

# STUDENT SOCIALIST

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STUDENT-YOUTH SECTION of LABOR ACTION

FIVE CENTS

## THE SHACHTMAN CASE AT THE U. OF CALIFORNIA United Student Action Can Turn the Tide

By BOB MARTINSON

BERKELEY, Dec. 7—The recent banning of Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League, from the University of California campus, although opposed by all student groups and broad layers of the student body, has not yet brought forth a real, organized movement of protest.

During the two weeks since the dean of students suddenly announced that Shachtman could not appear in a scheduled on-campus debate on the British elections with Professor Francis H. Herrick of Mills College, student resistance rose to a climax but has since leveled off.

During the first week the campus *Daily Californian* spread the entire case across its front pages, arousing tremendous student interest and forcing the dean to justify his actions before the student executive committee. The story was picked up by the local papers and radio stations but did not become national news although the recent revocation of the Regents' loyalty oath was played up across the country.

Student protest was voiced in angry letters to the *Daily Californian* while its Senior Editorial Board denounced the use of the subversive list as "a dangerous, unreliable and unjust guide for the selection of university speakers." The student government (ASUC) intervened quickly when it was learned that the real reason for the Shachtman ban was the attorney general's list. Since no responsible university authority had ever actually adopted this criterion and since no one had even heard of its existence before this, the ASUC passed a resolution inquiring if it

was really university policy. No answer has yet been received from President Sproul or the Regents.

Over 500 curious and excited students attended the Shachtman-Herrick debate which was held off-campus at Barrington Hall (a student co-op). The debate was held just exactly as it was scheduled to be held on campus. Dr. Robert A. Brady of the university Department of Economics was the moderator; the meeting was publicly sponsored by 4 off-campus student groups—the YMCA, Wesley Foundation, and two student co-ops, Barrington Hall and Cloyne Court.

### DEBATE HELD

Four political groups—Students for Democratic Action, Young Peoples' Socialist League, Young Republican League and Socialist Youth League—sponsored a follow-up street meeting the next day at the university's Sather Gate. Over 200 students turned out in a pouring rain to hear Shachtman attack the list and defend civil liberties. These spectacular and enthusiastic demonstrations of student opposition to Dean Stone's action seemed to presage a real, persistent student protest movement much like that which met the introduction of the loyalty oath more than two years ago.

It soon became apparent, however, that unless student opposition was organized and properly

led, nothing would come of the many independent and separate attempts being made to fight the dean's new ruling. The students were obviously angry; they would attend debates; they would stick it out in a heavy rain; but how were they to carry on an effective fight against the dean and the administration?

### ACTION STYMIED

Various attempts were made to call students to action against this new blow at free speech. The Socialist Youth League, which had attempted throughout to make the protest a united-front action, passed out copies of *LABOR ACTION* calling for a campus-wide united-action committee and approached SDA and YPSL to help initiate it. As a result, the local NAACP passed a resolution condemning the subversive-list criteria. International House also passed a resolution against it. Some students at Oxford Hall (a student co-op), partially under the influence of the Labor Youth League (Stalinists), called an open meeting attended by some 50 aroused students. The YMCA announced that it would try to organize a delegation along with other groups to see Dean Stone.

Yet despite these various local and uncoordinated attempts, it is obvious that the introduction of the subversive list will not raise the tremendous and persistent opposition called forth by the Regent's loyalty-oath announcement. The SYL was absolutely stymied in its prolonged attempts to build a real, student united front on the issue. Both SDA and YPSL were happy enough to get in on a street meeting for Shachtman; farther than this, however, they would not go.

Students for Democratic Action seems to have spent itself in passing out little celluloid pills stuffed with rather precious slogans against Dean Stone ("Let's Get Out of the Stone Age," etc.). The Young Peoples Socialist League sat in on a few meetings reluctantly and did not intervene politically in any of the events. Its political influence on campus is dropping to the zero point very quickly.

### THEN AND NOW

The Stalinists, of course, attempted in their own narrow and sectarian fashion to use the issue. They were forced to put out a leaflet supporting Shachtman's right to speak on campus. Then using their automatic majority in a few small student meetings they pushed through, against adamant opposition, a disastrous petition which seems to be expressly designed to prevent any student from signing it.

(The Stalinists operating in the co-ops also furtively sneaked some of their candidates into the coming ASUC elections as "co-op" candidates. Their rule or ruin tactics have brought them to a low ebb of influence even for this group.)

In order to appreciate the importance of these events, it is essential to get below a surface treatment of the reactionary character of the attorney general's list. The root of the question lies in the political and social movement which has swept over America in the last five years. The depth and influence of this movement is only appreciated when it is possible to compare the firm resistance against the loyalty oath with the spotty opposition to the introduction of the far more

dangerous "subversive" list.

The pressure in the entire country has been persistent and strong. One by one the traditions and procedures long associated with American democracy have been swept away. The atmosphere today is permeated with the stench of witchhunts, purges, oaths, gag laws, subversive lists, Congressional committees. The oppressiveness of "big-power" politics, public defamation, investigations and "public immorality" hangs like a pall over America in 1951.

This strong nation-wide movement of the ruling classes and the reactionaries has been repeated in all the burghs, hamlets and crevices of American society. It is obvious that it has penetrated the very warp and woof of bourgeois democracy. No one can escape the effects, and the student especially feels the pressure most strongly.

The relative passivity of the students of the University of California (as far as real, organized political action is concerned) is an obvious example of the attitudes of the much-touted "silent generation." While the students of the 1930s gathered together by the tens of thousands to support the Oxford Oath against war, the students of today passively watch the authorities introduce the "list"! The change is tremendous.

The slick-paper philosophers who write for *Time* and *Life* have looked everywhere but under their very noses for the explanation for this "puzzling" phenomenon. They are wrong, in the first place, if they think the students approve of such measures as oaths and lists. All the actions against democracy on campus have come exclusively from above. The deans, presidents and

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## TIME MAGAZINE DIAGNOSES AMERICAN YOUTH— THEY CALL US THE 'SILENT GENERATION'

By MEL HACKER

"The most startling fact about the younger generation is silence. With some rare exceptions, youth is nowhere near the rostrum. Youth today is waiting for the hand of fate to fall upon its shoulders, meanwhile working very hard and saying almost nothing. By comparison with the Flaming Youth of their fathers and mothers, today's younger generation is a still, small flame. It does not issue manifestoes, make speeches or carry posters. It has been called the 'Silent Generation.'"

This is the conclusion of the editors of *Time* magazine after an investigation of today's younger generation.

In the era of imperialist war, in the twilight of capitalism, American youth is largely silent. Most young people, traditionally rebellious at the chaos, injustice and ugliness of an old world and the bearers of new ideas and feelings for beauty, are today listless and conventional, immature but old before their time.

What is beneath this silence? What do our young people think, believe and read? How do they see themselves and their time?

A young leaflet-passer at Brooklyn College complains, "Most students don't even listen to what we have to say. They give us a knowing smile or just ignore us and run away."

At a college bull session: "I think the draft has all the fellows upset. . . . They can't start figuring in high school or even in college what they want to do. . . . First thing you know, Uncle Sam has tagged them off base."

A girl comments: "It's hard to get married when you don't know what the deal is. Maybe your husband is off to Korea or somewhere, and there you are."—"It's better to get a job and wait."

Here are young people, tossed about by the social powers-that-be, not seriously questioning the social structure, acquiescing humbly and complaining about fate. For in our society young workers and students live under enormous institutional pressures. To have non-conventional political and even cultural ideas—to criticize the Korean

war or a school administration or join an unpopular organization—may bring the whole force of society down upon a young person's head. He may be labeled "subversive," looked at askance by his friends, encourage governmental investigation, risk his future job, his chance for Money and Success.

Contrariwise, the conformist has a future in our full-employment war machine—in the army or as a professional or worker in government or private industry.

### PRIVATE BARGAINS WITH FATE

Young people feel very powerless indeed. Great impersonal institutions beyond their control and often beyond their understanding are grinding out their lives for them. The Korean war or inflation are given facts that they feel they must accept and adjust their lives to. States *Time*: "The 'Korean business'—and a lot of other business that may follow—is the dominant fact in the life of today's youth. 'I observe that you share the prevailing mood of the hour,' Yale's President Griswold told his graduating class last June, 'which in your case consists of bargains privately struck with fate—on fate's terms.' The hand of fate has been on the U. S. with special gravity since World War I; it has disturbed the lives of America's youth since the 30s, through depression and war. The fear of depression has receded; the fear of war remains. Those who have been to war and face recall, and those who face the draft at the end of their schooling, know that they may have to fight before they are much older."

The world's madness has left youth rather dazed. States *Time*: "Today's youth does have some fear of the atomic age. But he does not feel as though he is living on the brink of disaster, nor does he flick on the radio (as was done in the 40s) and expect his life to be drastically changed by the news of the moment. There is a feeling that the world is in a ten-round bout and there will be no quick or easy knockout."

"Hardly anyone wants to go into the army; there is

little enthusiasm for the military life, no enthusiasm for war. Youngsters do not talk like heroes; they admit freely that they will try to stay out of the draft for as long as they can.

"But there is none of the systematized and sentimentalized anti-war feeling of the 20s. Pacifism has been almost non-existent since World War II; so are Oxford Oaths. Some observers regard this as a sign of youth's passivity. But, as a student at Harvard put it, 'When a fellow gets his draft notice in February and keeps on working and planning till June, instead of boozing up every night and having a succession of farewell parties, he has made a very difficult positive decision.'"

We must note here that while this decision in a certain sense is positive, it is also shamelessly amoral.

### "OLD BEFORE OUR TIME"

A *Time* reader stresses his generation's frightful childhood: "We are the 'Old-Before-Our-Time Generation.' We grew up with a rush, many of us before we hit 20. And why not? Millions were overseas, some wounded, some killers of fellow men before we even had a chance to shave. Upon returning home with the chance of a free education, we combined that, many of us, with marriage and parenthood. . . . We're a generation who can't remember when a bitter war was not raging somewhere. Why, the first newspapers I recall seeing was the *Herald Tribune's* rotogravure section with pictures of the Sino-Japanese war in Manchuria."

A similar editorial in the *Columbia Spectator* on the tenth anniversary of Pearl Harbor, entitled "Tin Anniversary," points out that our childhood was rudely interrupted ten years ago. But that which has replaced our generation's childhood has not been maturity but a resigned, self-seeking neo-childhood. It has succumbed and not rebelled for obvious reasons.

Politically too, young people are being subjected to enormous pressures.

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# Chicago: Student Heads Waver on Academic Freedom

CHICAGO, Dec. 7—The drive against academic freedom and civil liberties at the University of Chicago which began this fall with the removal of the editor of the campus newspaper, the *Maroon*, and the suspension of that publication is continuing. The latest broadside in the attack has been fired against the Labor Youth League, the Communist Party's youth organization. While the issue in the case has been phrased in strictly legal terms it is nevertheless a part of the nation-wide campaign for "national unity" which is accompanying the preparations for the third world war.

Malcolm Sharp, professor of law at the university and faculty sponsor last year for the LYL, advised the university administration and Student Government that, in view of the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the convictions of the 11 Stalinist leaders, there is some question about the legality of the LYL and that the university may be incurring some legal risks by according official campus recognition to the organization. The problem of recognition is officially in the hands of Student Government, which theoretically has the power to decide which organizations shall be recognized and which shall not. However, the administration has a veto power over any action in this matter.

Student Government is wavering on the question and continually postponing its decision. It evidently wants to find out what the administration's position is before taking action, in order to avoid a struggle between itself and the administration.

**Student Government's Committee on Recognized Student Organizations has held one public hearing on the LYL question. At this hearing many students and student organizations, in-**

**cluding the Socialist Youth League, appeared to testify in favor of recognizing LYL. The Socialist Youth League speaker pointed out his political opposition to Stalinism but stated that in this case the issue of civil liberties was foremost and warned that the attack would not stop with the LYL.**

Many other student organizations testified to much the same effect, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United World Federalists, and Young Friends. The students as a whole seem overwhelmingly to favor recognition but the usual apathy which is found when the question of attacks on the Stalinists comes up has prevented any broad action from developing so far. Several informal conferences have discussed initiating united action and a campaign has been started to get all campus organizations to adopt statements urging Student Government to take

prompt action on a principled basis. It is felt that if SG takes its decision before administration pressure mounts up, it will decide in favor of recognition.

Student Government, which in the past has had a very good record on the question of civil liberties, may in this case capitulate to the tremendous national pressures for uniformity. In fact, it seems to be taking the initiative out of the hands of the administration in the campaign against "subversives." It has, without any prompting from the administration, decided to hold up the recognition of the Socialist Youth League on the grounds that the SYL is in the same boat, legally, as the LYL.

The students at the University of Chicago must put as much pressure as possible on Student Government to ensure that it takes the lead in protecting their liberties instead of taking the lead in the attack on those liberties.

A Cartoon from the U. of Chi. "Maroon"



## Phila. Students Rally Against 'Loyalty' Bill

By MARTY MARTEL

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 7—Hysteria on the one hand and a fight for intellectual integrity and academic freedom on the other reached fever pitch in the conflict centering around the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act this week. This measure, the so-called Pechan bill, comes up for action in Harrisburg, probably with the opening of a special legislative session Monday. Governor Fine is in favor of it.

The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Americans for Democratic Action and its student group, SDA, the National Student Association and state labor and teaching groups, all on record against the bill, have called a conference in Harrisburg on the day the legislature opens. Most active on behalf of the bill are veterans' groups, especially the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion. And the ACLU called a rally on Thursday evening which 1000 persons attended.

Punctuating the conflict between traditional liberalism and the tendencies toward an American garrison state on the college level have been a number of interesting incidents.

- "Disciplinary action" is contemplated against an ROTC student at Temple University.
- Investigation of a debate on the bill there is contemplated.
- State Supreme Court Justice-elect Michael A. Musmanno was almost shouted out of the auditoriums at both Temple and the University of Pennsylvania while defending the act.
- December 5 marked the two debates, with Dr. Clark Byse, U. of P. law professor, speaking against the Pechan bill. Musmanno was willing to take 10 oaths a day, he said; Dr. Byse was not willing to take any.

Raging in approved Coughlin manner, a tactic which was not well received at Temple and was toned down later in the afternoon at the U. of P., Musmanno, who is both state Supreme Court justice-elect and state attorney general, told students and teachers that those who opposed the bill should all be fired. He painted his own career in heart-throbbing colors. This was shouted, or rather

groaned, down at Temple.

He told Temple students, over 60 per cent of whom work at least part-time, that they did not have to work their way through college nowadays. The students jeered. He eulogized the loyal spirit of Benjamin Franklin, who signed a loyalty oath and a year later signed the Declaration of Independence.

Musmanno told students that Franklin, standing up there in statute form on Philadelphia's City Hall, would be loyal today. A burst of laughter nearly drove him from Mitten Hall. The figure atop City Hall here is that of William Penn.

### PECHAN'S WITCHHUNT

The Pechan bill provides for loyalty oaths for all public employees and those teaching in public schools. It provides for a check on state-aided colleges by having the college president report that there are no subversives in his institution, and what he has done to get rid of them. In the most general way it defines organization, subversive, foreign, etc. Conceivably, anyone favoring China's admission to the UN, Quakerism, alteration of the U. S. constitution by means of lobbying, etc., would be violating the act and subject to loss of job. Investigations are loosely provided for. No person who is "subversive" or who refuses to take the loyalty oath may run for public office.

Last year, the bill quickly passed the state Senate. In March protests began to mount and the bill never reached the floor of the state House of Representatives. College presidents were asked to testify after original closed hearings had been protested by public figures such as former U. S. Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts. After the college presidents had had their hearing there was finally a public-hearing.

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## An Editorial from the Chicago 'Maroon'

The battle against the California loyalty oaths has been won. Of course, the state loyalty oath applying to all state employees is still in effect. The *Maroon* echoes the New York Times editorial which saw in "the defeat of the oath . . . not only a victory for the faculty there and for the increasingly harried academic profession of this country . . . but a victory for all men of good will who understand that the struggle against communism can be effective only if it is based on reason rather than on hysteria."

"If, in the process of arming ourselves against Stalinist penetration," the *Times* continues, "we so modify our society that the same barriers to free thought and speech exist here as in the Soviet Union, then the victory over Communism will be futile indeed. We are glad that the mistake in this instance has been rectified."

The unquestioned exercise of our traditional freedom was accomplished in California by a union of increasingly aware faculty and students who did not cease to affirm their stand and support those under attack. Nevertheless, the attack on certain opinions is still being made in ways that attack the freedoms of all. Sather Gate, the famous soap-box speaking spot near the University of California in Berkeley, is threatened with police attack. A student sponsored debate between Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League there, and Francis Herrick, a professor of British history had to be held off campus (despite history department approval and planning), because Shachtman was banned as a campus speaker. The new regulation bans all speakers "associated with" organizations on the attorney general's subversive list. The subject for debate was "Resolved, that the Conservative Party can provide a better solution to England's internal crisis than can the Labor Party."

On the campus of Ohio State the rule that requires the dean to screen all on-campus speakers has been upheld over faculty council and outside protest. The administration and the faculty council there are now debating "the kinds of persons who would and would not be invited to speak on the campus." (A New York Quaker lecturer was banned first.)

Our own chancellor's deplorable speech to the American Legion contributed neither to the retaining of freedom, which is basic, nor to the re-establishment of the reasonable atmosphere necessary for democratic solutions of any problems.

It is vital for the preservation of our free system, that even those with whom nearly everyone disagrees be allowed to speak. Where that is illegal, we advocate a change, or reinterpretation of the law that makes it so. Until such time, we must at least oppose any extension of the effects of that law by institutions or the public.

It is the unfortunate result of any abrogation of the freedom of speech that its new limits become indefinite, and are extended by institutions, speakers and listeners beyond its application by the government. The events at California and Ohio State are examples of that tendency. Where they were not aimed at uncensored speech in general, they nevertheless limited perfectly lawful activities. Both law and extension increase doubtfulness and intimidation.

If we would preserve the civil rights and academic freedoms that can be exercised without screening or the threat of recriminations, we must resolve to speak out and act in support of free speech wherever it is attacked. We must each search our consciences now and take our stand, so that we shall be ready to speak for it whenever necessary.

N. Y. Socialist Youth League Class—Sunday Evenings at 8 p.m.

## The Politics of Independent Socialism

Remaining Sessions:

December 16	THE WAY TO FREEDOM	Phyllis Hoffman
December 23	DEMOCRACY AND THE NEW SOCIETY	Hal Draper
December 30	THE WAR WE NEEDN'T HAVE	Julie Falk
January 6	WHERE TO BEGIN	Jack Maxwell

At LABOR ACTION HALL, 114 West 14 Street, New York City

# THE TERROR AGAINST THE YOUTH UNDER STALIN'S RULE IN EAST GERMANY

*This factual account of the terror against non-conformist youth in the Eastern (Stalinist) zone of Germany comes from the bulletin of the German Socialists, "News from Germany."—Ed.*

During the last days of May 1951 a Brandenburg court sentenced three young boys to long-term confinement, because of their anti-Communist propaganda activities displayed on May 1, 1951. Eighteen-year-old Winifried Michaelis and Hans Lewner were accused of having affixed the word "Freedom" to black boards and propaganda posters and of the distribution of anti-Communist pamphlets. Michaelis was condemned to 10 years compulsory labor and Lewner to 5 years in prison.

A third, Hans Zickerow, was sentenced to 8 years forced labor, because he was accused of having printed on walls the slogans "Freedom—Free Elections—SPD" (SPD=Social Democratic Party). Furthermore he allegedly changed the Communist slogan "Ami [Americans] go home" into "Ivan go home."

In February 1951 the District Court of Potsdam imposed sentences on 5 juveniles, totaling 33 years to be served in a penitentiary, because they allegedly "circulated inflammatory propaganda and distributed anti-Communist pamphlets" in Treuenbrietzen. They were also accused of having held discussions with members of the FDJ (Free German Youth) regarding the political prisoners in the penitentiaries of the Soviet Zone government. Young Horst Treubuth was sentenced to 8 years, and Heinz Kleetz to 5 years in a penitentiary.

Two other defendants, who had expressed the opinion that "the machine-hiring-service was nothing but a step toward collective ownership," were given 4 to 6 years penal servitude. The former member of the People's Police, the youth Erwin Monger, was sentenced to 6 years penitentiary, because after leaving the People's Police he had shown photographs to his friends, picturing the training on anti-tank guns.

Guenther Kliemann from Radeberg-Saxony was sentenced to 25 years penitentiary, although he was living in the West ever since the war ended, being the member of a CGLO unit in Luebeck. Kliemann was a member of the Red Falcons (a Socialist youth organization). While visiting his mother in Radeberg he was arrested and

placed under Soviet military law. He was later sentenced by a Soviet tribunal to 25 years compulsory labor in accordance with the Soviet espionage regulations. The prosecutor declared his activities in the CGLO proved espionage services for the Western powers and his visit the execution of an order in connection with espionage.

In East Berlin, the terror against the young people has developed a peculiar method of procedure. Here, it has obviously become the tactics of the Communists to condemn juveniles in a most inhuman manner to long confinements, in order to create a possibility for the Communist FDJ to launch protests and effect a revision or a cessation of the sentence.

## CRITICISM IS A CRIME

On May 7, 1951, the four Falcon members—Peter Griesinger, 21 years; Guenther Gebler, 18 years; Manfred Wendt, 18 years, and Hans Halland, 18 years, stood trial before the 4th criminal division of the East Berlin District Court. They were charged with the making up and the propagation of rumors that slandered the Soviet Union! The youths were given penalties of 15 years penitentiary altogether. All convicted persons were under arrest since October 1950.

The pure terror character of the sentence is obvious, insofar as in addition to these severe penalties so-called "conciliation measures" were pronounced.

The deprivation of franchise for life, the loss of annuities and pensions and banning from all political and trade-union activities for life; limitations with regard to profession and residence, and the deprivation of all rights for the passing of examinations were imposed for a period of 5 years after their discharge from imprisonment.

The "crime" committed by the youths residing in the East sector, consisted, for instance, of a sketch written Peter Griesinger which criticized the situation in the Soviet Zone. He was sentenced to 6 years in jail for said "crime." The juveniles Gebler, Wendt and Halland had allegedly distributed anti-Communist pamphlets. They were sentenced to 4, 3, and 2 years in prison, although the prosecutor had to admit during his speech that there was no evidence proving the distribution of the pamphlets by the youths.

The sentence was requested and pronounced, as "due to experience gathered during former trials of Falcon mem-

bers, the intention for a distribution of such pamphlets could always be considered as existent." The purpose of this verdict has but one meaning, to terrorize and to intimidate all youths of the Eastern sector who openly confess to be adherents of democratic youth organizations.

## YOUTH IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Upon propaganda protests of the FDJ, the sentence was revoked by the general prosecutor of the East Berlin court of justice and after the "convicts" had signed a statement in which they acknowledged the justification of the sentence from May 7, 1951—their release from detention was ordered. The propaganda tactics of the FDJ and the SEP is again shown by the fact that the discharged persons were received by the Land leadership of the FDJ with three cars in front of the jail and were accompanied to their homes. Later, FDJ officers called on the released at home and in long discussions tried to convince them of the "progressive and human attitude" of the FDJ.

A member of the guard unit of the Torgau penitentiary who had to escape to the federal republic stated that two youngsters aged 13 years were among the prisoners of the penitentiary in Torgau. Both children were turned in at the age of 9, because out of need they had stolen two military boots of the Soviets. They were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

On June 20, 1951 three young men, who were sentenced to death at the age of 16 to 17, but who have now been pardoned and released, gave details on the conditions in penitentiaries and the treatment of juveniles imprisoned therein. Their conviction was the result of "anti-bolshevist activities." According to their report, approximately one third of the 7000 prisoners of the Bautzen penitentiary consists of juveniles, among them many 15 and 16 years old.

Another informed us that in 1946 he met a young boy in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp who had been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment when 12 years old, because Soviet soldiers found him playing with a field telephone he had discovered. The sentence was based on "werewolf activities." Another boy, sentenced because of a similar charge, was building sand-castles in the sand of the concentration camp.

# CCNY Mobilizes to Free Groveland Victim

Against a background of oppression, peonage and terror in Florida, the Groveland case has come to public attention, primarily through the efforts of the liberal N. Y. Post. This "little Scottsboro case" illustrates the close tieup between the social and economic aspects of Southern Jim Crow, as well as Southern lynch "justice."

The main industry in Central Florida, citrus growing, needs a steady supply of cheap docile labor. The source for it has been peons from the Bahama Islands and the local Negro population. The Workers Defense League through years of investigation brought to light numerous cases of peonage which it reported to the Department of Justice. The WDL investigations proved the close connection between the police and mob terror against Negroes and the below-subsistence wages paid to Negroes. When given this information, the FBI immediately started an investigation—of the Workers Defense League!

The basic facts are simple. Four Negroes were accused of raping a white farmer's wife. Of the four, one was shot by a deputized posse, one is serving a life sentence (which is not being appealed since a retrial might mean to

risk death), and two were shot by their escorting police officers while being transported to their retrial. Of these two, Samuel Shepherd was killed, and Walter Irvin though nearly killed is coming up for trial next January 14.

## BLATANT TERROR

Immediately after the original accusation of rape, mass riots broke out in Groveland. Klansmen from the surrounding states poured into Lake County and over 400 Negro families were driven out of the area before the National Guard was called. Until now most of the families have not dared to return. It was against such a background that the first conviction was handed down.

But so blatant was the widespread campaign of terror and intimidation, especially as carried on by the local newspapers, that the U. S. Supreme Court ruled for a retrial. The defense case is being conducted by the Workers Defense League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which have spend \$45,000 to date.

Up until the time when Samuel Sheppard and Walter Irvin were shot by the "law enforcement" authorities, the Groveland case

was looked upon as merely another example of Southern Jim Crow justice. After the shooting, the Eugene V. Debs Society (affiliated to SLID) started a campaign at the City College of New York to publicize the case and win support for the two survivors.

## SWING INTO ACTION

The CCNY evening session Student Council passed a resolution endorsing a mass Groveland protest rally and the start of a petition campaign. The local chapter of the NAACP and the Debs Society formed a Groveland Campaign Committee which planned to hold rallies and to conduct an intensive petition campaign.

The action of the E. V. Debs Society was so quick that the Stalinist Young Progressives of America was caught by surprise. They were excluded from the joint NAACP-SLID committee and were only permitted to help as individuals. This led to a number of their contacts working on the committee and leaving the YPA periphery. One day before the first rally the YPA came out with its first leaflet on the Groveland case. This leaflet tried to tie in the Groveland case with the Stalinist line on Korea. The student response was so hostile that the leaflet was withdrawn from circulation.

## JIM CROW IS GUILTY

The Stalinists, having lost the initiative, attempted to smear the leaders of the E. V. Debs Society with the fantastic charge of "white chauvinists"—since the SLID leaflet, which portrayed the dead Negro, showed the Negro without shoes!

The first rally was held on the night before Thanksgiving, a night on which most students do not bother to come to class. It was held at 10:15 p.m., yet a hundred students attended the rally and contributed nearly \$50 to a defense fund. Out of an evening session student body of around 3000,

1900 signatures were collected on the petitions.

The success of the first rally led the Groveland Campaign Committee to plan further meetings. The petition drive continued and a second meeting took place on December 6.

The second meeting discussed peonage in Florida and its effect on the case. As one of the speakers; Workers Defense League investigator Terence McCarthy said: "Whether or not Sheriff McCall killed Shepherd is not relevant—the Southern social system did." It was this message that the committee tried to bring to the students: not merely an attack on an isolated injustice but an attack on Jim Crow itself.

## PLANNING AHEAD

The freezing-out of the Stalinists resulted in a large number of students of no previous political affiliation working actively in the campaign. They manned petition tables, collected money, distributed leaflets—and most important of all began to recognize the tie-in between Jim Crow and capitalism. More than half of the students who worked on the case requested socialist literature, and for the first time Negro students at CCNY worked in and with a socialist organization on any appreciable scale.

To raise further funds, the

NAACP and SLID are sending out a fund appeal to all those who signed the petitions. And the weeks of consistent unified effort have brought the two organizations very close to each other.

The very reaction of the national office of the SLID to the spurt of activity on the part of the E. V. Debs Society was jealous fear. Immediate steps were taken to take the campaign out of the hands of the left wing (anti-war) YPSLs, SYLers and others and to make the case "safe." However, the Debs Society initiated action on other campuses, on its own. It called on the national YPSL and the New York Student Federation Against War to initiate similar action on other campuses.

Student action to be effective in this case must be speedy. Walter Irvin's trial will be early in January. Petitions and rallies must be on the way before that date. This is an issue that should unite all liberals and socialists on the campus. The Stalinists must not be permitted to exploit it like the Willie McGhee case.

The Debs Society plans to hold a large off-campus memorial meeting for Samuel Shepherd in January. In the meantime it will contact all New York City campuses and attempt to widen the scope of the campaign.

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# They Call Us the 'Silent Generation' — —

(Continued from page 1-S)

"A subtle creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking the college campuses in many parts of the country limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth," said the New York Times. "A study of 72 major colleges in the United States showed that many members of the college community were wary and felt varying degrees of inhibition about speaking out on controversial issues, discussing unpopular concepts and participating in student political activity. . . ."

An unusual amount of seriocomic joking about this or that official investigating committee "getting you," a sharp turning inward to local college problems to the exclusion of broader current questions are other aspects of this paralysis of freedom.

## POLICE-STATE CLIMATE

Today's student is faced with the authority of President Truman's loyalty review program and the blacklists prepared by the attorney general, the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Subcommittee on Internal Security, and the Americanization Committee of the American Legion, among others. He is faced with loyalty-oath impositions, as at the University of California, attacks on public schools, campaigns for the purity of books. Only recently, the California Library Association withstood a campaign to tag all books with stickers listing pages which contained "immoral" or "subversive" matter. College newspapers are being suppressed.

Two important cases are the suppression of *Vanguard* at Brooklyn College by the notorious "liberal" Harry Gideonse and the dismissal of the editor of the University of Washington *Daily* for "harping too long on one issue." (This student editor devoted 1.65 per cent of newspaper space to a criticism of subversive-control bills up before the state legislature.) All non-conformist ideas are dragged in and damned.

At Fairmont State College in West Virginia, Dr. Luella Mundel, chairman of the Art Department,

was dismissed because a local newspaper gossip column accused her of being an atheist. At Ohio State University, the appearance of Professor Harold Rugg, Columbia University's progressive editor, precipitated screening procedures for proposed campus speakers.

America is preparing for war. Unpopular ideas are regarded as dangerous at this time. Thought-control is the answer to any criticism, no matter how slight, of American imperialism and war preparations. A chorus of appeals, all remarkably alike, blare out through newspapers, magazines, radio, public officials, businessmen, labor leaders, school administrators, the average person's friends and family. Fate again.

## INDIVIDUAL BLOBS

It is no wonder that today's campuses are relatively dead, idea-less, ideal-less, listless diploma factories. Violations of academic freedom have provoked some heroic struggles but usually students have participated only when these campaigns were initiated by the faculty and given added respectability by a favorable press and clergy.

A young person feels small indeed amid all these pressures. Says a Minneapolis girl in *Time*: "The individual is almost dead today but the young people are unaware of it. They think of themselves as individuals but they really are not. They are parts of groups. They are unhappy outside of groups. When they are alone they are bored with themselves. There is a tendency now to date in foursomes and sixsomes. Very few dates are just a boy and a girl alone together. These kids in my group think of themselves as individuals but actually it is as if you took a tube of toothpaste and squeezed out a number of little distinct blobs on a piece of paper. Each blob would be distinct—separated in space—but each blob would be the same."

The average student does not want to save the world. He wants a small place for himself—some security. But today's drive for security seems to have brought with it a further anxiety feeling, that there is never enough secur-

ity. Did the college basketball players who accepted bribes to fix game scores for the gamblers spend their money in wild sprees? No; they carefully saved the money for the unpredictable future, returning every penny of the money when arrested.

## "EMOTIONAL DPs"

The cynicism of young people today seems to differ from that of the 30s when thousands of students and young workers were alive, responsive to ideas, to militant socialist (and for that matter, Stalinist) political movements, protesting against capitalist depression and war. Intellectually, while they questioned the very bases of their society, they grappled with advanced ideas in the arts. SLID and the American Students Union, a relatively powerful united front all-campus organization, protested the suppression of campus newspapers, the ROTC, the conditions of West Virginia miners, and other social issues.

But the cautious student of 1951 has produced a dull, vacuumed campus. College newspapers are empty spots, student affairs and gossip sheets, sprinkled with the pranks of fun-loving adolescents.

Quoting *Time*: "American young women are, in many ways, the generation's most serious problem; they are emotional DPs. The grand-daughters of the suffragettes, the daughters of the cigarette-and-short-skirt crusaders, they were raised to believe in woman's emancipation and equality with man. Large numbers of them feel that a home and children alone would be a fate worse than death, and they invade the big cities in search of a career. They ride crowded subways in which men, enjoying equality, do not offer them seats. They compete with men in industry and the arts; and keep up with them, Martini for Martini, at the cocktail parties.

"There is every evidence that women have not been made happy by their ascent to power. They are dressed to kill in femininity. The bosom is back; hair is long again; office telephones echo with more cooing voices than St. Mark's Square at pigeon-feeding

time. The career girl is not ready to admit that all she wants is to get married; but she has generally retreated from the brassy advance post of complete flat-chested emancipation, to the position that she would like, if possible, to have marriage and a career, both."

No comment.

## THE EDITORS REGRET . . .

There is yet another side to the question which the editors of *Time* do not touch here. This perhaps less flashy topic deals with the morals and ethics of our social system which we will fondly label here as the "capitalist jungle." In this seamy garden the domesticated rose is the Successful Money Maker.

This gentleman may trick investors and fellow businessmen, he may purchase and corrupt the minds of men, he may gamble on the stockmarket, break strikes, restrict production in the interests of higher prices, exploit his workers. But all these are merely the necessary attributes of the shrewd and successful businessman. These are the morals bequeathed to a young American generation.

A young writer attacks the generation to which *Time's* editors belong: "Your generation has substituted oafish earnestness and the plodder's mentality for ability, brilliance, drive and talent. After all, it's easier to take the plodding, army-like promotions and security of big companies with two outings a year, live in a little house in the suburbs with a wife in Peck and Peck tweeds who knows all about zinnias and planned parenthood, and have two dirty-faced moppets playing on the lawn, than it is to start a new magazine when starving in an attic in the Village or be bursting with potential in the mailroom at \$27.50 a week. Your generation gave us a half-baked cultural and intellectual background. You sent us off to war. It is your generation that pays our salaries and keeps us conventional and mediocre; it is your generation that confuses our morals."

To be more explicit, it is precisely the editors of *Time* who have sold their intellects for a comfortable job with Henry Luce. These editors now nostalgically regret that too few young people today will ever experience the thrill of having radical ideas, of fighting for their literature, politics, philosophy before they become practical and die, or become new editors of *Time* magazine.

*Time* mentions the fact that today's young people seem a bit stodgy. "Their adventures of the mind are apt to be mild and safe, and their literature too often runs to querulous and self-protective introspection or voices a pale, orthodox liberalism that seems more second-hand than second-nature." Many are good craftsmen, pre-

vious technicians, specialists, studious and scholarly researchers, but they have already given up. ("Life is short on rewards, long on treachery.") They are not interested in shaping themselves or reshaping the world but in choosing an adequate ready-made shape for themselves, finding the "right answers" to questions. They are terrorized; their resentments are internalized, directed toward themselves or against "life."

Youth has agreed that the facts of this world are war, uncertainty, the need for work, sacrifice. Lies, pressure, corruption are everyday matters for one to deal with and harden himself against. American youth today is possessed of a tired cynicism because it has never really hoped for much.

Socialists fighting for a free world will have to liberate more than an exploited proletariat; it can set into motion changes toward democratic thinking and living that can give life-blood to a wilted generation.

# Phila. — —

(Continued from page 2-S)

The Pechan bill was nevertheless reported favorably but did not reach the floor before vacation in early September. One hundred and five votes are needed to pass the bill, while a dozen more representatives originally voted not to recommit to committee—at that time it meant a vote for the bill.

On March 8 last, the Temple University Student Senate voted against the bill. On March 12 the first *Temple News* editorial came out against it and they have been coming out periodically ever since. In early April a Coordinating Committee Against Senate Bill 27, composed of five groups including the NAACP, Socialist Club and a Teachers College group, was formed. The committee members are now acting mainly as individuals assisting the Philadelphia branch of the ACLU.

The debate with Musmanno raised such a rumpus among veterans groups that Temple President Robert L. Johnson has promised an investigation to determine the part played by off-campus people in the situation.

## QUESTION OF LOYALTY

As to the ROTC man who is threatened with "disciplinary actions," it seems that during the debate Musmanno pointed to a uniform in the first row, stating that there was a loyal person who had taken a loyalty oath. The lad, who had once been given an American Legion medal inscribed "For God and Country" stated in the question period that his loyalty was to those things and not to "government." Cried Musmanno: "For shame, for shame!"

The VFW is demanding the ouster of the student. Whether he will be ousted or sent to Korea is a matter for public speculation. As the aftermath of this, a regular political column in the *Temple News* entitled the "Gavel," exposing the ROTC case, was barred by the university Publications Committee for one issue. Whether the "Gavel," written by a liberal veteran post-graduate student, will reappear again, ever, is doubtful. Shades of Harry Gideonse!

If the loyalty-oath bill passes, as it well might by the time LA goes to press, it remains for college presidents to refuse to send in their statements of loyalty and to fight the law in the courts. Whether the presidents will do this is highly doubtful. How many teachers will jeopardize their careers is another large question mark. It is safe to say that the academic atmosphere will become more stagnant and that the intellectual integrity of academicians will be sorely tried in the months ahead. Freedom of thought, should the Pechan Bill pass, will suffer a severe blow.

# United Student Action — —

(Continued from page 1-S)

Regents can get no student support for their outrageous ukases. Except for the special case of the Stalinists, no anti-democratic movement of any proportions has appeared among the students since the close of World War II.

It must also be remembered that the great depression played a tremendous role in the 1930s in firing the students to political activity and social consciousness. Today the permanent war economy assures the passive student of a job, while the activists can be black-listed in government and state employment. And now this practice has extended to private industry. The especially disgusting effects of Stalinist politics and the degeneration of Stalinism into an open danger to democracy of any kind has helped the reactionaries to smear all radical and socialist tendencies. With the collapse of the Wallace movement, however, the Stalinists have lost all real influence over the political students, and are nothing more than small totalitarian cliques preaching their pro-Russian "peace" line.

## CASE ISN'T CLOSED

The most immediate and pressing reasons for the silence of the "silent generation" has been and remains the vicious drive against student rights and academic freedom. Only those wishing to de-

fame the youth of today can refuse to see that many of them have fought long and hard against overwhelming odds. The lethargy of the student body, the silent and uneasy participation of American youth in the cold war, is the direct result of intimidation and pressure from above. Who can deny this but the interested proponents (or half-hearted supporters) of even more drastic measures to muzzle and hog-tie the youth?

The younger generation has been battered and bludgeoned into near-silence. The authorities of every university, the administrators and functionaries of the American educational system, have deliberately gone about ensuring a silent and passive generation — a generation uniquely equipped to fight the battles of an expanding and aggressive imperialism.

The students of the University of California are perfectly cognizant of the meaning of Dean Stone's action. They despise the idea of being "protected" from allegedly dangerous and subversive thoughts. They are willing, on the whole, to attend the debates and large protest meetings against such actions. But they will not actively organize to fight the dean, because they feel it is both useless and dangerous: useless, because they remember the recent defeat of their faculty under the pressure of the Regents and the comparative passivity of the outside world; dangerous, because they know what has happened to

many dissidents and protesters in the past few years.

The banning of Max Shachtman from the university and the introduction by the dean of students of the attorney general's list as a criterion for on-campus speakers follows from and is based upon the lethargy and passivity introduced into the campus community by the capitulation of the faculty in the loyalty-oath dispute. The students do not yet realize the conscious and single-tracked direction being taken by the authorities in the matter of free speech. They have not yet asked themselves the question: If the "list" can be used for speakers, why not for students? Yet this very question must appear, given the logic and impetus of the present drive. If they do not rise and fight the introduction of the list now, then they will have to fight much more stringent measures later on.

The case of the introduction of the subversive list is far from closed either in Berkeley or in other schools and colleges across the nation. The University of California has become notorious for taking the first steps against student rights in the present nation-wide drive and thus becoming an example for other institutions. If in the future, student opposition can be crystallized and organized then Stone can be defeated just as the Berkeley City Council was defeated in its attempt to close down Sather Gate. In the meantime the case stands as a warning to all other colleges and universities.

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