

new foundations

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- Student Editors visit the Soviet Union
- On Means and Ends by Dirk Struik
- The Labor Youth League Fights Back



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VOL. 7, No. 1

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Student Editors Visit the Soviet Union

By HERBERT SHAPIRO

Moscow, Sept. 24 (U.P.)—"Three American college editors visiting the Soviet Union roamed the Soviet capital today taking photographs. They reported they had not be molested and had taken pictures as they pleased.

"They spent four hours inspecting elementary schools for boys and walked in and out of classrooms questioning teachers and pupils."

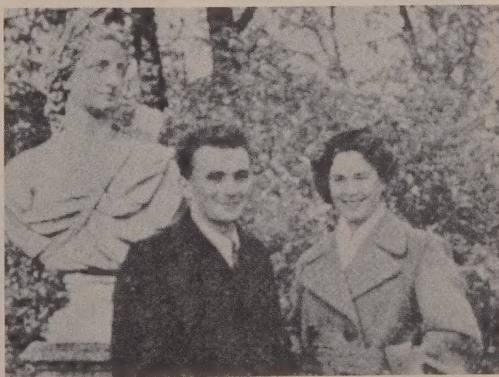
Moscow, Sept. 27—"Three American college newspaper editors visiting the Soviet Union said that Moscow's Lomonosov University 'dwarfs anything that we've seen at American universities.' Mark Edmond of the University of Colorado said, 'The massive ensemble rising vertically and towering above the Lenin Hills gives one an impression of great power.' The editors were escorted by six Soviet students who guided them through the laboratories, assembly halls, dining halls, and living quarters on a day long tour. They also participated in length round-table discussion with Soviet students, exchanging opinions on such subject as politics, Hollywood, student journalism and teaching. The editors said the Russians were 'friendly and frank and everything they said was quite revealing.'

"The editors later attended a performance of the ballet 'Romeo and Juliet' danced by prima ballerina Galina Ulanova and inspected the editorial offices and printing plant of *Pravda*, Communist Party newspaper."

TOWARD the end of the spring semester the editorial board of the Queens College *Crown* proposed a visit to the Soviet Union by editors of college newspapers. Through observing at first hand conditions in the Soviet Union, meeting with students in some of the major universities, and examining educational facilities, the *Crown* editors said they hoped to further understanding between students of the two countries.

The *Crown* followed up its proposal for the trip by asking the support of more than 90 college newspapers throughout the U.S. The replies overwhelmingly favored the idea. Typical were some of these responses:

"We wholeheartedly concur with the proposal to request permission from Russian authorities to tour the country as student editors."—Boris D. Vule, editor of the Arizona *Wildcat*.



Leningrad students who accompanied editor Dan Berger on tour

"I am willing, even anxious to sign my name to the cable. . . . I suppose nine out of ten editors responded to a plea that they be considered as a possible delegate. At least I am going to make that plea."—Mark Edmond, editor of *Colorado Daily*, Colorado University.

"I may be talking in superlatives, but I mean what I am saying. Immediately after receiving your letter, I sat down and did my best toward writing an editorial about it . . . best of luck to you, brave people."—Don Pieper, editor of the *Daily Nebraskan*, Nebraska U.

"I do believe that a trip to Russia by university newspaper editors will provide some valuable knowledge and insight which could be of great aid in intelligently interpreting news involving the Soviet Government."—Roger B. Thurell, editor *Daily Cardinal*, Wisconsin U.

Seventeen college newspapers endorsed the proposal for the trip. These were: Queen College *Crown*, U. of Arkansas *Traveler*, Brown U. *Daily Herald*, City College *Mampus*, U. of Chicago *Maroon*, U. of Colorado *Daily*, Georgia *Technique*, U. of Nebraska *Nebraskan*, Oberlin College *Review*, Sweet Briar College *News*, Vassar College *Miscellany News*, Wellsly College *News*, Yale U. *Daily News*, Yeshiva College *Commentator*, U. of Arizona *Wildcat*, and U. of Wisconsin *Cardinal*.

From its inception, of course, there were serious obstacles to the success of the idea. With the menace of McCarthyism, the whipping up of hysteria in the name of fighting the "communist danger," it is no easy matter to implement any proposal that involves a calm and factual report about the Soviet Union. Sometime before, the *Crown* itself had discovered that to make observations deviating from "official policy" in foreign affairs can lead to serious repercussions. For when, in an

editorial, *Crown* expressed certain criticisms of policies expounded in Secretary of State Acheson's reply to a well-known letter from Army Corporal Moulette in Korea,* this editorial incurred the wrath of Long Island's local newspapers. The *Long Island Press* and the *Star-Journal* compared the *Crown* to the *Daily Worker*. They warned the Queens faculty that they (the faculty) "should" do a better job in teaching their students "what the current world crisis is all about." To initiate the idea *Crown* had to buck, in addition, six years of harassment by "patriotic" organizations such as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars; organizations that described Queens as a "virtual headquarters for Communism."

As a result of such obstacles as *Crown* experienced, only 7 of the 17 editors originally responding applied to the Soviet Embassy for visas. On August 31, the Embassy informed the seven that their applications had been accepted. The visas cost \$2.50, and with them, said the Embassy, the editors could go to the Soviet Union and see what they wished.

* In 1951 corp. Moulette wrote to Secretary Acheson criticizing U.S. policy with regard to Korea.



Moscow student orchestra rehearses for performance

Only three made preparations to leave: Dan Berger of the *Oberlin Review*, Mark Edmond of the *U. of Colorado Daily* and Zander Hollander of the *U. of Michigan Daily*.

That only three went is regrettable. A much larger group of editors, more representative of all trends in campus opinion from left to right could have contributed more significantly to peaceful understanding. It could have said more and seen more. The group that went was not fully representative, for a fully representative group would at least comprise editors from many sections of the country not directly included in the present group; from the Far West, the Eastern Seaboard, the South.

One of the three, Zander Hollander, has until now had very little in common with objective reporting. It was Mr. Hol-

lander who last Spring authored a "sensational expose" of "subversion" on the Michigan campus. Mr. Hollander, in the course of his articles, managed to ascribe to the existence of a Labor Louth League "plot" just about every student activity concerning issues of peace, academic freedom or equality that has taken place over the past four years. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hollander stimulated in his Michigan fellow-students quite a feeling of revulsion against his articles. Of the many protest letters that appeared in the *Daily*, one, from members of the Society for Peaceful Alternatievs, read in part:

"In your recent series of articles on Communist activities on the campus and in Ann Arbor the writer has resorted to smear technique so prevalent throughout the country. Innuendo, association and sensationalism have replaced objectivity



The new Moscow University

and truth. The atmosphere created can only intensify the attacks on student rights. . . .”

Curiously, one of the 7 to receive visas, James Grant of the Queens College Ram-part, declined the invitation because he said that he did not want to be “used as a tool” by the Soviet Union. That this editor was put in the position of feeling that a trip for the purpose of reporting news about the Soviet Union should harm our country ironically illuminates the cost of six years of cold war and McCarthyism. If it is true that peace is in the interest of both the Soviet Union and the United States, then how can the kind of personal contact, exchange of ideas, observation of conditions that the trip facilitates harm the interest of either country? Actually, if the editors trip should further any particular interest, it would be the interest of world peace.

DESPITE the obstacles to the Queens College *Crown* idea, the trip materialized.

The three editors left Sunday, Sept. 20, by plane for Helsinki. There they took a plane directly to Moscow. Before leaving the Helsinki airport the three told reporters that they would certainly visit Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad. They said that when they inquired at the Soviet Embassy about sight-seeing plans that might have been made for them they were informed that the group would be free to make its own plans.

Their first remarks dispatched from Moscow revealed they wasted no time. They inspected the facilities of the newly-built Moscow University and engaged in prolonged discussion with some of the university's students. They also visited public elementary schools. They traveled to Kiev in the Ukraine where they visited the University, and, according to press reports, were swamped by students pepper-



Soviet students playing chess

ing them with questions. From press accounts part of the exchange between the editors and Soviet students was healthy argument and debate. The editors remarked that they “were forced into the role of preachers by questions that the Russians fired at us.” There was no pretense at hiding serious divergencies in points of view. Such argument and debate which clears the air and reduces misunderstanding is all to the good.

Toward the end of the trip the editors drew conclusions. Said Dan Berger: “. . . people here seem to be united behind the government. As far as we can tell anyway, from talking to students and collective farmers, it would seem that there is nothing more foolish than to figure there is going to be any support inside the Soviet Union for opposition to their government. People we had a chance to talk to are solid for the regime. . . .” According to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Hollander and Edmond fully concurred in this opinion. The editors seem to challenge what so often is accepted as gospel in the U.S. and is so often repeated in speeches of Mr. Dulles, i.e., the U.S.S.R. seethes with revolt; its people hate their government, and the

regime can be toppled without too much difficulty. The editors' statements vary widely with the foreign policy that calls for creating around the Soviet Union "situations of strength" to compel a supposedly weak Soviet government to bow to U.S. foreign policy. The statements make it clear that a foreign policy toward the Soviet Union based on coercion not only is utterly unfeasible, but also can only be disastrous to our own country.

The Trip Packs a Punch

WITH only incomplete information available as yet, a full evaluation of the results of the trip is not possible. But certain aspects stand out. The editors saw what they wanted to see and they met with Soviet students in unhampered discussion. Their experiences sharply contradict claims that an "Iron Curtain" prevents Soviet citizens from having any contact with foreigners. Their experiences contradict the

claim that "iron hands" hold shut the mouths of Soviet citizens. Certainly, the students in the Moscow and Kiev universities, and the elementary school pupils whom the editors met, manifested no hesitancy to question and comment. For them, to be sure, there was no curtain.

The three were not the first "Western" students to recently visit the Soviet Union. In the early part of 1953 a student delegation from Norway traveled there. Reported John Aanderaa, leader of the delegation, and art student at Oslo University, "On our journey there we had worked out the very best program for our stay and the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth which was our host in the Soviet Union fulfilled, practically speaking, all our wishes and even more. We visited Moscow, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, Erevan and Leningrad. . . . As a student delegation we were above all interested in getting acquainted with university conditions and student life, and the many conferences and conversations gave us a good impression of the life and study of



Latin-American youth delegation visits Leningrad

Soviet students. And first and last: we could speak together, discuss all questions—political, social, and cultural—that interest students in all countries. True, we often did not agree, there is no reason to conceal that, but we discovered also that we had sometimes misunderstood one another, and that our differences were not so great as we had at first thought.”

Norway and the Soviet Union have agreed on the actual exchange of a Soviet and Norwegian student. This fall a Norwegian student is to begin studying at a Soviet university, while a Soviet student begins studying at a Norwegian university.

Almost simultaneously with the visit of the Norwegian delegation, a group of Soviet students spent three weeks in Britain with students and examined British educational facilities.

The U.S. college editors' trip was one of a number of journeys currently made by Americans in the Soviet Union. Toward the end of September a group of officials at the U.S. embassy in Moscow began a lengthy tour of the Soviet Union that will include visits to regions in Soviet Central Asia. Taking place at the same time was a trip by N. Y. Times correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury through the same general region. As *Crown* put it, the collegiate editors' trip itself “was suggested by the trip to the Soviet Union made by a group of small town American editors and publishers” early last spring. And well known is the trip through the Soviet Union made this summer by Perl Mesta.

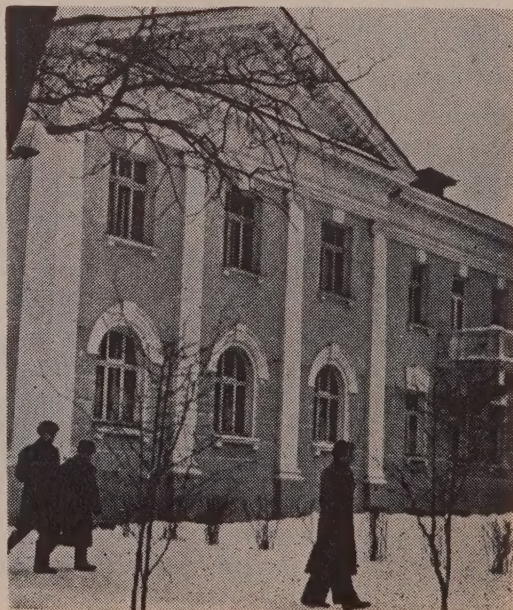
The Editors Return

Upon their return to the campus one of the questions they will meet is sure to be, “What can we do to ease international tension?” As yet the editors have not expressed their thoughts on future



Moscow subway station

exchanges and tours by Soviet and American students. One of the yardsticks of the trip students will use undoubtedly will be to what extent, as a result of the visit, closer contact and greater understanding are promoted. This yardstick is especially important when one considers that the trip itself originated as a means to achieve greater understanding.



Students leaving "energy" sanatorium

No doubt, the McCarthyites will do what they can to fit the editors reply to the rigors of cold war. To the McCarthyites, there could be only one satisfactory report no matter what the editors saw, the kind of report that agrees with the portrait of the Soviet Union as a menace to civilization. Anything else conflicts with the McCarthyites' aim to justify political persecution with the excuse that the U.S. is endangered by this "menace." If the three editors are able to inform American students of what they actually saw and heard they will have to do it in the face of pressure to accept McCarthy's picture of the Soviet Union.

Toward Student Exchange

The editors' trip has emphasized that student exchange is an invaluable step to world peace. In the U.S. students are becoming increasingly concerned with practical steps they can take to ease world tension. This interest is not accidental. With all Americans, students have witnessed events of recent months open up new possibilities for peace. The cease-fire in Korea demonstrated that differences can be negotiated. Growing pressure for peace by the peoples of the world has had its effect in high places. So Winston Churchill proposes a top level meeting to include President Eisenhower, Premier Malenkov and himself, and Adlai Stevenson, on return from his world tour, says "the door to the conference room is the door to peace." Events such as these can not but indicate that what appeared to be a log-jam in world affairs is beginning to break up, and that effective action for peace is feasible.

The more direct personal contact that exchange establishes, the on the spot observation that exchange facilities necessarily helps to overcome the barriers be-

hind which hatred and suspicion develop. We in the American student community have peaceful lives to gain by advancing the fullest possible program of student exchange.

There is no reason to delay spadework for the actual exchange of U.S. and Soviet students. Essential to the whole concept of exchange is the assurance that the exchange is two way. A major beginning in this direction would be the invitation of Soviet students to meet and speak with students on our campuses. This would bring together not three but thousands of Americans with Soviet students. Of course, such a visit would run into opposition from the McCarthyites. In recent weeks, McCarthyism barred the Soviet chess team, partially composed of students, with unheard of restrictions. But isn't it time to stand up against McCarthyism's attempt to isolate our country from those whose presence here would better understanding and peace?

Indeed, exchange can bring American students closer to students of many countries. Currently there is very little interchange with the students of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Students throughout the world have not as a rule taken a back seat when it comes to seeking ways to promote understanding. Certainly the possibilities for great exchange exist. It's time to consider how to get the exchange under way. Let's get to know the students of Mexico and Puerto Rico, of Egypt and South Africa, of India and China. Let them get to know us, too.

In total perspective the editors' trip is the biggest student event of 1953. It will be even bigger if some time from now it can be said that it was the spur to the participation of students in achieving the kind of world that must be if education is to flourish in a world of peace.

The Sixth NSA Congress

By ROBERT FOGEL

Robert Fogel is the National Student Secretary of the Labor Youth League

"**S**TRENGTHENING The Forces of Freedom" was the theme of the Sixth Annual Congress of the United States National Student Association held at Ohio State University from August 24th through September 2nd.

Altogether 333 delegates from about 150 colleges and universities took part in the ten day long deliberations. While schools in practically every state in the Union were represented, 67% of the delegates came from colleges in the Northeast and Midwest. 19% of the delegates were from Southern schools, including delegates from about a half a dozen Negro colleges. A third or more of the delegates came from small Catholic colleges.

Fundamental Cleavage

From the first day of the Congress it was clear that there were two main trends among the delegates. The first trend was one which would develop a program of accommodating the NSA to the reactionary forces that hold sway in education and government today. It was a trend which would give at least tacit support to the withhunters, which would make even more aggressive the already established NSA policy of splitting the international student community into rival blocs, which would water down and make ineffective any anti-discrimination resolutions. The leading spokesmen for this trend were some of the fraternity leaders, certain

Catholic students who were bound to the reactionary policies of the Catholic hierarchy, and right-wing "professional politicians."

The second main trend was one which aimed at having the NSA come forward with a concrete program to defend the democratic traditions of American students. This trend was one which would have put the NSA forcefully on record against the Congressional witchhunts. It would have reviewed NSA's policy on international questions with a view towards easing international tensions. It would have strengthened NSA's stand against jimcrow in education. While the main spokesmen for this trend came from the "big city" schools and certain liberal state schools, it also embraced practically all of the Negro students, a number of the white Southern students and some of the Catholic students.

The most dramatic clash between these two trends took place around a resolution directing the International Commission of the NSA to investigate the possibilities of developing an exchange program between "American students and students in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Communist China."

The battle around this resolution began in an International Affairs subcommittee where the NSA leadership had concentrated its big guns in hope of preventing the development of any opposition to its cold war policies. Avrea Ingram, International Vice-President, Dick Murphy,

President, and several of the "elder statesmen" of the NSA, led by the past President, William Dentzer, fought to convince students that cooperation with the International Union of Students,* on any basis or on any issue was out of the question, and further, that exchange with the Soviet Union or the People's Democracies was "politically unwise" and impossible from a practical point of view. In the face of this imposing array more than 20% of the delegates in the Commission voted for the exchange resolution, enough to bring it to the plenary floor as a minority proposal.

In the plenary an hour was allowed for the debate on the resolution (more time than was allotted to most of the resolutions coming from the International Commission). The lead-off speakers for the resolution were a student from Swarthmore, who was a member of the National Executive Committee of the NSA, and a student council leader from Notre Dame. They based their support for the resolution on the belief that since Georgi Malenkov had become Premier, the Soviet Union had taken a number of steps to ease international relations. This, they contended, made such exchanges both possible and desirable.

THE high point of the debate came when the President of the Norwegian Union of Students, who was present at the Congress as a guest, answered a number of questions put to him about the experiences of a delegation of Norwegian students that had recently visited the Soviet Union. He said that those students who had visited the Soviet Union believed that their trip had been a contribution to international understanding and

peace. Pointing out that the Norwegian delegation had full opportunity to meet with any Soviet students they wished and to observe all phases of student life, he said he believed that the trip had laid the basis for further developing exchange and cooperation between students of the two countries.

Those opposing the resolution argued that it would be a "tactical" blunder to enter into such exchanges, that American students participating in such exchanges would be used for "propaganda purposes" by the Soviet Union, and that American students would be prevented from talking to any students except those who were "hardened Communists."

These arguments, however, gained little support among the majority of the delegates. Fearing the results of a vote, the coterie around the International Vice-President desperately tried to forestall an immediate vote. They moved to place the issue on the table, to adjourn without voting, to postpone the vote till the next day, etc. All of these maneuvers failed, however, and in a voice vote the resolution was passed overwhelmingly.

AT this point the opposition called for a roll call vote. And while the long roll was being taken, Ingram and his group rushed up and down the aisle buttonholing delegation leaders to get them to get their delegations to change their votes. On top of this, Dick Murphy, out of turn and out of order, leaped to the front of the auditorium and, flying in the face of established decorum for NSA officers, announced he was voting against the resolution. (For this action he was later censured by the National Executive Committee.)

When the results of the roll call were announced the resolution had been defeated by six votes. The count was 131 for the exchange resolution, 137 against.

* The International Union of Students is the largest and most representative international student organization. Included in it are organizations in more than 70 countries representing 5,300,000 students. For the past several years the NSA has been trying to split the IUS along cold war lines and establish a rival organization.

PERHAPS one of the strangest features of the Congress was the fact that not one single resolution on Academic Freedom was passed.

This was not because the delegates were unconcerned with the Congressional witchhunts and the menace of McCarthyism. Indeed, to many delegates, including a number of members of the National Executive Committee, this was the chief issue at the Congress.

The sessions of the Student Affairs Commission lasted long into the night as delegates debated the various resolutions on the Academic Freedom problem. The division on the issues was very close. But it is significant to note that such a large section of the delegates was so ardently pressing for a strong position in defense of academic freedom, that the Catholic bloc, which had originally aimed at opposing any NSA stand in defense of academic freedom, had to change its tactics to one of weakening and undermining the program that was being put forth.

During the course of the commission debates, resolutions were put forward calling for an end to the Congressional investigations, defending the right of teachers to use the fifth amendment when called before "investigating" committees, and asserting that academic competency was the only basis for judging teachers. Resolutions were also put forward calling for a concrete program whereby NSA would educate students to the meaning of academic freedom and win students to act for its defense.

There were two main reasons why none of these resolutions were acted on at the plenary. First, the steering committee had scheduled the debate on Academic Freedom for the end of the Congress, and time allotted for the considera-

tion of these resolutions was woefully inadequate. Second, the first order of debate on the Academic Freedom issue was on proposed amendments to by-laws relating to the NSA Bill of Rights and the NSA basic policy declaration on academic freedom. Neither side was strong enough to get its amendments passed. (Amendments to the by-laws required a 2/3 vote.) But the debate on these resolutions consumed the entire allotted time.

WHILE no academic freedom resolutions were passed at the Congress itself, the post-Congress National Executive Committee meeting did take up and pass the only resolution that was unanimously agreed upon in Commission. This resolution, which called for the holding of a national academic freedom week, read as follows:

"The sixth National Student Congress directs the student affairs vice-president to declare an ACADEMIC FREEDOM WEEK, which shall be observed on member college campuses. The vice-president should seek the support and endorsement of the American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Council on Education, the American Association of Universities, and other interested groups for this project."

Discrimination an Issue

In its policy on discrimination the Sixth Congress of the NSA marked time and merely reiterated, in some cases more weakly, past NSA policy.

Two of the resolutions deserve mention.

One called on NSA member schools to work to guarantee that all students, regardless of color or race, may attend "any institution of higher education in any of the forty-eight states." The fight for this

resolution was led by the Negro and white students who make up the Missouri-Kansas region of the NSA and particularly by students from the University of Missouri, which has recently admitted a number of Negro students for the first time in its history. This resolution was unanimously passed by the Congress (the only resolution to be so treated), but not before it had been weakened by an amendment which exempted schools whose "avowed purpose" was the "promulgation of the sectarian beliefs of the institution." This amendment was unsuccessfully opposed by students from the Missouri-Kansas region, who contended that the resolution should apply to all schools without exception since it had nothing to do with religious beliefs.

The second resolution was one which put the NSA on record against any discriminatory policies in college placement agencies. It ordered the National Vice-President to make a survey of college placement bureau policies. It further declared that:

"In those cases where it is found that placement agencies accept and service discriminatory job requests, local student government or other appropriate campus agencies should be encouraged to consult with their placement services with the aim of the adoption of a policy of refus-

ing to honor such discriminatory requests. . . ."

Eyes on McCarran Acts

AMONG the more important of the resolutions that did not come to the plenary floor for a vote was one from the Educational Affairs Commission which directed the National Executive Committee to investigate the registration procedures of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act). This resolution received the support of nearly half the commission. It was introduced by one of the delegates following a speech on the current attempt of the Attorney-General to force the Labor Youth League and 11 other organizations to register under this unconstitutional law. The facts in the case were presented by the National Student Secretary of the LYL, who also discussed the issue before several of the regional caucuses. Great interest was shown in the case as students in these discussions spent as much as an hour asking questions about them.

On another McCarran legislative monstrosity the delegates were almost unanimous: they overwhelmingly voted against the discriminatory features of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, especially as they apply to students on the questions of study abroad, travel and exchange.



The Labor Youth League Fights Back

By DONALD MERIT

The following article was written by Donald Merit, Chairman of the New York Student Division of the Labor Youth League. The Labor Youth League wrote to many student and youth organizations, asking for an opportunity to discuss the facts of the McCarran Act proceedings against the LYL and eleven other organizations. The Students for Democratic Action was one of the organizations that responded to this appeal. This article is based on Mr. Merit's speech to the National Board of the SDA.

Before I begin, let me express the appreciation of my organization, the Labor Youth League, for this opportunity to bring you the facts in our case.

On April 23 of this year Attorney General Brownell petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order declaring the Labor Youth League and eleven other democratic groups "communist fronts."

If the petition is granted and the unconstitutional McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950) is invoked against the LYL, we would be confronted with an order to "register" the names and addresses of the leaders of our organization. We would be told we have to submit a yearly report on our activities and finances including how we spend our money and where we get it from. We would be ordered to accept as accurate a McCarran-McCarthyite caricature of our organization that would open our leadership and membership to arrest and persecution under the notorious Smith Act.

For refusing to "register" the penalty

is five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for each officer, for each day of failure to comply with the Act. This could easily add up to life imprisonment.

In short, the action of Attorney General Brownell is designed to literally outlaw our organization and imprison our leaders.

The McCarran Act

What kind of a law is the McCarran Act which has made possible this attack on the LYL? It is not a law which, as some would have us believe, is designed to protect our democratic way of life. Even a casual reading of the act would show its aim is quite the opposite.

In a report dated March 21, 1950 Senator William Langer said of it:

"Under the guise of protecting our democratic institutions . . . it (the Act) is proposed to regiment the thinking of American people and to impair or prevent the free exercise of continually guaranteed freedom of speech and association.

"It is proposed to confer upon a politically appointed board vague and therefore unrestricted power to outlaw associations of citizens whose views and policies are considered by it to be dangerous. Under these vague powers trade unions and other organizations which may seek to alter the *status quo* or oppose this or that governmental policy by lawful means and with no evil intent could be branded as traitorous agents of foreign governments or movements."

In a letter addressed to Senator Mc-

Carran in June of 1949 Senator Harvey M. Kilgore wrote:

"As I now read the bill it is so broad that I feel the Department (of Justice) would be given the power, not only theoretical, but actual, to prosecute, if it so desired, practically every newspaper and newspaperman in the country. In addition, I am afraid that almost everybody in America will be subject to prosecution under some of the detailed provisions of the bill."

There are many others who found good reason to oppose the McCarran Internal Security Act. A partial list of the organizations which have declared their opposition to it includes the Anti-Defamation League, Americans for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee, Baptist Ministers Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Federal Council of Negro Churches in America, American Association of University Professors, Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Federation of Labor, American Jewish Committee, National Council of Jewish Women, Bar Association of New York, and the National Lawyers Guild.

The so-called "registration" provisions of the Act have been singled out for special criticism.

In his veto message, President Truman called these provisions the "worst feature"

of the act and went on to say:

"The application of the registration requirements to so-called 'Communist front organizations' can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press and assembly since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798."

He further declared that these sections, "would put the government of the United States in the thought control business."

There are other provisions to the act as well. Section 103 gives the President the power to arrest and detain, without trial, "each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of sabotage or espionage."

Here then is a provision which not only abrogates the right to trial by jury, but also provides for the indefinite detention of individuals, not for having committed acts, but because somebody thinks that they *might*, at some *future date*, commit an act which the McCarrans and McCarthys would interpret as "sabotage" or "espionage."

Thus the McCarran Law conjures up the spectre of having hundreds of thousands of Americans thrown into "concentration camps." That the concentration camp provisions of the law will be invoked is far from an idle threat. The fact is that since the law was enacted, six such detention camps were built and are now awaiting their first victims. They



Mel Williamson, National Administrative Secretary and Leon Wofsy, National Chairman of the LYL.

are located in Florence and Wickenburg, Arizona; Avon Park, Florida; Tule Lake, California; El Reno, Oklahoma; and Allenwood, Pennsylvania.

In addition, the McCarran Act contains a number of police state provisions on immigration. In the first 18 months of the operation of the law over 200 scientists and educators alone were barred from entering the country. One of these, Lewis B. Chain, the British Scientist who developed penicillin, was prevented from attending a United Nations meeting on health to which he had been invited. These same provisions were carried over into the Walter-McCarran Act, which is today the most widely opposed act on record.

This by no means completes the picture of an Act which is the legislative embodiment of McCarthyism, an act which, if fully applied, would destroy the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

There is no better way to become educated on the present danger to the democratic rights of our people than to carefully read the text of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.

The Danger to Academic Freedom

THE government decided to launch its attack on the LYL at a time when widespread Congressional investigations of our schools have been having a devastating effect upon academic freedom. Already more than 100 teachers and students from over twenty campuses have been hauled into star chamber proceedings. More than fifty teachers have been either fired or forced to resign.

The effect of these, and other infringements of academic freedom, is fast becoming one of banning all ideas and activities not popular with the McCarran-McCarthy team. The ultimate aim is to force our schools to become places where only one truth is taught, McCarthy's

truth; and where students engage in only one kind of extra-curricular activity, activity in support of McCarthy and his program.

Already a McCarthyite organization has been formed on some of our campuses. Its name is Students for America. Its honorary national chairman is General Douglas MacArthur and it has adult backing from such outspoken reactionaries as Senator Karl Mundt and Fulton Lewis Jr. The program and method of operations of SFA is cut directly from the McCarthy pattern. Its aim is to defend our system of free enterprise from "Communist and Communist-front organizations." Its publications brazenly announce that one of the major activities of its members will be to infiltrate "Communist front" campus organizations to disrupt their work and to expose their members. It has already made clear that it considers the National Student Association, an organization composed of elected representatives from 300 student councils, to be one of its targets.

Thus, we are faced with the danger of McCarthyite attacks upon student rights stemming from a student group. The students who formed this organization draw strength and active support from the very same men who have been attacking our campuses from the outside, and who have designed the plan to outlaw the League.

Many students and student organizations have been actively fighting to defend academic freedom from these McCarthyite attacks. LYL, which has played a prominent role in student affairs over the past four years, continues to stand firm for its program of full academic freedom in the face of all attempts to stifle free expression. Brownell's petition against the League, if not effectively challenged, can have no effect other than that of giving aid and assistance to these

attacks against our democratic educational system. Students who are otherwise ready to stand up in defense of academic freedom would tend to become further intimidated, to remain silent.

The Charges Against the LYL

WHAT are the concrete charges that the Attorney General levels against the Labor Youth League?

First, it is important to note some of the things we are not charged with. We are charged neither with "sabotage" nor "espionage." Nor are we charged with "terrorism" nor of "treachery." We are not accused of being "foreign agents" or of "attempting to overthrow the government." We are not even accused of "conspiring" to do any of these things.

The heart of Brownell's case against us consists of a listing of the public views and policies of our organization on eleven issues vital to the interests of American youth and to the country as a whole.

In five of the eleven charges against us the issue is peace. We are accused of opposing armed intervention in Korea and Formosa; of supporting a cease fire; exchange of war prisoners and negotiations to end the Korean war; of supporting peaceful negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on all questions, including banning and international control of atom and hydrogen bombs.

Three of the charges against us deal with questions of civil liberties. We are accused of opposing arrests under the Smith Act; of favoring amnesty for the growing number of political prisoners in our country; of opposing the enactment of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, the McCarran Act itself, and Universal Military Training.

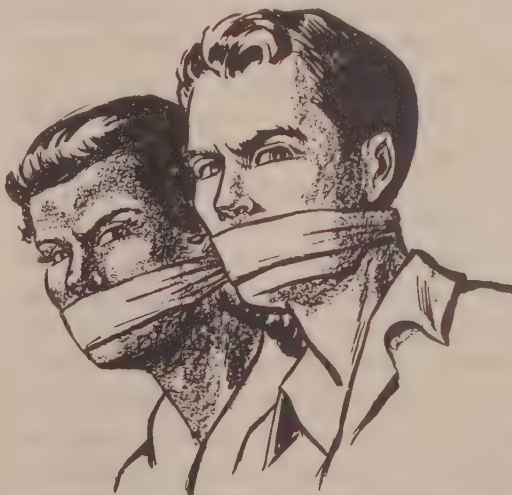
Three of our "crimes" concern Negro

rights. We are accused of opposing the imprisonment of Lt. Leon A. Gilbert; of asking that Paul Robeson be issued a passport; of opposing the arrest of Roosevelt Ward, Jr.

The Attorney General offers this listing of our policies as proof that we are a "Communist front organization." But evidently Brownell decided that some window dressing would make things look better. Therefore he added some "extra" charges.

Thus the Attorney General's petition falsely asserts:

"From the inception up to and including the date of the filing of this petition the Labor Youth League has been operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party"; and further, "the League has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. . . ."



Our Generation Will Not Be Silent!

five cents

In the brief time remaining, it is not possible for me to present a complete refutation of the Attorney General's charges.

The League has made such a refutation and it is contained in our answer to the Attorney General's petition. This answer has been published in pamphlet form under the title OUR GENERATION WILL NOT BE SILENT.

I believe all of you have received copies of this pamphlet and I hope you will read it carefully.

Here I will have to limit myself to replying to certain aspects of the Attorney General's falsehoods.

In our reply to Brownell we said that his charges against the League were an absolute distortion of the truth. We pointed out that:

"The Labor Youth League is an organization of, by and for young people, and its primary purpose is to work for and in the interests of youth.

"As the name of our organization indicates, and as our Statement of Principles declares: 'The League bases its program on the proposition that the needs and desires of the youth are bound up inseparably with the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class.' Looking upon the workers as the champion of youth's future, the League's educational program stimulates interest in and affords young people the opportunity to freely discuss and study the working-class science of Marxism. . . .

"Every stand of the Labor Youth League has been arrived at on the basis of striving to defend the interests of youth, in keeping with the welfare of the nation. . . .

"The first concern of LYL has been and is that all young Americans should have a voice in shaping our own fate. . . .

"The League has advanced a program which in our opinion would meet the pressing needs of American youth. . . ." But such proposals as the following are deliberately ignored in the Government's petition:

- the 18-year-old vote
- a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour
- amendment of the new GI Bill of Rights to restore all World War II benefits
- an end to jimcrow in the armed forces
- international youth sports and cultural exchange
- a \$10 billion federal school building program
- an immediate end to Congressional inquisitions into education

"Issues such as those, part and parcel of our activities for peace, highlight all of our forums, leaflets, broadcasts, and other activities."

We of the Labor Youth League are most proud of the fact that ours is an independent youth organization free from any adult domination. We hold conventions at regular intervals at which delegates elected by our membership formulate our program and elect our officers. None other than LYL members have the right to participate in making decisions for LYL.

Our relationship with the Communist Party has never been a secret. We are an organization composed of non-Communists and Communists and include in our ranks young people who, regardless of their opinions on aspects of the program of the Communist Party, are interested in studying Marxism. /

Because we are an organization that bases itself on the proposition that the needs of youth are bound up with the interests of the working class, and because we discuss and study the working class science of Marxism, the Labor

Youth League has developed a fraternal relationship with the Communist Party.

This relationship was established at the very inception of our organization. The main report to the National Organizing Conference of the League said:

"Because of the very nature of our organization we will develop the warmest fraternal relations with the Communist Party which is the leading party of the American working-class. No one can learn about Marxism without getting to know how and by whom Marxist policies are applied from day to day in the interests of our country and its people. . . ."

Of course, the McCarthys and McCarrans are trying to spread the lie that interest in the program and activities of the Communist Party is a crime.

We refuse to bow before this kind of witchhunting hysteria. We will not, as some have done, red bait and attack the Communist Party in order to prove our independence. This independence is proved in the democratic way in which our organization functions in its daily activities on issues of vital concern to youth and students.

A more careful examination of the heart of Brownell's case, our public views and policies, proves conclusively the McCarthyite character of this attack on the LYL.

Section 4i of the Attorney Generals petition asserts:

"The league has supported and justified the position, views and objectives of the Communist Party in its opposition to the enactment of certain legislation considered by the Party inimical to its interests, such as the Universal Military Training and Service Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Mundt-Nixon Bill."

To be told that one of our "crimes" under the McCarran Act is that we op-

posed the McCarran Act in the first place is McCarthyism incarnate.

The effect of this section is to warn *all* young people that that they had better refrain from opposing repressive legislation or else prepare to have such legislation applied against them.

By charging the League with being a "Communist front" because it opposed UMT, the McCarran Act and the Mundt-Nixon Bill, the Attorney General is laying the basis for an attack not only on the League, but on hundreds of student, youth, civic, labor, religious and professional organizations which have also spoken out against these bills.

Nor does the fact that the majority of Congress agrees with you provide immunity from such attacks. For Congress voted down both UMT and the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

Section 4k of the petition makes this charge: "The League has supported and justified the position of the Communist Party with respect to the terms of the peace and the settlement of the Korean conflict."

We are proud of the fact that we were the first youth organization to oppose the unjust Korean War and urge that it be ended through peaceful negotiations. The vast majority of the American people according to one opinion poll after another have wanted peace in Korea.

The facts of history as well as the hopes of the people are put on the dock by the Attorney-General's charge. It did prove possible to achieve a cease-fire in Korea. It did prove possible to exchange war prisoners and sign a truce.

Are we to be condemned for an insistence on a cease-fire when McCarthy was demanding invasion of the Chinese mainland? The use of the police power of the state for such a purpose has always been hated by Americans.

Section 4f of the petition says:

"The League has supported and justified the position of the Communist Party in condemning the trial and conviction of Roosevelt Ward Jr. for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1948."

Roosevelt Ward Jr. is a Negro youth leader and the Administrative Secretary of the New York State Labor Youth League. He was arrested without a warrant at the N. Y. State office of the League on a trumped-up charge of draft evasion. Far from attempting to evade the draft, Mr. Ward had informed his draft board that he could be reached at all times at the LYL office. In addition, his whereabouts was a matter of public knowledge by virtue of his many speaking appearances as a leader of the League.

Despite the most apparent frame-up character of the charge he was brought before a Southern jimcrow court which in less than one day tried, convicted and sentenced him to three years in prison.

From the outset of the frameup, the LYL launched a defense campaign. We called on many individuals and organizations to protest this attempt to imprison Mr. Ward. One of the organizations which responded to our appeal was the Communist Party.

The Attorney-General is trying to make a crime of the fact that we defended one of our own leaders. It doesn't seem to matter to him that the LYL protested the arrest of Mr. Ward before the Communist Party did. Nor does it seem to matter that we were proved right, as we were when *all nine justices of the Supreme Court unanimously dismissed the charges against him.*

Other Organizations in Danger

THE Attorney General has made many charges against us, but under the McCarran Act it is sufficient to cite only one feature of the program of an organization which is similar to the program of

the Communist Party. In his veto message former President Truman stated: "The bill would permit such a determination to be based solely upon the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it (an organization) from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those of the Communist movement. . . . Thus an organization which advocates low cost housing for sincere humanitarian reasons might be classified as a Communist front organization. . . ."

Others already recognize that it is not only the first twelve organizations cited by the Attorney General which are placed in danger. An editorial which appeared in the July 1953 issue of "The Churchman" an independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church says:

"Two hundred and fifty-four different organizations and journals are now named on the Attorney General's so called subversive list. If the charges against the first twelve organizations can be made to stick, all of these will be similarly required to register. No liberal or humanitarian organization, no church, or Protestant publication, can consider itself immune from the possible application of this dangerous law."

Student Organizations Not Safe

CONSIDER, for example, the positions of two of the most prominent student organizations concerned with the social problems of students. Both the National Student Association and the Students for Democratic Action are known to be opposed to many of the policies of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact both of these organizations consider themselves opponents of the Communist Party.

Despite this, if the Attorney General decided to draw up a petition against these organizations, for example, he would have no difficulty in finding pol-

icies similar to the policies of the Communist Party. NSA and SDA are against the McCarran-Walter Act. So is the Communist Party. NSA and SDA are both against UMT. So is the Communist Party. NSA, SDA and the Communist Party are for an FEPC law and for an end to segregation in education. Both NSA and the Communist Party are against special loyalty oaths for teachers. SDA feels that people called before Congressional committees who refuse to answer questions on the grounds of the First and/or the Fifth Amendments should not be considered guilty of anything. The Communist Party feels the same way.

If the Attorney General wanted to do a "good job" he could expand this list considerably. And the fact is similar lists could be drawn up against dozens of other youth organizations such as the Y's, Hillel, the NAACP, the Catholic Youth Organization, the International Relations Clubs, and so on.

The idea of the Attorney General moving against SDA is not at all far fetched in the light of remarks made on the floor of the House of Representatives on July 4, 1953 by Katherine Saint George, Representative from New York. She said:

"Mr. Speaker: Under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks I include an article by Fulton Lewis, Jr. on an organization known as Students for Democratic Action.

"I have been interested for some time in the SDA and am grateful that Mr. Lewis has given us some of their history and background.

"This is another case of a front organization masquerading as an innocent cultural organization while it is quietly and effectively doing yoeman service for the fellow travellers who are infinitely more dangerous than avowed Communists."

(Congressional Record, Appendix, June 1953, page A3362).

We shall fight this attempt by the Attorney General to outlaw our organization. We are confident that youth and youth organizations will participate in the struggle to repeal the McCarran Act and to prevent its application to the Labor Youth League and all other organizations. We are confident that this fight can be won as we are confident that McCarthyism itself can be defeated.



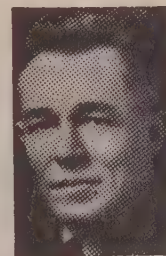
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Slavery and Academic Freedom—1830-1860

By SEMA GORKIN

ACADEMIC freedom, the lifeblood of education, was abused and denigrated during the antebellum period in the South. Education had to be in strictest conformity with the ideology of the prevailing social order. In sharp contrast to the slavocracy's denial of education to the masses of its people were the large number of colleges and universities which the South established for the training of its future leaders. The greatest concern of the Southern rulers with regard to education, was that teachers in its institutions foster in Southern youth the idea that slavery was a positive good. The Richmond *Enquirer* expressed the purpose of Southern education in the following way:

"Every school and college in the South should teach that Slave Society is the common, natural, rightful, and normal state of society. . . . They should also teach that no other form of society is, in general, right or expedient."¹

"Selected" Works

The choice of textbooks for use in the educational institutions of the South was a problem to which much attention was devoted. The fact that Northern textbooks had for a long time been of standard use in the South led many advocates of the "positive good" theory to deprecate the situation and call for texts that were written by defenders of slavery. George Fitzhugh, one of the foremost ideologists of the slavocracy and author of "Sociology for the South" felt that:

"All books in the whole range of

moral science if not written by southern authors, within the last 20 or 30 years, inculcate abolition either directly or indirectly. If written before that time even by Southern authors, they are likely to be as absurd and as dangerous as the Declaration of Independence or the Virginia Bill of Rights. It is all important that we should write our own books. . . ."²

Bourbon Censors

IN 1835, the *Georgia Telescope* called for censorship of Northern texts. By 1850, this practice was fairly common in the South. In 1836, Duff Green, a relative of Calhoun, obtained a charter in South Carolina for a textbook publishing firm. Between 1853 and 1860, nearly all annual Southern conventions put themselves on record as favoring Southern-written and Southern printed texts. However, most Southern textbook publishing companies failed to materialize and by the outbreak of the war, a large part of the Southern textbook trade was still carried on with the Northern companies.

In conjunction with the campaign to censor Northern textbooks and to make it unnecessary to use them, a movement to rid the schools of Northern and Northern-trained teachers was developing. The South had depended largely on this source for the faculties of its educational institutions. A North Carolina editor expressed the opposition to the use of Northern teachers:

"We tell you that in nine cases out of ten, when you employ Northern

1. Richmond, Virginia *Enquirer*, Aug. 29, 1856. Cited in "Fettered Freedom"—Russell B. Nye, Michigan State College Press, 1949. P. 73.

2. Cited in Nye, *Ibid*, Pp. 77-78.

teachers, you press a viper to your bosom, that will sting you by infusing into the minds of his pupils, thoughts, feelings, and tastes opposed to Southern interests and Southern institutions.”³

A more violent variation of this statement is expressed by the Richmond *Examiner*:

“So odious are some of these itinerant ignoramuses to the people of the South; so full of abolitionism and concealed incendiarism are many of this class; so full of guile, fraud and deceit, that the deliberate shooting of one of them, in the act of poisoning the minds of our slaves or our children, we think . . . should always be deemed perfectly justifiable. . . . This we take to be the unwritten law of the South.”⁴

Commercial conventions, in addition to condemning the use of Northern textbooks, expressed their disapproval of the use of Northern teachers. At the Savannah Convention of 1856, representatives of Southern colleges said that “the South must teach its own sons from its own books.”⁵ This recommendation was acted upon by Bishop Leonides Polk, who established the University of the South at Sewanee.

Faculty Resistance

The most oppressive restrictions existed with regard to the social and political views of the faculty members of Southern universities. In some areas, Kentucky for example, some degree of liberalism had managed to survive, but this was certainly not a significant characteristic of Southern educational institutions in general. Under the conditions of scrutiny and censorship which existed,

the exercise of criticism or mere objectivity in discussing the slave system required great courage. There are numerous examples of Southern educators who were removed from their posts for expressing non-conformist opinions. In 1832, President Alden Partridge of Jefferson College in Missouri was forced to resign because of the “unsoundness” of his views on slavery. James G. Birney, who was a member of the faculty of Centre College in Kentucky, was refused a permanent position in 1834 and forced to leave the college. A year later, Professor Buchanan of Centre College resigned his professorship because of prejudice exhibited against him because of his prominence in the abolitionist movement. In 1859, the entire faculty of Berea College, a bi-racial school in Kentucky, was pressured by an armed group of 62 citizens to leave the state within ten days. The reason for this unprecedented action was that a remark made by John G. Fee, founder of the College, had aroused suspicion concerning Fee’s relationship and views toward John Brown. By 1859, the strength of public opinion reached the point where President Barnard of the University of Mississippi was nearly dismissed when he and two faculty members voted to expel a student who had severely beaten Barnard’s servant.

The irrational state of Southern feeling on the question of education is most clearly illustrated in the Hedrick case. Professor Benjamin S. Hedrick, chemistry professor at the University of North Carolina, was accused in 1854 of having openly stated that if North Carolina had a Fremont ticket in the election, he would support it. In the columns of the *Standard*, Prof. Hedrick publicly replied that he was not an Abolitionist, but be-

3. Cited in Nye, *Ibid.*, Pp. 79.

4. Cited in Beale, “A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools.” P. 148.

5. Eaton, Clement “Freedom of Thought in the Old South” N.Y. 1951. P. 205.

lieved that a critical examination of slavery could only serve to benefit the interests of North Carolina. It was his belief that free labor would bring greater prosperity to the South. Concerning Fremont, Hedrick expressed agreement with free-soil principles and said he believed Fremont to be "on the right side of the great question." The Board of Trustees of the College requested Hedrick's resignation. The Executive committee censured him severely, and absolved themselves from any sympathy with his views. The university authorities did not wish to go so far as to dismiss him, but outside pressure throughout the state became so great that Hedrick was officially removed on the ground that his presence was injurious to the university.

Prof. HARRISSE, a teacher of French at the University, came to Hedrick's defense and had his opinion made public in an article in a St. Louis French newspaper, *La Revue de L'Ouest*. He closed the article with a scathing denunciation of Southern intolerance:

"You may eliminate all the suspicious men from your institutions of learning, you may establish any number of new colleges. . . . But as long as people study, and read, and think among you, the absurdity of your system will be discovered and there will always be found some courageous intelligence to protest against your hateful tyranny. Close your schools, suppress learning and thought, you have nothing else to do in order to be faithful to your principles, and it is the only means which remains to you of continuing the struggle with some chance of success."⁶

Professor HARRISSE was subsequently removed from his position at the University.

It was the students of the Southern universities and colleges who suffered the greatest loss because of the absence of academic freedom. The reactionary and proslavery views that were fostered throughout the educational system were to be accepted without question, and due to the lack of discussion around the vital issue of slavery, these views were accepted by a great number of students. Those students who held anti-slavery views were unable to express them, not only in an organizational form, but in any manner whatever. A few incidents succeeded in rippling the surface of the South's apparent dormancy of thought on the question of slavery.

In 1835, after the removal of President David Nelson from Marion College, Missouri, for his anti-slavery views, restrictions were placed on the rights of the students. The faculty forbade students to converse with slaves, circulate anti-slavery literature, or hold public or private meetings to discuss slavery.

In 1855, at Bethany College in Northwest Virginia, among a group of 130 theological students, there were 30 from the Northern States. Ten or more of these students held anti-slavery views. One of them, by the name of Burns, referred to the "sin of Slaveholding" in a sermon. He was saved from an ensuing mob attack only by intervention of law officers. A student petition, supported by the president and faculty of the College, demanded that Burns and his adherents restrict themselves to expounding the gospel. This action resulted in the departure from the College of twenty Northern students who refused to "surrender the right of speech and submit to the rule of the mob."⁷

The minute number of students who held anti-slavery views were overwhelmingly outnumbered by the sons of the

6. Cited in Eaton, *Ibid*, P. 215.

7. Cited in Nye, *Op. Cit.* p. 77.

planter class. This future generation of slaveholders was often used by the College administrators as assistants in the task of crushing anti-slavery expression. In the final analysis, the lack of academic freedom proved disastrous. The intelligent critics of slavery who might have emerged from the institutions of learning, were aborted before they had a chance to develop, and were forced to maintain a sterile silence. The "positive good" argument in defense of slavery led to the most ridiculous absurdities and distortions of true knowledge. The narrow view which emerged had no validity in real life.

IN the Northern colleges and universities the slavery question was of greater prominence and received far more attention than it did in the South. Abolitionist student groups were an important force on a number of campuses, and during the 1830's, two institutes of higher learning, Oneida in New York, and Oberlin in Ohio, openly avowed their abolitionist views. However, before 1840, when a significant segment of Northern opinion became pro-abolitionist, the force of Southern pressure was powerful enough to constitute a threat to academic freedom in the free states. Schools which actively offended the feelings of the Southern oligarchy were a distinct liability in the relations between Northern business interests and the South. Thus, as Howard K. Beale tells us: "Through its own power in the South, and its allies in the North, this great slavery interest controlled the schools of both sections."⁸

There were four main grounds upon which the authorities in the North based their attacks upon Abolitionist activity. The first was that abolitionist activity might cause the loss of public support. A

second was the fear that active abolitionism might injure the social and academic prestige of the school. Third, that such agitation might result in a state of unrest both within and without the College. And the fourth was that it trespassed in an area which was beyond the scope of academic investigation.

The *Liberator* reported on August 3, 1833, that an Abolitionist society formed at Oneida Institute was denounced by the Utica City Council, the State legislature, and was being threatened by the community because of its activity.

At Hamilton College in New York, state appropriation was threatened to be withdrawn because of an anti-slavery petition which a number of students had signed and sent to the State legislature. The president and faculty of the College disclaimed any knowledge of the petition, pledged to cease such action in the future, and the College finally received its appropriation with a legislative warning.

THE question of academic freedom was brought to the public conscience most dramatically in the case of Lane Seminary. Leadership of the Seminary was originally held by Arthur Tappan, in 1831. When it opened a few years later under the administration of Lyman Beecher, one of the students at the seminary was Theodore Weld, an abolitionist at that time, and a man who was to become a leading figure in the Abolitionist movement. A series of discussions proposed by Weld to settle the dispute between Abolitionists and colonizationists, resulted in an overwhelming vote by the student body in favor of immediate emancipation. The students of Lane Seminary became very active in the Negro community of Cincinnati, organizing clubs and schools and preaching immediate abolition. This activity came to the

(Continued on page 40)

8. Beale, *Op. Cit.* P. 112.

ON MEANS AND ENDS

By DIRK STRUIK

Dirk Struik is professor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

THE gentlemen who have set themselves the task of fanning the flames of cold war also indulge in ethics. Since the Communists are the scapegoats they must be painted as heartless conspirators, "men without faces," who become equally "heartless tyrants," blood-stained "monsters of the Kremlin," when they come to power. Fanatics, these Communists are supposed to live by the principle that the end justifies the means. In order to obtain or maintain their "workers' paradise," they lie and enslave, torture and kill. Such creatures, of course, only respect one thing, and that is superior power. And thus we have a nice ethical argument for superweapons, with God rewarding the crusaders with superprofits.

We can answer this argument by showing that it is based on an unscrupulous misinterpretation of facts, and that, even if the facts were true, the supporters of the capitalist system ("the free world," as they call it) should be the last to accuse others of unethical actions. Here, however, we would like to discuss the question from another angle. The communist outlook on the world is based on the Marxist point of view. Communist or non-Communist should be interested in the question: does Marxism really teach that the end justified the means?

Specifically, may immoral actions be taken in order to achieve a worthy end? May we kill in self-defense? May the starving mother steal to feed her hungry baby? May students cheat to please their parents with a diploma? Can

war be justified, and with it the blind destruction, the one-sided propaganda, the draconic army rules, the aftermath of sickness and hatred? May workers in vital industries strike, or, for that matter, may teachers strike? Are there cases where a lie is morally defensible? Wherever such and similar questions are asked and controversies arise, the chances are that each side accuses the other of adherence to the doctrine that the end justifies the means.

Faced with this accusation, some offenders will brazenly answer: "Sure, so what?" But they will answer it brazenly, that is, they will feel that they violate their own ethical code. However, the usual defense is that the ends in view are morally so exalted that they also cast a halo of sanctity around the means employed. What happens is that accuser and accused differ in their concepts of what is ethical. The one applies his own moral code to judge the action of the other. A conflicting moral standard is involved, and unless an agreement on ethics is reached no conclusion is possible.

An Artificial Question

TO the best of my knowledge there exists no school of thought which openly advocates that the end justifies the means. For a long time it was a popular charge against the Jesuits, and in particular against the teachings of the seventeenth century moralist Busembaum, whose texts were widely used in

Catholic seminaries. The Catholic church itself denies vigorously that it teaches this doctrine, though the charge is still heard. Lately a new scapegoat has appeared, replacing in wide circles the "Papist" by the "Red" danger, and so it has become fashionable to accuse the Communists, by virtue of their Marxist views, of preaching that the end justifies the means. This holds in particular for the United States, where the wildest nonsense about Marxism can easily pass unchallenged because of the carefully fostered fear and ignorance. Documentation in the form of references to Marxist authors can not be presented, because it does not exist. If challenged, the accusers are likely to point to certain practices (or supposed practices) inspired by Marxist thinking, of which they disapprove. By which turn of argument we are exactly where we were before. A conflicting standard is involved, and the accusation is little more than name calling.

We could let it go at that and dismiss the subject by saying that neither the doctrine that the end justifies the means, nor its opposite, that the end does not justify the means, finds any place as a general maxim in Marxist thought. It may, however, be useful to sketch the actual relation of means and ends from a Marxist point of view. And then we must immediately point out that a strict separation of means and ends is only possible in special cases and under special conditions. Moreover, moral evaluation is not absolute, but depends on particular social-economic conditions which can only be historically understood. All morality has a social base, and the ethical standards of the main groupings of men in a particular period are primarily determined by the class structure of the society to which they belong.



Professor Dirk Struik

LET us first consider the relation of means and ends independent of moral evaluation. I take the streetcar to go home—here the streetcar is the means and sweet home is the ends. A nation goes to war to preserve or to gain independence, or engages in educational reforms to wipe out illiteracy. Means and ends are clear to see. But the case is not often that simple. The building of a native industry was a means to achieve American independence in 1776, yet independence itself was needed to obtain a native industry. Women's suffrage is a means to broaden democracy and at the same time we may have to broaden democracy to obtain women's suffrage. The fight for social equality of all races is a means of attaining socialism, but only through socialism can this fight be won. What are the means, what are the ends in the development of science, of art, of the labor movement? The cardinal point is that in *processes* means and ends interplay and cannot always clearly and uniquely be separated. Only by isolating an event from a process of which it is a part can a distinction between ends and means be reached. Such an act of isolation may be good for one specific purpose only; it may depend on objective as

well as subjective factors.

Even such a simple case as a person taking a streetcar to go home may be viewed from different angles. The weary worker longing for his family sees the streetcar as a means and home as the end. But the traffic engineer sees the home going as a means to the end of streetcar transportation, and he may well devise other means to promote the use of streetcars such as swimming pools or (in bygone days) fare reduction. We can use Newton's laws to derive the planetary motions, and also use the planetary motions to derive Newton's laws.

So much for the relation of ends and means. What about the ethics involved? We need a moral code for that, and such codes have a way of differing from each other. Only a person who acts against his own ethical standards can be accused of letting the end justify the means. The politician who deceives his electorate to feather his own nest is perhaps a case in point, but the man may have no ethical standards whatsoever, especially in a capitalist society cracking up at all seams. He may be nothing but a plain liar.

THERE are ethical systems which claim universality, and inside the framework of such a system an attempt may be waged to give some meaning to the rule that the end shall not justify the means. Roman Catholic moralists have gone far in rating the relative ethical values of different actions. Once such an "ethical dictionary" is established it may occasionally be possible to judge means versus ends. The principle then emerges that the means should not be more reprehensible than the end. For instance, a prisoner awaiting too severe a sentence, may be justified in escaping by fooling his guards, but not by killing them. The Jesuit Busembaum taught that an act essentially evil should not

be committed as a means to an end, and defined evil as something in disagreement with the "natural" laws, inspired by God in every human heart. This also explains why Catholicism prohibits birth control as a means to child spacing, and tries to enforce this prohibition wherever it has an opportunity.

Marxism denies the existence of such a "natural" law. The same act, or type of act, may admit of different moral evaluation under different social circumstances. From its historical approach to the problem of ethics Marxism does *not* conclude that the standards of good and evil are subjective, and that one ethical code is as good as the other. I once heard a Socialist friend proclaim that "one man is not better or worse than the other, he is only different"—such a maxim is anti-Marxist. Certain ethical standards are objectively higher than others. This depends in final instance on the relation they bear to the struggle of mankind to freedom.

All that Marxism can therefore state on the relations of means and ends is that if the end is desirable the means appropriate to this end are also desirable. Here "appropriate" means "compatible with the social, economic, moral and natural setting" and it is understood that the differentiation between means and ends may very well depend on one's point of view. The desirability of the end in final analysis, has to be determined in relation to the human struggle for freedom, for the development of every human being toward his full dignity.

TO give a few examples: in order to stop lynching in the South appropriate means are such actions as public exposure of the criminals, the strengthening of such organization as the NAACP, mass petitions, electoral campaigns, appeals to the sense of fair

play or to the tenets of religion. The organization of counter-lynching would be highly inappropriate. But this does not necessarily mean condemnation of John Brown's tactics in the Kansas Border War, where violent individual action was used on both sides. We can agree that stealing is morally objectionable, if committed by private individuals to increase their assets. However, few of us will be in favor of returning America to the Indians, though inside the framework of a code of absolute ethics this can be interpreted as an example of the end (the stay of the White Man in America) justifying the means (the still continuing degradation of the Indian). The Abolitionists considered helping a slave to run away from his master a highly moral act, while to the slave owner this was nothing but abetting robbery. Here Marxism is strictly partisan, and considers the Abolitionist code of ethics higher than that of the slave owner—the *objectively* higher one. Millions of people have been deeply stirred by the heroism of those victims of fascist brutality who preferred torture or death to the betrayal of their associates. For these men and women the end—the preservation of life—did not justify the means—treachery. The reason that we glorify the deeds of these heroes is not due to any metaphysics concerning ends justifying or not justifying means, but to our conviction that this rejection of treachery in the face of death itself constitutes a triumph in the struggle for end, in final analysis, has to be dehuman freedom.

The accusation that Marxists teach that the end justifies the means is usually a "philosophical" way of expressing disapproval of certain actions of socialists or communists which they themselves consider eminently moral—for in-

stance the nationalization of large enterprises, or the introduction of full social security (which Mr. Eisenhower has compared to jail). This is a case of conflicting moral standard with the additional understanding that such actions, undertaken under Marxist influence, represent not a lower, but a higher level of morality than that to which the opponents are dedicated. More often, the accusation is based on misunderstanding, on the myth of a so-called "communist conspiracy," comparable to the infamous anti-Semitic hoax about the conspiracy of the Elders of Zion. In this case the accusation is that of lying and other forms of deceit, of killings and other forms of violence—all to reach a socialist form of society.

IT IS true that Communists, in common with Republicans, Democrats, free masons, hardware dealers and admirals, even the most virtuous ones, occasionally are responsible for lying and killing—for instance in a war. However, it is clear that they do this not because of a particular sinister aspect of their philosophy, but because they live in a capitalist form of society, one of the most barbarous and violent forms of society which ever existed—especially in its period of disintegration. Every single person living under capitalism participates in committing, condoning, or defending deceit and violence. From our morning coffee or tea (obtained from underpaid colonial labor), where we read our newspaper (full of lies in news and advertising) to the moment where we go to bed under sheets (made from cotton produced by sharecroppers) we live in a thinly veiled atmosphere of brutality. Those who expose and fight this brutality may be considered as accepting higher ethical standards than those who show indifference or actually help to promote it.

The point is that even when we can sharply distinguish between means and ends, the means have to be selected in accordance with the *old* conditions, before the desirable end is reached. The old conditions are not always of our choosing. Those who supported Litvinoff in Geneva tried to destroy Hitlerism by the peaceful means of collective security, but when this was made impossible, mainly because of the forces represented by Chamberlain, they had no choice but to support a bloody war to achieve the same end. Similarly, the Quaker Abolitionists would have liked to be open and perfectly frank when helping a fugitive slave, but when the slave catchers came to their doors they did not object to a subterfuge or even a plain lie to protect the runaway Negro. There are men and women who falsified records in Nazi camps to prevent the torture of prisoners, and few people will be inclined to cast the first stone at them.

We have been told that the trial and sentencing of the Bukharinites in the late thirties were unjustifiable means used by the Soviets to achieve their end: security in a socialist state. The double standard is clearly applied; the Soviets acted and the critics, often in easy chairs faraway, shook their heads in moral indignation. But we know now that these sentences served a very appropriate end and helped not only to save the Soviet Union, but also the U.S.A. from Hitlerite aggression. By breaking up a ring of men before they could succeed with their treason, the USSR escaped the fate of France, where the collaborators were kept in power until, in 1940, they could succeed in their treason. France, eventually, also tried and sentenced its chief collaborators.

The difference is that the USSR caught them before they could successfully betray their country while France only became wise after the fact. These cases cannot be judged by any metaphysics on ends justifying or not justifying the means, but only by an inquiry into the correctness of the means involved. This is not only a political, but also an ethical question, and we believe that most people will agree that the Soviet position in this case was not only wiser, but also morally higher than the French position.

What happens if means are chosen inappropriate to the end? The results will be not only that the end is not reached, but under circumstances that the opposite end is reached. Conscientious objection to military service may lead to victory by fascist conquerors who destroy the very ideals the objectors stand for. Those who believe in overwhelming military power to maintain peace may well get themselves into a war and, like that well known Aryan hero, run into crushing defeat. And to the informer who justifies his action because he has to live history may well answer with Tallyrand: "*Monsieur, je n'en vois pas la raison.*"* Both in private life and in statesmanship it is not only necessary to set oneself desirable ends, but also to devote considerable thought to the selection of appropriate means. And in so doing, we had better forget all the metaphysics concerning the end justifying the means. At its best it has only limited application. The general tendency is to obscure the actual relationship of means and ends and its main use is to confuse issues and defame other people.

* Sir, I fail to see the reason for it.

student notes

NEWS FROM ABROAD

THE magazine *Student*, organ of the All India Student federation, noted in its July 1953 edition: "Inside Sing Sing Prison truth and justice got electrocuted when the Rosenbergs were murdered on the cooked up charge of atom-spying. In the darkness of night the Statue of Liberty was defaced with the blood of an innocent American couple. . . . Millions of voices all over the world demanded clemency for the Rosenbergs. The Holy Pope prayed for their lives. Eminent atom-experts and scientists firmly spoke out against the faked charge. The American President had even no diplomatic courtesy for the appeal made by the head of another big state—President Auriol of France." . . .

Russian Students in Britain

The Quaker movement announced on August 27 that 10 Russian students will arrive in Reading, England this week to help build new homes in this housing short city. The Russians are coming under a student exchange plan promoted by the Quakers. They will aid the Reading Family Housing Association by digging foundations for new houses and by laying bricks.

NEGRO RIGHTS:

The University of the South in Seawane, Tennessee ended Jimcrow in its school of Theology, the *New York Post*—6-5-53—announced. The Protestant Episcopal school saw all but one theological faculty member resign and the scheduled

baccalaureate speaker refuse to appear, in protest over segregation.

The N. Y. *Times* reported on September 17, that a federal court rejected requests for a new trial to prevent a 17 year old Negro from enrolling at Louisiana State University. The court decision ordered the student, A. P. Tureaud, Jr. admitted on the ground that his exclusion violates the fifth amendment. However, the court through Judge J. Skelly Wright later granted an appeal by the University's attorneys to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Wright's action halted plans of Mr. Tureaud to enroll at the University pending the ruling of the appeals court.

Majority Wish

A nation wide poll by the Associated Collegiate Press showed that 75% of American college students favor the immediate ending of segregation in education. In the Deep South the figure was 53%. Only 17% for various reasons favored segregation. . . .

ITEMS OF INTEREST:

The Queens College *Crown*, September 25, says: "Paris is traditionally referred to as the city where everybody who is anybody is a student. But in actual numbers New York City with CCNY, Queens, Brooklyn, Hunter, NYU, Fordham, Cooper Union, Columbia, Barnard, Manhattan, St. Johns, Wagner, Pratt, LIU, and many others, probably has as many students. Although we may not

advertise our limited budgets by sporting black sweaters, naked sandals, and jeans every day, every place, we too would do well with student reductions: in fare (especially now that the subway costs 15 cents), to theaters and concerts. . . . A powerful, coordinated New York City student union could attempt such things as student restaurants and clubs where foreign students as well as veteran New Yorkers could get together. Such a group would be able to organize and act when things of common interest arise, be they cultural events or political problems. . . .”

ACADEMIC FREEDOM:

The *Nation* (October 3, 1953) by Paul E. Breslow—“The World We Want” was the subject of the United States Assembly of Youth which met at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor from September 3 to 8 under the sponsorship of the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

The assembly subjected McCarthyism to repeated attacks, and “Commissions on foreign policy, human rights, and the American heritage acting separately, found it necessary to deal with what one report called the deadly pressure toward thought-control and conformity.”

The assembly agreed that “government protection of civil rights and liberties was essential one commission even reporting that “. . . everyone has the right to work, and private industry and government have the responsibility to see that jobs are available.” Mr. Breslow concluded his article with the very hopeful statement, “. . . few gatherings in recent years have so emphatically declared their faith in the attainment of peace and a better future through political organization and community action.”

The Senate on July 30 voted 45 to 43 to drop the “aid to education” feature from a bill for Federal development of

natural resources of the outer continental shelf. The original bill earmarked revenues from undersea oil and mineral discoveries for aid to education. *Senators McCarthy and Jenner were among those voting against the bill.*

BUT WE’LL WIN:

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO states in a report by a panel on science and technology which met on September 16 in Minneapolis: “Unnecessary and undesirable restriction on exchange of information and travel of scientists exists in certain countries, including the United States. Free exchange of information and facilitation of travel are both essential to scientific progress and human welfare. Any unnecessary restrictions are harmful to the advance of science and to promotion of international understanding and are consequently detrimental to the cause of peace. There is particularly the fact that such impediments exist in this country.”

The following is part of a statement of the American Library Association and the American Book Publishers Council, adopted May 3, 1953: “The Freedom to Read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities in various parts of the country are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks, to label “controversial” books, to distribute lists of “objectionable” books or authors, and to purge libraries. These actions apparently rise from a view that our national tradition of free expression is no longer valid; that censorship and suppression are needed to avoid the subversion of politics and the corruption of morals. We, as citizens devoted to the use of books and as librarians and publishers responsible for disseminating them, wish to assert the public interest in the preservation of the freedom to read. . . .”

(Continued on page 41)

THE BOOK-SHELF

BORN OF THE PEOPLE, by Louis Taruck, International Publishers, N.Y. 1953, \$1.75 and \$3.

NORTH FROM MALAYA, by Wm. O. Douglas, Doubleday, N. Y. 1953. \$3.75.

THE fight by the peoples of Asia for national liberation has provide one of the most exciting and important chapters of recent world history. Inspired by the magnificent example of China, they are demanding the right to determine their own destinies, free from foreign domination or control.

Two recently published books deal with certain aspects of this question, Luis Taruc's autobiography *Born of the People*, and William O. Douglas' *North From Malaya*. Taruc's book deals with the struggle of the Filipino people for freedom and national independence. His life has been a constant struggle against oppression. His earliest memories of the *barrio* (village) were of the clashes between landlords and peasants. As he grew older, he began to understand the real source of the oppression of his people—American imperialism. He was led to an interest in Socialism, and joined the Socialist Party, which in 1938 merged with the Communist Party.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the struggle against the Japanese. The American military forces led by MacArthur, and with them the Filipino government, capitulated soon after the Philippines were invaded. This, however, only marked the beginning of the anti-Japanese struggle, for, as Taruc says, it was then that "the destiny of the nation fell into the hands of the people."

EVERYTHING was subordinated to the struggle against the Japanese.

The famed Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army) was formed in 1942. It was a democratic, revolutionary army, having as its basic principle equality between officers and soldiers, and was the core of the armed struggle against the Japanese. Serving as a people's government in guerrilla areas, and working closely with the Huks, was the BUDC (Barrio United Defense Corps), through which the *barrios* experienced democratic rule for the first time in their history.

When the American military forces re-invaded the Philippine Islands in 1945, they were welcomed as liberators by the people. The Americans, however, restored to power those who had collaborated with the Japanese, and turned their guns on the Huks and other anti-fascist fighters. Formal independence was granted the Philippines in 1946, but American imperialism retained its control through the Roxas and Quirino governments.

ALTHOUGH *Born of the People* contains much of interest concerning Taruc's personal life, it is not an autobiography in the conventional sense of the word. As even the above brief outline indicates, "it is a chapter in the biography of the Filipino people." There is a most remarkable chapter entitled "The People Produce Leaders," in which Taruc indicates the diverse sections of the population from which the Huks drew their leadership. Taruc himself was the son of a peasant; his closest co-worker, Castro Alejandrino, came from a family of small landowners. Mariano Balgos, political director of the Huks, came from the industrial working class of Manila. In addition, Taruc pays tribute to Vicente and Jesus Lava, scientists who put their talents at the disposal of the people's movement, calling them

"symbols of the new society, in which the manual worker and the brain worker join together for the common cause of mankind."

Although Taruc writes with great anger and bitterness of American imperialism, he is careful to distinguish between the American ruling class and the mass of the American people. Indeed, it was an American, visiting the Philippines in 1936, who first explained the ideas of Socialism to Taruc. And during and immediately after World War II, there were many Americans who fought against MacArthur's policies, and attempted to effect cooperation with the Huks. Taruc writes with much feeling and admiration of these Americans, an expression of international solidarity which we here would do well to emulate.

THE VIEWS of Justice Douglas on Asian questions are of special interest, for in the past he has exhibited some sincere interest in the needs and aspirations of the colonial peoples, and has been critical of certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy, particularly as it applies to Asia.

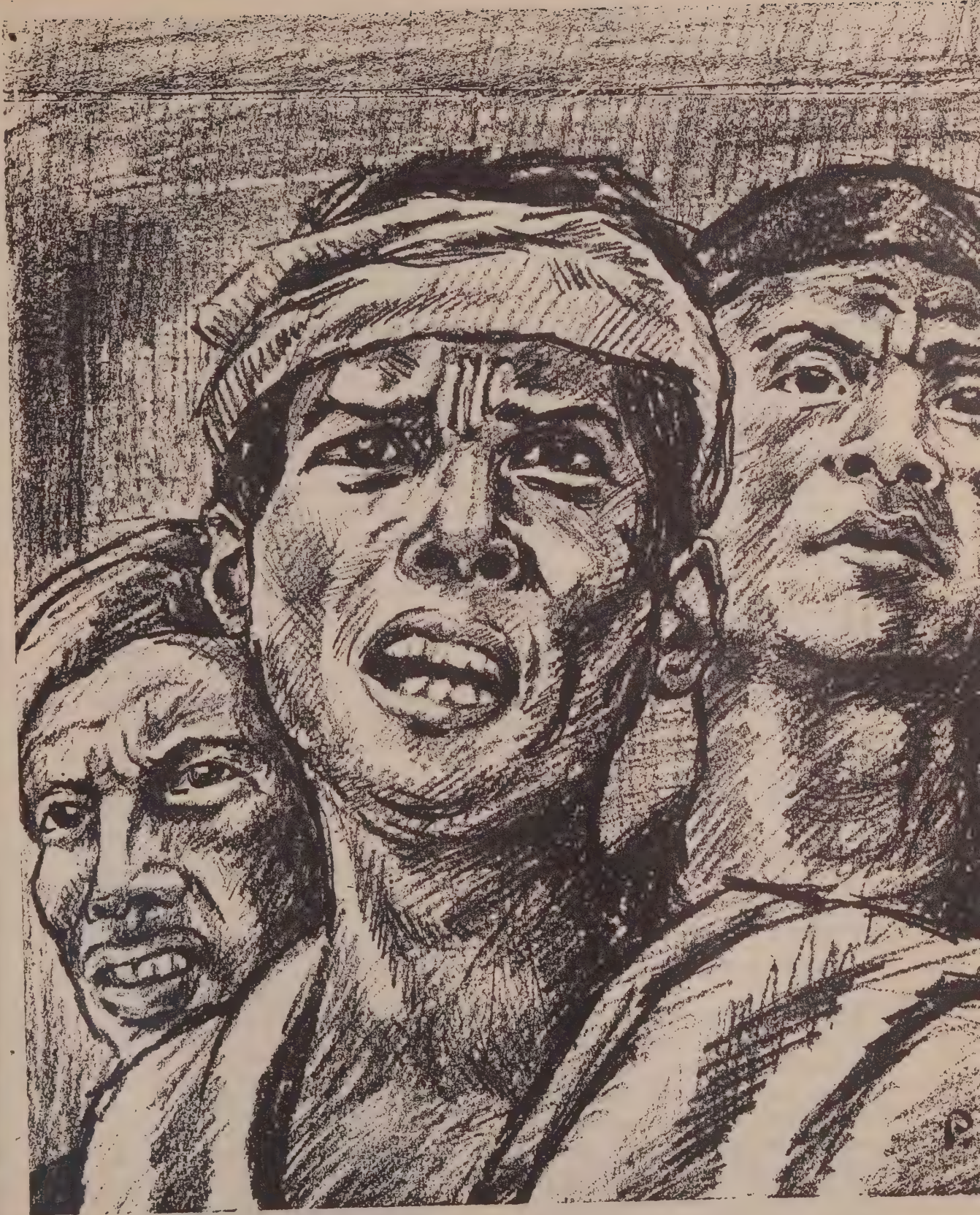
Justice Douglas' book covers a wider canvas than does Taruc's. As the title indicates, Douglas traveled from Malaya northward to the Philippines, Viet Nam, Burma, Formosa, and South Korea. Everywhere he traveled his observations confirmed the fact that the Asian people are no longer content to live as colonials, with second, or even third class citizenship, and without even the most elementary political or economic rights. *And everywhere he went, he found that the colonial rulers, whether they were the British in Malaya, the French in Indo-China, or the puppet governments in South Korea, Formosa, or the Philippines, were dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo.* In Ma-

laya, for example, there is a detention law, which has been used especially against trade unions, and under which non-citizens can be imprisoned for months without trial. On the rubber plantations wages have sharply declined. Douglas indicates the vast British financial stake in Malaya, and notes that any



reforms which have been achieved have been over the opposition of the British.

IN Indo China, Douglas indicates the role of French imperialism. He tells of French-owned rubber plantations, coal mines, and textile industries, in which the workers were paid a few francs a day, but where the return on capital invested was upwards of fifty percent where any opposition to the French means imprisonment or death. It is not surprising that Justice Douglas "came to know that in this war-torn country of Viet Nam there was one group more hated, more suspected, more reviled than any other, and that group was the French." And it is only natural that, under such conditions, a national liberation move-



ment, led by Ho Chi Minh, has developed and is growing stronger despite French attempts to destroy it.

Moreover, Douglas recognizes that the influence of the United States in Asian affairs has been directed, either actively or passively, against the independence movements. He notes that:

"When Indonesia was clamoring for her independence from the Dutch we sat on the sidelines and let her clamor. . . . We were far less vocal than Russia in promoting the cause of Indonesian independence. Much of what we said or did about it in the Security Council of the United Nations was equivocal. When the Vietnamese were clamoring for their independence from the French we were worse than equivocal. We actually threw our weight behind the French in trying to still the nationalist movement in Vietnam."

HOWEVER, in spite of some positive features, and much useful information, this book indicates neither the basic causes nor solutions to Asia's problems. For Douglas accepts the basic premises of American foreign policy—namely, that the main cause of our difficulties is the Soviet Union, and that Communists

everywhere are merely tools of the U.S.S.R.

"The loyalty of a Communist," he writes, "whether he be a Huk in the Philippines, or a guerrilla in Malaya, or a comrade in North Korea, is to the Russian fatherland first. Russia today is empire building, using fifth columns within the various countries to destroy existing governments."

This approach leads the author to justify the repressive practices of the colonial regimes in Asia. It is ironic and inconsistent, to say the least, to find Justice Douglas, who is famous for his Supreme Court opinions upholding civil liberties in the United States, supporting the suspension of *habeas corpus* in Malaya on the grounds that it is necessary until the guerrillas are destroyed. In general, although detailing the oppression caused by the imperialist powers, Justice Douglas proposes that the problems of the Asian nations must be solved while the occupying countries are still there. Thus, even the section on Vietnam, which is by far the best section of the book, concludes with the statement that "the French cannot withdraw their troops today."

J. A.

The Film:

"FROM HERE TO ETERNITY"

FROM Here to Eternity" takes place at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Private Prewitt (Montgomery Clift) transfers into an infantry company at the barracks after having lost his position as a company head bugler. In this new company Prewitt runs into conflict with Captain Holmes, who doubles as company

commander and boxing coach. Here, with Prewitt declining to participate in the annual army boxing tournament, begins to unfold something new in a Hollywood film about the army, a picture of how the army system attempts to break the individuality of the soldier. Prewitt is subjected to every kind of pressure by the Captain and the other members of the boxing team. Prewitt "must" take part in the tournament, anything else is viewed as a violation of army discipline.

Prewitt, however, is not one to be easily broken and, in his resistance, is joined by Private Angelo Maggio (Frank Sinatra, who really shows that he can do more than croon). Maggio particularly stands up to the bullying, insulting sergeant of the stockade, Fatso Judson. However, one weekend Maggio goes AWOL and comes into Honolulu, later being picked up by MP's and imprisoned in the stockade. There Maggio is the victim of the most brutal sadism by Sergeant Judson, who takes delight in beating Maggio in such a way as to leave a minimum of marks for evidence. Maggio escapes from the stockade but dies as a result of the beating. Prewitt, his friend, reacts to this by getting involved in a fight with Judson in the course of which first Judson and then Prewitt use knives with the result that Judson is killed. After seeing this whole episode it is not difficult to understand why the Navy has banned the film and the Pentagon has expressed its disapproval.

The climax of the film comes with the attack on Pearl Harbor. The army, unprepared for the attack, is badly hurt. But despite adversity the soldiers spring into the action that began America's participation in World War 2. Prewitt, who has been staying with his girl friend Alma (Donna Reed), attempts to rejoin his company but is accidentally killed at night when mistaken for a saboteur.

"From Here to Eternity" sharply contrasts with those films that offer a glamorized version of military life. The Army that entered World War II was defending our country against fascism, but even

then it was far from a democratic army. But beside showing some of the brutality of real army life the film does give a sense of the warm friendship that binds the ordinary soldiers together in their attempt to preserve a semblance of decency.

OF major importance in the film is the treatment given Mrs. Holmes, the captain's wife, and to Alma, Prewitt's girl friend. The film keeps within the Hollywood tradition of viewing women in a relationship as subordinating themselves to men. But there is a refutation of the double-standard. Mrs. Holmes has an unsavory reputation. But actually it is her husband who wrecked their marriage by the infidelity and drunkenness that began at the very start of their marriage.

There are important shortcomings in "From Here to Eternity." If the film does not leave the impression that a military future is what a young person should aspire to, neither does the film follow out it's own implicit conclusion: What the army has to offer is repulsive. In fact Prewitt is made to say several times after some of the worst possible treatment, "he loves the army," "it gave him a home" etc. What a commentary this is on the generation that came into the army in the late 1930's, the youth who for the most part joined the army not out of choice, but because of the unemployment that denied them any other opportunity.

STILL and all "From Here to Eternity" is a good film. For at a time when military experience is faced not by a couple of hundred thousand young people (as it was in the years before World War II) but by several million, it is a gain to have a film that begins to tell some of the realities of army life.

H. S.



(Continued from page 27)

attention of the Board of Trustees of Lane, composed primarily of a group of business men, who were acutely conscious of the trade connections between Cincinnati and the slave territory across the Ohio River. The local press began to take cognizance of the students' work, Charles Hammond of the *Gazette* warned that, "Ohio will give no countenance to the followers of Garrison and Tappan."⁹ During the absence of Beecher, the situation became increasingly tense. The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees resolved that the existence of all antislavery organizations at the Seminary terminate. They also outlawed "discussion and conduct among the students calculated to . . . excite party animosities, stir up evil passions amongst themselves with the political concerns of the country."¹⁰ These resolutions were shortly confirmed, and a few were added to the restrictions. Meetings were forbidden for any purpose other than study or devotion, abolition and colonization societies were dissolved and the Executive Committee was delegated the power to dismiss any student who stirred up controversy. The students were, in other words, being told to divorce themselves from the most vital issues that faced the nation, to carry on the learning process in a complete vacuum.

Forty students, in defiance of the restrictions, applied for dismissal, issuing the following manifesto to the trustees:

"Free discussion, being a duty, is consequently a *right*, and *as such* is inherent and inalienable. It is *our* right. It was before we entered Lane Seminary :privileges we might and did relinquish: advantages we might and did receive. But this right the institu-

tion 'could neither give nor take away. . . .' Proscription of free discussion is a sacrilege! It is boring out the eyes of the soul. It is the robbery of the mind. It is the burial of the truth. If institutions cannot stand upon this broad footing, let them fall."¹¹

After four months, the students were approached by Shipherd of Oberlin, who invited them to enroll there. They received assurances that entire freedom of speech would be granted, that Negro students would be admitted on equal footing with white students, and that faculty rather than trustees rule would prevail. The "Lane Rebels" enrolled in Oberlin and made the school a strong force in the Abolitionist movement.

Today, as in the pre-Civil War period, not only those who actively criticize the gross conduct of the ruling class, but also those who defend the principle of criticism are personally and politically harassed. Yet the heritage of the "Lane Rebels'" manifesto and the words of Prof. Harris:—" . . . there will always be found some courageous intelligence to protest against your hateful tyranny"—inspires the confidence that living intellectuals and students can unite to reverse the attack on the right to freely teach, organize, and criticize.

11. Cited in Nye, *Ibid*, p. 82.

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9. Cited in Nye, *Ibid*, p. 89.

10. Cited in Nye, *Ibid*, p. 80.

(Continued from page 34)

On June 13, 14, and 15 a student conference on academic freedom was held in Chicago. Faculty speakers included H. H. Wilson, associate professor of politics at Princeton; Dr. Howard K. Beale, history professor at Wisconsin; and Dr. John J. DeBoer, professor of education at Illinois. Out of the conference came resolutions on the Congressional inquiries. Among them:

1. "The democratic way of life depends for its very existence upon the free contest of ideas. This is as true on the campus as in the community at large. If students are to grow to political and social maturity, no step should be neglected which will facilitate the free interchange of ideas—unpopular and strange ideas as well as those which are favored or familiar.
2. "The only valid criterion for the dismissal or refusal to hire a teacher, other than for illegal acts, is his inability to measure up to the degree of competence required by his profession, and not his race, nationality, creed, religious beliefs, or affiliations.
3. "We hold that the teacher, no less than any other citizen, is entitled to the basic rights of association and political expression. These rights have been infringed upon by Congressional groups, and college administrations, and faculties themselves through social, political, and economic reprisals. They can only be preserved, in our opinion, by upholding the standards of the teaching profession."
4. The conference also held "with the dissenting Justices Black and Douglas that the Smith Act is an infringement of the first amendment and that the risk of stifling political democracy when the law is upheld is far greater than the risk of subversion by free political dissent."

5. The conference planned a program of action for protecting academic freedom. "An effective fight for academic freedom must rely upon: 1. education of the people to the issues; 2. exchange of information between presently isolated groups; 3. a program of co-operation and coordination among all the groups waging all the fights." Derek Staats of Northwestern and Peter H. Greene of the U. of Chicago were elected co-chairmen of the continuations committee.

In the first issue of *Prospects*, a new intercollegiate magazine, the editors comment on the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act: "The college community is one of the areas which will feel the sting of the Act. Restrictions on visiting scholars and scientists have kept prominent men from entering the academic community. Tension on foreign and naturalized students is growing. They fear their freedom is severely restricted by the act and cite the injustice of a system which uses two standards of penalty: one for the naturalized and one for the native born citizens. . . . *Prospects* urges Congress to give creative consideration to the whole problem of immigration and not to be so quick or loud to hail the lumping of existing legislation under one cover as an accomplishment worthy of a great legislative body." This same issue of *Prospects* announces the formation of the Young Citizens National Committee on Immigration Policy. Said *Prospects*: "People of diverse political, ethnic, and religious roots, many of them leaders in national organizations, are combining efforts for one political idea. They feel that the policies stated in the McCarran Walter Immigration Act are contrary to the best interests of the United States." Chairman of the committee is William Stringfellow, graduate Harvard student and former chairman of the United Student Christian Council.

SPORT RETURNS TO FOOTBALL

By **WALTER ROSS**

WHEN you are sitting in the stands this Fall and cheering mightily for your gridiron favorites, don't get frightened if you can actually make out the individual players. That monstrosity known as two-platoon football has been junked, at least for this season. No longer will a football field look like the rush hour in a big city subway. Instead of entire teams running on and off the gridiron every four downs, a well-ordered, easy-to-follow sight will greet the pigskin devotee. Unlimited substitution has been abolished.

Previously, substitutions being allowed at any time when the ball was dead, an entire offensive eleven was rushed in when their team had the ball. As soon as they lost it, they were taken out and eleven defensive specialists replaced them. When they got tired, why the second defensive team was ordered in, with the second offensive team waiting on the sidelines to jump in at a moment's notice.

SANITY has returned. This season, substitutions will be permitted only during the last four minutes of the second and fourth quarters while a game is in progress (except, of course, when a player is injured) along with the usual replacements between quarters, etc. Football will be football once again.

Instead of two power-laden squads seeing who can send in more waves of athletes, victory will become more de-

pendent on ability, intelligence, and resourcefulness. Football will cease being a game of specialists, where a player can do one, and only one, job. It was not meant to be such a game. Anyone who has ever played it knows that it is unnatural for a right-halfback who can run like the wind on offense to be barred from intercepting a pass on defense. A right tackle gets just as much from opening a hole for the fullback as he does from crashing through to tackle the opposing team's ball-carrier for a six-yard loss. And where is the left end who, after racing downfield to receive a long pass, would refuse to go down under a punt and trap the opposition's safety man in the shadow of his own goal post?

What I am saying is just this: football is a game for all-around players, able both offensively and defensively, not one for cogs in a machine, who only know how to do one thing. Furthermore, is it not logical to assume that an end whose offensive job it is to receive passes, will best know how to defend against an opposing receiver on defense? A team, and squad, of all-around players is one that depends more on their wits, not solely on brawn.

BESIDES this basic reason, there is the fact that small schools, with less money, cannot compete with larger ones. Having two and four platoons means more equipment, more coaches, more general expenses. Furthermore, football, under unlimited substitution, had become more and more a high-pressure game (although that is not the only

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cause). Schools, and their alumni associations, began sending out droves of scouts to round up high school stars by the carload (also putting the smaller schools at a disadvantage). After presenting the coach with these five tons of beef, they would sit back and "order" him to produce. Under this win-or-be-fired pressure, a coach has to think more of his job than of the players. If one little misstep is committed, in many cases the "wrongdoer" is taken out immediately, giving him no chance to really show his ability, even if only a specialized one. After all, there are plenty more where he came from, or so the distorted philosophy goes.

Of course, there are some advantages for the two-platoon game, under present conditions. One important factor is that with fresh players constantly streaming in, the game would tend to be faster and less injuries would occur. And of course, more players would see action. However, the root of the evils that two-platoon football may or may not eliminate is not to be found in the old, limited-substitution brand of play. It has other sources.

Recently, Bob Mathias, one of the world's outstanding athletes, who has won the ten-event Decathlon at the past two Olympics, announced that he is quitting college football. He has been first-string fullback at Stanford University for two years, and for a star like him to refuse to play his senior year—well, it's just not done. And while some players have foregone the game for reasons of study, etc., rarely has anyone done it for the outspoken cause that Mathias has.

Pointing out the contrast of the spirit of the Olympics with that of present-day college football, Mathias says, while liking to win, "at the Olympics, we were playing a game, competing in a sport."

And, he states, college football is no longer a game. "Today, it is big business and no school is able to escape its pressures and bad traits." (From an article in *Parade*, newspaper magazine section (8/16) entitled, "I'm Through With College Football.")

This pressure results in orders to "get" an opposing player, as Mathias says he was told bluntly by players on an opposing team. When the formula for victory becomes deliberate injury ("I know several fellows who have been crippled for life," says Mathias) rather than clean resourcefulness, sport, as such, is thrown out the window.

Revealing that at Stanford football practice and "skull" meetings sometimes add up to 17 hours a week (more than an average student's class time), Mathias makes the point that it is this overwhelming emphasis on winning that has stamped the game into its present condition. And he bluntly offers the cause: "This victory at-all-costs spirit in college football comes from the fact that it's big business."

IT IS this commercialization of a once proud sport that, I think, impelled the emergence of two-platoon football. The fact that a big-time winner makes big-time money leads to the necessity for large-scale assembly line football, in order to get the "best." Is it any wonder that the spirit of friendly competition no longer prevails in American college football? And in thus producing football factories, it has spurred an imbalance between sport and scholarship, as well.

The return to a "one-platoon" game, even if only temporary, is a healthy sign. But until the pressures which caused a star such as Bob Mathias to leave the game are not eliminated, clean, intelligent football will not result.



CHARLES WHITE.