

# student

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# SOCIALIST

## MILITARISM ROTC AND THE UNIVERSITY

"The man with a rebellious spirit was easily recognized and singled out for drill. The drill was simple enough. The commands were 'Open your mouth', 'Shut it', 'Open your mouth', 'Shut it'.....ad infinitum/ Of course the rebellious spirit, after dozens of repetitions of the absurd command, failed to obey and punishment followed. ...Then the drill would be varied by making the prisoner open and shut his eyes or raise and lower his arms, or anything, the absurder the better. This study of penitentiary methods opened my eyes to the true value of much in the military service. The manual of arms and ordinary barracks-yard drill, after the men are able to execute them perfectly, are the military counterparts of the discipline drills in our penitentiaries."

This statement did not originate in some scurvy anti-militaristic rag; it came straight from the exalted "Journal of the Military Science Institute" (1940) and was written by a Major Chester. (We trust that a man with the Major's keen insight must be a general by now.) Perhaps if the Major had a little more time he could have pointed out some other striking similarities between life in the ranks and life in the Pen.

This analysis of Militaristic discipline might be considered rather extreme when compared with the "official" definition  
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### SUPPORT THE SEARS BOYCOTT!

The Berkeley Committee on Racial Equality, (CORE), has thrown a picket line around the Sears-Roebuck store at 26 th & Telegraph in Oakland.

This action was the result of the complete refusal by the Sears management to consider a revision of their policy of hiring only white sales personnel. Despite the fact that it was pointed out to Sears that a large percentage of their trade comes from people of the minority groups, their management remained adamant suggesting that "since there are no Jewish farmers, why should there be Negro sales-clerks?"

As has been shown in previous situations of this kind, the only effective recourse for an anti-discrimination group is to resort to an action designed to expose this viscious practice of taking a Negro's money, but of refusing him an but the most menial job.

It is incumbent upon all students who oppose Sears-Roebuck's lilly-white practices to support CORE's fight by helping on the picket line as well as by participating in the boycott.

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about which the ROTC manual says, "Military discipline must not be a coerced state of subservience. The sort of obedience to be developed in subordinates is an intelligent willing obedience rather than one based solely on habit or fear."

Other organizations have been known to founder on the rocks of extreme differences of fundamental definition, but not the Military. They seem to thrive on such inconsistencies. They have resolved the question by combining the cold-blooded degradation of the former with the pious hypocrisy of the latter.

This is the discipline before which all the voluntary and freely elected discipline of civilization pales into insignificance. The discipline of the individual to his family, friends, class, to his social institutions, to his ideals and beliefs; It must be discarded.

This is the discipline we must accept four hours a week for two years, before we are considered prepared for upper-division studies.

And yet, no one, not even the Regents, would deny that over 90% of the students come here with little if any inclination towards the militaristic pursuits. Nor could they deny that almost all students look upon these studies with disfavour & at times with open hostility. And yet the same Administration which looks upon its graduates as potential candidates for the Nobel Peace Awards, still considers its lower division students with the bleary eye of a drill sergeant.

Is ROTC desirable or even necessary? There is little question as to its desirability, but it is claimed by some that it is necessary under the Federal Land-Grant Act. This "Magna Carta of Militarism" requires that all universities which come under this Act must offer two courses. One is Agricultural Science; the other is Military Science. Neither of these need be required. Why a "peace-loving" administration has chosen to require one of these  
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courses--and Military Science at that-- is left unanswerable. Why not Agricultural Science? True, "dirt farming" leads to dirt under the fingernails and calloused palms (worthy of contempt in some circles), but it could lead only to more abundant and peaceful living.

Militarism, on the other hand, (not the begrimed calloused hand) leads in somewhat different directions. Two hot wars and an up and coming "lukewarm" war have shown us the general trend.

What is the role of the ROTC in this pattern? It is placed on the campuses to inoculate potential builders of the future with the "anti-toxin" of Militarism before they can get out in the world and do some damage. In the pre-war days, when Militarism was struggling for its right to exist against the Pacifist and Anti-militarist movement, the ROTC valiantly led the struggle on campuses throughout the country. In the University of California and other key universities the students had rallied behind anti-war banners and had practically beaten ROTC to its knees. Mass peace demonstrations at Sather Gate and mass "civil disobedience" on the drill field were licking Militarism at its own game.

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**WE NEED MONEY!**

The cost of this issue of the **STUDENT SOCIALIST** is approximately \$10.00.

We plan to keep the paper of a one per month schedule, but the expense involved considerably exceeds our limited income

Therefore we are asking you, our readers, for contributions---anything from a dime to a fin gratefully excepted.

Mail your donation to the Socialist Youth League, 466-10 th St., room 218, Oakland, or give it to an SYL'er around the campus.

# STALINISM AND NEGROES

A TWENTY YEAR RECORD: The line of the Communist Party on proposed solutions to the exploited and degraded position of Negroes in American society has undergone numerous and drastic changes in the past twenty years. The Communists' record speaks for its self, and is what we will present; for history is one thing the Stalinists can not explain away. Let them answer their own past, if they dare!

1928 - 1934: In 1928 the Communist International, reversing the position previously held by the American CP, "discovered" that the Negro problem was really a 'national' one and that therefore the doctrine of 'self-determination of nations' was what really applied. Concretely this meant that the ultimate Communist aim was to be the creation of a separate Negro country in the so-called Black Belt of the South. This fantastic proposal would, if carried out, make for sort of 'Jim-Crow' in reverse, and lead straight away from a solution to the real problem, that of the complete integration of Negroes into all phases of society.

Concurrently, the general Stalinist line during this, the so-called third, period was that Fascism is a twin of such reform movements as the New Deal and that both are to be opposed equally.

Finally it is worthy of note that during this time the Stalinists were violently hostile to such conservative Negro organizations as the NAACP.

1935 - August 1939: By 1935 the Kremlin could ignore Fascism no longer, and the groups, such as the Socialist Party, that had been as bad as the fascists a year before, became highly desirable allies in the 'Struggle for Democracy.' This was the period of the Peoples Front. Simultaneous-

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DEPT. OF "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM";  
Free discussion Section.

"Such an ideological struggle against Trotskyism in a sustained, serious fashion is necessary in order to overcome certain tendencies toward a rotten liberalism toward Trotskyites.

"On the basis of such a campaign, we must arouse a spirit of hatred in the Party for Trotskyites, a spirit of absolute and uncompromising intolerance in the struggle against the Trotskyites." (Political Affairs, "theoretical" organ of the American Communist Party, Feb. 1946, p.148)

Aren't we devils?

ly, in an effort by the Russian rulers to ally themselves with the ruling-classes in the democratic countries, the American CP toned down its 'radicalism' and such ideas as 'self-determination' for the Negroes were put in the background. All the old theories went over-board; a tremendous effort was made to portray Earl Browder as the logical successor to Dan'l Boone. The NAACP was looked upon as a help-mate in the struggle against evil.

AUGUST 1939 - JUNE 22, 1941: This period can be summed up in a single phrase-- The Hitler-Stalin Pact. In the US this led to the destruction of all Negro organizations of which the CP was a large part. For when the non-Communists in such groups as the National Negro Congress refused to recognize Hitler as a lesser evil to Britain and Wall Street, the non-CP'ers were forced out and the previously large organizations left as shells.

The Stalinists once more offered a super radical face to the American Negro and the NAACP again became "a scabby tool of Wall Street." In particular the Party agitated vigorously against discrimination in the new war industries and sought to influence the younger Negroes against the draft.

JUNE 22, 1941 - APRIL 1945: June 22, from dirty imperialist war to great patriotic, democratic, anti-Fascist conflict in a day! From the time Germany attacked Russia till the end of World War II, the

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## ROTC (CONT.)

The great Patriotic National War of Liberation and Preservation of Democracy otherwise known as World Hemorrhage No. 2 came and the movement was destroyed. The defection and betrayal of the Young Commisar League helped immeasurably.

The war was eventually ended, but now after a few years of inactivity, the war lords are again clamoring for "living room," this time against one of our "brave allies." The Gaulite rs of Men's Gym and elsewhere throughout the country have again heard their master's voice. The change in the ROTC dep't. even from last year to this has been tremendous. They have sacked the old shabby looking uniform in favor of one more alluring (I almost broke down when I first put the uniform on and looked at myself in the mirror).. The previous attitude of the dep't. was more or less defensive. The instructors and student officers (mainly Vets) on the drill field, could sense the passive hostility of the student and most of them tried to make the course pass as smoothly as possible. This attitude is now frowned upon by the Brass. The classroom instructors are becoming more and more arrogant and are demanding more military discipline in the class-room. On the drill field, the new crop of student officers (80% non-Vets) are becoming Martinets and are making life unbearable for even the lukewarm non-conformist. The officers' new uniforms with all their insignia, needless to say, are quite significant.

The discipline has been increasing daily and is enforced to the hilt by our fellow (?) students who call themselves officers. The demerits flow like wine. Prior to all this, when a man was given 3 or 4 demerits, it was for gross-something-or-other and was pretty infrequent. At present 9 or 10 is not unheard of, while the all-time record is 12 demerits. Among the list of demerit-yielding offences one finds: 'dirty rifle', 'wrinkled' uniform, button unbuttoned, unpolished shoes, untidy hair, 5 o'clock shadow, and wrong color shoes or socks (we must raise our trouser leg to allow the officer to see what color socks we wear). Then there are improper attitudes (like silent contempt, etc.): These are handled differently. One can scan the department publication, the "Weekly Demerit List," for

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months without seeing such a listing. Officers, to avoid embarrassing the scoundrel, prefer to run such charges through the swindle sheet under the guise of 'dirty' rifle, 'wrinkled' uniform, or other such subjective evaluations. Demerits for absence and tardiness are calculated on a geometric progression. However, demerits can be worked off in the Armory; at one per hour!

After about three months of this stuff the students are so subdued that the dep't can proudly announce that of late there has been a great dearth of demerits. Truly remarkable progress!

If this is the saturation point, the students can heave a sigh of relief. I do not (and there are strong doubts!) they can look forward to a greater tempo until the final nadir has been attained.

This is a dreary prospect, made even more dreary by the absence of any large-scale student protest movement on this campus.

But the students can lick the menace! At the University of Minnesota, action was taken a few years ago, and there is no longer compulsory ROTC there. Health movements are springing up elsewhere. There is the beginnings of one at U.C.L. and there should be no reason why the draftees up here in Berkeley cannot take similar action.

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The article printed above is by a U.C. student who is not a member of the Socialist Youth League. We are in contact with the anti-ROTC group at UCLA and agree with the writer on the need for such a group on this campus.

In general, the STUDENT SOCIALIST welcomes the opportunity to publish timely contributions from members of the student body.

The Editors

READ :

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

### STALINISM & NEGROES (Cont. from pg. 3)

Stalinists pulled one of the most vicious sell-outs in the history of working-class movements. And American Negroes had to take the full brunt of it. Aside from a little pious yapping on holidays, the Communists did absolutely nothing positive. Instead, the Stalinists came out for a no-strike pledge, speed-up in the plants, and didn't even protest whole-heartedly against the segregation of Negro blood in the Red Cross blood banks. The CP told the Negroes to forget their grievances; after all, everything must be subordinated to the 'war effort.' Consequently the Communist Party in the South almost entirely disappeared. A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington idea, the mere threat of which brought about Federal FEPC, was violently opposed by the Stalinists as hindering the war; even the NAACP was damned for its mild efforts to stop discrimination, and accused of objectively helping the Fascists. It was in this crucial period for Russia that the true nature of Stalinism was held high for all to see.

APRIL 1945 - ???: The cold war began; the American CP made a complete about face; ~~and once more~~ the old extra-radical theory about a bi-national state in America was dragged out of the moth balls (i.e. Bi-national state—one country for whites, one for Negroes). With the loss of their union base in the CIO, the Stalinists have come to place more and more stress on the Negro question as a way of recouping their trade-union losses. Toward this end they have established a duel set-up. Where they can get into the NAACP and similar groups they do; where they can not, the Civil Rights Congress is used. Hence the Communists need have little compunction about adopting a rule-or-ruin attitude in branches of the NAACP; they can always set up a CRC chapter as an alternative.

WHAT ROAD FOR THE NEGRO?: Before one can theorize about what road is open for a solution to the Negro problem, it is necessary to be assured a solid factual basis. The record of the Communist Party toward the American Negro shows by a negative proof, that Stalinism is not a sincere movement dedicated to righting social wrongs. Rather that the Communists use the plight of

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the Negro as a weapon. As long as <sup>the</sup> American ruling class plays ball with Russia, the C.P. declares all quiet on the Negro front, but let there be antagonism between the two powers, and the US Stalinists go all out, in an attempt to use the Negro issue in a completely irresponsible fashion with an actual solution to the American color-caste system, the last thing to be considered.

What the American Negroes have strived for and need is obvious: to be fully integrated economically, politically, and socially into American life: to be treated as equals; nay more, to be equals.

But the road is not easy or direct. Only a fundamental change in society can bring this about. Capitalism, American or otherwise, feeds both directly and indirectly on the discords of race, religion, and color that exist. Jim Crow is at base an economic issue; its main bulwark is job competition. Only with the elimination of the wage system and the establishment of a Socialist United States, can our 300 year record of the double exploitation of Negroes be brought to an end. This does not mean that partial successes can not be achieved in given situations today; but it does mean that for a final and complete abolition of the color barrier in our society, capitalism must go!

ANNOUNCING:

# ANVIL

The Student Federation Against War wishes to announce the appearance of the second issue of ANVIL, the new national anti-war student magazine.

ANVIL is a printed quarterly containing political and cultural articles of general student interest.

The latest issue contains:

- LABOR IN THE COLD WAR
- EDUCATION IN RUSSIA
- SEXUAL INITIATION OF WOMEN

AND many more important articles. No thinking student can afford to miss this exciting magazine.

COME AND HEAR:

# MAX SHACHTMAN

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

EDITOR

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

SPEAKING ON:

# INTERNATIONAL STALINISM

STILES HALL ----- 4 P.M. TUE.

2227 Union St.

Feb. 14 th

"Stiles Hall does not necessarily subscribe to what is said at this meeting but continues its tradition of supporting the constitutional guarantees of free speech and assemblage."

SHACHTMAN ON BUREAUCRATISM:

"Bureacratism is not simply a direct product of certain economic privileges acquired by the officialdom of the labor movement. It is also an ideology, a concept of leadership and of its relationship to the masses, which is absorbed even by labor and revolutionary officialdoms who enjoy no economic privileges at all. It is an ideology that reeks of its bourgeois origin. Boiled down to its most vicious essence, it is the kind of thinking and living and leading which says to the rank and file, in the words Trotsky once used to describe the language of Stalinism: "No thinking! Those at the top have more brains than you."

from -"The Struggle for the New Course"

If you want further information about the activities and program of the Socialist Youth League, fill out this blank and mail it to us:

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