, So Economy Suffers", is a headline that appeared on page one of the Sunday *"New York Times"* of November 2, 1952; and the article further elaborates this point. "The economy, through all post-war visissitudes, has maintained a certain balance based on the inability of the masses to buy much food at prevailing prices. The new Gov-



## SURPLUS POTATOES GET COAT OF BLUE DYE TO INSURE THEY WILL NOT BE SOLD ON THE MARKET.

well-meaning efforts to keep the peace failed and failed so often? ... When population pressure is sufficient to threaten prosperity, it is a potential cause of war."<sup>4</sup> Also, "Crowding and overpopulation cause undernourishment and disease, and lead to social unrest, class friction, revolution, and war..."<sup>5</sup> And finally, "When the 20,000,000 unnecessary births that result in increase of the totals are considered along with the 20 to 30,000,000 unnecessary births that result in early deaths, we reach the shocking conclusion that there are between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 unnecessary births in the world each year."<sup>6</sup> All these arguments are designed to hide the REAL cause of death, imperialist or class exploitation. And these arguments say in effect: "If the people in the world who starved to death were not born, they would not have died of starvation."

But the argument that there isn't enough food in the world or enough land to grow food is fallacious. The real cause for starvation as the following state-

ernment's sharp price cuts in meats and other foodstuffs ... have greatly increased urban demand. Previously this phenomenon had been checked by a rise in prices and the holding back of produce for better prices ... Under the economic system prevailing in Egypt, and with her heavy overpopulation, the country cannot afford to have the masses eat more than a bare minimum." The reason why the 'economic system in Egypt' cannot 'afford to have the masses eat more than a bare minimum' is because the economic system of Egypt is a tool of its imperialist masters who profit from the high food prices, as well as low wages. Thus a land that can produce an abundance of food is prevented from doing so because the imperialists are not content to profit from the low wages paid Egyptian workers but also want to make a 'little extra' by charging high prices for food, even if it meant that Egyptians would starve.

The Malthusians Burch & Pendell put their collective feet into their arguments when they try to amend Pearl Buck's



# OUR RIGHT TO BE BORN

By William Vila

argument that "One of the chief causes for the increase in despotic theories of government is overpopulation. Basically it is the only cause, for where food and jobs are plenty, the problem of government is simple, and strife is not necessary." with the statement "Miss Buck evidently is referring to adequately paid jobs. Work is rarely scarce in overpopulated countries. In such countries, workers labor long and hard, but they do not earn an adequate living wage"<sup>7</sup> Here again they attempt to ignore the full significance of their own observation, which is that there is direct relationship between low wages and low longevity. They don't answer WHY it is that these workers make low wages. They don't answer this question because it means exposing the super-profits that imperialists make from the labor of colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

## THE MALTHUSIANS VIEW THE SOVIET UNION

THEN the same authors turn their attention to the Soviet Union with the prediction that "Surpluses will be scantier in Russia in the future if the Russian birth rate continues high,"<sup>8</sup> and "Stalin himself, on February 9, 1946, predicted (with seeming pride rather than appropriate distress) that within 20 years the population of the pre-war areas of Russia would reach 250,000,000 . . . If Russia doesn't expand her borders still further, or reverse her population policy, she is almost certain to suffer the fate of China and India, where large and disorganized populations mean low levels of living, stymied education efforts . . ."<sup>9</sup> But their predictions on the Soviet Union made in 1947, have been proven false. Because the Soviet Union doesn't base the success of its economy on a policy of scarcity, but on a policy of abundance. Thus, the USSR can increase its material wealth, its population, and raise the standard of living of its people. This fact was pointed out by the Moscow correspondent for the "Sunday Times" of London. "The Soviet standard of living is rising. Slowly, perhaps, but perceptible. Few European countries can say as much . . . the one commodity that is already plentiful by any standards at all—by Western standards as well as Russian—is food. Not only the big lavishly decorated gastronomes in the center of Moscow

but the smaller provisions stores in the outskirts and in the small country towns bulge with beef-steaks and pork chops, sausages in almost as wide a variety as could be found in Germany, butter and cheese and bacon, and delectable mountains of caviar that would make a Western millionaire's eyes pop. To a newcomer to Moscow from still-rationed England it was an eye-opener . . ."<sup>12</sup> Not only is food plentiful in the USSR, it is also easier to buy. This fact was illustrated in the N. Y. Times: "The Government pleased Russian shoppers by price cuts, a morale-boosting measure it announces every spring."<sup>10</sup> This is a practice which our own government could do well to emulate. In the meantime, the Soviet government isn't worried about the rapid increase in population, on the contrary, it encourages large families. "The state pays, in town and country, allowances to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers . . ."<sup>11</sup> Thus, "As a result of the rise in the material and cultural level of the people and the improvement of the public health services, the mortality rate in our country has dropped. In the last three years the net population increase was 9,500,000 . . ."<sup>12</sup> The living standard rises, food is plentiful and cheap, and the population increases, all this despite the ravages of the nazi attack and occupation. The Soviets have more food today because ". . . the area under all agricultural crops in the U.S.S.R. is 1.4 times more than in 1913 . . ."<sup>13</sup> All this was made possible by the wholesale mechanization of farm work, soil cultivation, irrigation, drainage, improving seed selection and the establishment of collective and state farms. And finally, the USSR is planning to introduce compulsory poly-technical education in the near future, indicating that increased education can exist alongside increased population.

## THE MALTHUSIANS 'PLAN' FOR THE UNITED STATES

BUT let's return to our own country and see what the Malthusians have in store for all of us. After having succeeded in raising the alarm of "overpopulation" they proceed to expose their chauvinist attitudes. "Walker made a study of the subject: found that birth rates fell off most in the part of the country where immigrants settled in

greatest numbers . . . We trade our might-of-béén babies for immigrants . . . What Americans are displaced by the newcomers among us? . . . Persons of accomplishment are the ones who reduce their birth rates to the greatest extent.<sup>14</sup> After stirring up hate for the foreign-born, they proceed to attack the U. S.-born workers by slandering them as the less "accomplished" members of our country. Thus the families of "Coal mine workers" have an average of "6.4" children, and "Farmers" have an average of "6.1" children, while the more "accomplished" "Architects" have only "2.7" children. So you see, say the authors, it's not the children of the common miner or farmer that the immigrants replace, but the children of the "accomplished" citizens. "Within that list the contrasts are impressive. Even more so is the contrast between the average of all occupations: 5-1; and the average number of offspring of persons in Who's Who: 2-1 . . . the more education one had acquired, the fewer children he had . . . The generalization here stands in clear illustration—the greater the accomplishment the fewer the offspring . . . we can safely conclude that if the immigrants displace Americans . . . the Americans whom they displace are the children of our most accomplished citizens. No one, we think, will claim that the immigrants are superior. The could-be offspring of our accomplished persons are displaced as readily by the offspring of our own home-grown average and less than average citizens . . . and if our immigration, primarily now from Mexico, remains as large as it is, the children of our great men of today and tomorrow will probably be of less numbers."<sup>15</sup> After spitting out their hatred for all that is not Anglo-Saxon and not registered in Who's Who, the Malthusians propose how to keep our population "pure."

Firstly, ". . . it is well that a couple have no more children than are good for society, and none of a quality detrimental to society; and none in an environment that is unsuited to the upbringing of children. Good practice requires that a government attach population responsibility to the individual and the individual family, to the end that the family have no children except as they can be, in all probability, healthy and

Continued on Next Page



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intelligent and in a wholesome environment; that they have no more children than it can feed, clothe, and educate."<sup>16</sup> How will "undesirable" children be avoided? Sterilization! If sterilization is associated with nazi practices, the authors assure us that in reality "Sterilization: (is) an American Invention."<sup>17</sup> And points to the fact that when Hitler introduced sterilization in 1934 that California had been already practicing it for 15 years. They leave no doubt how sterilization is meant to be used against the working class. "In basing" sterilization on social criteria such as criminality, low earnings, poor health, and lack of education, H. L. Mencken has gone probably farther than anyone before him, in suggesting a large-scale use of the economic test."<sup>18</sup> And they reserve for the colonial peoples the 'benefits' of this American invention, thus "... This surgical substitute for contraception ... have special appropriateness in China, and India, and Puerto Rico ..."<sup>19</sup> These maniacs, are not content to deprive colonial people, minorities and workers of children, they even suggest that these peoples be denied the right to marry. ... marriage is seen to be the appropriate occasion for applying an effective minimum wage law. Require, under usual circumstances, as a marriage qualification, that one or the other candidates have a job at whatever is decided upon as a minimum wage ... Under a requirement that a marriage candidate be earning at least a minimum wage, population increase would be avoided at the very points where population increase would be unjustifiable."<sup>20</sup> This qualification for marriage would certainly prevent the millions of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Indians in our country from a married life. This would also deprive Southern whites, the sharecroppers and millions of low-paid women workers of a married life. This is certainly an attack against youth, since most of them find it difficult to make the minimum wage as the following figures indicate. "Of all the 18-20 year-olds who worked in 1949, 56.5% of the men and 63.5% of the women got under \$1,000 a year. In the South, reflecting the national oppression of the Negro people, 61.9% of all the men and 69.3% of all the women in the 18-20 group got under \$1,000. For Southern Negro youth alone, in this under \$1,000 category were 74.3% of the young men and 96.0% of the young women. For Southern Negro young women, it is necessary to lower our yardstick still further, for 84.9% of the 18-20 year-old working Negro women actually got

under \$500 a year."<sup>21</sup> This rproposal of economic qualification for marriage is essentially a genocidal one. First you exploit minorities depriving them of the minimum wage, then you deny them the right to bear children—if needs be by sterilization—and then you prohibit them from marrying altogether. According to this fascist-like philosophy, the working class and the minorities are just supposed to bear capitalism, but not children. This genocidal policy was no more horribly demonstrated than in a letter written by Cornelius P. Rhodes that fell into the hands of his victims—the Puerto Rican people. "Presbyterian Hospital, San Juan, Puerto Rico . . . What this island needs, isn't work by the public health service, but a tidal wave or something to completely exterminate the population. It would then be habitable. I have done my best to accelerate the process of extermination by killing 8 and transplanting cancer to several more. This last method has caused no death, as yet. This business of considering the welfare of the patients has no place here, all the doctors delight themselves in abusing and torturing the unfortunate subjects . . . Sincerely Dusty."<sup>22</sup> The doctor is well known for his contribution to cancer research. He should be! He had human 'guinea-pigs' at his disposal! And yet our journalists hypocritically pretend that the U. S. imperialists are so concerned for the health of Puerto Ricans. We have paid over a billion dollars during the past 50 years to keep our tiny island of Puerto Rico from drowning in its flood of swelling population . . . We cannot blame such overcrowded areas for the repeated crisis which sends them begging to our doorstep. Actually, American scientists and medical men have helped create population headaches . . . We have exported our life-saving sciences . . ."<sup>23</sup>

## WHY THEY FEAR BIRTH

WHAT is the reason for the frantic fear that these agents of Who's Who have for the increasing number of children being born to the common people? They have always advocated having a "reserve of labor" to threaten organized labor during periods of labor strife or depressions. And now these errand boys of Wall Street appear frightened of large numbers of "labor reserves." Here's one explanation advanced by them: "Industrially backward countries, where the population is increasing twice as fast as that of the rest of the world, are in constant turmoil as a result. Sir Gladwyn Jebb, when

he was President of the U.N. Security Council, stated our alternatives: 'If the population problems of underdeveloped countries are not solved, one of two things is likely to happen. Either there will be an outburst of anarchy, or some attempt will be made to solve their problems on Stalinist lines.'<sup>24</sup> What this statement means when translated is that 'the people of the world are increasing their struggle against imperialism and they are likely to follow the example of China or the Soviet Union, and then what would happen to our investments?' And finally, they expose their bankruptcy in leadership when they throw up their arms in despair about Puerto Rico's problems. "There is no sign, therefore, that the program of industrialization has reached a point where it can provide jobs for all or maintain even the present standard of living. As H. S. Perloff says, the people of the island have become 'adjusted to an income level which they cannot pay for through the normal channels of trade.'<sup>25</sup> But there is a solution to the problems facing Puerto Rico as well as all countries including our own, and that is trade with those countries that want our industrial as well as agricultural surpluses. If Puerto Rico, or any other country, cannot solve its economic problems through the normal channels of trade then use the 'abnormal' trade routes. But you can't trade with countries that you're at war.

So we have to settle our differences in peaceful negotiations. And you cannot expect Puerto Rico, or any other nation to be able to choose here own trade channels unless she's free to decide.

As trade between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world develops, mankind will eventually answer the following questions: 'Why don't we all have a policy of abundance, as they do in the Soviet Union? Who profits from starvation in our society?' The more the world's people are allowed to see the peaceful competition of capitalism and socialism, the more they will begin to see that a socialist re-organization of society is the only true guarantee of abundance as well as peace. How long will starving men support bankers, landlords, and munition-makers, when they see millions of men in other countries periodically reduce food prices, and increase food production. This is the basic reason

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# STALIN:

## ARCHITECT OF NATIONAL EQUALITY

Much has been written in the past few weeks about the role that Joseph Stalin played in the history of our era. Even if there are those who would wipe out the memory of Stalin because they so hate the socialist society he represented, they cannot erase the facts of Stalin's life. They cannot obscure the leadership that Stalin gave in transforming undeveloped Russia into a great industrial, culturally advanced power. They cannot conceal the fact that Stalin, a member of the Georgian oppressed nationality, led in establishing the Soviet Union as a state based on the equality of nationalities, on the right of all its member nations to their own national culture and language, on the right to modern economic development. And certainly they will never succeed in covering up the tremendous contributions that Stalin made to the defeat of fascism in World War II. For no matter if the commercial press writes today as though the United States and the Soviet Union did not fight on the same side against Hitlerism, the American people will never forget that Stalin's leadership was the turning point that put an end to the ravages of Hitler's armies. We who today seek an education in our country's universities will remember that were it not for the heroism of the Soviet people led by Stalin in the face of the Nazi invasion we would probably not be alive to develop our intellectual aptitudes, and, if alive, we would be reaching adulthood in a world dominated by the barbarousness of fascism.

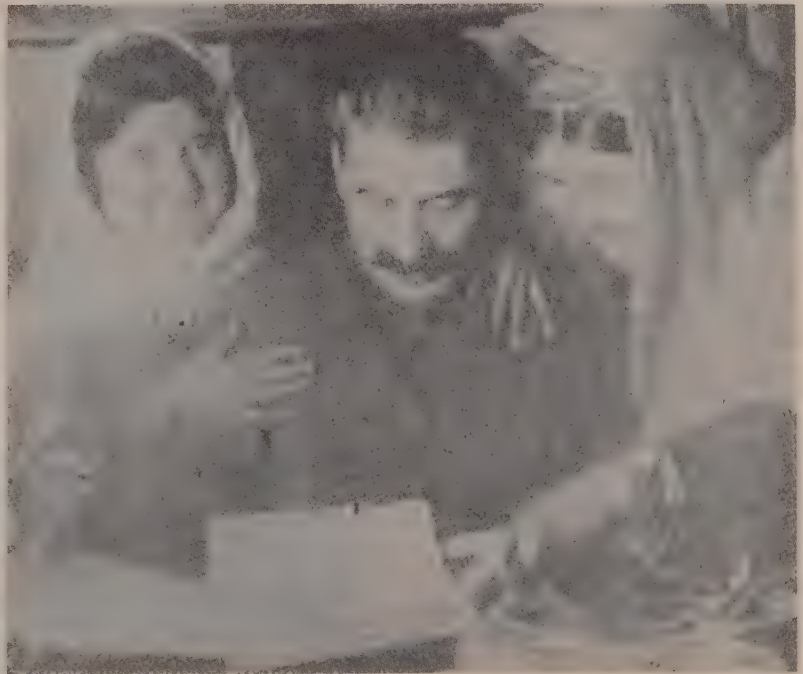
However, to point to Stalin only as the great political leader and military strategist would be to fall far short of indicating his full stature. In Stalin's life is a profound assertion of the way Marxists view their philosophy. That way is not as a dogma—confined to politics and isolated from the rest of human endeavor—but as a world outlook, an outlook giving deep insight into every field of human interest. The Soviet, socialist, concept of a true human being is that of a person fully rounded, developed in many fields of cultural and intellectual activity. Stalin was a brilliant example of that type of socialist human being. Stalin gave leadership to solving the specific problems of Soviet society by us-

ing the deepest theoretical study and analysis. To see this concretely one can point to Stalin's study of the national question in his work "Marxism and the National Question," a study that traced the historical development of nations with the rise of capitalism and analyzed the relationship between the movement for socialism and the cause of national liberation. Here is a classic statement of the Marxist view of the national question, a statement that proves how utterly fantastic is the idea that racial and national discrimination is part of Soviet policy. Or one can point to Stalin's treatment of such a field as that of linguistics, where he examines the development of language and relates this development to the political and social structure that arises on the basis of society's economic foundation. And one can point to the work written shortly before his death, his most recent work: "Economic Problems of Socialism". The Soviet Union today is engaged in accomplishing the transition from socialism to communism,

to a stage of its growth where the rule: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need will hold." Yet this transition is not without its problems, problems of assuring the expanded productivity necessary to an economy of abundance, problems of achieving the high technical cultural level required if society is to wrest the maximum from nature. In his "Economic Problems," Stalin took up these things. Analyzing the laws of economic development he discussed how, by utilizing these laws, Soviet Society will be able to achieve its objectives. Stalin has died, but behind him he left a guide that insures a clear perspective for the Soviet Union as it continues its progress.

**WE FEEL** the whole body of Stalin's works have much meaning, or students concerned with the fullest development of man's intellect.

New Foundations presents here a brief excerpt from Stalin's "Marxism and the National Question."



STALIN MEETS WITH 2 WOMEN FROM FORMERLY  
OPPRESSED SOVIET ASIAN MINORITY



Excerpt from: "Thesis on National Factors in the Development of the Party and the State."

—J. Stalin

**E**VEN as early as the last century the development of capitalism betrayed a tendency to internationalize the means of production and exchange, to eliminate national aloofness, to bring peoples into closer economic relations, and gradually to merge vast territories into a single connected whole. The further development of capitalism, the development of the world market, the perfection of the great rail and sea routes, the export of capital, and so on, still further accentuated this tendency and bound all kinds of peoples by the ties of international division of labor and universal interdependence. Inasmuch as this process was a reflection of a colossal development of productive forces, inasmuch as it helped to destroy national isolation and the contradiction between the interests of the various peoples, it was and is a progressive process, for it is creating the material conditions for a future world socialist economic system.

But this tendency developed in specific forms which were completely at variance with its intrinsic historical significance. The interdependence of peoples and the economic amalgamation of territories arose in the course of the development of capitalism not as a result of the collaboration of peoples enjoying equal status, but by means of the subjection of certain peoples by others, by means of the oppression and exploitation of less developed peoples by more developed peoples. Colonial plunder and annexations, national oppression and inequality, imperialist violence and arbitrary rule, colonial slavery and national subjection, and, finally, the struggle among the 'civilized' nations for mastery over the 'uncivilized' peoples—such were the forms in which the process of economic amalgamation of peoples took place. For this reason we find that, side by side with the tendency to amalgamation, there grew up a tendency to destroy the violent forms assured by this amalgamation, a struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed colonies and dependent nationalities from the imperialist yoke. Inasmuch as the latter tendency implied a revolt of the oppressed masses against imperialist forms of amalgamation, inasmuch as it demanded the amalgamation of peoples on the basis of collaboration and voluntary union, it was and is a progressive tendency, for it is creating the psychological conditions for the future world socialist economic systems.



**T**HE conflict between these two principal tendencies, expressed in forms that are natural to capitalism, fills the history of the multi-national bourgeois states during the last half-century. The fact that the contradiction between these tendencies is irreconcilable within the framework of capitalist development was the basic reason for the intrinsic insolvency and the organic instability of the bourgeois colonial states. Inevitable conflicts within such states and inevitable wars between such states; disintegration of the old colonial states and the formation of new ones; a new drive for colonies and again in the disintegration of multi-national states, leading to a new rearrangement of the political map of the world—such are the results of this fundamental contradiction. The disintegration of the old Russia, of Austria-Hungary, and of Turkey, on the one hand, and the history of such colony-owning states as Great Britain and the old Germany, on the other; and, lastly, the 'great' imperialist war and the growth of the revolutionary movement among the colonial and non-sovereign peoples—all these and similar facts

clearly point to the instability of the multi-national bourgeois states.

Thus the irreconcilable contradiction between the process of economic amalgamation of the peoples and the imperialist methods of accomplishing this amalgamation was the cause of the inability, helplessness, and impotence of the bourgeois in finding a correct approach to the solution of the national problem.

**O**UR party took these circumstances into consideration when it made the basis of its policy in the national question the right of peoples to lead an independent political existence. From the first days of its existence, at its very first congress (in 1898), when the contradictions of capitalism in connection with the national question had not yet become fully and clearly defined, the party recognized this inalienable right of nations. In subsequent years it steadfastly endorsed its national program in specific decisions and resolutions of its congresses and conferences down to the October Revolution. The imperialist war and the mighty revolutionary movement which arose in connection with it in the colonies only provided new corroboration of the correctness of the decisions adopted by the party on the national question. These decisions consist of (a) vigorous repudiation of all and every form of compulsion in relation to the nationalities (b) the recognition of the equal and sovereign right of the peoples to determine their own destinies; (c) the recognition of the thesis that a durable amalgamation of peoples can be accomplished only on a basis of collaboration and voluntary consent; (d) the proclamation of the truth that such an amalgamation is possible only as a result of the overthrow of the power of capital."



SOVIET CITIZENS MOURN AT STALIN'S DEATH



**THUS** even you, thou cobbler's son  
 our Man of Steel,  
 Are mortal, cast of fragile flesh  
 like ours,  
 Who more than mortal one  
 (unreasoning) did feel  
 Might still wrest life from death,  
 defeat the hours,  
 As once from Makers of Death you  
 wrested real  
 Life—and Bread and Peace and Land—  
 for us.  
 Of roughcast Donbas iron clenched,  
 Of Ural oak, Odessa Black Sea streaked  
 With pearl, and shepherd dawns  
 of Caucasus,  
 And strident voices apple-cheeked  
 In burnished waves of windblown wheat,

**YOU** come  
 From Volga's thrust and Cossack  
 strength  
 From crystal dew of Kara Kum  
 From Kuban soil black bread of toil  
 And tundra depth:  
 Who lifted earthbound eyes from  
 clod to book,  
 Taught peasant granite hands still  
 black with soil  
 To turn a page of Pushkin;  
 Reclaimed windworn waste in poplar  
 trees, and shook  
 The tundra, melted ice and smelted  
 there  
 Magnitogorsk, and sprouted grain;  
 And tore the Veil  
 From vacant downcast almond eyes  
 Of winebrown golden daughters  
 bartered  
 Cowlike in the Muslim market;  
 On Caspian desert slanted rain  
 And made the Uzbek maiden nightingale  
 A concert star, the shepherd an  
 agronomist  
 And Gypsy a collectivist; and took  
 The tailor-squint from tired eyes  
 The needle from the ghettoed hand  
 Of Sholom Aleichem's village Jew  
 And seated him, son of David at last  
 on land,  
 Astride a teacher; and gave  
 To myriad nomad tribes a written  
 tongue,  
 An alphabet in Ashkabad,  
 Mark Twain to Tatars, sports arenas  
 in Baku,  
 King Lear across the boards of  
 Samarkand  
 And Shubert sung  
 By Eskimoes . . .  
 Stakhanovite of humankind!  
 Who chained the Dnieper, freed  
 the skies,  
 Lashed Volga's flood, unleashed  
 the mind,  
 Restored the hoarded gleaming sweat  
 Of centuries—the blighted rose

# EPITAPH: March 9, 1953

**POEM**

By **ROBERT ROLFE**

Of workmanship—the trespassed joy  
 Of labor fruited, Man unclassed,  
 Fresh bread and the whole egg  
 In muzhik huts new—built of brick,  
 And split the impassed countryway  
 With cataracts of industry  
 To conquer night with dynamoses  
 Of Dnieprostroi:

**THOU** must,  
 O Comrade Commissar of Change!  
 Have sunk deep roots in common clay  
 To weld from human ore untapped and  
 scattered dust  
 Of nations split and prison-chained  
 That multi-peopled comrade State,  
 And must have loved the Russian soil  
 (When Hitler loosed on meadowland  
 Panzer-wide and Stuka-high  
 The pincer'd Horsemen of Apocalypse)  
 To see it scorched  
 At your command and earth torn up  
 and crops  
 Interred in seminal spring by sower's  
 hands . . .

**TO** speak the word that sluiced a flood  
 On Georgian fields of blazing oil  
 You fired yourself, and lit a torch  
 To Dnieprostroi, and stemmed  
 The blitzkrieg tide from Crimea  
 to Petsamo,  
 And inspired the workingmen in  
 shock brigades,  
 Who drenched the Smolensk snows  
 with blood  
 And hammered dew-wet harvest scythes  
 To bayonets—and ten-year olds  
 To partisans—and Komsomols  
 To gunnermen on barricades  
 And roused the very forest trees  
 And fields of frescoed mud and snow  
 To fall upon thine enemies—  
 To lose their treads and mire  
 their tanks  
 And fuse their frozen fingertips  
 To riflestocks and stitch their lips  
 In icicles and seal their cries  
 Thou architect of Five-Year Plans!  
 Who marshalled lands of peace to war,  
 Taught sowers' sons to sing and soar  
 In Stormoviks through caldron skies,  
 And babushkas to die  
 Like Bolsheviks,  
 And kneeling Christly patriarchs  
 Outstretched against the firmament  
 To cross themselves and turn from  
 prayer

At noon to heal by night the wounds  
 Of athiests and proffer holy sacraments  
 To God  
 For thee—

Who forged of human flesh in  
 eighty days  
 Of hope and brick and life in death  
 A Stalingrad!

**FALLEN** now—  
 But like the city of steel never  
 surrendered:  
 Thrust down in very youth of age—  
 Our Age—  
 But with the enemy broken and  
 sundered  
 And naked before you—and at your side  
 Volga's floodcrest of onrushing  
 tomorrow!  
 Thou cobblers' son who loosed  
 ringing wide  
 Vistas for working sons everywhere  
 A reason for singing, for dying,  
 for being,  
 For testtube and plow . . .

**NOT** this a time for tears,  
 For pretty pretense, idle sorrow,  
 But for giving as you gave, for building,  
 for keeping,  
 Preserving, ever ending, defending—for  
 reaping—  
 O Engineer of Mankind's Day,  
 Who shaped in crucibles of revolution  
 One sixth of the earth in Man's own  
 image  
 Infusing hot embers of anger in  
 sharecropper dirt  
 Steel sparks round the world that  
 flame in our years:  
 In foundries of Glasgow red ingots  
 of strength  
 And sinews of wrath in jutemills of  
 Bombay  
 A fist in the compounds of Kimberley  
 clenched  
 In blast-furnaced Pittsburgh cast  
 girders of hope  
 Invisible alloy in Montevideo,  
 In thatched huts of Ghana, in  
 Paramaribo,  
 Volcanoes of change on the Yangtze,

**AND** fire  
 In unquenchable eyes of Koreans  
 of Koje,  
 Compounded, surrounded, outsing  
 machineguns  
 Till death  
 or unqualified dawn—  
 Pulsating galvanic aurora you plucked  
 From eclipsing, unyielding perpetual  
 night  
 To make daybreak our own!



# STUDENTS AROUND THE WORLD



**T**HE Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth has announced that the fourth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship will be held this year between August 2-16, in Bucharest, Roumania. A call issued by the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Rumania to the young people of that country reads, in part: "The World Youth Congress and the World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship will constitute important events within the framework of the world fight for peace. They will occasion a grandiose review of the forces of the young generation which fights for peace, a powerful demonstration of the unity, friendship, and international solidarity of the youth of various nationalities, political opinions and religious beliefs, united by their common desire to contribute to enduring peace throughout the world." The Call further asked young writers, artists, and athletes to begin making preparations that would insure the Festival's being a great cultural success. Noted poets of Rumania such as Eugen Frunza, Maria Banus and others are writing verses for songs which will be composed in honor of the Festival by leading Rumanian composers.

Many Roumanian Youth are currently engaged in the construction of a large park of culture and sports in connection with the Festival. The main construction of the "23 August" sports complex will be a stadium seating 80,000 people, where many of the major events of the festival will be held.

Preparations for participation in the festival have begun in many countries. In Great Britain, 130 delegates belonging to 32 trade union, student, and youth organizations, and from 24 local and regional Festival Committees attended, on March 1, a session of the National Festival Committee in Nottingham. The appeal to British youth and students for Participation in the conference was edited by a commission consisting of Christian students, a delegate of the youth committee of South Wales miners, a young Communist, and a young engineer.

The Federal Union of Hispanic Stu-

dents reports that Lopez Raimundo, a leader of the strikes and demonstrations of the spring of 1951 in Barcelona in which thousands of students participated, will once more be placed on trial. Raimundo, who was saved from death by the world-wide protests in his behalf, should have been freed last Autumn. Instead, Franco authorities transferred him to the Dueso Prison in the hope that famine, torture, and illness would kill him as it has killed so many others. While the campaign to obtain his release was at its height he was transferred to Madrid and is to be tried again. Also scheduled for trial are Jose Sendros and his 41 young colleagues, imprisoned and tortured since 1949 for their activities for peace and the rights of youth.

**I**N a survey of student conditions around the world, the Council of International Union of Students pointed out that increased expenditures on armaments in the capitalist nations has resulted in sharply rising prices for students, a decrease in the amount of funds allocated for universities and research centers, and a general worsening of conditions for students. Says the report in part: "The immediate effect of the attack upon educational expenditure is that scholarships, already often utterly inadequate, are in a great number of countries being sharply reduced. . . Funds for laboratories and research institutes are also suffering cuts. The cuts in French edu-

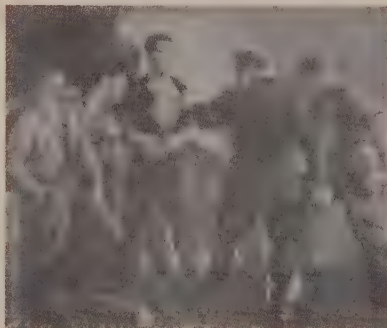
cation expenditure under the Pinay Plan . . . led directly to a 50% reduction in the government grant to the National Centre of Scientific Research. At the same time the earmarking of building resources for military purposes means that no student hostels, no canteens, not

## Third World

**T**HE third World Student Congress will be held this summer in Warsaw at the invitation of the Polish Students. The Polish Students Association, in a letter to the International Union of Students Secretariat, said that "The Third World Congress of Students will undoubtedly strengthen the unity and cordial bonds of friendship among the students of the world struggling for peace and their rights. In the name of the studying youth of our country the Head Council of the Polish Students Association kindly asks the Secretariat of the IUS to introduce to the Executive Committee the proposition of holding the Third World Congress of Students in Warsaw. The students of People's Poland, as well as all our youth, would welcome with great joy their friends from various countries of the world in the capital (city) of our country."

The IUS represents over 5,000,000 students from every continent, and is by far the largest and most important student organization in existence. This Congress will give students an opportunity to discuss and take concrete action on peace and the stifling of academic freedom faced by students of many countries. For American students it especially would be an opportunity to set into motion a program for exchange scholarships with the students of Eastern Europe, China and the Soviet Union.

**T**HE students of our country have a long tradition of fellowship with students of other countries. Now, when the very existence of education is threatened by the danger of war, it is more necessary than ever to reassert that tradition. And to believe in that tradition today means to be prepared, to be anxious to meet with students



PRINT OF TORTURE OF  
LOPEZ RAIMUNDO



to speak of more ambitious university projects, are being built in many countries . . . Anyone who has visited the partially completed Nottingham University in Britain will have been saddened as he examined the models and plans for the University extension which cannot be completed for lack of funds.

"According to Valerie Wadsworth, the General Secretary of the National Union of Australian University Students 'Some students have already been forced to give up their studies because of lack of part-time jobs which supply the extra finance they need. More will be in the same position before long'."

In light of these conditions the Executive Committee of the IUS made the

## Student Congress

having differing ideologies in order to discuss solutions to the common problem of securing a peaceful future. At this Congress there will be liberals, Communists, Socialists and Conservatives—students of every political tendency and students with no particular political affiliation. Have American students anything to fear from mingling with and discussing problems with such people? Certainly not. If we wish to be able to know the students of India, of the Soviet Union, of France, the students of Africa and of Burma, the students of most of the countries in the world, if we wish to cooperate with them and not place ourselves outside of the mainstream of the world student movement, then news of the third Student Congress must come as golden opportunity to us of the American college community.

At the end of World War 2 the world student movement found itself united, united by the common experience of having fought together against fascism. Students realized that the right to education, the right to have the means of carrying on ideological debate, depended on uniting to put an end to the menace of Hitlerism. Out of that wartime unity students agreed that they must cooperate to insure that there would not be a disastrous atomic war. What was true in 1945 is true now. What made necessary the first post-war world student meetings in which the NSA participated, makes Warsaw more necessary this summer. The "cold war," Korea, the growth of world tension all make an urgent matter of student cooperation. It is time this summer to begin to give our full participation in making this cooperation a reality.



### Venezuelan Cultural Performance — Berlin Youth Festival, 1951

following recommendations for activities:

1. The IUS and national student organizations should strengthen their efforts in the campaign for increased funds for education, for adequate scholarships, and for better lodging and health facilities.

2. The IUS Student Needs and Welfare Department should facilitate . . . the exchange of experiences between students, the organization of student needs conferences, and of different campaigns for the improvement of living conditions; aid in the establishment and

running of co-operatives and other self-help activities; and work for the development of student health services.

3. The IUS and student organizations should increase their efforts to secure relief to be distributed in accordance with need, particularly for students in colonial and dependent countries.

4. The widest support should be given to the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth, held recently in Vienna.

5. The satisfaction of economic demands of students requires the united action of all student organizations.



SCOTCH STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE FOR PEACE



# NEGRO LITERATURE

**T**HE literature of the Negro people, as well as everything else that they have produced, has been depreciated and obscured by the dominant white critics and universities in America. Using the dictum, "If you can, ignore it; if you can't, patronize or distort it," the literary historians and critics in America like Parrington (one of the more liberal I might add) mention Negro writers only a few times in their books, and then lightly pass these writers off as being of no important consequence.

When the critics and professors can obscure the cultural achievements of the Negro people, they participate in fostering the racial myths that affect our country's life. Just as American historians have tried to deny the Negro people their past—and many college history students could not tell who David Ruggles was, (for those who don't know, he was one of the two Negro senators in America—from Mississippi—see Aptheker, "Documentary History")—so the average college English student could not tell you who Charles Chesnutt was. This would be perfectly logical if Chesnutt was not a writer of first-class stature. But let us examine what Mr. Chesnutt's contemporaries thought of his "Conjure Woman", a work of fiction which was published in the "Atlantic Monthly": "... the imperfections are comparatively so slight and the general interest so great that "The Conjure Woman" measures up well with its more il-comparatively so slight and the general lustrous prototypes." A critic, who in spite of investigation did not know that Mr. Chesnutt was a Negro, wrote of "The Conjure Woman" a few months after it was published:

"When a book is favorably reviewed from Maine to California, when the stories in it are said to be fresh, vivid, dramatic sketches, in new and delightful vein . . . (when there was created) a new character in whose portrait there is not a line out of place — we are naturally led to inquire who is the creator of this character."

"A sincere work of art, the "Conjure Woman" was positive evidence that Negro literature was coming of age."

**O**BVIOUSLY, a great deal of inquiry must have been made into the authorship of "The Conjure Woman". And it was discovered that Charles Chesnutt was a Negro. Hence the obscurity of his

name and of his books. It is possible to assume that changing literary tastes would account for the obscurity, but a reading of this book is truly delightful even today. And this burying of Negro writers and literary traditions occurs too frequently, too systematically to be an accident. Chesnutt, W.E.B. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, Alice Childress, Countee Cullen, Sterling Brown, Phyllis Wheatley, Langston Hughes: all are examples of high quality writers who synthesized powerful and meaningful content with high levels of form, writers who have been generally excluded from courses in our colleges and universities.

## EXCLUSION FROM THE UNIVERSITY

*This exclusion of Negro literature from the American university, whether conscious or unconscious, still has the same objective effect—that of racism. For it follows that one could not recognize the great contributions of the Negro people in the fields of the arts and then continue to tolerate the myth about the supposed "inferiority" of the Negro people. The great body of Negro literature (as is so amply demonstrated in the book "Negro Caravan")—and recognition of its high quality — must necessarily command respect for the Negro people as a whole. On the other side of this same coin, this obscuring and denying the contributions of the Negro people has the effect of hampering and emasculating their fight for liberation. Imagine, if you can, the effect of amnesia upon any struggling people. And mass amnesia is the meaning of a negation of the historical roots of a people's struggle.*



LLOYD BROWN

**T**HE Negro writer has always faced innumerable difficulties in the world around him. Langston Hughes presents some of the situations that face a Negro writer at work.

"Here are our problems. In the first place, Negro books are considered by editors and publishers as exotic. Negro material is placed, like Chinese material or Bali material or East Indian material into a certain classification. Magazine editors will tell you, 'We can use but so many Negro stories a year! (That 'so many' meaning very few.) Publishers will say, 'We already have one Negro novel on our list this fall.'

The market for Negro writers, then, is definitely limited and as long as we write about ourselves, the more limited our market becomes. Those novels about Negroes that sell best, by Negroes or whites, that make the best seller lists and receive the leading prizes are almost always books that touch very lightly upon the facts of Negro life, books that make our black ghettos in the big cities seem very happy places indeed, and our plantations in the deep South idyllic in their pastoral loveliness. . . . When we cease to be exotic, we cease to sell."

With the Negro masses still largely illiterate after the Civil War, Negro writers could have only a very limited Negro audience; and the chauvinistic ingful novels about the Negro people. policies of the publishing houses almost prohibited the publishing of real, meaningful novels about the Negro people. So some Negro writers conformed to the taste of the ruling class and portrayed idyllic pictures of Negro life. Other Negro writers shyed away from writing about the problems of Negro life and adopted white topics and forms. Most Negro writers, however, turned to their own people. Lloyd Brown, who carries the Negro liberation struggle to its logical conclusion in his novel "Iron City", has this to say about Negro writing:

"For nearly all Negro writers throughout American history the question of what to write about was compellingly simple: the pen was an essential instrument in the fight for liberation. This concept was not arrived at through any wringing and twisting, nor through any high-flown debates about Art-For-Art's-Sake versus Art-As-a-Weapon. Spontaneous and inevitable, the culture



# AND LIBERATION

By PAUL SEYMOUR

arose from the conditions of life—slavery and oppression. The very laws which made it a crime to teach a slave to read and write established the direction of Negro writing. If learning to write was an act against the slave-holders, then surely the use of writing would be a greater blow. This inescapable logic is exemplified with poetic clarity in Frederick Douglass. The slave boy, painfully learning his letters in defiance of his master, growing into the giant leader of his people and one of the greatest writers in American history, poured his passion for freedom through words of terrible beauty.

The special role of Negro writers was sharply outlined by Douglass in the first issue of his paper, *The North Star*:

"It is neither a reflection of the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert what common sense affirms and only folly denies, that the man who has suffered the wrong is the man to demand redress,—that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has endured the cruel pangs of Slavery is the man to advocate Liberty. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly—not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends. In the grand struggle for liberty and equality now waging, it is meet, right and essential that there should arise in our ranks authors and editors, as well as orators, for it is in these capacities that the most permanent good can be rendered to our cause."

It was natural that much of Negro writing expressed itself in direct forms of agitation and propaganda — pamphlets, leaflets, appeals, editorials. But early in the struggle against Negro enslavement the so-called creative form of writing were employed. Negro abolitionists like Douglass, William Wells Brown, Martin Delaney and Frances Harper wrote short stories, novels and poems to advance their cause."<sup>3</sup>

SO we see that Negro writing "mirrors the life and thought of the emancipated colored race in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

Yet, within this writing about Negro life, there is a distinct universal appeal as evidenced in the best writings of Hughes, Childress, Chesnutt, et al.

Charles Chesnutt remains as one of the greatest figures in Negro fiction writing. He was born in 1858 in Cleve-

land. His family brought him South after the Civil War and his teens were spent in the South of the Reconstruction. As a youth he saw his people betrayed after Reconstruction and he dedicated his life fighting for Negro equality. Much of the sharpened struggle which Chesnutt saw and experienced is reflected in his writings. As to the oppression of the Negro people in the specific context of America entering the stage of imperialism Chesnutt writes: "The nation was rushing forward with giant strides toward colossal wealth and world-domination, before the exigencies of which mere abstract ethical theories must not be permitted to stand. The same argument that justified the conquest of an inferior nation could not be denied to those who sought the suppression of an inferior race." It is in this historical context that Chesnutt must be remembered as a writer, and particularly the fact that his blows were directed against the Bourbons who had recently re-enslaved his people.

CHESNUTT'S most important books are "The Wife of his Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line", "The House Behind the Cedars", "The Marrow of Tradition", "The Colonel's Dream" and a biography of Frederick Douglass. As a Negro writer Chesnutt wrote with full view of fighting for all people. In 1880 he said:

"The object of my writings would be not so much the elevation of the colored people as the elevation of the whites—for I consider the unjust spirit of caste which is so insidious as to pervade a whole nation, and so powerful as to subject a whole race and all connected with it to scorn and social ostracism—I consider this a barrier to the moral progress of the American people, and I would be one of the first to head a determined organized crusade against it."

Proof of Chesnutt's stature can be found in the criticism of his work.

Howells said in his criticism of Chesnutt: "It is not from their racial interest that we could first wish to speak of them though that must have a great and very just claim upon the critic. It is much more simply and directly, as works of art, that they make their appeal, and we must allow the force of this quite independently of the other interest."

As a Marxist this writer does not at all agree with Howells's contention that

there is a rigid dichotomy between political and artistic interests. However, this criticism does reveal that even Chesnutt's bourgeois contemporaries had a sincere respect and admiration for his work.

Howells also wrote: "They (his works) are new and fresh and strong, as life always is, and fable never is; and the stories of "The Conjure Woman" have a wild, indigenous poetry, the creation of sincere and original imagination, which is imparted with tender humourousness and a very artistic reticence."

And yet the American reading public would continue to be denied any familiarity with the writings of Chesnutt were it not for the efforts of those who fight to overcome the blindness of white supremacy and are thus able to present such a writer as Chesnutt in his full stature.

1. Loggins, *Negro Author*.

2. Quoted in Gloster, *Negro Voices in American Fiction*.

3. Lloyd Brown, "Massive Maintenance."

4. Gloster, *op. cit.*

This is the first of two articles dealing with the Negro people and their literature, particularly the obscuring of it and its relationship for the liberation struggle.

Continued from Page 10

why our capitalists fear world peace. Capitalism can't stand peaceful competition with socialism.

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1—*Human Breeding and Survival*, by Guy Irving Burch & Elmer Pendell, N. Y. 1947, p. 51.

2—*Look* magazine, Oct. 23, 1951, p. 36, "As Dangerous as the Atom Bomb: The World's Exploding Population" by Albert Q. Maisel.

3—"Puerto Rico—A Crowded Island" by Kingsley Davis, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Jan. 1953, p. 116.

4—*Cited Work*, Burch & Pendell, p. 40.

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9—*Look* magazine, Dec. 2, 1952, "Inside Russia: They Never Had It So Good" by Cyril Ray, p. 102.

10—N. Y. Times, magazine section, Dec. 28, 1952, "The Year's Top Events as Seen by Moscow" by Harrison E. Salisbury.

11—"Report to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" by Malenkov, Oct. 8 1952, p.

12—*Ibid*, p.

13—*Ibid*, p.

14—*Cited Work*, Burch & Pendell, p. 78.

15—*Ibid*, p. 79-80.

16—*Ibid*, p. 85.

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18—*Ibid*, p. 99.

19—*Ibid*, p. 99.

20—*Ibid*, p. 111.

21—"Youth Fights For Its Future" by Leon Wofsy, N. Y. 1952, p. 4.

22—*Hay*, July 31, 1949, p. 1, (Cuba).

23—*Cited Work*, Maisel, p. 36.

24—*Ibid*, p. 38.

25—*Foreign Affairs*, July, 1951, "Population and progress in Puerto Rico", by Kingsley Davis, p. 635.



**T**HE tourists pass the books, the exhibits, and no hint of danger reaches them from the quaint relics. I have a desire to tell them the significance of those relics. It is the desire to write . . ."

This is what Arthur Miller wrote in a New York paper about his experience of rummaging through the town records of Salem, Massachusetts, 1692, those faded old records of charges and testimony and trial proceedings that resulted in the murder of mothers and fathers and old women, records that Salem would like to forget, records that America would like to forget.

Perhaps more than the cold, dusty accounts of these terrible things which happened so very long ago, was the spirit in them, the sense of danger in them, that compelled the playwright to write "The Crucible". For he wrote himself, "... there are strange . . . memories that have connected themselves to this play and these all have got to do with the present and it has all got mixed up together."

It is dangerously un-scientific to try and suppose what a playwright did or did not have in his mind — beyond what he actually writes into dialogue and characters and puts on the stage. And so, to get at Miller's message, let's take a look at his play.

Before our eyes, on the stage, children and half-grown girls cry—"witch!" and the whole world seemingly goes mad. First the outcasts of the community are charged; beggars and demented souls. Then the charges begin to mount. They charge the gentle old Rebecca Nurse, seventy-six, and known to the community for her very goodness; they charge the wife of the farmer John Proctor, a woman who has gained notice in Salem only as the most honest of women; they charge the wife of old Giles Corey—because she reads books. They charge and they charge and finally they charge John Proctor himself, who is neither more nor less than a hard working farmer. Miller indicates vividly how a witchhunt comes to envelope the whole community, and he does it with characters sensitively drawn. Yet the casting of Tituba, a Negro slave who is terrorized into confessing she is a witch, blemishes the portraiture. For hers is a racist portrayal in that it presents a stereotype of the Negro people as passive, helpless, victims, a people without a will, incapable of fighting back the witchhunters. The history of old Salem, like the whole history of the Negro people in the U. S., proves otherwise.

## THEATRE:

Review by  
Lorraine Hansberry

# The CRUCIBLE



**J**OHAN PROCTOR and his wife cannot say that they truly believe in the existence of witches and so the church and the court conclude that they are themselves agents of the devil's conspiracy. And thus the terror mounts and mounts on the stage; pompous old hypocrites and hysterical girls scream "witch! witch!" until someone in the audience gasps out loud—"Gees . . . I almost see 'em!" And for the audience there is one terrible realization: those who are being persecuted before our eyes are not only innocent of the madness, but they are those who have been identified as the stable, the hard working and the honest, and, as compared with their persecutors, the true Christians.

And their persecutors, who are they? They are men like Reverend Samuel Parris, who keeps a slave servant, and who declares in rich appreciation of himself, "I left a thrifty business in Barbadoes to serve the Lord." And they are men like Thomas Putnam who is actively engaged in stealing the land of other men, matter which will be more

simple if these men are found to be "witches" and done away with. And yes, the persecutors are petty little souls like Ezekiel Cheever who seek only to be on the side of conformity whether they believe it or not, and thereby reap all the momentary profit of conformity—a title, a position and perhaps a bit of the spoils of the persecuted. But above all the persecutors are the sober-faced representatives of the church and the courts of Massachusetts, Judge Hathorne and Deputy Governor Danforth. But why? what motive have they for turning children's pranks into crimes against the people of Massachusetts? We wait for the playwright to give this answer on the stage.

Also among the persecutors there is another, the Reverend William Hale. This man, we feel, is not a tyrant or a fool, but he, unlike Parris or Putnam, is a believer. He believes in his faith and his courts, and as the charges and the "evidence" (does he not himself find a needle stuck in the belly of a puppet!) mount, Rev. Hale is convinced that the



witches must be destroyed. And thus, wound deep in his faith, wound deeper in the hysteria of Salem, this honest man puts his signature to the death warrants of 76 innocent people.

And now the play gives a beautiful explanation why history is decided by and belongs to the John Proctors and not to the William Hales. For some have already died and the trials are proceeding when at last Rev. Hale consults his reason and re-examines the charges, re-thinks the motives of the hysteria, re-judges the "witnesses." And now it is that this honest man must raise his voice and shout in the court, that it is all a fraud, that innocent men and women are being murdered. Now Reverend Hale shouts defiance at his co-persecutors and stalks angrily from the court, saying he will have nothing else to do with these proceedings for they are false. And we in the audience applaud him with mixed excitement, for Rev. Hale is a symbol to us. He is a man of education and thought and we are eager that he should have been a positive, noble force in history, that he should have been as much a man of courage and dignity and of truth as the simple farmer, John Proctor. And yet we know a thing—we know that one of the names eternally affixed to the death warrants of innocent people is that of William Hale.

**A**ND John Proctor in his last moments on stage becomes a symbol to us too. He is an innocent man about to be murdered when the dawn comes, for no reason except that he, like the others who have died before him, refused to help create an awful lie. His persecutors offer him, indeed beg him, to admit that he "flies", that he "sucks blood", that he is a 'witch'. Only sign the confession, they plead, and he may have his life and they will hurriedly post the confession in the square to assure the people of Salem that there are witches. And there is great need for such assurance, for the people are doubtful and they are restless and rebellious; the realization has set in that these "witches" are their life-time friends and neighbors, and they find it strange that all have gone to their deaths refusing to confess. And already news has come from another town of open rebellion against the trials. And so John Proctor is harassed and tormented and chained, and thrown into a dungeon while his desperate persecutors cry: "confess". And finally in the very last moments of the play, as the sun of the execution morning shows itself at the prison windows, John Proctor screams at himself that he wants to live, that

he must live. In torment he cries out that he does not want to be a martyr or a hero, he only wants his life, his beautiful precious life. He will tell them anything, sign anything—only let him live. Yes he did fly, yes he did see the devil and walk the earth as *his agent*.

We watch as he clutches the paper to his breast, saying all the while that he has the right—any human being has the right—to save his own life. But it is then that John Proctor quietly tears up the "confession" and turns away from his wife forever and walks out to his death in the courtyard.

## ESSAY ON HYSTERIA

And so we present day Americans come out of the theatre knowing, from what we have seen and heard on the stage, Arthur Miller has written a powerful essay on hysteria, on its power and its madness. And we conclude that he is also a splendid craftsman who has produced an eloquent piece of drama in the midst of all the sterility of contemporary American theatre. For this we give him no small credit, for it is quite an experience to sit in a New York theatre these days and see a major American playwright lift his art up above the sex-psychology-violence-futility motifs of his contemporaries (and of himself, remembering that hymn to futility that was "Death of A Salesman"). If nothing else, "The Crucible" builds a magnificent and passionate tribute to that aspect of human personality which causes men to die in behalf of truth and its purposes.

But what of the question of the "present" which the playwright has raised himself? Has Miller's "desire to write" given these 20th century audiences some "hint of danger?" To be sure, certain N. Y. drama critics have hastened in the earliest days of the play to assure the public that no parallel exists between then and now. But if no parallel existed these gentlemen would not have felt the urgency of so quickly assuring us that it does not. It becomes even more foolish when one can pick up any copy of their own paper and see clearly that our country is up to its neck in hysteria. In fact sometimes history is almost exact in its repetition: witness the locale, the personnel and the atmosphere of one of four lengthy items on current witchhunting in the N.Y. Times (Mar. 27, 1953—p. 10). It is datelined Massachusetts, and begin, "Four Massachusetts educators, including a 74 year old retired woman high school teacher, refused to tell the Senate Internal Subcommittee whether . . ."

The other datelines read Los Angeles, Washington, etc. and it is always the same story.

There is a parallel all right! There is such a stifling, fearful, terrible political hysteria in our America today that a playwright perhaps feels obliged to omit half of history in the telling of a story. For it is true that Arthur Miller has written a powerful essay on hysteria as we have said—but nowhere in his three hours of drama has he said WHY THERE WAS A HYSTERIA! Children and half-grown girls and their parents are not the criminals of history! Mass hysteria is not something abstract which simply arises and takes command of a people without very strong concrete purposes. Whenever such things have occurred in history they have resulted from the deliberate programs of hysteria whipped up by this or that decaying ruling power.

**A**T one time in history, perhaps, it is a dying 17 century New England theocracy which lashes out feverishly to keep its political hold on the people. Or perhaps it is a modern capitalist class in a modern capitalist nation that sends up the cry that the witches are flying again, while one by one they destroy every single liberty the people have fought for for generations. Again in our time there are those who would make gospel out of conformity and some of us began to cry out in bewilderment, "At first it was only those we thought were 'communists' and then it was a teacher I knew, and then a student who was my best friend, and my brother who is a writer—and finally, myself—because I read a book."

**A**ND yet, John Proctor did not arise out of nowhere. His source was that which the playwright chose to make the quieter theme on the stage. John Proctor emerges in "The Crucible", a splendid example of the noble individual which is true and positive enough except that it is never seen that he is a part of something—that "something" being the rest of the people in struggle with the forces of oppression. In Salem 1692 it was a struggle against certain aspects of the absolutism of colonial church-state rule which the people were fighting against and which caused the church and the courts to create an hysteria, and to persecute and imprison and murder.

Arthur Miller's *Crucible* indicts hysteria, it never indicts its cause. And therein, for the playwright and for America, is the true "hint of danger."



# student notes

ON campuses throughout the country anger at the congressional witch-hunt attacks on the schools and colleges is mounting. This mood is clearly reflected in the college newspapers. Editorials, articles, and letters denouncing McCarthyism and asking for a determined fight to be made to preserve academic freedom and all our traditional American liberties appear daily. The Temple University News, in an editorial entitled "The Accusers Should Be Put On Trial" condemned the attack on Temple professor Barrows Dunham and called for joint action by campus organizations to defeat a projected congressional contempt citation of Dunham.

Said the editorial in part: "Dr. Dunham is the accused. But it is the accusers, these so-called protectors, who should be on trial. They should be accused. For with their mud-raking, their attempts to destroy holders of unpopular views and harry philosophical radicals who nonetheless love freedom, they are doing more harm than good."

The same paper, undeterred by threats of "The FBI will get you" continued to express the belief, several weeks later, that the American people should be the final judges in these cases, and ventured the prediction that this phase of American history will, in time, be nothing but a bad memory.

The Simmons News, of Boston's Simmons College, in an editorial entitled "Our Dying Freedoms" called for student voices to be heard as "a deadening silence takes the place of free inquiry." The same editorial condemned the attempt being made to "replace education with training" as something foreign to the American philosophy of education.

In an article attacking Rep. Velde's proposed investigation of the churches, a columnist for the Syracuse University Orange stated: "It is a notorious fact that in our basically republican (with a small r) country there exists such a basically totalitarian body as the aforementioned investigatory committee. From its previous forays one realizes certain direct violations of this nation's

"inalienable rights"... The impending preacher probe will drag the Church to the level of the committee since it is inferred impossible that the group can rise to the plane of the Church."

A columnist in the NYU Square Bulletin wrote: "Any investigation of men of religion would lead to a scrupulous surveyance of the Bible, since a man nowadays is judged not only by what he writes, but also by what he reads. And any intelligent congressman, and so are they all intelligent, can find extremely controversial and subversive literature in the Old and New Testaments."

IN an article favoring the 18 year old vote, a columnist for the University of North Carolina Daily Tar Heel wrote: "As to the merits of the proposal, let us briefly consider them. First, the 18-year old is graduating from high school and getting out on his own. He will either go to work or go to college, or to the armed forces. Second, he will be required to assume the responsibilities of citizenship, and this includes paying taxes. Third, he can assume the task of being the head of a family. Fourth, he is qualified by both education and interest to participate in his government. Fifth, he may be drafted and required to defend democracy. Yet he is denied one of its most precious privileges, the right to vote."

The April 9 issue of the Michigan State News carried the results of an Associated Collegiate Press poll which showed that 65% of the students polled disapproval of bias practiced by fraternities and sororities.

THE April 8th issue of the Michigan State U. News carried an editorial attacking the expulsion of the Hot Springs, Ark., team from the Cotton States League because of the team's refusal to release two Negro players on its roster. The editorial said in part: "Sports have been one of the leading forces in promoting a realization that race 'differences' are absurd, and major league baseball, particularly, has done an admirable job in this field. All of these efforts receive a severe blow

when even the smallest minor league turns back the clock and resorts to such despicable conduct."

In an editorial condemning a state law setting up a censorship board to examine literature being sold on Georgia newsstands the University of Georgia Red and Black asks of the board "For instance, what would they have done to Ovid or Balzac or Chaucer or Boccaccio of the or any of a hundred immortal writers grandeur of man? One can only suspect... We... believe passionately that there is no place in our scheme of life for a censorship board of any kind."

An editorial in the April 9 issue of the Michigan State U. News condemned the proposed dismissal of Ohio State U.'s Dr. B.T. Darling for refusing to answer questions of Congressional witch hunters under provisions of the Fifth Amendment. Said the editorial "If Dr. Darling had fallen down in his academic responsibility then we could go along with the judgement, but one can hardly condemn a man for something he didn't do when it has no connection with his professional abilities."

In a prize-winning essay for a contest sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women, Stanley A. Wolpert, a CCNY student, said in part "...in times of tense conflict, or violently competing ideas, of fear, insecurity and confusion, many people contend that the staunchest advocates of intellectual freedom are corrupters, subverters of all social values, and must therefore be silenced. In Greece there was a Socrates, in Germany, a Martin Luther, in Italy Galileo Galilei. Stubborn men these, curious men, peculiar men who dared challenge the very gods and rules of the earth, for the sake of conscience, in the service of truth.

"Unless the teacher is free to question and dissent, the student's mind will emerge from school not strong with wisdom, but at best heavy with information. The teacher who tailors his opinions to the cut of popular pressure will hardly encourage bold inquiry in his classroom. Men who will one day govern themselves must first learn to think for themselves."