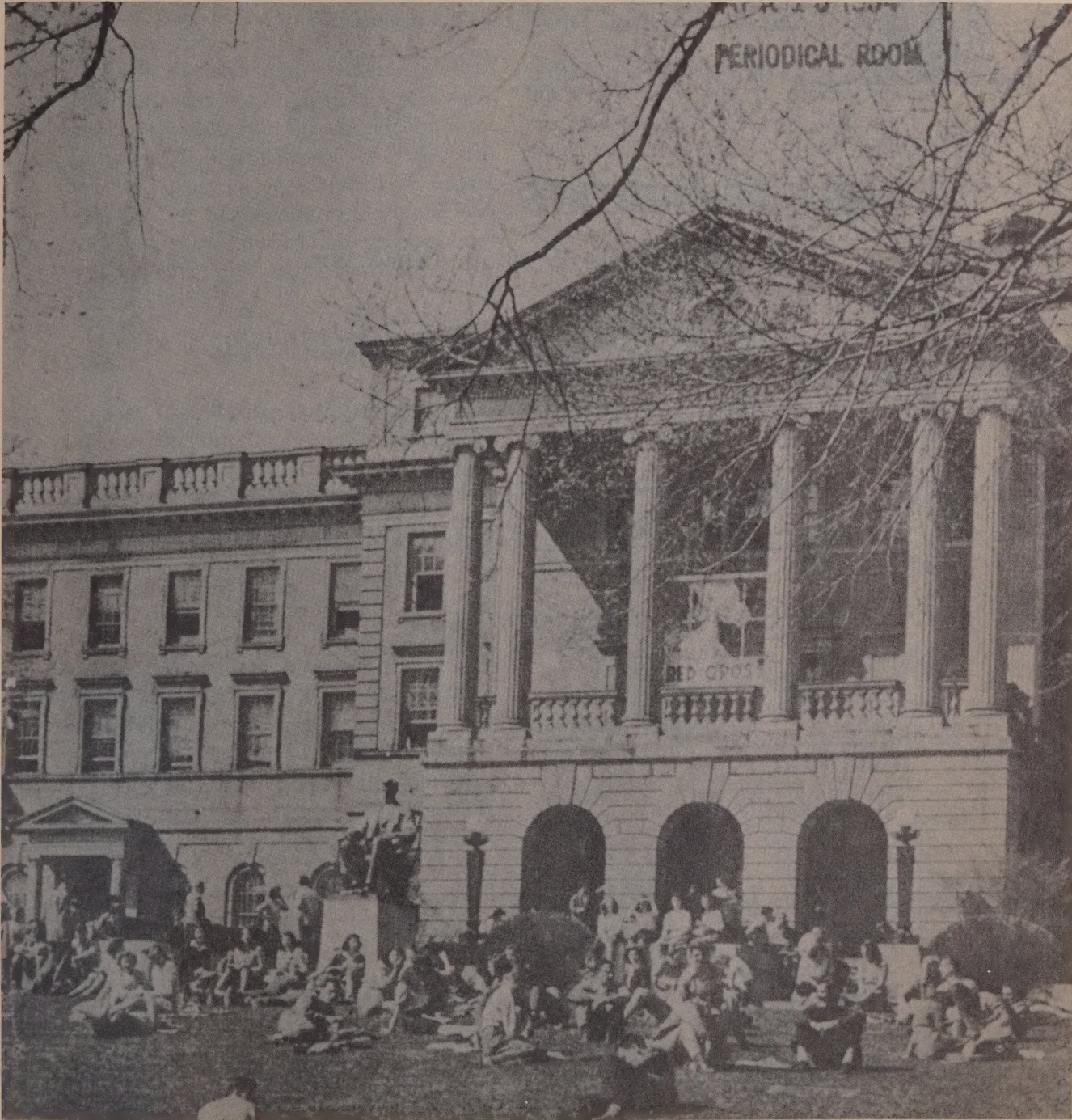


new foundations

Vol. 7, No. 2 Spring 1954 Issue Twenty-five Cents



- Academic Freedom Week at Ann Arbor
- "Students for America"—McCarthy's Class of '54
- Science Fiction, by Edwin Berry Burgum
- For Equality in Education



new foundations

For Peace, Academic Freedom, and a Socialist Future

VOL. 7, No. 2

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NEW FOUNDATIONS is published at 575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, N. Y., by Student Associated Press, Publishers of *NEW FOUNDATIONS*. Subscription, \$1.00 for 5 issues; single copies, 25 cents; foreign subscription, \$1.20 for 4 issues. PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Academic Freedom Week at Ann Arbor

By MIKE SHARPE

DURING the Sixth National Student Association Congress this past summer, an Academic Freedom Committee for the Michigan Region of NSA was set up; when the academic year began, the Student Legislature at the University of Michigan endorsed the proposal and proceeded to give active assistance to the Committees.

Non-Partisan

The Committee, known as the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission, decided at its initial meeting that it would be a non-partisan body, dedicated to publicizing all points of view on academic freedom, promoting and stimulating the widest possible exchange of opinion. It invited every recognized campus organization at the U. of M. to join. Fourteen such organizations responded to the call: Students for Democratic Action, Young Republicans, Young Democrats, Student Religious Association's Social Action Committee, Delta Delta Delta, Kappa Kappa Gamma, Inter-House Council, Inter-Co-operative Council, Graduate Student Council, Jordan Hall, Senior Board, Unitarians, Osterweil Coop, and Hillel Foundation.

Undoubtedly the most vital achievement of the Sub-Commission so far has been its sponsorship of an Academic Freedom Week, November 15-22, in which over 1,000 students actively participated. The preparation for this week took place against a dramatic background of events in the state of Michigan, in-

cluding an announcement of a forthcoming visit by the Un-American Committee to Detroit, Flint and Lansing; the launching of a trial of six Communist leaders in Detroit under the Smith Act; and the McCarthyite attack made by the Air Force against Lt. Milo Radulovich, U. of M. physics student.*

Of these events the impending visit of the Un-American Committee evoked the most direct, widespread concern of students at Ann Arbor. Since the Committee's avowed intention was to launch an investigation into education (among other

* The Air Force asked Lt. Radulovich to resign because his father allegedly received the "Daily Worker" and his sister allegedly attended a "subversive" meeting. A group of Air Force officers confirmed Radulovich's discharge at a closed hearing, but Secretary of the Air Force Talbott subsequently revised the decision and reinstated Radulovich.



"It's perfectly safe—the Senator himself just went in."

Reprinted from *Adult Leadership* (July-August, 1953), Adult Education Assoc., 743 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.

things), this fact raised the question of academic freedom in a new, more vivid, more urgent way than ever before. Where do we stand on the question of investigations? What are the rights of students and teachers? How can we safeguard the individual against the ill-effects of hasty procedures and unfounded accusations? These were some of the topics to which many students were giving serious thought as Academic Freedom Week approached.

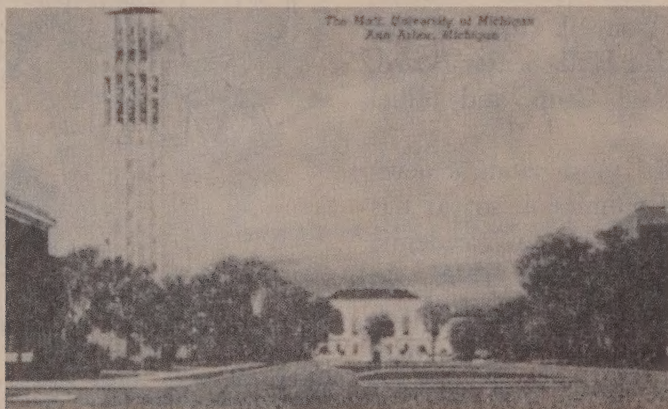
Defense Resolved

ON October 21, after a lengthy period of careful consideration, the Student Legislature voiced the general consensus that some sort of assurances should be provided for students and teachers against peremptory expulsion or dismissal for alleged non-conformity of views in any field. In part the resolution said: "Many methods employed by legislative investigating committees tend to prevent an educational institution from doing its vital job by producing an atmosphere in which what is novel, original and unconventional may be punished as being pernicious or wickedly unorthodox." The resolution went on to affirm "the following fundamental principles": (1) Academic Freedom is important to the cam-

pus and to society as a whole; (2) Members of an educational community should have the same rights as all other citizens; (3) No censorship should be imposed in the educational community; (4) A faculty member should be free to express in class his own opinions, as opinions; (5) No religious, racial or non-educational considerations should be applied to the acceptability of students, faculty members, or administrators except where the purpose of the institution is to bring together members for a specific religious purpose; (6) Membership in any religious, political, racial or national origin group is not a basis for dismissal; (7) Dismissal from the educational community should be only on the grounds of incompetence, neglect of obligations, etc.

Administration Move

A new turn of events took place on Tuesday, November 10, four days prior to the beginning of Academic Freedom Week. The Student Affairs Committee, composed of faculty members and various student officers, passed several rulings, the central one of which was the following (as reported in the "Michigan Daily" Nov. 11): "Any reports, resolutions or recommendations presented at



any session (during Academic Freedom Week) shall be voted upon by division of the house and this vote recorded, and such reports, resolutions or recommendations must be signed by those who have approved its passage at the meeting."

THIS administration-inspired move proved widely unpopular, inasmuch as it represented an attempt by the University authorities to dictate to the students how they should run Academic Freedom Week. It meant that all abstentions on a motion would be counted against the motion; that a list of names would be available to any investigating agency, opening signers to pressure from these and other sources; and that students would be pressed towards watering down and compromising their true opinions if they did not want to risk having their signatures falling into unfriendly hands which could jeopardize future educations and careers.

Students Firm

Seizing the initiative on the following day, the Student Legislature requested the Student Affairs Committee to reconsider its ruling, since it "is in violation of SL's Academic Freedom Policy stand." "We feel this regulation inhibits full expression of student opinion. In the atmosphere of intimidation generated by such measures, students may hesitate to sign a resolution even though it expresses their true beliefs, because they fear reprisals." ("Daily," Nov. 12.)

Nine days intervened filled with a hubbub of activity on academic freedom issues; the Conference was nearing. At length SAC reconvened, and it accepted SL's recommendation and removed the signature rule.

Rumor Scotched

ON Sunday, Nov. 15, the Labor Youth League held a meeting at which Thomas Dennis, one of the defendants in the Detroit Smith Act Trial, spoke. Dennis spoke of how the Smith Act cases involve "trials of ideas," trials in which the government's aim is to suppress ideas of which it disapproves. In his speech he emphasized the point that the attempt to outlaw Communists and their ideas is a major part of the general onslaught of McCarthyism. It has been the persecution of the left, the effort to create hysteria about a manufactured "Communist conspiracy" that has opened the door to repression of those far from left in their orientation. Dennis stated that what was proceeding in Detroit had to be the concern of everyone who would defend democracy.

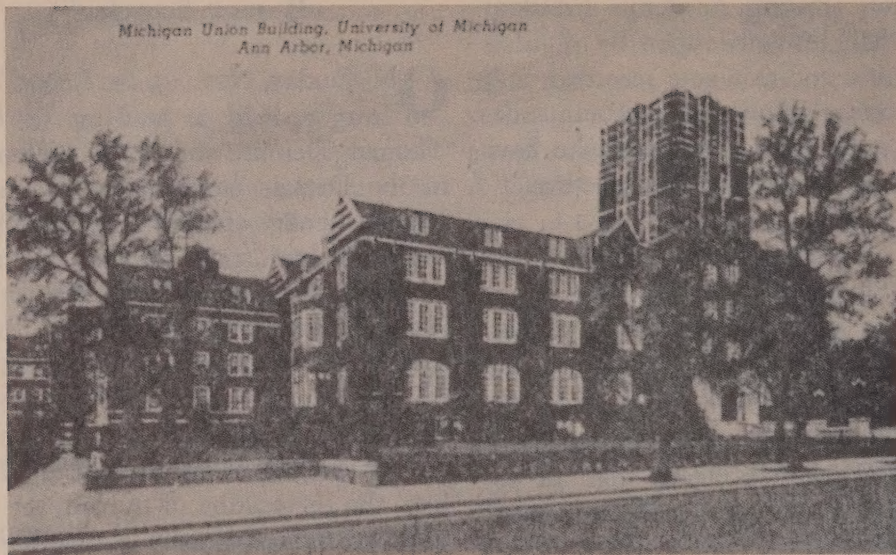
The following day, former President Truman's speech on the Harry Dexter White case flashed across the news wires, with its ringing warning—"This horrible cancer (McCarthyism) is eating at the vitals of America. . . ."—the whole case serving to set forth in bold relief the lengths to which reaction was willing to go to secure conformity throughout the land.



Reprinted from Motive magazine

"If you don't like it here, go back where you came from."

Michigan Union Building, University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan



As if to underline Truman's words, Tuesday's "Michigan Daily" reported: "An investigator of the House Un-American Activities Committee has examined an undetermined number of records of students and former students, it was revealed yesterday."

And a Senior Editorial reported: "... a widespread rumor has it that the discussions, particularly the Conference Sunday, will be dominated by one interest—that of the Labor Youth League. . . . There is . . . validity to the rumor that because of this possibility, state and federal investigators will be keeping a close watch on the proceedings." Continued the editorial: "Thus an atmosphere is set which is literally working to scare students away from the program."

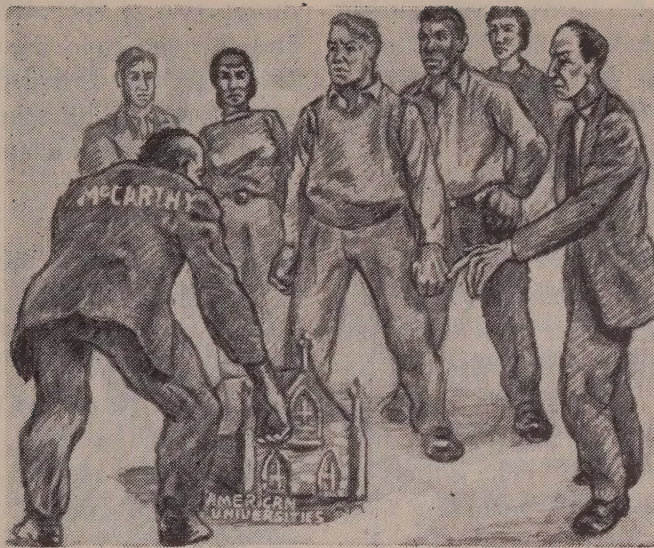
In a letter to the "Daily," the LYL Chairman attempted to analyze the purpose behind the rumor. "Such a rumor, whoever originated it, is designed for one purpose only: to destroy the Conference and to panic every student who plays a part in Academic Freedom Week. It deliberately and viciously sows the suspicion that every proposal raised will have a hidden meaning which serves the

LYL. . . . The rumor will be used as a pretext for the presence of FBI agents and state police at the Conference."

In reply to the rumor, the "Daily" called for the widest turnout of students to the meetings during Academic Freedom Week.

McCarthyism on Spot

THAT evening (Tuesday), approximately 300 students turned out to the first event sponsored by the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission—a panel discussing "The Effect of Congressional Investigations on Education." Participants were Frank Blackford, legislative secretary for Governor G. Mennen Williams; Phillip Hart, legal consultant for the State; and George Sallade, President of the Ann Arbor City Council. Sallade endorsed that viewpoint which would deny academic freedom to Communists. Blackford stated: "My concern comes when a committee uses its position to exercise a political force or to advance the political fortunes of the committee chairman." ("Daily," Nov. 18.) Hart reiter-



ated: "Ideas can be dangerous things, but the suppression of ideas can be fatal. Freedom is a dangerous way of life, but it is our way of life." ("Daily," Nov. 18.) Following the panel, there was a lively discussion period during which, at its outstanding moment, a member of the faculty chose to take sharp issue with Sallade's position.

Student Legislature

Wednesday, November 18—certainly that day was the high water mark of Academic Freedom Week. A newly-elected Student Legislature, bringing to fruition a long stage of student discussion, boldly acted to protect student rights by unanimously proclaiming: "SL believes that any student called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee or any other Congressional investigating committee should not be subject to charges by University disciplinary authorities: 1) merely because he has been called to testify; 2) because of his refusal to testify; 3) because of his testimony before the committee, unless such testimony indicates that he has violated federal or State law, or unless he

has attempted to represent the University or any segment thereof. It is important to recognize that, at this time, membership in the Communist Party per se is not a violation of federal or state law."

The following day, a front-page Senior Editorial concurred whole-heartedly with the Student Legislature stand, saying "SL was everything last night that one could expect of a student government." It went on to say: "Because the Legislature's unanimous support is behind the resolution and because the resolution itself is of unquestionable merit, we think that *the University administration has an inescapable obligation to adhere to its provisions.*" (Italics mine—M.S.)

Prexy Balks

Thereupon, the press sounded out Harlan Hatcher, President of the University, on his reaction to the SL stand and to the coming un-American probe. Hatcher believed that "anyone called before a duly delegated Congressional committee is obligated to answer . . . all questions put before him," that "a person refusing to answer any questions has a cloud of guilt placed about him which he must

clear," and that the University would not formulate a "blanket policy" on student or faculty rights. ("Daily," Nov. 21.)

Paper Firm

THE Daily again took up the cudgels for academic freedom (Nov. 22) when two editors, Alice Silver and Virginia Voss, characterized Hatcher's announcement as "inconsistent, contradictory, weak, and not particularly becoming a University president." The editors asserted: "The committee, including Clardy's, are looking for 'Un-American' ideas and activities. We seriously wonder whether this is a legitimate task, whether this is compatible with the spirit or the letter (the First Amendment) of the Constitution. . . ." They continued: "The President has . . . fallen into the common assumption that the committees are in effect a kind of traveling court which makes charges and then finds the witness guilty or innocent. This is precisely what the committees would have us think. President Hatcher says that 'any citizen refusing to answer on the grounds that it might incriminate him is placed under a heavy burden of proof to explain his actions.' The image of a court appears here but it is a twisted image. In court cases it has been the practice in the United States to place the burden of proof with the court and not with the defendant. . . ."

If these views are at all indicative of student opinion, there is a wide gulf which separates the position of the students and that of President Hatcher. In an earlier editorial (Nov. 19), Harry Lunn, Managing Editor, stated: "Invocation of the Fifth Amendment should not place 'a heavy burden of proof' on the faculty member. . . ." ". . . Many citizens will use it on principle to show their

disapproval of the committee's methods, and this principle should be respected." It appears that President Hatcher is pursuing a quite different line of thought from that of the student body.

RETURNING to the events sponsored by the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission, recordings of the 1952 Un-American Committee hearings in California were played on the 18th. On the 19th, a faculty-student forum was sponsored on the question "Have Congressional Investigating Committees had a favorable or unfavorable effect on American education?" Approximately 175 students attended. Discussing the question were Prof. Edwin E. Moise of the math department, Prof. Paul G. Kauper of the Law School, Dave Kornbluh, President of SDA, Jack Danielson, member of the Grad Student Council, Eugene Hartwig, member of the Michigan Daily, Donald Miller, and Mike Sharpe, Chairman of the Labor Youth League. There was general agreement on the point that some of the procedures of the committees were unjust in their effects; otherwise views ranged from that of urging cooperation with investigators, to that of refusing to cooperate in order to avoid aiding the committees in their undemocratic purposes.

One Day Poll

Earlier the same day, the Students for Democratic Action took a one-day poll, asking students "Should Legislative Investigating Committees have the power coercively to inquire into the political, economic, social and religious views of individuals?" Of 649 students polled, 525 said no against 126 yes. ("Daily," Nov. 20.)

The final gathering of Academic Freedom Week took place on Sunday, November 22—the all-day Academic Freedom Conference. That morning, an extensive statement of student opinion on academic freedom was presented by the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission on the pages of the “Michigan Daily.” This included commentaries presented by Prof. Marshall Knappen, Prof. Preston Slosson, Wesleyan Guild, Labor Youth League, Newman Club, Young Friends, Westminster Group, Graduate Students, Unitarian Student Group, Students for Democratic Action, and the Young Democrats.

The Conference, numbering 50 participants from varying sections of campus life, began with an informal plenary session, broken up into four panels which prepared resolutions on different aspects of academic freedom, and reassembled into a final plenary session to consider the panel resolutions.

At the final plenary session, exhaustive debate transpired over the precise meaning and wording of resolutions; the time limit was repeatedly extended so that everyone could speak his mind. By the end of the evening the delegates had assembled a series of bold policies, which, if accepted by the University, would assuredly advance the status of academic freedom by significant strides. Here are some excerpts from the resolutions: *“Students should have the right to hear all sides of a question and independently formulate their opinions. Therefore, all recognized student organizations should have the right to invite speakers of their own choice without having to subject them to the approval or disapproval of the University Lecture Committee.”*

“The Student Legislature . . . should have the power of direct appointment of

the student members of the Student Affairs Committee.”

“Student organizations . . . should have the right to hold unrestricted meetings. . . .” (with the right to function without submitting a membership list to the University and without a faculty adviser if none can be obtained.)

“We oppose the present Congressional Investigations into education. . . .”

Faculty members should not be subject to disciplinary action “merely because they a) are called to testify before investigating committees,” or because they “b) refuse to testify. . . .”

N.S.A. Petitioned

These resolutions were submitted to SL for its consideration. On November 25, at its first meeting after Academic

The Jan. 20 issue of NSA News announces the National Executive Committee of NSA has called on its 300 member schools to “sponsor academic freedom programs, where they are deemed appropriate, during the second week of April.”

Freedom Week, that body heard a report from Paula Levin, Chairman of the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission, whereupon it unanimously passed two of the recommendations of the Academic Freedom Conference: that the Sub-Commission should be continued, and that the NSA should be petitioned to set a date for a National Academic Freedom Week some time in April.

The Chairman of the Academic Freedom Sub-Commission also reported to the Michigan Regional Executive Committee of the NSA at its meeting on December 12. The Committee decided to encourage the establishment of similar Sub-Commissions on other campuses through-

(Continued on page 37)

International Affairs Conference at Swarthmore

By JUDITH STEINER

ON December 3-5 the Pennsylvania-West Virginia region of the National Student Association held a conference to discuss the role of students in international affairs. This conference gave a clear demonstration of two divergent trends within the student movement on international affairs. One trend was represented by those student leaders who still view their relationship to world affairs only in terms of developing further the "cold war," the other by students who see the alleviation of international tension as the issue that has come to the fore.

Present at this conference were about 150 students from 30 colleges in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Most of the delegates were leaders of chapters of national student and youth organizations. Also present were a number of leaders on the national level. The national leadership of NSA was represented by spokesmen such as Rob West, Al Lowenstein, former president of NSA, and Len Babchek, current international affairs vice-president. Of particular interest, from the general youth movement were Herb Weiss, Barbara Weiss and Fran Potter, Members of the Young Adult Council and participants in the first World Assembly of Youth Conference. Also participating was Hal Holman, former vice-president of the International Union of

Students, the international student organization which serves as a medium for cooperation of student unions representing the large majority of the world's students.

LEADERSHIP BEHIND

At the conference Babchek, Lowenstein, and West brought forward their basic premise that in the circumstances of the Cold War and the "division of the world into blocks" international student co-operation of any kind was impossible. Important is that they did not pose the issue how students could participate in reducing international tensions. Rather, the problem as they presented it was how to strengthen the position of the "Western side" in the cold war. Based on this attitude they elaborated an international program. They proposed support for the Western sponsored co-ordinating Secretariat, which was formed for the specific purpose of drawing Western student unions away from the IUS. The second part of their program centered around aid to colonial areas. This aid would consist of sending "teams" to the "under-developed areas" of the world, to give students there the benefit of our "superior know-how" in organizing student government, school

newspapers, health projects, etc.

Despite the attempts of certain NSA national spokesmen to have students view international student co-operation as unthinkable, as something not even worth discussing, student exchange on the widest basis, exchange that would include the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, came to the forefront of discussion because of student interest. Also widely discussed, in the face of comments that it was a "dead issue," were the possibilities of the American student movement re-establishing co-operation with the International Union of Students.

The speech made during a conference panel by former IUS Vice-President Holman offered an alternative outlook to that presented by official NSA international policy. Holman stated that the biggest problem facing the world today is the question of war or peace. He said that attempts must be made to find all avenues of closer co-operation between east and west or face the consequences—all out atomic war. Holman ended with practical proposals through which NSA could approach the IUS and further the cause of student unity.

STUDENTS FOR EXCHANGE

In the conference workshops, unlike in panel session, general discussion was in order. The dominant sentiment here gave emphasis to the two points of colonial aid and student exchange. Fairly representative of conference sentiment was a straw vote in one workshop that found a majority in favor of NSA sponsored student exchange with socialist countries; an even greater majority favored exchange sponsored by individual schools, and about half favored closer co-operation with the IUS.

Several other points should be noted about conference discussion. There was

a good deal of concern with the effects of McCarthyism on international student affairs. For example, discussion during the course of the conference of the possibility of inviting Soviet students to visit the United States. Not a few students were unsure of the feasibility of such a visit, not because they did not view such a visit as desirable, but because they felt the McCarran-Walter Act would be an insuperable barrier that would keep Soviet students out.

During the conference a representative of the Young Citizens National Committee on Immigration policy spoke on the McCarran Act and its effects on students. She pointed out, for example, that there was a great deal of trouble getting clearance for delegates to a World Student Christian Federation meeting held in this country. She also mentioned the adverse effects of this act on projects such as student exchange.

QUERY STATE DEPARTMENT

Another interesting part of the conference was a session with Mr. Harry Seamans of the State Department. He spoke for a few minutes and then invited questions and answers from the students. Some of the questions were: Why are we so friendly with Spain even though we oppose her form of government?



How can the State Department explain its attitude toward China in light of its Spanish policy? Is our policy in regard to the countries of Eastern Europe one of "containment" or of "liberation"? Does the United States really favor the unification of Germany, especially since it would interfere with the "European Defense Community"? Did the United States discourage participation in "Big Four" talks because of the effect they might have on the ratification of EDC? To these and other questions, Seamans could give only the most evasive answers and left most students thoroughly unimpressed. A number walked out toward the conclusion of his remarks.

On Dec. 2 the Student Council of CCNY, Uptown Day, endorsed a proposal submitted to it by the Student Council of Swarthmore College to send an intercollegiate student delegation to tour the Soviet Union this summer. The council then called for a referendum, asking the student body whether it favored participation in this tour. The referendum was held on Dec. 18th. The vote was 2266 to 723 in favor of participation, a majority of 75.8%. In addition, a majority of the students voted in favor of personal contributions to help finance the delegation. 285 voted to contribute \$1.00, 445 voted to contribute \$.50, and 1110 were opposed to personal contributions. Delegates for the tour shall be elected by the student body. A committee to implement the proposal has been set up by the Council.

On June 23-24, 1953 representatives of the World's Student Christian Federation and the International Union of Students met in

Vienna on official instructions from their respective organizations to discuss questions relative to:

"1. Peace, with special reference to students.

2. Student relief.

3. The role of the university in society."

Their communique reports:

". . . We shared the conviction of the urgency of peace—positive peace, not alone the absence of political and military conflict—as the most immediate concern and need of the student community. . . .

While holding different views on the present world situation, we strongly repudiate the idea that war is inevitable. . . .

Our conversations have manifested a willingness in both delegations to participate in a confrontation—vigorous and positive—involving many different opinions . . . on peace. . . .

Students at this conference questioned aspects of student foreign policy, on the issue of co-operation with IUS for example, that the NSA has treated as settled matters for almost five years. Students are taking a fresh look at international affairs and their role therein, and the yardstick they are increasingly coming to use is not does a particular policy or action help the cause of one side of the cold war or not, but does it further the securing of peace. To increasing numbers of students those who think only in terms of the cold war and "power blocs irreconcilable to one another" are seen as accepting the outlook of a disastrous atomic war. Students are not prepared to accept this outlook. It is to be expected that this desire for an alternative of peace will make itself further felt in the student scene.

"Students for America"— McCarthy's Class of '54

By CHARLES LERNER

A NEW organization has appeared on the American student scene. Its name: Students for America. Its alleged purposes are furthering "patriotism," furthering "loyalty," advancing principles of the Constitution, uprooting "un-Americans" in education. These purposes are familiar to the national scene—in our country's history any number of vigilante, anti-labor groups have shrouded themselves in "patriotism"—and their reflection has taken organized shape on the campus before. In the 'thirties these very same aims were the pretended interest of groups formed in support of Hitler fascism. Then, as now, patriotism and loyalty, to them, meant dedication to studied violence: racism, union busting, militarism. Then, as now, advocates of such violence demanded obeisance, labeling "disloyal" and "un-American" all who disagreed with them.

In those days the violators were named Ku-Kluxers, America Firsters, Dies Committees. They dishonored our democratic tradition. Though today their titles have juggled, for the first time they own a native fuehrer whose name they've adopted.

Today fascism is McCarthyism. McCarthyism shams a "legality" never previously enjoyed, negotiating whole-

sale political arrests, ruining the livelihood of anyone it objects to, stifling expression, all performed in hypocritical deference to "patriotism." And openly and self-righteously SFA now advances McCarthyite fascism on campus.

SFA lauds McCarthy. It freely distributes his pamphlet *McCarthyism, The Fight for America*, having his blessing and the best wishes of leading McCarthyite groups and individuals. Sen. Karl Mundt, violent red-baiter, co-author of Mundt-Nixon Bill, predecessor to McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, sponsor of U.M.T. bills, and one of McCarthy's most active Congressional supporters, used the Senate floor to praise SFA as an organization aimed at "... stopping socialistic expansion in the U.S." McCarthyite radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr., who never saw anything in a strike he could support, and to whom the New Deal is akin to "treason," has commended SFA as a "... strictly pro-American student organization." The pro-witch-hunt American Legion has endorsed SFA activities in Illinois and other states.

Insidious Pamphlets

In addition to the McCarthy pamphlet SFA distributes other revealing pamphlets on student life, including:

N.S.A.—An Insidious Leftist Pressure Group.

University of Chicago, Springboard for Kremlin Propaganda.

S.D.A.—Front for Socialism on Campus.

Communist Fronts for Students and Education.

Of these the most inclusive, and apparently the most basic, is *Communist Front for Students and Education*, information compiled by *Students for America*. The pamphlet cites fifty-one organizations most of which were listed by attorneys-general Clark and Brownell. But among the fifty-one number several the attorneys-general have not listed, including *Student Advocate*, magazine of the American Student Union that dissolved soon after the onset of World War II, National Council of Negro Youth, and the National Youth Assembly Against U.M.T. It's hard to believe, but SFA outstrips the Department of Justice. Prefacing the list, ostensibly by apology for out-Heroding their mentors, there is the following key paragraph:

"There are many individuals who are not Communists, but who are sympathetic to the Communists and are just as dangerous as the Com-



Reprinted from Motive magazine

munists. . . . Therefore, actually, membership is unimportant. It is what these people are trying to do that we are against, and a person does not have to call himself a Communist or even be a Communist to be an enemy of our country."

Precise "criteria" for recognizing a "Communist Front" this pamphlet offers include:

"Does the organization advocate appeasement of Soviet Russia and recognition and support of Communist regimes and revolutionary movements in other nations, such as Red China and Red Korea?

"Does the organization consistently denounce anti-Communist governments such as Greece and Spain?

"Does the organization oppose a sound preparedness program and universal military training?"

The purpose is simple. *SFA attempts to list some critical social issues of the day and then proceeds to decree that those whose position SFA dislikes should be classed "subversive."* Opposition to Franco is a sign of disloyalty. So is agreement with the position that China be admitted to the U.N. So, too, is opposition to Universal Military Training. Fortunately these "tests" would be failed, at least in part, by vast numbers of American students.

No Accident

It's no accident that SFA picks on such issues. By these standards almost anyone who does not completely agree with the McCarthyites on every aspect of foreign and domestic policy can be shown to be "suspect." A member of an International Relations Club or of a student religious organization who disa-

greets that negotiations on international issues should be avoided at all costs will run afoul of SFA. And so will the student who doubts McCarthy's proposal to sink British ships trading with China is the height of national wisdom.

THE list of issues demonstrates that what SFA considers evidence of "subversion" are actually criteria of basic liberal and democratic opinion. Certainly Marxist students, devoting their energies not to mythical "conspiracies" imagined by McCarthy but to activities for peaceful settlement of international differences, to the fight for academic freedom, and to the fight for equality, would not meet SFA "loyalty" standards. But neither would such standards be met by thousands of students far from left in outlook, who are anti-Communist and who support aspects of current American foreign policy.

But SFA does not merely express its disagreement with those whose positions vary from its own. It would silence them. For it's quite clear that SFA considers anyone failing its tests "an enemy of our country," and thus beyond the pale of legality. There can be little doubt but that SFA would support repressive measures designed to impose conformity with the policies to which it gives allegiance.

Attacks N.S.A.

IN its short history SFA has already assumed the job of spreading the idea that the National Student Association is some sort of "subversive" group. By its treatment of N.S.A. in the pamphlet previously mentioned, SFA denudes a chunk of its own outrageous and aggressive character.

Actually, N.S.A. has as members over 300 student councils of American col-

leges and universities. N.S.A. has had for several years a leadership conservative in outlook, a leadership pledged to fighting Communism. N.S.A. has supported official State Department policy. Yet, N.S.A. is described as the "... most dangerous of all the many left wing political pressure groups now operating on the American campuses." SFA complains of N.S.A.: "... the propaganda effect of these leftist bleeding hearts has been useful to communists and socialists."

What explains this onslaught against N.S.A.?

N.S.A. is one of the most important organizations on the student scene. Many students concerned with the growing dangers to education, particularly to academic freedom, view the N.S.A. as a medium through which the fight for democracy can be conducted. Since its formation N.S.A. has had on its record the Student Bill of Rights asserting fundamental concepts of academic freedom. Several regions of the N.S.A. in the recent period have concerned themselves with programs for academic freedom. At its September meeting the National Executive Committee called for holding of a national Academic Freedom Week. To S.F.A. this situation is intolerable. Their counter is elementary: label the N.S.A. "subversive." Through this stratagem those represented by SFA seek 1) to panic N.S.A.'s leaders so intensely that they'll do anything not to offend the McCarthyites, and 2) to break up any attempts by students to express through N.S.A. a program for the defense of education.

SFA's utter lack of principle is apparent. An accurate description of N.S.A. is small concern. What matters is crushing any trend of liberalism within N.S.A. and crushing any thought that N.S.A. can be independent of the

McCarthyites. To this end anything goes.

Racist Orientation

SFA details another reason for its concern with N.S.A. N.S.A. policy has not been prepared to forever go along with discrimination in fraternities and sororities. Objecting to article 10 of the Student Bill of Rights SFA laments:

"... This article provides: 'The right of *any* student organization to be recognized upon filing a statement of purpose, a constitution and specified minimum membership list' and then goes on to exclude from recognition groups which have restrictive clauses concerning membership (such as fraternities). Thus, although Communists should be allowed, most fraternities would be banned from the campus, according to NSA."

BY THIS complaint SFA unequivocally advocates the "right" to discriminate against race, color, and creed, a "right" repealed by the 13, 14, 15, amendments to the Constitution. Apparently SFA prefers the grotesque situation where freedom of speech is denied to anyone it calls "Communist," but where freedom to discriminate is guaranteed.

SFA is boldly committed to preserve discriminatory practices; it says so, in respect to fraternities and sororities, and attacks NSA on that score.

While many individual fraternity and sorority members incline from discriminatory thinking there is SFA kinship with the Greek letter hierarchy. It's quite true that the substance of SFA's attack on NSA was delivered in SFA's National Director's speech at a conference of the National Interfraternity Council. It's true that in this NIFC speech the Director accused N.S.A. of

having a "socialistic outlook" because N.S.A.'s preamble states it seek "to guarantee all people equal rights and possibilities for . . . higher education . . . regardless of economic circumstance."

It is also true that SFA activity, where developed, has received heavy support from McCarthyites in the standing leadership of NIFC and Panhellenic council. According to Dick Murphy, former president of N.S.A., these elements have been the main distributors of SFA literature. They have been pushing the organization and have provided platforms for its leaders throughout the country.

With such blunt preference for unconstitutionality SFA's "subversive" list may be easily lengthened to include student affiliates of organizations concerned with civil rights such as N.A.A.C.P. and B'nai B'rith.

Swipes A.C.L.U.

About one such civil rights group SFA says in the N.S.A. pamphlet:

"... During the most recent N.S.A. Congress, it was noted that N.S.A. accepted a seat on the Academic Freedom Commission of the notorious ACLU, well known for its free legal services on behalf of accused Communists and subversives."

This is a neat piece of McCarthy "logic." There have been cases of people indicted under the Smith Act for teaching the ideas of socialism. Therefore, says SFA, this makes them ipso facto "subversive." Those who might *defend* the legal rights of such people are thus "obviously" guilty of "subversion." Certain people accept seats on committees of organizations which defend "subversives." Thus these latter people also must be "guilty," even if by somewhat remote control. This "logic" has a history. Mc-

Carthy adopted it from the Nazis, who attacked by "association" anyone deviating in the slightest from the fascist course.

In truth the American Civil Liberties Union, a long standing "middle of the road liberal" organization, has spoken for the rights of Communists. But it has been always opposed to Marxism and has denied membership to Communists. In its efforts to preserve application to all Americans of the Bill of Rights, ACLU has naturally conflicted with McCarthyism. ACLU has not abandoned the legal guarantees of the Constitution. Therefore ACLU becomes "subversive."

Extent of Influence

For about two years, corresponding to the spread of McCarthyite inquisition, SFA's influence has grown from remains of '52 Students for MacArthur clubs. Hectic bands on several campuses have taken the offensive, assaulting democratic student organizations, and individual students and faculty members deviating from SFA's reactionary outlook. SFA's two most distinguishing actions have been its attack on NSA and its obscene campaign against the University of Chicago.

SFA did not direct its Chicago attack against just a single student organization, a professor, or a group of students. It aimed at the whole university including all the students, all the instructors (save one dismissed McCarthyite), and the administration. To call the University a "cesspool of Communism and immorality" harmonized with the turpitude of SFA's leaders. But the attack reached a nadir when it declared, in the "Springboard" pamphlet previously mentioned: "Most of the students (at Chicago) look as if they have just crawled out of the garrets of some European slum and are about to man the



JENNER

barricades in a proletarian uprising. The 'coeds' dress in heavy stockings and dirty shoes with worn-down heels. Many wear no makeup. The men go around unshaven and unkempt . . . all around one hears raucous and interminable discussions punctuated by such phrases as 'workers' rights,' 'economic democracy,' 'McCarthyism,' 'bourgeois reactionaries,' and of course, the inevitable 'academic freedom.'"

AN annual achievement report made 16 months ago in *American Student* claimed SFA representation in 65 schools located in 14 states and the District of Columbia, and a student membership of 1800. The reporter claimed SFA endorsement ". . . by such noteworthy figures as General Douglas MacArthur; Senators Homer Capehart and William Jenner; Professor Kenneth Colegrove, chairman of the department of political science, Northwestern University; Professor Frank Robinson, chairman of the department of philosophy, University of Southern California." A year ago *American Student* claimed, ". . . SFA is now represented on 106 university and high school campuses from coast to coast."...

American Student figures are wildly exaggerated. SFA activity appears to have been centered mainly in certain mid-West schools—particularly Wiscon-

sin and Chicago—and has made only minor showings on Eastern campuses. It appears that certain students were accorded SFA membership by simply writing SFA Los Angeles headquarters for literature.

Backers Are Threat

If SFA poses a danger to the student community it's because of the backing, financial and otherwise, given it by notorious established reactionaries: Hearst columnists, witch-hunting Mundts, McCarthys and Jenners, and jingoistic American Legionaires.

Last spring saw the Legion-backed disgrace at Chicago. Incidental to that affair were several revealing articles in the University's paper *Maroon*. In the issue 5/1/53, under the headline: SUB-ROSA OPERATION OUTLINED IN SFA HANDBOOK, is the payoff story defining the nature of SFA ambitions.

Junior FBI

The story quotes the SFA handbook:

"... 'Every chapter of our organization which is faced with an organized Marxist group should organize an intelligence division composed of a small number of individuals not known to the general membership of our organization. It will be their duty to join leftist groups to obtain information and undermine their activities.'"

No wonder CCNY Student Council members last fall dubbed SFA applicants "fascistic" and "underhanded." Mimicking their Gestapo styled backers SFA intends to spy upon, terrorize, wreck student organizations and individuals whose thoughts and acts, stemming from the American people's traditional best interest: peace and democracy, challenge the big business McCarthyite march to fascism.

Precisely since SFA is this fascism's bid for power over growing intellectuals must not SFA's menace go unrecognized nor must democratic student counter-attacks be delayed. For like the fascism they embody, Students for America are clear and very present dangers.

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student notes

NEWS FROM ABROAD

TWENTY Scottish students visited the Soviet Union during December on behalf of the Scottish Union of Students. During a three week stay the students visited Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, Odesa and Tashkent in Central Asia. Before leaving Moscow, J. Pickett, President of the Union said: "We consider that our visit was a great success and that continuations and extensions of such exchanges of delegations can make an important contribution to the question of improving international understanding. We await with pleasure the visit of the Soviet delegation to Scotland."

The National Union of Students of England, Wales and Northern Ireland is the first national student union to apply for the new category of associate membership in the International Union of Students. Associate membership was put into effect by decision of the Third World Student Congress held in Warsaw, Poland, during September.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

An "Academic Freedom Newsletter" issued by students of the U. of Chicago reports on an Illinois regional meeting of the NSA held in Chicago, Nov. 20-22. Reporting on the establishment by this regional meeting of an academic freedom subcommission, the "Newsletter" said, "As one of its main functions, the subcommission has been directed to sponsor, in co-operation with the United

States National Students Association, an academic freedom week. The purpose of the academic freedom week . . . will be to serve to educate and inform the member campuses of the problems concerning academic freedom."

The Student Council of CCNY in October adopted a resolution opposing "any investigations of college teachers, except with regard to their competence." The resolution called for "support of faculty members who are brought before a committee whose purpose it is to inquire into their personal political activities, affiliations, or beliefs."

An editorial in the Oct. 27 issue of the U. of North Carolina "Daily Tar Heel," while expressing its anti-Communist viewpoint, called for the teaching of Marxism at the University. Said the "Tar Heel" in part, "Why don't we explain what Marx said. . . . Why don't we invite a Communist to come to the campus to speak. . . . The question is, "Should a competent, clear exposition of Marxist doctrine be given? The answer is yes."

"THE RED AND BLACK"

Four editors, Walter Lundy, Bill Shipp, Priscilla Arnold and Gene Britton resigned on Dec. 2 from the staff of the U. of Georgia, "The Red and Black," in protest against attempts to stifle free expression by the newspaper. The paper had expressed criticism of racial segregation in education. This position drew

(Continued on page 40)



SALUTE TO YOUTH FIGHTING COLONIALISM 1954

Students of the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, prepare to march in protest against the arrest of two medical students for speaking at a student meeting at the University.



Nigerian dance

Feb. 21 was the day of Solidarity with Youth and Students of Colonial Countries. This event, inaugurated by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, has pointed up the vast dimensions of the fight for freedom by young people in colonial countries. In South Africa and Puerto Rico, in Malaya and Indo-China this 1954, youth are expressing the spirit of our own 1776 patriots. Colonial youth are determined to be able to map their own future, to win the right to their own languages and cultures. The age of colonialism is doomed—this is the reality revealed by ever-widening struggles for independence.



Youth lead Puerto Rico's demands for peace and abundance not militarism and impoverishment.



Indonesian dance

Lydia Maria Child:

In Freedom's Battle

by ROBERT NORDAU

TODAY, when a self-appointed fuehrer from Wisconsin is burning books and blacklisting authors, it is wise to recall some of the forgotten heroes of America. For under the dull exterior of history as it is taught there breathes another, truer history, full of the drama and conflict that makes great people and great literature. This is a page from that yet to be written romance—the held-down history of America.

ONE day in the summer of 1833 a small volume rolled off the presses in New England and began a career that jolted the nation. In the "respectable" history that book is dead today. But in the actual history of America the book still breathes.

The work was entitled, in the quaint language of the time, AN APPEAL IN FAVOR OF THAT CLASS OF AMERICANS CALLED AFRICANS. But there is nothing quaint about the book. Tearing the veil from the money and entrenched power that enforced the slave system, this little book still stands today as one of the clearest and most profound studies of American slavery, its economies, its politics, its philosophy. Packed with documentation, supported by drawings of torture devices used on slaves, bulging with damaging quotes from the lips of slavery's spokesmen, the book was a powerful weapon suddenly placed in

the hands of the tiny groups of so-called fanatics and madmen calling themselves abolitionists.

Wide Audience

The book went off like a barrage. And when the smoke cleared, its author stood defiant, yet mild, calm and self-possessed. When the book appeared, Lydia Maria Child, at 31, was one of America's best known lady novelists. Her name was a household word, her books on every shelf. Her magazine for children, the *Juvenile Miscellany*, was the first in the still new nation. But now, answering the arguments she herself had once used, she had become a maker of history—and in doing so, she had trod on some very tender toes.

Reaction

IN 1833 the anti-slavery movement was still extremely weak and very unpopular. Slavocracy's power was at its peak. And the McCarthys of yesteryear rolled into action to punish Maria Child. As John Greenleaf Whittier wrote in later years, "It is quite impossible for anyone of the present generation to imagine the popular surprise and indignation which the book called forth, or how entirely its author cut herself off from the favor and sympathy of a large number who had

delighted to do her honor. Social and literary circles, which had been proud of her presence, closed their doors against her." A lawyer, later to be attorney-general of Massachusetts, is said to have boasted of using a pair of tongs to fling the obnoxious book out of his window. The Athenaeum library, which has honored her earlier for her novels, and where she spent many hours preparing the Appeal, called a special meeting of the trustees immediately after the book appeared. By unanimous vote they withdrew the invitation and free pass extended her previously—a decision that the library is ashamed to recall today.

Her books stopped selling. A year or two before, a publisher assured her that no Northern book would do well in the Southern market unless its origin were concealed. But if the South would react that way to any book, if it would jail, persecute, even kill suspected distributors of so-called inflammatory literature, if it would rear up in commotion as it once did, merely because a shipment of British mustard arrived wrapped in newspapers that by chance carried accounts of Parliament's debate on slavery, if it did all this, how would it react toward the young author of the Appeal? It reacted by striking at her livelihood. Subscriptions to her *Juvenile Miscellany* fell off in such numbers that the magazine folded, cutting off an important source of her personal finances. Together with the curtailed sale of her earlier books this blow—a direct result of the Appeal—raised money problems that plagued her the rest of her life, except for brief intervals.

A little volume from the pen of a courageous young woman had dropped like a bombshell on the nation, catapulting the slavery issue once more into the national consciousness. And with cries of "vulgar," "revolting," "insurrec-

tionary," "improper," and "ignorant," the nation was showing its opinion of her.

Controversy

Yet not everyone who read the book was disgusted. There were those who thrived on slavery. There were those who disliked it. There were those who fought it—a tiny band of so-called radicals, both Negro and white. There were some who read the Appeal and were moved by it. The famous Rev. Samuel May publicly announced that it had made an abolitionist of him, that after reading it he could not be "anything but an abolitionist," that "now indeed I must go forward, I can never draw back!" John A. Andrew, later a famous governor of Massachusetts, read it, wept over it, and passed it on to others. A slaveowner named Palfrey was so moved by it that he actually freed his slaves. William Ellery Channing, one of the founders of liberal Unitarianism, walked from his home in Boston to Mrs. Child's home in Roxbury to tell her she had a convert. One evening an agreeable young man with a charming smile visited the lawyer Ellis Gray Loring, a friend of Mrs. Child. He said that the Appeal had made a great impression on him; that he would be obliged to "come out an abolitionist." The then unknown stranger's name was Wendell Phillips. The September issue of the recently established paper, *The Abolitionist*, greeted the work with joy, exclaiming, "She must be heard!"

No Concealment

NOW Maria Child flung herself into the life of a radical writer. During the rest of her long life there poured from her pen a river of books, letters,

and pamphlets, aimed not only at the evil of slavery, but at ending the inequality of women. Writing of one of her books, Elisabeth Cady Stanton called it "the first American storehouse of information on the whole question." She devoted her efforts to prison reform, to the abolition of capital punishment, and later in life, when many of the abolitionists had already passed from the scene, or were adopting a chauvinistic approach to the American Indian, Maria Child was expressing her opinion in no uncertain terms about the cruelty of the U.S. government in its treatment of the Indian. After the Civil War, when many abolitionists retired from the battle, feeling that the struggle had been won, Mrs. Child was organizing aid for the freedmen.

For despite her wide interests and the prolificity of her writing, the fight for Negro rights remained her chief arena. She understood that all other issues hinged on that, the central issue of her time. Thus in 1841 she became one of America's first women editors when she was selected by the Anti-Slavery Society to publish a paper for them. They felt the need for a paper, which unlike the others they supported, would reach out beyond the limits of the small abolitionist audience. In May, 1841, the first issue of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* appeared, its masthead blazing with the motto, "No concealment, no compromise."

Among editors, as Margaret Thorpe writes, Maria Child was an outcast. As an abolitionist she did not get the usual courtesie extended the press. She had a hard time getting material from libraries. Booksellers were not anxious to deal with her. Finances were almost always on the verge of crisis.

Yet despite all hardships the paper flourished, becoming the largest of all

abolitionist papers.

To reach the widest audience Mrs. Child insisted on variety, and so she serialized the fiction of Mrs. Trollope. Her poetry columns were often filled with ringing verses by Whittier, Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, William Cullen Bryant, Shelley's friend, Leigh Hunt, and the English "poet of the poor," Thomas Hood, not to speak of Garrison himself, these artists daring to espouse an unpopular, even dangerous, cause. In addition the great Frederick Douglass contributed, while her husband, David Lee Child, covered congressional happenings. She herself wrote a series of pieces about New York, which she described as a city in which, "Wealth dozes on damask couches, thrice piled, while Poverty camps in the street. . . . In Wall Street and elsewhere, Mammon, as usual, coolly calculates his chance of extracting a penny from war, pestilence, and famine. . . ."

The paper was a torch lighting up the dark maneuvers of the pro-slavery forces and their McCarthy-like mouthpieces. She struck out with an infuriating calmness at tyranny, whether in the South or in Africa. She indicted Britain for her invasion of China, as well as blasting our own leaders for their compromises with Southern expansionism and rapacity. The paper took in every reform movement of the day, linking them all with anti-slavery.

Her parting editorial in the *Standard* shows the full force of her understanding of the editor's responsibility in building a crusading paper. It might well stand as a credo for journalists today. One part in particular is interesting: "I have admitted no songs in praise of martial deeds," she wrote, and "I have selected no stories which tell of countries where they raise 'fine wine and fine women' or where they have the 'handsomest horses

and the handsomest *wives*'. I have thrown aside all poetry about 'tempting lips and voluptuous forms'; all jokes about matrimony and women—for I know full well that from these subtle and unnoticed influences, more than from any other cause, flows the unclean public sentiment that degrades woman. . . ."

ONE more item must suffice to illustrate the character of Lydia Maria Child's quiet courage, so typical of the many other now-forgotten women who fought for abolition and democracy.

Relentless Courage

In 1857 Captain John Brown made his famous raid on Harper's Ferry. He was languishing in a Virginia jail, while a lynch mob atmosphere was building up in the country. The air virtually seethed with hatred for the old man. Amid the full fury of the slavocrats' wrath, Maria Child, now 57, packed a bag and prepared to go South. She wrote to Brown and the Governor of Virginia seeking permission to nurse Brown back to health, his wife being unable to come. As it turned out Brown asked her to help his family instead and she never got to go. But once more Lydia Maria Child, now a motherly old lady, raised a national furore.

An enraged defender of slavery, a Mrs. Mason, had written her, "You would soothe with sisterly and motherly care the hoary-headed murderer of Harper's Ferry. A man whose aim and intention was to incite the horrors of a servile war—condemn women and of your own race . . . to see their husbands and fathers murdered, their children butchered, the ground strewn with the brains of their babes. . . . Thou hypo-

crite. No Southerner ought, after your letter to Governor Wise and Brown, to read a line of your composition, or touch a magazine that bears your name in its list of contributors. . . ."

To this abusive letter Mrs. Child wrote a reply.

"Twenty-seven years ago, I published a book called 'An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans'. From that time to this I have labored too earnestly for the slave to be agreeable to slave-holders. Literary popularity was never a paramount object with me, even in my youth; and now that I am old I am utterly indifferent to it. But if I cared for the exclusion you threaten, I should at least have the consolation of being exiled with honorable company. . . . Dr. Channing's writings, mild and candid as they are, breathe what you call arrant treason, William C. Bryant is openly on our side. . . ."

She goes on to list among the supporters of abolition Whittier, Pierpont Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Curtis, Harriet Beecher Stowe. "The fact is," she concludes, "the whole civilized world proclaims slavery an outlaw, and the best intellect of the age is active in hunting it down."

LYDIA Maria Child's reply was not a defense. It was a slashing attack on the McCarthys of her day. In paragraph after stinging paragraph she undercut the whole rotten structure of legal and philosophical justifications for slavery. Someday, when the silent writers of today are remembered as curious relics of a malignant past, when new history is being written and the held-down history of America is brought to light, Lydia Maria Child's memory will be universally elevated and revered.

For Equality in Education

Letters from Madison and Ann Arbor

Ann Arbor, Michigan
February 20

AT the University of Michigan, students and their Student Legislature are planning an assault on the racial discrimination prevalent in many Ann Arbor business enterprises and University policies.

It started this fall when Sam Davis, a Student Legislature member, introduced the idea of a "sticker campaign" to the Human Relations Committee of the SL. The idea was to issue "Fair Play" stickers to those stores, restaurants, barber shops, etc., which do not have any discriminatory policies affecting customers or employees; these stickers, coupled with an educational campaign among the students, would create an economic pressure tending to make Jim Crow prejudice and bigotry unprofitable, to say the least.

The Student Legislature voted that the Human Relations Committee investigate the matter further; but before any action was taken, the campus-wide SL elections intervened. The signature of 600 petitioners placed the issue of the sticker campaign on the ballot in a special referendum. When the ballots were counted a majority were in favor of this decisive action against discrimination.

However, the vote was close and more conservative members of the new Student

Legislature claimed that the Legislature did not have a clear-cut mandate from the students. This they used as a subterfuge to advance a plan aimed at heading off any militant struggle against discrimination. But, once brought out into the open, the matter of local discrimination could not easily be dropped. One of this group, Larry Harris, introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a highly dubious anti-discrimination board composed of SL members, representatives of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, and a representative of the University administration. The function of this board was to investigate alleged cases of discrimination, and on finding actual discriminatory practices, to meet with the offending businessman and "talk him out of it."

The students who had originally pushed the "sticker campaign" idea felt that such a plan was a step backwards. Harris' resolution contained no provisions for bringing direct economic pressure against Jim Crow establishments; the board would be dominated by the Chamber of Commerce and the University administration (the idea of the board was in fact suggested by them); no Negro organization would be represented. Paul Dormont, a newly elected SL member, set out to expose loopholes in this plan.

Loopholes Exposed

IN order to document his arguments against Larry Harris' proposal and for the "fair play" sticker plan, Dormont investigated the Chamber of Commerce and the University, intending to find out if those organizations had discriminatory policies themselves or if they could be of real help in an anti-discrimination campaign. The results of his investigations made headlines in the *Michigan Daily*.

Sworn affidavits showed that the University-operated Michigan Union had a discriminatory hiring policy. Several years before, a Negro student applying for a job as a waitress in the Union dining room was told flatly, "We don't hire Negroes." Believing such a discriminatory policy still existed, Dormont and several other students set out to establish proof. One of them, a Negro student, applied for a waitress' job. She was told there were no openings. Forty minutes later another student who was white, was hired as a waitress. The headwaiter also told her that several openings were still available. The two students related these facts in sworn statements.

A survey of University dormitory housing showed that the University had a regular policy of rooming Negro with Negro, foreign student with student from the same country, white with white.

An investigation of the Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce revealed that in all the years of its existence it had never invited Negro businessmen or professional men to become members, although Negro-owned and operated business establishments had been part of the Ann Arbor community for 25 years or more. Among the variety of activities in which the Chamber of Commerce participated, action against racial discrimination had never been numbered.

A vigorous sticker campaign together with the establishment of a strong anti-discrimination board will be important steps in the direction of undermining and even eliminating the pattern of racial discrimination in Ann Arbor. The campaign is significant because it is challenging a very specific aspect of discrimination in Ann Arbor, and also because it is focusing student attention on the numerous forms of discrimination present in campus life. Present activities should lead to the more determined tackling of the campus situation. M.L.

Madison, Wisconsin

February 24

THE National Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this summer raised the slogan of Freedom in '63. At the University of Wisconsin members of the campus NAACP have applied this slogan to the local situation and have called for the end of campus discrimination by June of '54. Housing, job and fraternity discrimination are the areas singled out for the main activities.

Weak Policy

Madison, Wisconsin, is a city with no enforceable civil rights legislation. Therefore, the main force of student anti-discrimination activity has been directed at attempting to eliminate discriminatory jobs and rooms from the University listings. As a result of this activity the University Regents only a few years ago made it policy that no jobs or rooms listed on a discriminatory basis were to have use of University supplied listings. In practice this policy has meant little, as current procedure calls for the housing bureau to accept all listings except those which openly avow bias. Thus it becomes possible to remove a job or

room only after a student has met actual refusal. In other words, unless there is an actual "incident" the job opening or room vacancy will remain listed. Recently, then, student activity has been directed at trying to get the University to enforce its policy.

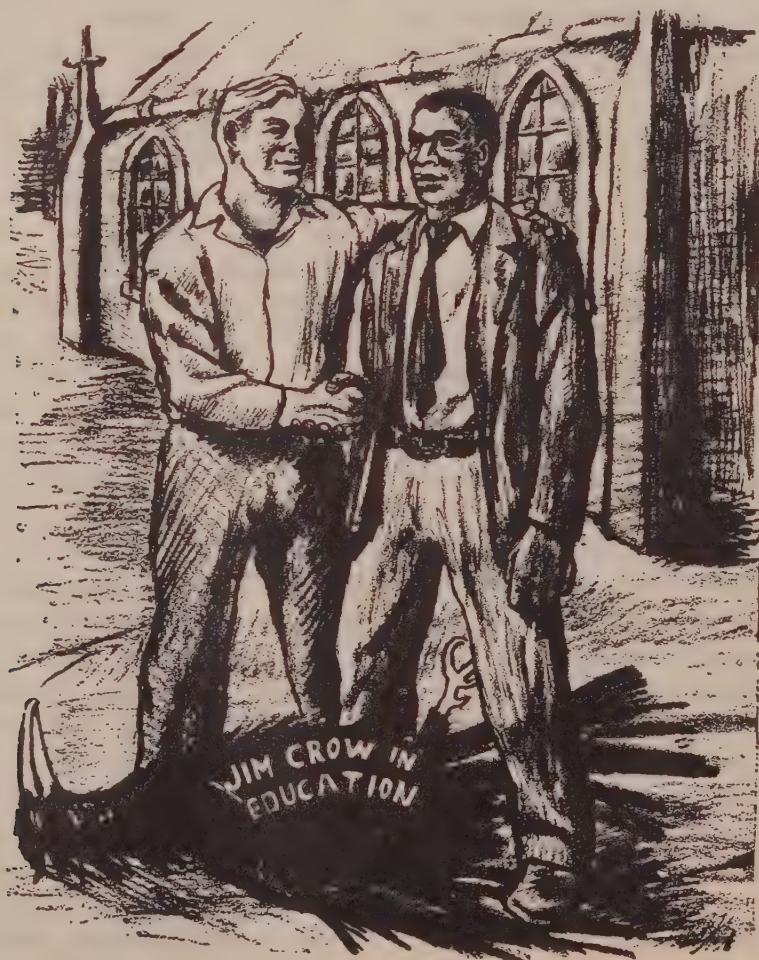
IN a survey taken early in 1952 the campus NAACP found that 17 of 25 rooms listed were being rented on a discriminatory basis. A more recent survey again points this out. And, needless to say, Negro students can tell many stories of their own experiences. Bias has perhaps hit Negro women the hardest, as women's housing is ordinarily difficult to obtain and the extent of discrimination has made it impossible for

many Negro women to even consider entering school.

Student Action

A major step in the whole fight against discrimination was taken this fall in the student elections. One of the main issues of the campaign was the question of campus discrimination, and, more specifically, of fraternity and sorority bias.

In the summer of 1952 the University Regents passed a bill which calls for the removal as of 1960 from the campus of any fraternity or sorority which has not removed its discriminatory clause. The 1960 clause has caused much concern among the McCarthyites on campus. (Of course, this is not to say that all, or, in-



deed, most of those opposed to the 1960 clause are McCarthyites.) There was a short-lived attempt to create a campus party around the statement that "in any anti-discrimination bills the University has passed or might pass, the saving clause should be liberal enough to extend any deadline for removal of discriminatory clauses if the group makes an honest, sincere effort *but has not yet achieved success.*" (Italics added—E.W.)

Campus reaction was swift and it soon became apparent that no party, no matter how large its original backing, could hope to win if it openly avowed such a program. Their original attempt having failed, this group of students reorganized into a "new" party: the All Campus Slate—a party which suppressed the most obnoxious elements of its reactionary program, including attacks on *Cardinal*, the student newspaper.

At the same time, however, the anti-McCarthy forces came together to form the Federalist Party based on a program of support for the *Cardinal*, academic freedom, anti-discrimination, and University sponsored cooperative housing.

The campaign itself was fought around issues advanced by the Federalists, and the election results showed a decisive victory for them. They won three campus wide positions and two district representatives, losing only the two representatives in the dorm and fraternity areas. The positive effects on the campus of the willingness of the broad section of anti-McCarthy forces to press the campaign around issues rather than "personalities" cannot be over-emphasized.

Results

THE student Senate Human Relations Committee has played a key role in

the anti-discrimination fight. Each year this committee organizes a faculty-student conference on human rights. As the result of this year's discussions two initial projects were launched. The first idea was to get the house mothers together with a panel of students and let them be exposed to student sentiment on the discrimination question. Members of the Human Relations Committee led the panel, and University faculty, administration, and almost fifty house-mothers attended. The discussion which followed was lively and many of the house-mothers were for the first time forced to give serious thought to their discriminatory practices.

From the student concern with the 1960 clause, the Human Relations Committee has created a traveling unit to discuss with fraternities the best ways to eliminate discriminatory clauses from national charters. Two such panels have already been held.

THE *Cardinal* opened up a major campaign by revealing that two of the largest women's housing units question applicants on race, nationality and religion. This clearly violated the policy set forth in the University Housing Bureau information bulletin: "University policy requires that approved house operations are to accept application and make assignments without consideration of race, color, or creed. Request for roommates by name only may be made."

Within a few days the campus Young Democrats, NAACP, and LYL issued statements objecting to the use of such questions and calling upon the University to cause their removal.

Needless to say, the current fight is far from won. However, behind the slogan "End Campus Discrimination by June '54" we feel that we can and will be successful.—E. W.

SCIENCE FICTION—

MENACE OR MARVEL?

By DR. EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

Dr. Burgum is an editor of "Science and Society"

THE special characteristic of the American scene is its frequent unexpected restless evocation of novelty. In the past we used to recognize this as a peculiarly American trait, and boast about it. Mark Twain found it an ingratiating and amusing phenomenon. More captivated than amused, William James elevated it into the philosophy of pragmatism. Sometimes we think it is a trait we have outgrown. But our failure to recognize its continued existence stems from a shift in its consequences. Not all the gadgets of ideas or articles we invent with such reckless vivacity have merely amusing or really beneficial results, amusing in form, beneficial in content, shall we say? The legerdemain of individual enterprise with which our west was developed did not wear quite the same look as does our present toying, like some precious boy, with atomic energy. To throw or not to throw, and see what happens. The glitter may obscure the consequences.

Sudden Rise

In the field of culture, certainly the most striking illustration of the working of this trait is the sudden rise, since the Second World War, of science fiction. This new type of fiction now competes for popularity with both the western and the detective story. Like the former,

it is sold in hundreds of thousands of copies of pocket books to the usual audience of the pulp magazines. Like the latter, it is also issued in hard covers at the usual cost for detective stories and other semi-respectable fiction. Like the detective story also, it appeals to many highly intelligent and educated readers, especially to trained scientists, some of whom write as well as read it.

Superficially, science fiction has the earmarks of what democratically-minded critics have been looking for: a literature that cuts through the class lines which now separate the sophisticated from the popular reader. At present our literati neither read nor even know the existence of dozens of authors who are household names to the popular audience, or would be, if books were ever discussed in the family circle. But if our literati never heard of Mickey Spillane until his books were attacked by the psychiatrists, there have been no psychiatrists to bring Truman Capote to the attention of the man in the street or the mother in the home. When professors of mathematics and the engineers blue-printing vast industrial enterprises join with the maintenance men of their universities and the workers in industry in a common cultural life of rocket ships and space helmets, a great stride towards a people's culture might seem to have been made.

Actually, the converse is true. No more than a superficial investigation discloses the debasement of the intellectual, not the elevation of popular taste.

Big Lie

SCIENCE fiction is the outstanding example of the "big lie" in the field of literature. It is of the essence of the big lie that it parades as the truth, as fact and scientific statement, as absence of fantasy and disgust with fantasy, when it is itself a fabrication of fantasy, the negation of fact and scientific statement. We have a tradition of respect for science. Its many inventions have increased the happiness of mankind as its discoveries have lengthened the life span. We have traditionally believed it an irreversible force for the good of society. In fact, we have given science, rather than the institutional organization of society, the credit for progress. To call something scientific has invariably been to praise it. Hence the use of the word in the title, the presence of scientific material in the content, bring to science fiction the spontaneous approval of one of our healthier attitudes. We are scarcely inclined to observe that the wonders of science are here being used to distract our attention from the social consequences of their use and the new type of man who uses them. In all these highly significant matters, there is no whit of difference between a typical piece of science fiction and a novel by Mickey Spillane. There only *appears* to be a difference. The cruelty, the aggressiveness, the anti-intellectualism of Spillane is undisguised. Murder is murder in Spillane. In science fiction it is always something else. It always appears to have science or justice or the national welfare or progress on its side.

Startling inventions distract attention



DR. BURGUM

from the degeneration of personality in those who use them. Space ships, traveling as easily to Venus as we now cross the Atlantic by air, seem wonderfully to expand the potentialities of our lives. In reality, they are only making global warfare cosmic. The atom bomb seems less of a menace when it blows up some fantastic far-away planet in place of Hiroshima. They are, in reality, only extending the competition of cartels from continents to planets. Under cover of the grandiosity and the no longer quite absurd concept of such an extension, the reader forgets that nothing has been disturbed in the present organization of society. There has been no invention here. *On the contrary, most science fiction utilizes the worst practices of society as it is now constituted, and under the aegis of the worst misuse of scientific discovery you can find in society today.*

Thriving Weakness

Indeed, the sad fact is that science fiction takes over, takes for granted, the weakness of personality the scientist in

contemporary times shares with other specialists: that split between his activity as scientist and as private citizen. The scientist, still generally today, feels he has no responsibility beyond making discovery, the invention itself. How it is used and by what manner of man is beyond his province. Furthermore, when he turns from the practice of his profession, he takes to no public interest, for the general welfare (and not his own), but becomes the same sort of private citizen as any other of comparable income, with the same encapsulated family or frivolous private concerns. From the social point of view, the scientist comes very near to being nothing but a highly trained robot. He carries out projects set before him by someone else. His fascination with his own cleverness in reaching solutions is no whit different from that of the business man chuckling over successful "big deals." The discovery and the big deal are both "ends in themselves," as the philosophers would say. And the scientist, like the business executive, thinks it heresy to dream of disloyalty to a superior. Theirs not to question why, but theirs, in compensation, to enjoy freedom from any sense of responsibility to society for what they do. We forget how much regimentation has crept into our democracy as the concept of man as citizen has weakened, leaving only the concept of man as some sort of professional with a special skill. Such men have thrown away their birthright of a decent conception of human personality, as it is given (in defiance of McCarthyism) not only in modern books of psychology, but in our age-old Bill of Rights. And the cost of this loss is more than a failure to understand what individualism validly means. The horizon limited to professional knowledge alone, insight becomes similarly limited, indeed, non-existent beyond the profes-

sional sphere. This loss of the normal range of human interests, as the tradition of Renaissance Humanism that lay behind our Bill of Rights understood them, breeds the most abject and dangerous of all sadisms: the cruelty that does not know it is cruelty to begin with, because it is not an activity within the only area where values are known, the professional sphere.

Science for Science

It is not surprising, then, that, under cover of the cheerful progressive notion of science, science fiction gives the public as much war and violence as television has been blamed for doing. Little wonder that it rarely (and within my reading, never) gives an exhibition of science used to further peace and international understanding. Nor does it matter what science is the apparent basis of the attraction. When the shift is made from the physical sciences, the picture does not essentially change. When psychology enters, it is as psychiatry, the presentation of the abnormal. When medicine enters, it is to demoralize and not to cure, to provide some drug for the control of human beings.

IN fact, a convenient superficial grouping of these stories would be according as they involve the physical sciences or those concerned with the human body. The first group presents men and women as regimented. They get their pleasure in life of the immediate specific activity of successfully carrying out an assignment imposed upon them by superiors. The second group shows an opposite type of personality, the anarchistic individual, who obeys nobody's orders, whose satisfaction comes from domination of others. The chaos in the over-all picture of society is concealed

in the first instance. For war, though it is chaos to the sociologist, is the utmost in regimentation to the individual concerned. In the second type of science fiction, chaos is both warp and woof. These stories frankly advertise the loss of every valid social value, in a world where competition is uncompromisingly the jungle law. In the days of the robber barons, their ruthless quest for wealth and power was accepted because, in the process, railroads and factories got built. These new robber barons do not exercise their power over men indirectly through manipulation of the stock market and the purchase of legislators. It is now a stark direct control over their persons as well as their destinies. Nor is this direct control like that familiar during the settlement of the west, where a sort of honest courage of heart and body seemed to justify both the violence and the victory. These new heroes are, to be sure, usually normal physically; but they win their victories not by their good right arm, but by their control of some dreadful offensive weapon. *And it is control by men who no longer have a vestige of either wisdom or good will.*

Intelligence and good will are of their nature in these times impotent. They are found only in the degenerate body, waiting helplessly to be tapped by the aggressive personality in a society where everyone with a normal body is his own superman. Such a situation leads to chaos rather than regimentation. The man who bends others to his own ends through thus using the brains of the helpless or through some machine for thought control or brain washing often leaves his victims thinking that they are acting of their own free will. But if they know their victims cannot know when they are being thus manipulated, they must also know that they themselves cannot know that they may be similarly victim-

ized. Their own free act in this utterly pragmatic world, calculated only to increase their own authority, may at any moment turn out to be slavery to another's will and prosperity. These amoral heroes must live in unconfessed fear that others are as unscrupulous as themselves. But their only proof will come when, their usefulness to others ended, they find they are suddenly overpowered. When human nature is defined in these terms, every man becomes insecure to the point of psychosis. Of all science fiction stories, the most disturbing are those in which the inventions of the physical sciences are in the hands of men who also utilize the discoveries of applied psychology. Here paradox reaches its most insidious extreme. Without realizing it, under cover of the reputation for sanity and objectivity of science, the reader has been thrust into as abnormal a state of mind as that we are more aware of when the hero of a play or film is an alcoholic or the psychotic inmate of a mental hospital.

Cynics

TO the sociologist all this is valuable evidence of the character of our contemporary society. The cult of science fiction is without question a spontaneous production which has taken hold and is only being exploited by the publishers. It is not the result of a plot on anybody's part or of anybody's planning, not even the National Economic Council. It is beneath the level of critical attention, and has not received as yet either the praise or the disapproval of critics, educators, clergymen, psychiatrists. In this sense it is truly a people's literature, the literature of a people of good intention, corrupted in their thinking and their psychological reactions by leaders who believe "what we need is a

nation of killers." It is the best index to the rapid degeneration of morals and mores nowhere more evident than in the United States. Are these crude and thoughtless creatures of impulse and ambition the descendants of the Puritans? Are these men and women of blunted sensibilities our substitute for the Renaissance ideal of the "well rounded man?" these cynics in whom virtue and good will have become the mocking or nostalgic echoes of a dream that has died? In whom comradeship is the linking of arms in the storm troopers that lasts only until the division of the spoils?

Heritage in Struggle

THESE are certainly the dominant qualities of science fiction. But the American people have not yet lost their heritage of ideals. They are at present in a state, not of repudiating them, but of believing they are fulfilling them when they are really denying them. The hopeful side of science fiction is that, whatever the actual fabric of the story, whatever its actual effect upon the reader, it cannot appear to negate our prevalent respect for science, our desire to promote what is good and progressive. This contradiction in our lives is, astonishingly enough, symbolized in the contradiction in the very title, science fiction. Strictly speaking, there can be no such thing. Only what can be proved by scientific testing can employ the word "science." Fiction, by definition, assumes the proof, and utilizes the product. Anything, therefore, is possible, and nothing is absurd. In life, science more and more removes the absurd from the world. Misused in science fiction, it accomplishes the opposite. It reduces everything to absurdity, at least to the contemplative mind, which resists seduction by the spell of story-telling. Where anything

is possible, nothing is probable. But this protean quality of science fiction enables it to present, besides the dominant tendency, all the manifold strivings of the American people as they unconsciously resist the gradual conversion of their heritage into a mess of pottage. Thus there are stories of tranquil living, absurd only in some single area; stories of the supernatural, given a pretense of scientific justification; detective stories that get into the act solely by using some scientific gadget whether for committing the murder or discovering the criminal. The only definition of the form possible is that it must portray a future state of society in which scientific inventions are conspicuous. It is thus a new form of utopia. After Sir Thomas More and William Morris and our American Bellamy and the British H. G. Wells, the utopia becomes the anti-utopia in the *Erewhon* of Samuel Butler and the *Brave New World* of Aldous Huxley. But both these anti-utopians honestly expressed their disgust with a society dominated by science. Science fiction is an anti-utopia, presented as though it were another and better utopia, to thoughtless readers, unused to either the word or the habit of generalization that bred it.

GENERALLY the novelists themselves seem unconscious of these social referents of their work. They live on the same level of immediate experience as that they instill into their readers. They are not like Mickey Spillane, aware of what they are doing. They are not readers of Westbrook Pegler. If they were, as in Spillane's novels, the sadism would become a less free and airy performance. It would take on a tone of ruthlessness and self-justification. I happen to have read no such stories. I doubt if they have yet been written. When and if they begin to be, we shall be further on our

way to fascism with a greater public acceptance of the change.

Grasps Sanity

Fortunately, the turn, so far has been in the other direction. When writers have become conscious of the nature of what they are doing, they have utilized the ambiguity of the form to accomplish the reverse of the dominant tendency. They have written stories of possible future states of society, using the popular interest in science as a bait for reader appeal. They have made him more conscious of the sort of society he is likely to have to live in, if his present blindness to his duty to society and himself continues. *The Space Merchants*, by Pohl and Kornbluth, presents such a society operated by competing advertising agencies. In this novel, cruelty is not indulged for its own sake, but described as inescapably a part of society in which the many are frankly no more than units of potential profit to the few. The emphasis has been shifted from the cruelty, the so-called "science" and its instruments, to the social ideal that lies behind them. Similarly Ray Bradbury in his *Fahrenheit 451* depicts a society under fascist domination, but shows how even among its official book-burners a recollection of what culture once meant awakens to start

a revolt against the system he has been taking for granted and promoting as one of its paid tools. Nor can a literary critic keep from mentioning that, when this social interest is present, the writing improves. Bradbury, in fact, has risen to the attention of the *Times*.

Pressure for Hope

SOONER or later, if this minority in science fiction increases in numbers and influence, the attention of the *Times* and other respectable reviewers will also increase. They will then begin to bring pressures to bear, the pressures of their reviews, for instance, that will corrupt the new tendency, warn readers against it, warn publishers against the writer, as they are now promoting the corruption of our culture generally. But reviewers are open to pressures, too. If the American people awaken to the consciousness of what is happening to their good intention, and read more and more of the works of a Bradbury, reviewing will commence to change its tune. The reviewers listen to the few mostly when the many are silent. *When the many become vocal, we shall see not only the emergence of a new literary form, but the recovery of our national ideals.* And we cannot get the one without the other.

The Bookshelf:

ROAD TO LIFE, by A. S. Makarenko, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Three volumes.

In the early 1920's, as the result of years of World War, counter-revolution, foreign intervention, and a bitter civil war, the Soviet Union was beset by a huge number of problems, not least of which was a youth problem of staggering proportions. Hundreds of thousands

of children were uprooted from all ties with family and community, and left to wander in a war-ravaged land. Many became demoralized and fell prey to all types of anti-social behavior, fighting, robbing, and even killing.

The Soviet Government fully realized that one of its chief hopes for the development of socialism was the country's youth; that the young people had to be healthy, strong, educated, and socially conscious, that they had to under-

stand their role in the development of society, and desire to participate actively in that development. The government set out to win the youth.

This book is the story of just one part, but a highly significant part, of that epic struggle to win the youth—the growth and development of the Maxim Gorky Children's Colony, as told by the man who was the director of the colony and the leading figure in the approach to education which this colony represented, Anton S. Makarenko.

IN 1920, Makarenko, a teacher, was given the job of starting a colony and school for homeless children. The physical plant given him was the most meager, some broken down and ransacked buildings, and a few acres of land. Supplies were difficult to obtain. His charges were completely without a sense of social responsibility, and almost immediately imposed a reign of brigantage upon the surrounding countryside. In these circumstances Makarenko found that the educational theories then dominant in the leading bodies of Soviet educational life—led to an inability to meet the objective conditions with which the colony was confronted, and could do little more than increase the already demoralized condition of the children.

He set out to develop an approach consistent with the problems involved and with the needs of society. His immediate task was to develop a sense of social consciousness in his charges, and this, he felt, could not be done without involving them in productive labor, without making the struggle for the survival of the colony their own struggle in the most personal sense. In the book he details how this was done, first placing the protection of a neighboring forest against illegal wood-cutters in the

hands of the colonists, then beginning the cultivation of crops on the colony's land, and then the raising of livestock. The colonists began to supply many of their own needs such as clothing, shoes, etc. Combined with the physical labor was classroom work, as well as recreational and cultural activities. The colonists organized their own theatre, which quickly became the cultural center of the area. And the consciousness of the colonists grew. It became the binding force which kept the colony going, which brought forth the discipline that was necessary for the colony to grow and prosper. It was a vigor at once personal and collective issuing from growing understanding.

PERHAPS what is most fascinating about the book is that it's an epic told almost entirely in terms of the individuals involved. To Makarenko, the most important pedagogical principle was "how to combine with the most exacting demands upon the pupil the utmost respect for his personality." And this he seems to have accomplished. For the colonists, as they come alive in the pages of the book, are real human beings in every way, not mere automats moved around to conform to an educational theory. When the reader puts the book down it is as if he is parting with friends he has come to know well: Zadorov, the natural leader, Anton Bratchenko, with his fierce love of animals, and the fearsome Lapot.

The book shows what can be accomplished by the inculcation of human values into education and by the development of collective responsibility, especially where the inculcation of such values and responsibility conforms with the goals of the society in which they live.

B. L.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM . . .

(Continued from page 9)

out the State and the Chairman, Bill Beattie, was mandated to call for a National Academic Freedom Week in April, at the National Executive Committee meeting of NSA. When such a date is set, the Regional decided, it will call a statewide student conference, to be Michigan's contribution to the success of National Academic Freedom Week.

Michigan's Academic Freedom Week was a major expression of student opposition to the congressional witch-hunts against education. Academic Freedom Week represented a wide range of campus opinion. In effect, despite differences, organizations and individual students decided to work together because they could come to an agreement on the need for such a week.

In the course of Academic Freedom Week students spoke out who a year ago were indifferent to or only had doubts about the inquiries. Many who then were tending to condemn those who exercised the constitutional right of the Fifth Amendment recognized now that students and teachers should not be penalized for resisting the witch-hunters.

At the same time it should be added that Academic Freedom Week points up some major problems that will need to be tackled if the weight of students is to be fully felt in the fight to halt the McCarthyites. Many students are only beginning to recognize the full nature of McCarthyism as a menace, a menace that must be openly pointed to as the source of the danger to academic freedom. Many students are only beginning to appraise McCarthyism as more than a matter of dangerously unconstitutional methods. The danger of McCarthyism is not yet clearly marked for what it is: the danger of fascism, fascism that would dispense altogether with democracy in American life. There are still some on

the campus who have not fully relinquished the wishful thinking that some sort of "accommodation" with McCarthyism is possible, that education and McCarthyism can "come to terms" in which free inquiry can be protected. This tendency to cling to the vain hope of "coming to terms" with McCarthyism reflects itself in the frequent acceptance and repetition by such students of McCarthyism's main premise—the hoax of the "Communist danger."

If the dangers to academic freedom are to be fully met by students the academic freedom movement will have to grow in numbers and in clarity of point of view. There will have to be the widest awareness that the only answer to McCarthyism can be a powerful opposition movement that will not compromise its principles with those who would eliminate academic freedom.

But the fact is Academic Freedom Week proves that students at Michigan are moving to take up the defense of academic freedom. The trend is clearly toward a greater understanding of the issues. If many students have altered their position as they have recognized what is happening, so is there every reason to expect in the coming months that the campus community will make unmistakable clear exactly what is the danger to academic freedom and who is causing the danger.

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"MARTIN LUTHER"

THIS film portrays a crucial period of Luther's participation in the Reformation. It begins with Luther's decision to become a monk and ends at the point where he returns from exile to assert leadership of the Reformation movement. Within this span are portrayed Luther's growing doubts about the Church's insistence on its dogma as the supreme arbiter of truth and falsehood and his initial criticisms of the Church, especially concerning the sale of indulgences, criticisms that develop into a series of scathing anti-Roman polemics. Within this period, too, occur the great events of Luther's life. 1517 sees Luther nail the famous 95 theses to the door of the Wittenberg church. How this action took his ideas from the realm of purely scholastic debate and made them the subject of popular controversy the film makes abundantly clear. We witness the debate at Leipzig and the trial at Worms. At Leipzig Luther asserts that whether his views are heretical or not is less important than whether they are true or false. At Worms, before the Emperor Charles, Luther pronounces that he cannot recant the convictions of his conscience.

In the film is presented much of Luther's role in challenging the Church's power. When Luther begins to speak out the Church does not stand by idly; rather, it brings to bear the severest pressure. Yet, Luther vehemently holds to his beliefs. Coming at a time when McCarthyite orthodoxy searches high and low for those who can be made to recant, to defame their own past, this is no small point.

Follows Books

"Martin Luther" is praiseworthy for its fidelity to a certain degree of historical accuracy. The dates, places and names conform to historical fact. The immediate circumstances surrounding the film's key events are faithfully reproduced. Striking, however, is the film's general omission of any picture of the social and economic forces that gave impetus to the Reformation. True, some inkling of the national character of Luther's movement is given, though even here the film misses the sense of intense nationalism found in Luther's writings. But on the whole the film leaves the impression that the Reformation is seen as the result of religious inspiration affecting Luther and his followers apart from social and economic forces. This approach leaves some major events in the



film without adequate motivation. Why does Luther receive support from some of the German nobles? Why is the empire unable to rally its forces and smash Luther? As described, Luther's survival is a remarkable fact. Huss, the rebel of Bohemia, is burned; so is Savonarola of Florence, and they are only two of the many dissidents the Church and Empire are able to strike down.

ACTUALLY, Luther appeared at a time of crisis within the Empire. The Empire with its pillar of Rome was a brake on the development of nations within its confines. The rulers of the Empire governed a social system of corrupt and decayed feudalism. New forces of commerce were coming to the fore. Luther's preachings won a tremendous audience and very powerful friends because they coincided with the interests of a wide national coalition. Burghers and urban handicraftsmen, the mass of the peasantry, and even some nobles, hungry for church lands, sought the loosening of bonds that tied them to Pope and Emperor.

The film mentions at the beginning that its story opens soon after the discovery of America. The relationship is more than chronological, but this indication of a world changing its way of life and its very physical frontiers here bows out of the picture.

Worth Seeing

Pictorially, "Martin Luther" is very well done. There is little of unnecessary detail that would obscure the crucial scenes. These scenes, with a pageant-like quality, are very dramatically done. In dealing with a considerable number of events the film does not lose continuity, moving smoothly, yet, with the most essential scenes highlighted as they should be.

"Martin Luther" is definitely worthwhile seeing; it catches the spirit of the Lutheran watchword: "Die Gedanken sind Frei." A more revealing film can be made about Luther, but this one tells much of value about this great figure.

H. S.

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STUDENT NOTES . . .

(Continued from page 19)

a barrage from Talmadge supporters and University Regent Roy V. Harris. Harris threatened that funds for the newspaper would be discontinued unless the editors gave up any mention of opposition to segregation. The editors resigned when they were not permitted to reply to Harris in "The Red and Black" and a system of censoring the newspaper was instituted.

Said editor Gene Britton when resigning, "On the surface I guess the situation as it has developed looks like a defeat for the Red and Black. . . . But then I remember the support we've had on campus. Students and faculty members who've given us encouragement. Clergymen who asked God's blessing on us in fighting our battle on moral grounds. Other newspapers which have risen to our defense in their own editorials. . . . No, it is not a defeat. Not for us and not for freedom."

This censorship of "The Red and Black" for having criticized segregation has been challenged by a wide cross-section of the student press. Representative of many editorials is one printed by the U. of Louisville, "The Cardinal." Said "The Cardinal" in part, "Freedom of the press has been attacked at the University of Georgia. . . . Regent Harris's statement that money for operation of the paper would be withheld unless they could do a better job (i.e., stay the attack on segregation) can be interpreted as nothing else except an attack on freedom of the press despite his protests. We also object to his referring to the editors as 'sissy misguided squirts.' Whether they are sissies or not is completely irrelevant, but to talk back to

anything as imposing as a Board of Regents takes, to put it mildly, guts. . . . The truth is, we hope, that Mr. Harris is championing a lost cause."

HARRY DEXTER WHITE

Says the Queens College "Crown" on Nov. 20, "Sometimes it takes extreme perception to detect a political trend but subtlety has gone out of politics and the motivations behind political moves are all too clear. . . . The obvious example is the use of the Big Scare, Communist infiltration, to obscure and effectively smother equally important issues of our time. The latest use of this tactic has been by the Republicans in raising the ghost of Harry Dexter White to frighten voters away from thinking about the administration's farm, labor and foreign policies and to preclude the possibility of another Democratic victory. . . . Long before Eisenhower's election, both parties realized the efficacy of the Big Scare and used it to such advantage that not only internal affairs, but the most pressing need of our time—the need to find a way of co-operation, or at least peaceful co-existence between nations—is virtually ignored by the American people and their government. . . . Will the American people ever realize the monstrous proportions to which the necessary task of detecting treason has grown and the perverted uses to which it is being put? Or must we look forward indefinitely to corruption and confusion on all levels of government, to a disaster-bound foreign policy and to the extinction of independent thought while our elders continue searching wildly for suspicious . . . characters in pumpkins, churches, children's stories and now even graves."

