

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

DECEMBER 17, 1951

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A Four-Page Student-Youth Section

A First-Aid Cure for Tax-Corruption Scandal: JAIL THE BIG-BUSINESS BRIBERS TOO!

By HAL DRAPER

The corruption scandal centering in the Internal Revenue Bureau may have more to do with the election of the next president, we are told, than the government's war policy or its labor and wage-freeze policy. We don't belittle the deep concern of the people with such a damning exposure of dishonest government officials. On the contrary, they are right to be angry and resentful enough to throw out of their positions of trust the scoundrels who squeezed the little man while they sold the power of government to moneyed profiteers.

Let the anger of the people fall on all the rascals.

The little rascals have been cleaned out. These are the tax collectors and tax-bureau officials who have already been dismissed, and may be faced with prosecution. So far the clean-up, such

as it has been, has reached as far as an assistant attorney general, the almost-preposterous bumbler Theron Lamar Caudle, whose testimony before the House investigating committee not only raises the question of what jail he belongs in but of how such an incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial mushhead—even if he had been an honest man—could have been appointed to a post of high responsibility.

If three-quarters of the generally accepted testimony is half true, these culprits have stolen from our pockets to line their own. No one need moralize on their fate or drop even a pitying tear for sorely tempted men. We doubt whether they will be permitted to starve by a grateful clientele.

But nothing is going to be changed thereby.

We venture to say that part of the people's

rage at these recurrent scandals is that they know—or feel—this.

They may even, as the Republicans hope, be angry enough to throw the Democratic Party out of Washington in 1952 and install its competitors in the famous two-party system, since the latter have not had a decent chance to get corrupted in national office since 1933. It's been a long time since the Teapot Dome scandal; and what if the present GOP national chairman, Gabrielson, did not have the elementary decency—and discretion—to resign for the good of the party even when his fingers were caught in the RFC till? Provided the present stink lasts, and with the help of God and the Dewey-Republican gerrymander in New York, they may still get their chance at the real money.

But nothing is going to be changed thereby.

(Continued on page 2)

UAW Heads Call Union Conference To Deal with Auto Unemployment

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Dec. 9—The staggering total of 191,000 unemployed in the Detroit area alone was predicted by competent officials this past week as inevitable by next May, with widespread unemployment throughout the rest of the state also growing.

And this acute economic situation, which is affecting all businessmen, especially the small neighborhood shops, as well as the unemployed, finally brought some action along union and governmental agency fronts.

Unquestionably, the sharp editorial in the Detroit News this last week, directed against Harry S. Truman and the Democratic Party, had some effect in the sudden championing of the unemployed by Senator Blair Moody, Governor G. Mennen Williams, Senator Homer Ferguson and Mayor Albert Cobo.

And the United Auto Workers (CIO) has called an emergency conference of 800 local union presidents in Washington in January to deal with this problem on a national level.

What the Detroit News did, as a means of turning the resentment of the unemployed against the Democratic Party-labor union tie-up here, was to quote from President Truman's speech in Detroit last summer, when the city already had 70,000 unemployed.

President Truman promised: "I don't propose to let the working-

man of Detroit suffer from any unemployment that can be avoided. I didn't propose to let their know-how, which is one of our greatest national assets, be wasted by unemployment in the middle of a defense program."

BEGAN TO HOP

The Detroit News points out that Truman has the responsibility for the defense program, and that the least he could do was return from the sunshine of Florida and make a demand on Congress for emergency funds to increase unemployment compensation payments for the unemployed!

No sooner did this editorial appear than everybody began to hop around. Every politician is promising to do something. It remains to be seen how much is done and how soon.

The Detroit News editorial doesn't really reflect the newspaper's concern for the unemployed as much as it does for its advertisers, who must be plenty worried about the decline in business activity in this area, and the bleak prospects for the coming year.

It also reflects a shrewd Republican maneuver to hang the Democrats on this acute political issue in the 1952 elections. After all, the

Senator Ferguson can yell loudly for a "Marshall plan for Michigan," while the Moodys and Reuthers stick by the State Department line of Europe first! The politicians are becoming quite conscious of the dynamite in this question in Michigan at least in 1952.

HEAT'S ON

No sooner did Mayor Cobo, for example, announce that he was going to Washington Monday to try to get some "WPA projects" for Detroit than Governor Williams held conferences with union and auto industry leaders here, and announced he's going to Washington Monday too.

The action of the Reuther leadership in calling this conference in Washington is a half-way measure designed to take some of the heat off the union leadership and put it on Washington. Certainly one of the main demands of this conference will be to ask Congress to increase unemployment-compensation funds. The

(Continued on page 2)

Churchill Says Bevan Is Right!

By GORDON HASKELL

Seldom in the course of political history has it been vouchsafed to a man to have his predictions so quickly and completely borne out as have been Aneurin Bevan's in the dispute over British rearmament. The support which he and his group received from the ranks of the Labor Party was no doubt his most gratifying vindication. But when even his most bitter enemy, Winston Churchill, is forced to admit, in the House of Commons and before the world, that on this question Bevan was right as against the whole pack of his traducers on both sides of the Atlantic, the wheel has made its full turn.

Churchill's admission was characteristically tinged with venom. When asked by Bevan in the course of the debate on the armament program whether the Conservative government had not reached the conclusion that the program would have

to be somewhat delayed, Churchill replied:

"I am giving him [Bevan] honorable mention in dispatches for having—it appears by accident, perhaps, not from the best of motives—happened to be right."

HE TOLD 'EM

What Bevan and his comrades were specifically right about was that Britain could not stand the burden of a 4,700,000,000 pound armament budget without drastically lowering the standard of living of the people, cutting deeply into the social services built up by the Labor government, and wrecking her economy. When they saw the budget prepared by their own government, they were so convinced that it was impossible of fulfillment and that the attempt to carry it out would be disastrous that they preferred to resign from their ministerial posts in the government than to

(Continued on page 2)

New York Symposium

HOW TO FIGHT STALINISM

Speakers:

MAX SHACHTMAN

National Chairman, ISL

PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS

of Columbia University

Thursday evening, January 10

Place to be announced. Auspices Labor Action Forum

JAIL THE BIG-BUSINESS BRIBERS TOO

(Continued on page 2)
The new crew of sorely tempted men will take over the tax posts and probably even be careful. Now that Truman is back from Key West, he may even decide to reach the heights attained by the unfortunate Coolidge and throw a cabinet member to the wolves — Attorney General McGrath.

After all, McGrath (according to Caudle) approved Caudle's acceptance of a \$5000 "commission" from a man involved in a tax-indictment case. It was McGrath's predecessor, Tom Clark, who had committed the greater crime of appointing this Caudle in the first place, not to speak of Clark's admission of taking a friendly joy ride with a manufacturer whose tax returns were under the lens. Clark, to be sure, is now one of the robbed Nine who guard the democratic morals of the nation; but in spite of his towering stature as a jurist, he is no doubt even now nervously packing up and down, up and down — under his bed.

So McGrath may be fired; or Clark, who cannot be fired, may suddenly become incurably ill. But nothing is going to be changed thereby.

McKINNEY CLEAN-UP

The new Democratic national chairman, Frank McKinney, is being advised from all quarters that the Fair Deal must appoint a bipartisan clean-up squad, and he is letting it be understood that some spectacular honest government move will be made. We suppose it will, even if its impact will be somewhat muffled by the disclosure that McKinney himself, who is so anxious to clean up the government, knew how to clean up a \$68,000 profit for himself from a notorious purchaser of government influence.

It will be a spectacle indeed. But nothing is going to be changed thereby.

We have a proposal to make on what a government can and must do if it wishes to clean up a running sore, and not merely hush up a scandal.

It is a very simple and elementary first step, and not very radical. Not very radical, that is, for any administration which is not only personally honest itself (in the very limited sense of not taking open bribes) but which also puts honest government ahead of fear or favor of moneyed interests.

It is simply to crack down on the rascals behind the rascals.

For it is a crime to suborn a public official. And the record that has been spread before us reveals not only little vermin in the government offices who allowed themselves to make a fast buck but also the names and addresses of the money and minks under their noses.

Perhaps the most amazing part of the scandal is the way in which the press, Republican and Demo-

cratic, has invited the people to wax furiously indignant at the first set of malefactors while only mentioning the others incidentally as if they were merely the Facts of Life.

ROLLCALL

If, in the public eye at least, a prima-facie case has been made out against Caudle and Company, then by the same evidence here is a partial roll call of a few other interesting figures:

- The Gulf Coast Tobacco Company of Mobile, whose tax case Caudle is suspected of trying to fix. It is a 68-to-1 chance (McKinney odds) that Caudle didn't do it for love.

- Troy Whitehead, the North Carolina manufacturer who scorned to let the Department of Justice's tax investigation stand in the way of his hospitality to Tom Clark.

- Carmen d'Agostino, wine merchant, who paid for Caudle's European junket and "lent" him \$2000 without a note, the only visible result of the trip being that Caudle "got a good insight on the Communist situation in Italy."

- Major Joseph Kingsley, president of the Norfolk & Southern Railroad, who liked Caudle's company at the Kentucky Derby.

- The Empire Ordnance Company, whose relations with Democratic Chairman McKinney were perfectly legal, says McKinney.

- Howard Nutt, a Detroit war contractor, who had \$343,000 in delinquencies written off for a \$71,000 settlement in 1943.

- And no one believes that these are the only names known to the investigators.

HONEST WORK FOR FBI

But, it may be properly objected, there is no legal proof that any of these upstanding businessmen committed an act of bribery which could be pinned on them in court. That may well be, at present. After all, some of the men whose job it would be to look into such proof are the men in the dock themselves!

But is the Department of Justice, before or after being "cleaned up" in the spectacular manner which is promised, going to lift two fingers to go after these men — not to speak of whatever bigger fry have not yet been publicly mentioned?

Is it really possible that a whole brace of government officials can be properly canned for accepting bribes without even the FBI, the G-men, the T-men and J. Edgar Hoover himself being able to find the slightest evidence of who did it? That is enough to shake the faith of a nation of moviegoers in Hollywood's, as well as Walter Winchell's, representations of the uncanny infallibility of the Law-breakers' Nemesis.

SOMETHING TO SELL

Or is it possible that the Department of Justice cannot spare the manpower now devoted to organizing stoolpigeons, anti-red drives, subversive lists, enforcement of the McCarran Act against visiting discoverers of penicillin, and the general defense of the American Way of Life against the infiltration of civil liberties?

We don't claim that a crack-down on the big-business bribers

will be a cure for the problem of corruption in government. We only claim that however necessary it is to start by "turning out the rascals" in government, this is only a temporary cover-up as long as the government does not also strike at the source of corruption.

For big-scale corruption of government officials is not fixed by "human nature." It exists as a society-wide problem because it is in the interests of one section of that society to corrupt the government. It exists because this present profit system of ours is built on the principle that it is the legitimate aim of the profit-maker to line his own pocket at

Churchill and Bevan

(Continued on page 1)
be a party to such a blind economic and political course.

Bevan realized full well that the pace of rearmament would be disastrous not only to Britain but to Western Europe as well. In his speech to Commons explaining his resignation from the cabinet he stated: "The fact is that the Western world has embarked upon a campaign of arms production and upon a scale of arms production so quickly and of such an extent that the foundations of political liberty and parliamentary democracy will not be able to sustain the shock. Now, this is a very grave matter."

At the time he and his friends were denounced in unmeasured terms by the Tories and almost the whole British and American press. The kindest thing said of his position was that it sounded just like that of the Stalinists. The American press particularly pointed to him as the human embodiment of what a vicious thing "doctrinaire socialism" and "demagoguery" can be.

SOBERED UP

Since that time, just about nine months have passed. During these nine months the hard realities of the economic and political situation in Britain and Western Europe have had a sobering effect on all but the blindest American chauvinists. In a dispatch from Paris in the New York Times for December 9, Harold Callender describes the two "extreme" views on European rearmament as follows:

"An extreme view, sometimes heard in the United States, is that Europeans are not exerting themselves much and ought to rearm at a far greater rate, as the United States is doing. Another extreme view, that formulated by Aneurin Bevan in England and shared more or less by members of the Harriman committee, is that the United States is pushing Europe too hard and that while trying to grow strong in terms of armaments Europe may undermine its internal economic stability and therewith its standard of living and its social and political stability."

(The Harriman committee referred to here is the Temporary Council Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, otherwise known as the "Wise Men" of the Nato. Thus it appears that even the "Wise Men" are on this question... "Bevanites"!)

Churchill will no doubt get the agreement of the American government, or at least its tolerance, in cutting British arms expenditures. But the political victory goes to Bevan and his supporters in the Labor Party.

the expense of the community.

A crackdown on the big-business bribers, as well as the bribe-takers, is only a first-aid cure in a society where relatively poorly paid government officials have been taught to admire the "captains of industry" who made their own way to fatter bank accounts, not by devotion to "ideals of public trust," but by a "hard-headed" cut-throat scramble for the loosest dollar lying around.

In a country where the operation of a major party machine is itself a big business like all the other important sectors of society, the realistic leaders of the party machines do not expect their big

check-writers to contribute to the party's expenses out of starry-eyed ideological conviction. The American Way demands: Have you got something to sell?

Theron Lamar Caudle had something to sell.
The Democratic or Republican party in power has something to sell.

The buyers are also those who own and control the whole economy.

It is only the small fry who sell it over the counter for cash or mink coats, the Caudle way. But they sell it to the same class.

Crack down on the rascals on the other side of the counter!

stincts and social outlook of the Tories make it possible for them to try to carry out the armament scheme at the cost of drastically cutting the standard of living of the British workers. But their political instincts rebel strongly against it. They have not yet so lost contact with reality as to insist on committing political suicide.

Further, Churchill is in a relatively favorable position when it comes either to cutting the arms budget or to demanding that the American government help finance it. Events have clearly demonstrated that there is no other possibility. And it is not likely that anyone on either side of the ocean (with the exception, perhaps, of the political paranoiac who runs the Chicago Tribune) will denounce Churchill as a near-Stalinist.

ATTLE'S CASE

From this, a valuable political lesson can be learned. Bevan could urge cutting the military budget, and if given the power, could have acted in line with his convictions. Churchill can do the same. But Attlee and the right-wing leadership of the Labor Party in Britain which he represents could not and did not. Why is this?

Bevan proceeded from the domestic needs of the British working people. He perceived that the armament budget was in flat contradiction to these needs and to the aspirations of the people who form the core as well as those who give mass support to the Labor Party. Although his views on the whole range of issues in British foreign policy have narrow limitations, he understood at least that a socialist domestic and foreign policy could not be followed if Britain continued to subordinate herself to the policies dictated by the government of the capitalist United States. He believed, further, that in this conviction he would be backed by a large section of the British working class, even perhaps a majority, and in any event he was willing to stake his political future on this belief.

Churchill also has a basis for independent action, though within much narrower limits. First there is his great personal pres-

ence among American business and government circles. Secondly, he knows that in deciding to cut the arms budget, his motives will not be seriously questioned, and, in fact that everything possible will be done on this side of the Atlantic to bolster his prestige rather than to diminish it. Just as Bevan relied on the support of the working class, so Churchill knows he can rely on the support of the capitalist class, both at home and abroad, almost regardless of the course he may pursue. And finally there was, to be sure, the irrefutable logic of the economic situation of Britain as it stood at the time he came to power.

But Attlee, like most men who seek to stand in the middle of the national and international class struggle, found himself trying to put across a policy which, in a time of crisis, was doomed in advance. His base, like Bevan's, is the British working class. But he had ceased to rely on it, and neither he nor his colleagues in the government were able any longer to understand its needs and desires. Having ceased to stand firmly on his base, he was forced to seek another force for political support. More and more he tended to rely on the American government as that force, particularly in foreign affairs.

On occasion, it is true, the voice of his own people was raised so loudly that even he could not fail to understand it (example: his hurried trip to Washington when Truman told the press that the American government had considered use of the atom bomb in Korea). But the more he came to rely on America, the less capable his government was of conducting an independent policy, either at home or abroad. Hence their yielding to American insistence on the size of the armament program, and their perseverance in their course in the face of political disaffection and impending economic disaster.

Churchill will no doubt get the agreement of the American government, or at least its tolerance, in cutting British arms expenditures. But the political victory goes to Bevan and his supporters in the Labor Party.

Exclusion of Penicillin Discoverer Creates World Scandal for U.S.

By MEL HACKER

The blind fear of ideas by the United States government has again erupted in an international scandal. "Non-political" scholars and scientists, as well as Stalinists, have time and again without explanation been denied visas to enter or leave the United States. Many have simply been declared "inadmissible" under the Internal Security Act of 1950, the infamous McCarran Bill.

Most recently, Dr. Ernest P. Chain, Nobel prize-winning biochemist who helped develop penicillin, was refused entrance into the country for unexplained "security" reasons. Last spring the World Health Organization formally requested the State Department to permit Dr. Chain to consult with chemists here on the possibilities of stimulating research abroad in the development of penicillin, streptomycin and other new drugs. Last week Chain was to attend a meeting of the American Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science.

IRON CURTAIN — HERE

In a letter Dr. Chain describes himself as "no more Communist than Acheson," adding that his visa application might have been denied because of a mission that he made to Czechoslovakia on behalf of the World Health Organization to restore a penicillin plant in that country. This denial of civil liberties will ultimately be detrimental to the United States "because no country, not even the United States, can develop its science in isolation."

A friend of Chain's speculated that his exclusion might have stemmed from the fact that Kurt Eisner, assassinated president of the short-lived Bavarian Soviet of 1919 had been related to Chain on his mother's side. Other sources suggested that pharmaceutical interests in the United States who resented Chain's public attacks on them for the way they had ex-

ploited penicillin might have inspired the action.

Such speculation on the reasoning of the powers that have built America's Iron Curtain are unresolvable. The fact is that there are no specific charges against Dr. Chain. The right to be confronted with charges, the right to full and public hearings with cross-examination and rebuttal, have been tyrannically denied by the State Department's Division of Passports.

DISTRUSTED BY WORLD

This denial of travel rights has seriously affected international cooperation between scientists of the United States and those of other nations. It has produced an-

other ripple in the stream of world distrust and hatred of the United States for its ignoble imperialism and war preparations. Indeed the New York Times has stated that "influential circles in the capitals of Western Europe have begun to react cynically to United States pronouncements on intellectual freedom and exchange of persons..."

High State Department officials are therefore calling for "liberalization" of the McCarran Act, it is announced. That is not enough. It is the entire act that must go, together with its monstrous provisions for concentration camps and "subversive" registration, and not merely one provision which is especially embarrassing to U. S. pretensions to "democracy."

The Bevan Movement Needs Organization

LONDON, Dec. 5—There may be some misconceptions in the U. S. of some aspects of the situation in the Labor Party since the American press, maliciously or unconsciously, distorts the developments that take place here. This has been particularly true of the Bevan movement.

For one thing, the Bevanites are not an organized mass movement in basic conflict with the official leadership of the Labor Party, as other centrist movements have developed. Quite the contrary; the Bevan movement has at no time left its position of confining the strictly organizational struggle to the top ranks of the party.

The Bevan group consists of 24 Labor MPs and has one magazine, the Tribune. Through the columns of the Tribune, the Bevan group has managed to gain very considerable mass support for itself. But it would be quite wrong to believe that (for example) the Bevanites' victory at the Labor Party Conference that preceded the general election was systematically organized. No systematic campaigning for the Bevan line was carried out at all by any of the Labor MPs in the Bevan group. Its victory at this conference was therefore of more significance than might have appeared at first sight. Despite the fact

that Bevan limited his fight to writing for the Tribune, he was able to secure a spontaneous and enthusiastic response at that conference.

BEVANITES ON RUSSIA
Recently, in the House of Commons, the Bevan group has shown its hand on a number of issues. The group wisely refrained from participating in the party elections to the parliamentary front bench of the opposition. It also voted against the Japanese peace treaty. We fear, however, that Bevan did not dissociate himself from the reactionary objections to the treaty among the 80 Labor MPs—many from the Lancashire cotton areas—who abstained on the treaty because British exports would be hampered by competition from cheap Japanese goods. [See last week's London Letter on this point—Ed.]

There is another aspect of the Bevan group which is worth bearing in mind: its rather confused attitude on the question of Russia. Although Bevan himself is absolutely anti-Stalinist, some of his lieutenants are extremely dangerous. Tom Driberg, for instance, his second-in-command, is one of the most astute fellow travelers in the Labor Party. And even Ian Mikardo saw nothing wrong in signing the phony "Stockholm peace petition."

The Research Department of Transport House [Labor Party headquarters] and the Fabian Society have published a number of excellent pamphlets that will be useful for Labor Party militants abroad, of course, for socialists and other who are interested in the problems of British socialism. These have been on a variety of topics—workers' control, monopolies, foreign policy, rearmament, etc. One of the tasks of the socialists in the Labor Party is to bring these questions, which are being discussed and written about at the tops of the party, to the attention of every serious member of the party in his ward, trade-union branch, and League of Youth.

Already there are signs that the party is moving to the left. That will be reinforced by taking an active and constructive attitude to the problems that face the Labor Party in opposition.

Interested? For information about the

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Write to 114 W. 14th Street

New York 11, N. Y.

TO BUILD A FIRE

The City Council of New York City had before it this week a proposed local law calling for the revocation of the licenses of all places of public accommodation which discriminated against patrons because of race, color, creed or nationality. This was the latest attempt to legislate against discrimination in New York establishments as a result of the Josephine Baker-Stork Club incident. Meanwhile 95 per cent of the Negro press of the nation have taken a vehement stand in favor of Negro militancy against discrimination, one notorious exception being George Schuyler's column in the Pittsburgh Courier.

Meanwhile Mayor Impellitteri has taken no action. But a proposal has been made which CAN put a fire under everyone concerned.

This is to pack the Stork Club of an evening with Negro and white customers who refuse to be served until the Negroes are also served. Such a move, which is strictly in accordance with the New York State law on restaurants, has been tried before, and often with success.

STUDENT MORALS

All the locks on campus buildings and offices at Washington University in St. Louis have been changed in an attempt to frustrate a student ring that has been using a master key to obtain examination data. Revelations of

UNSOCIALIZED MEDICINE

Rackets in some sections of the medical profession are getting so out of hand that the American College of Surgeons—their national organization—issued a strong condemnation and warning to its members.

One of the schemes is fee-splitting—a kickback by surgeons to physicians who send them patients.

Another is "ghost surgery." In this gimmick, the patient believes that his own physician performs the operation; but actually, after the patient is under ether, another

surgeon secretly takes over. The fee is split, of course.

Other practices condemned were those in which a physician secretary receives regular pay from a clinic for referring patients; gets a kickback from companies for prescribing devices or medicines made by the firms; charges unreasonably high fees.

If one tenth of these surgical abuses or similar ones took place under a socialized-medicine setup, the AMA doctors' trust propagandists and their ilk would be cutting up all over the place.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY on the HOME FRONT

The Pall of Fear in Education: N.Y. Gag Steamrolled Through

By MEL HACKER

The campaign of intimidation against New York school teachers reached new depths this week when the Board of Education voted unanimously for Superintendent of Schools Jansen's resolution to dismiss teachers who are found to be members of the Communist Party or any other "subversive" group.

New York State's Feinberg Law already provides a close authoritarian check on New York teachers with annual reports on each and every teacher and inquires into their backgrounds, including questioning of their former employers and associates.

The Jansen proposal goes beyond this thought-control law. Not only present but "past membership may be taken into account with other circumstances of the individual in considering whether a teacher or other employee is disqualified." Further, if there was any reason to believe that an employee is or ever has been engaged in "an illegal or conspiratorial act" the superintendent shall inquire "as to such participation and the extent thereto."

KILPATRICK

The celebration in New York of the 80th birthday of Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick turned into a tremendous demonstration of support for a school system which is public and democratic, and of opposition to all attempts to undermine it. Present also was Willard Goslin, who was ousted as Pasadena's superintendent of schools in part because he brought Kilpatrick to his faculty as consultant.

Attendance was large and enthusiastic at sessions sponsored by the American Education Fellowship, which has been attacked not only by Fulton Lewis Jr. and similar apologists from the extreme right but even by a few liberals who bemoan its reluctance to go along with the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers in their recent restrictions on academic freedom.

At the Board of Education meeting Jansen's resolution was listed as fifth on the calendar for this public meeting but was held over until its very end. A maximum crowd waited quietly as the other 69 items were dealt with.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from the New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, publication date December 12:

ON UNDERSTANDING SCIENCE, by James B. Conant. Revised lectures on the teaching of scientific method. A Mentor book, 144 pages, 35 cents.

SOLDIER'S PAY, by William Faulkner. A Signet book, 224 pages, 25 cents.

THE INVADERS, by Stuart Engstrand. A Signet book, 160 pages, 25 cents.

THE HEART OF A MAN, by Georges Simenon. A Signet book, 168 pages, 25 cents.

NAM Head Condemns Flannel Nightgowns As Un-American

"American businessmen are about as effective as a chorus girl in a flannel nightgown when trying to sell free enterprise to the American people."

That moan of distress came from William H. Ruffin, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, speaking before a businessmen's conference in Florida.

"Untold Americans," he lamented further "believe American business is an enemy of the people's welfare."

It is hard for him to understand why this should be so when, after all, the NAM fights against social legislation and for lower taxes on capital only in the interests of the very littlest of little people themselves.

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UAW Conference

(Continued from page 1)

action of the Flint unionists, in holding a mass meeting of the unemployed and putting Moody and Williams on the spot, has already begun that kind of campaign in Michigan. One state senator has agreed to introduce legislation at the regular session of the state legislature in January to boost the unemployment-payment benefits, extend them, and eliminate the costly waiting-week period.

motor caravans to Lansing, the state capital, and presumably to Washington also. In face of this kind of program from his opposition (most of the Flint unionists spearheading the drive to aid the unemployed are anti-Rutherford) the top leadership of the UAW-CIO has started to move.

They must also have heard about how popular the Stellato program leaflets are in many shops where they are being distributed, including previous Rutherford strongholds.

TO SLOW DOWN

It is evident that the Churchill government is going to slow down the armament program, or at the very least is going to demand that the United States furnish a considerable part of the funds necessary to carry it out. The class in-

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A. Our policy is to publish letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

Editorials

Socialism and Religious Freedom

Socialism stands for religious freedom as a part of full democratic rights, at the same time that it stands for full separation of church and state. It is worth illustrating this again in connection with the Stepinac case, because its point is directed both against the totalitarian regimes which suppress religious freedom (as they suppress all democratic rights) and against the Catholic hierarchy which so often yells for religious freedom as a cover for exercising quite unspiritual political powers.

For us the present point to be discussed with regard to the issues in the Stepinac case is not whether Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia is or is not guilty of the political crimes charged against him. We hold no brief for him. The Catholic hierarchy, in more than one country, has shown itself quite willing to collaborate with the deepest-dyed reactionaries and fascists in order to ensure a government which will give its own interests more than their due, and there is little that is beyond them in furtherance of this policy.

The facts in an individual case (guilt-by-association is not to be applied even to members of the Catholic hierarchy) have to be determined by a democratic trial; and while this is quite impossible under a totalitarian regime, an archbishop is no worse off than the mass of people—who do not have the protective pressure of Rome behind them besides.

As long as the Yugoslav government maintained that it was punishing Stepinac for legally defined crimes against the law, the critics' issue was that of an individual's rights before the law. It is the Yugoslav government itself which has now put the issue on another basis.

It has released Stepinac from jail—as a concession to Western pressure, as everyone knows—but whatever its considerations and motives, the man has been freed. But it now has assumed the responsibility of decreeing that Stepinac can no longer function as archbishop.

This is a policy which has nothing in common with socialism but which is characteristic of totalitarianism. Precisely because socialism stands for separation of church and state, it opposes not only

any attempts of the church to obtain special privileges in the state but also any attempt by the state to dictate its affairs to the church.

The power to remove an officer of the church is also the power to appoint him, or to determine who he shall be. This, of course, is exactly the power which Moscow has established in the course of its Stalinist totalitarianization: the "coordination" of the church as another controlled agency of the state. The Russian ruling class can find religion as useful an opiate as any other ruling class, provided the church institutions are as much under its thumb as every other form of organized association. There is no part of the world where the separation of church and state is as non-existent as in Stalinland.

The socialist view of religious freedom is perfectly clear. It is that a church has exactly the same democratic rights and obligations as every other form of association, no more and no less. Freedom of worship is not a special right; it is no more and no less than freedom of speech and assembly, with their accompanying civil liberties. A socialist government made up exclusively of atheists could no more abridge the right of worship and church assembly, etc., than any other legitimate exercise of these rights for educational or propaganda purposes with which the socialists do not agree. Socialists need have no fear of such a policy since, in a rational society of peace and plenty, religious institutions would have a job cut out for them to demonstrate that they can still retain their hold over men's minds.

Such a real test of the validity of religion can, in fact, take place only under a socialist democracy—where religious faith can no longer be a consolation for society's failures. Believers who do not fear this test of democracy have no reason to look on socialism as an enemy of religion. Either religious ideas will wither away, as Marxists predict; or, as Christian socialists maintain, a "true Christian spirit" will become possible for the first time. Marxists will teach their views, but the function of the socialist government is to create the conditions under which men can decide freely.

WORLD POLITICS

WASHINGTON'S \$100 MILLION SUBVERSIVE PROGRAM

By BERNARD CRAMER

There's much ado about the \$100,000,000 which Congress voted to promote subversive operations behind the Iron Curtain. There's one aspect of the rub-a-dub-dub that we can't get excited about. That is the mutual charges—Moscow vs. Washington—of bad faith and hypocrisy.

Both sides, on this point, are on exceedingly strong grounds. The Russian protest, for example, made to Washington and to the UN, pointed out that such activities are contrary to the agreement under which the U. S. (F. D. Roosevelt, to be exact) consented to recognize Russia. At that time, it may be remembered, the U. S. exacted from the Kremlin its agreement, on paper, against subversive activities in the U. S., and vice versa. Washington demanded this very righteously and indignantly, with suitable choruses in the press about the monstrosity of such operations.

If Congress has now more or less openly voted to finance such "monstrous" business, or if the administration has been doing what it can along the same lines without publicity even before this, we have only a very routine illustration of official hypocrisy.

The Russians' indignant protest, of course, was made only after

Vishinsky had laughed himself to sleep once again.

More interesting than this comedy of shocked protests is the question of what the U. S. thinks it can do with the subversive \$100 million. LABOR ACTION has previously discussed the "foment-revolution-in-Russia" schools of thought in and around Washington and their futility. Not very long ago a special coordinating committee under Gordon Gray was set up by Truman to plan and coordinate its "propaganda war." It has had the usual difficulties on the bureaucratic plane of trying to coordinate different government agencies, but this is not its main difficulty.

The main problem before American propaganda in the cold war is what it has to say—and whether it has anything to say—to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. It can talk about "democracy" all it wants but as long as its propaganda for democracy translates itself as propaganda for capitalism, the peoples under the Kremlin heel are not going to get enthusiastically subversive for the sake of pulling America's chestnuts out of the fire.

FOR REAL DEMOCRACY

This has been underlined by reports of Harvard's Russian Research Center on interviews with refugees from Russia (made in Germany). On the question which interests us here—attitude toward capitalism—there can be little doubt that the refugees are not adequately representative of a full cross-section of the Russian people who hate the Stalin regime. There is an inevitable self-selection among those individuals who flee the country or refuse to return both in the political nature of their attitude and in social status. But we mention this to indicate only that a full cross-section would be even more strongly weighted in the very same direction that is indicated by the replies of the refugees.

The summary (N. Y. Times magazine, Nov. 25) of the refugees' prevailing views by the center's directors shows them to be firmly anti-capitalist:

"On the economic level, they would have the government own and control heavy industry, railroads, all means of communication and all natural resources. Despite their experiences with the Soviet system they feel that under ideal conditions a planned economy would be better than an unplanned one. . . .

"As for government ownership of industry, the feeling is both that this is a more efficient and desirable arrangement and also that the people of the USSR have constructed this new industrial system with their own sweat and therefore should retain ownership. An army officer who would abolish the collective farms would yet retain nationalization of plants and factories. He said: 'They are nationalized now and the factories belong to the workers—but the government gets all the profit from them.' . . ."

(In the group interviewed, land collectivization was mostly opposed, but it is not at all certain that even this would be true for a country-wide cross-section. In any case, it raises different questions.)

In other words, the peoples of Russia do not want to return to capitalism. They want democracy indeed—democratic control and benefit from the planned and nationalized economy. Or, as we might put it, they want a nationalized economy which really belongs to the workers, not to the ruling bureaucracy. It will take more than \$100 million to convince them to swallow capitalism along with the "democratic" propaganda, especially propaganda by a government which proposes to cram its "democracy" down their throats with an atom bomb—at the side of General Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, Konrad Adenauer, Churchill and Rhee.

ISL Program — in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!



SPRINKLING HOLY WATER ON SCIENCE

By PHILIP COBEN

There is no doubt that if the present pope, Pius XII, fails to go down in church history, it will not be his own fault. Ambition is highly enough regarded by our world but for all we know it may be looked down upon as a feature of the papal personality; and we do not wish to charge a successor of St. Peter even with a venial sin. Therefore we only note that Pius XII has already done more than enough to win a high place for himself in eternity. He has had miraculous visions, as the press reported recently, and so an indispensable condition has been met for his own canonization by a subsequent holder of the apostolic chair. He has properly denounced birth control, thereby pushing the powers of darkness and Beelzebub deeper into the pit. And most recently, a couple of weeks ago, he triumphantly announced that the existence of God has been proved all over again by modern science, thereby in the best contemporary image of statesmanship establishing the peaceful coexistence of religion and science, revelation and reason.

What is most impressive about the pope's lecture on popular science is the deft manner in which he bases his conclusions on the fact that science has so thoroughly demonstrated the "mutability" of all things—that is, the constant change, evolution, and transformation of the world. Heretics and other children of darkness may recall a time when theologians based arguments for the existence of God on the immutability of at least certain things, especially when a man named Darwin was getting started in the world; but flexibility is not to be condemned, especially when it is just as easy, after all, to prove the existence of God from the mutability of the universe as from its immutability.

As the pontiff explains it, the constant changeability of the universe proves the existence of the Eternal Immutate One because "Just as in a picture done in chiaroscuro, the figures stand out on a background of darkness, and only in this way achieve the full effect of form and life, so also the image of the Eternal Immutate Being emerges clear and resplendent" from the "immense torrent" of universal mutability, so that the scientist can find "rest in that cry of truth with which God defines Himself 'I am who am' . . ." (That's the press translation for Exodus 3, 14.)

The scientist who does not wish to find "rest" from his unceasing search for truth is clearly at a disadvantage before the more fortunate members of the Pontifical Academy who are given a hitching post for a universe-in-flux which itself gives out no such convenient hitching posts.

It also makes it possible for the pontifical scientists to do something which others cannot do—and this is indisputably a virtue. They can make an argument such as the following (which the pope quotes in his address), and it is obviously one that would be quite beyond the ability of more earthbound scientists. Behold the miracle which this Sir Edmund Whittaker performs with language:

" . . . there was a time, some nine or ten billion years ago, prior to which the cosmos, if it existed, existed in a form totally different from anything we know and this form constitutes the very last limit of science. We refer to it, perhaps not improperly, as creation."

Since the universe then existed in a form totally different from anything we know, it follows it was then . . . created. The vistas for human reason which this open up are immense. For example, one might say:

"Sir Edmund's pontifical reasoning is so different from anything we know under the name of logic that we can, perhaps not improperly, refer to it as stultification."

But, after all, the pontiff himself says in his speech that revelation is superior to science or philosophy; and therefore Sir Edmund Whittaker may still perhaps not improperly be referred to as a scientist—at least the very prevalent type of scientist who spends five or six days a week on unmasking the Unknown and only the seventh day of the week on worshipping it.

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STUDENT SOCIALIST

DECEMBER 17, 1951

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 YWCA 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 burgs, hamlets and crannies 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

(Continued on page 4-S)

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.

(Continued on page 4-S)

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

including 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.

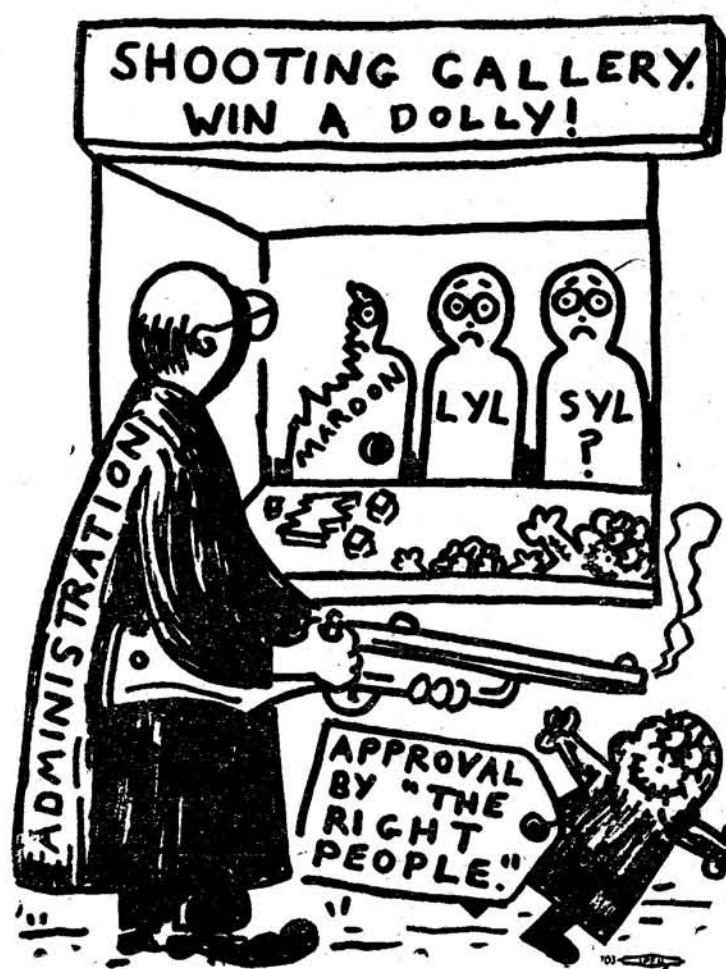
Many other student organizations testified to much the same effect, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United World Federalists, and Young Friends. The students as a whole seem overwhelmingly to favor recognition but the usual apathy which is found when the question of attacks on the Stalinists 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 legislation 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.

(Continued on page 4-S)

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

This factual account of the terror against non-Communist 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 Winfried 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 Treubth 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.

Guenter Klieemann 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. Klieemann 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 Greisinger, 21 years; Guenther Gebler, 18 years; Manfred Wendt, 18 years, and Hans Holland, 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 Holland 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 "verworf activities." Another boy, sentenced because of a similar charge, was building sand-castles in the sand of the concentration camp.

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 harassed 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

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-subistence 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 spent \$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.

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 on 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.

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Student Socialist Student-Youth Section of LABOR ACTION

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Section Editor: SAM FELIKS

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

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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,

They Call Us the 'Silent Generation' — —

(Continued from page 1-5)

"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 speers? 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 2-5)

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 1-5)

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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