

STUDENT SOCIALIST

FEBRUARY 18, 1952

STUDENT-YOUTH SECTION of LABOR ACTION

FIVE CENTS

Militarizing the Youth of the Nation—

UMT: Toward a Garrison State

By EUGENE MARTEL

Hearings recently conducted by the House Armed Services Committee, and now proceeding in a Senate Committee, hold the key to the fate of every young American male. For if the bills which will soon be before Congress should ever pass, Universal Military Training will become an inevitable part of every young man's life.

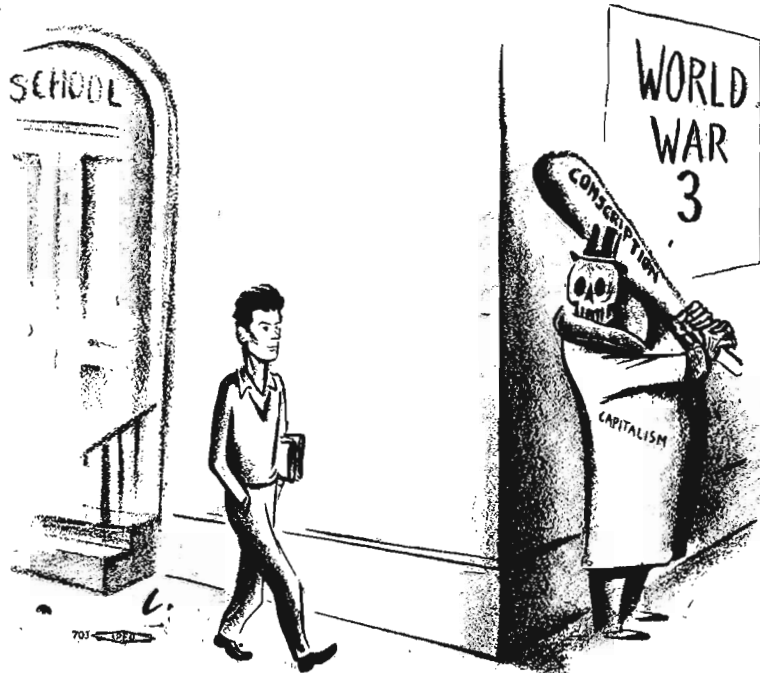
Because in most versions the proposal for UMT is in many respects similar to present Selective Service practices, the vital distinctions between the two are frequently ignored. The present Selective Service Act, like UMT, forces the draftee to serve several additional years in the reserves after regular full-time service. The present law also provides for almost automatic induction of all physically fit youth, if not immediately then ultimately.

As a matter of fact, when the current Selective Service Act was written, it included Universal Military Training as one of its features. Congress was then unwilling to accept UMT; 1950 was an election year, and even in the face of the Korean crisis, Congress had not yet been convinced of the "necessity" of permanent conscription. It accepted a compromise which provided for a commission to study the whole problem and bring in its recommendation.

This National Security Training Commission, stacked from the beginning, issued its report in October 1951, calling for UMT as necessary to defend the U. S. throughout the entire next period of its history.

It is this perspective of PERMANENT conscription which gives the UMT law its significance. The present Selective Service Act expires in 1954, and until Korea, its operation had been suspended indefinitely. Any system which makes induction a part of every youth's eighteenth birthday celebration must have far greater influence and far more extensive repercussions than one which is considered temporary and more or less accidental.

Should UMT be put into operation, we may expect the high schools to become more concerned than ever before with preparing students for their "post-graduate" work. If



football fields are not turned into drill yards, it will only be because of the increased emphasis on physical education which will be considered more necessary than English or mathematics. Narrow technical subjects will be stressed rather than those catering to broader intellectual and cultural interests. And all this will be in addition to the whole emphasis and orientation around preparing boys "psychologically" for their military career. (See accompanying story on "Operation High School.")

A large part of the reason why military circles favor UMT over the present conscription law is precisely because it will give them far greater influence, even if indirectly, over the entire educational structure of the coun-

try. But it will do far more than that.

By keeping all inactive reservists on call for seven and a half years, the armed forces retain direct control over the education, occupation and activities of the entire youthful working force of the country. While nominal reservists would be subject to recall only in times of "national emergency," the pretexts for such are numerous and varied. A nation-wide coal or rail strike could easily become the occasion for invoking "national emergency" powers and for a presidential draft of striking workers or for their replacement. Other examples are equally easy to visualize.

Whether or not such powers were ever invoked, the consequences of such a system would be to increase military influence, together with military ideology and prestige, in all areas of social life. And when it is recalled that military circles are almost always to be found on the extreme right wing of reactionary social groups who look with favor on "strong" measures as the solution to social problems and social conflict, the real threat behind this measure becomes apparent. It can become one of the main channels for the introduction of the Garrison State.

ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION

Much of the opposition to UMT stems from precisely such considerations, but because of the almost inviolable position of sanctity which the armed forces enjoy, few opponents of UMT condemn it on this basis. A multitude of labor and religious groups appeared at the House Committee hearings on the bill, but their objections frequently lacked consistency and persuasiveness.

(1) One of the arguments is that a UMT program now would merely duplicate existing training facilities set up under Selective Service. The Defense Department met this by arguing that it wished to begin UMT on a "small" scale, using only 60,000 "volunteers" the first year, and then gradually building up to 800,000 yearly, completely dispensing with the draft.

(2) A similar position argues that the draft is doing a "better" job than UMT. This was the line of the CIO spokesmen, who took pains to assure everyone that CIO opposition to UMT was not based on any basic disagreement with American foreign policy and its military orientation, but that CIO thought UMT a "waste" of the taxpayers' money.

(3) Another line of argument denies entirely the need for large standing armed forces, or at least those trained in short periods of time. This "military opposition" is most likely to come either from exponents of Old Guard Republican isolationism, who are opposed in general to "foreign adventures," and hence oppose a large standing army

(Continued on page 4-S)

U. of CALIFORNIA —

Administration Slips a Pre-Fab Straitjacket on the 'Daily Cal'

By JOHN PARKER

BERKELEY, Calif.—"The monarch of college dailies," *The Daily Californian*, is being dethroned. The University of California student government, in a mood of subservience to the administration, has passed a measure providing for "adult" censorship of its own campus newspaper. The resolution calls for an advisory board to direct long-range policy and content of the campus paper, plus a day-to-day representative to counsel the editorial staff. The board is to be appointed by the president of the university, R. G. Sproul, and the adviser by the executive committee itself.

The board will be made up of members of the alumni, administration and faculty, together with student representatives, and *Daily Californian* spokesmen. It will be empowered not only to "advise" on policy and content, but to watch over appointments to the *Daily Californian* staff, and "to make such recommendations as it may deem appropriate to the executive Committee."

As if blandly reassuring the students, the resolution states: "The board's duties shall not include direct control of *Daily Californian* editorial policy." But since the executive committee "reaffirms its constitutional jurisdiction over the policies and appointments of the *Daily Californian*," the board's opinions will be much more binding than mere advice.

The advisor is supposedly limited in powers but, again, his reports will be made to the executive committee, which in effect will control the *Daily Californian* in all matters. Furthermore, the com-

mittee may enlarge the advisor's duties any time, according to the resolution itself.

This will not be a popular move, and would normally meet with fierce opposition on the part of the students. It may be that the Executive Committee was thinking of this when it brought the resolution up on January 14, only a few days before classes ended and the *Daily Californian* quit publishing for the semester. Only two issues of the paper remained, and one of these was to be published by the sophomore staff. Besides this, the senior staff of the paper was leaving shortly, to be replaced by a brand new one.

BEHIND EDITOR'S BACK

The editor of the paper must have had suspicions when she said, "It would appear that the committee has had all semester long to work out this resolution and that its presentation here tonight was extremely well-timed."

The committee did seem in a terrible hurry to get the resolution passed right away. With regard to

(Continued on page 3-S)

A Victory at the Univ. of Chicago

CHICAGO, Feb. 11—The position of the University of Chicago as a stronghold of academic freedom has been maintained at least for the time being. On February 1, the campus *Maroon* announced that Dean of Students Robert Manning Strozier had decided not to veto the decision of the Student Government to extend official recognition to the Labor Youth League. This was an important victory for defenders of civil liberties and conversely a genuine defeat for such hypocritical "liberals" as Malcolm Sharp, university law professor, who are willing to defend the democratic rights of minorities only so long as it is "safe" to do so.

On January 22 Student Government, after brief discussion, voted to recognize LYL, with only two opposing votes. The recognition of the Socialist Youth League was passed unanimously without discussion.

The question was then in the hands of Dean Strozier who has veto power over the actions of

Student Government in such matters. Under the leadership of Student Government, the *Maroon*, and the Politics Club, an attempt was made to get various student organizations to demonstrate to Dean Strozier their opposition to a veto. These efforts met with considerable success.

There is no question that the unanimity of Student Government on this question and the united support which the Government received from the student body determined in large measure the decision of the dean not to veto.

Professor Sharp, the erstwhile liberal who originally raised the question of recognition of LYL on flimsy legal grounds, jumped on the patriotic bandwagon too late. There is undoubtedly a growing reaction throughout the country against the subversive list, the Smith Act, McCarthyism, and the rest of the apparatus of the current witchhunt. The action of the University of Chicago is only one symptom of this reaction. The protest will grow, more victories will be won, and more phonies like Professor Sharp will be exposed.

(Continued on page 4-S)

Gideonse-Style Democracy at Brooklyn: Student Self-Government Is Whittled Down

By CHARLES GOLDBERG

BROOKLYN, Feb. 10—The Student Governing Association of Brooklyn College has been abolished. Ratification by the Gideonse administration's Faculty Council of a new campus constitution, whose implementation is expected in March, will replace the association with a new student government association to be known as the Student Activities Organization (SAO).

An analysis of the SAO reveals that President Harry D. Gideonse and his faculty hatchmen have really outdone themselves this time by this piece of "legislation," the culmination of a long and continuing series of successful attempts at hacking away at whatever vestiges of student liberties still remain on the Brooklyn College campus.

Under the new constitution, school-wide elections to student government are discarded. In the place of such an extraneous and bothersome democratic procedure, an Executive Committee and Senate of the SAO are established consisting of elected representatives from each "legally recognized" student club.

The difficulty here is that Harry

Gideonse and his cohorts have an unusual penchant for continually limiting the arena in which campus political organizations are able to function and maintain "legal" recognition. Two Stalinist groups, the Labor Youth League and the Young Progressives of America, have already been banned by administration decree because of their support of Stalinist politics in the cold war. No infringements of college regulations have been charged.

The anti-Stalinist liberal Students for Democratic Action has been suspended for over a year now as a consequence of its sponsorship of Campus News, former publication of the Campus Coalition for the Reinstatement of Vanguard (the former Brooklyn College newspaper).

The SDA, unlike other liberal

groups and socialist groups in the coalition, was enabled by its constitution to publish a newspaper on the campus. After the other clubs, faced with suspension, were forced to cease their sponsorship of the publication, the SDA remained the sole sponsor of the *Campus News* for its last issue.

Despite the fact that SDA was acting within its constitutional rights, the administration ruled that the SDA constitution had been "misinterpreted." It ruled that the provisions were only for a publication of specifically SDA news, and it promptly suspended SDA.

ACLU PROTESTS SUSPENSION

Resolutions by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Student Association for the reinstatement of SDA and *Vanguard* have been of no avail. President Gideonse evidently believes that he is above criticism.

Vanguard encountered its final difficulties with the administration when it had the effrontery to editorially criticize the president of the college for vetoing Professor Jesse D. Clarkson's election as chairman of the History De-

partment. The destruction of *Vanguard* was the culmination of many years of struggle between *Vanguard* and the administration.

Gideonse's favorite charge has been that the Stalinists were the cause of all the disputes. But Vanguard staffs have come and gone year after year, and still the struggle went on. In fact, the editorial staff of the paper was non-Stalinist at the time the hatchet fell. What the Gideonse administration wanted was a college newspaper subservient to the dictates of the administration.

An indication of the now out-in-the open attitude of the administration is the statement of Professor James O'Neill, chairman of the Faculty Committee on the Constitution. Professor O'Neill claimed, with an apparently straight face, that the new constitution would allow the students "more liberties than are generally extended to college students in the rest of the country." He then went on to add that the college faculty was responsible for the actions of its students, and must retain the power to veto speaking invitations extended by organizations of the college if it was deemed by the faculty harmful to

the best interests of the entire school body.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

As for the new constitution, we are informed by Gideonse's house organ *Kingsman* that the aforementioned Executive Committee of the Student Activities Organization, "in which most legislative and regulatory powers will be vested, is to be elected by one representative from each campus group. The committee has the power to suspend any club for due cause [sic], supervise and coordinate club activities, and carry out regulations pertaining to student activities. It will . . . meet once every school week."

The Senate, we are informed, "is an investigating, research, and recommendatory body and can review the executive committee action and upset a committee vote by a two-thirds vote of its own entire membership." It will meet only twice a semester and will be formed by the same electoral methods as the Executive Committee.

Upon first reading, all of this may sound democratic enough. But the constitution has hidden snares.

The Executive Committee will be vested with most legislative and regulatory powers; it has the power to suspend any club for due cause, etc., etc. Perfectly understood, although the phrase "due cause" is rather nebulous. Our remarks on the snare of "legal recognition" apply here. But leaving this aside, how explain the powers of the Senate—a body supposedly limited to investigating, regulating and recommending—to upset a committee vote?

LABYRINTHINE MAZE

In addition, we are informed that a "Student Committee on Student Group Appeals (SCSGA) will also be set up to handle appeals from any action, decision, or policy of either the Executive Committee or the Senate. The Appeal group will also handle impeachment charges for further trial. Members of the Appeal Board Lit is mentioned as if in passing] will be appointed by the Dean of Students."

But our paranoid pedagogue in the president's office is not even content to let matters rest here, with the appointment of the judicial body. You never can tell—even a faculty-appointed pro-Gideonse sycophant any turn-out to be a "midget-Malik" in disguise.

Therefore, the Faculty-Student Committee on Social Organizations which can review any SCSGA action and whose decision is final, that is . . . unless it is reviewed by the Faculty Council.

It may safely be said that if an Executive Committee ruling is disputed when a student enters BC as a freshman, that ruling will be handed down by graduation time four years later.

Racist Hate-Mongers Emboldened at LACC—Move to Form 'MacArthur Club' on Campus

By GERALD CARR

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 9—The ideology of G. L. K. Smith, Wesley Swift and the rest of that nefarious crew may not be exactly popular yet, especially in its most naked and pure form of open race-baiting. But the cold-war atmosphere engendered by the war economy, the CP trials, subversive list, blacklisting, job dismissals without hearings, and the open attacks against academic freedom have borne fruit.

Hitherto these sinister forces have had little influence on the campus. It is a commentary on the state of higher education and intellectual submission to conformity patterns imposed by external authorities, that such primitive doctrines as those expounded by the anti-Semites and White Supremacists could flower on campus, and that their adherents should become so bold as to organize among students under the guise of fighting for free enterprise and against the "welfare state" of "creeping socialism."

The *Collegian*, campus paper at Los Angeles City College, recently announced the existence of a "MacArthur Club," claiming a membership of thirty LACC students, one of twenty-two such clubs nationally, ten of them in Southern California. The *Collegian* gave prominent space to this affair, mentioning that the objective of these affiliated "MacArthur clubs" is not to boost the presidential candidacy of the five-star reactionary but solely to fight the doctrines and movements "of socialism and communism."

To those who understand the jargon and phraseology of the rabid "free enterprise" agitators in their special political contexts,

this official aim means fighting anything of a liberal or progressive nature.

HATE-MONGER AT WORK

Still, there would be less cause for alarm if the MacArthur clubs were pure-and-simple channels for rallying the "American taxpayers" and the "property-owners" to protest government interference with business and to disseminate the economic doctrines of Hayek and the NAM. The big daily papers and the radio "educational" do it all the time and far more effectively, it seems.

What makes the MacArthur clubs smell to high heaven and back is the fact, announced casually in the *Collegian*, that the principal organizer of these clubs is one Robert Munger, a former LACC student, currently enrolled at Pepperdine College in Los Angeles. Munger, may it be stated, has long been regarded as a hanger-on of the Wesley Swift hate-wagon.

He appeared at an off-campus meeting sponsored by socialist youth groups and instigated threats of violence against the speakers, disrupting the meeting, while campus authorities encouraged this behavior. Munger also followed participants in an anti-Franco picket line to a restaurant and tried to pick up bits of conversation as an eavesdropper, obviously in training as a stool-pigeon.

FASCIST SMITH AGAIN

Recently, this writer listened to one of Munger's lieutenants, an admitted anti-Semite, bait two or three Jewish students on campus, aided by vociferous cronies who shouted that "the Jews are a world menace, plotting to collectivize society." The Jewish students were apparently taken by surprise by this open assault and their reactions alternated between justifiable anger and amusement at what one often regards as crackpot antics.

This incident highlights the boldness of the hatemongers who find the present political and academic atmosphere congenial for their ideas. Gerald L. K. Smith spoke in downtown Los Angeles a few weeks ago and reports are that he gave his usual vile harangues against minorities and the "radical menace" and attracted the same kind of hangers-on.

Whether the so-called MacArthur clubs are as numerous or have the strength claimed officially is doubtful. Of greater relevance is the fact that they are now emboldened to operate more openly, even if they do use the device of naming their organization after a much-publicized general, who is respectable in "safe," solid, and patriotic reactionary circles.

One can well imagine the favorable attitude toward this group of a campus administration whose spokesman personally tried to incite violence against a peaceful street meeting of democratic forces and which has, at least, given tacit recognition to this neo-fascist band by its reticence when the campus paper published the claim that a MacArthur club at LACC has thirty students, a bid for like-minded recruits.

SDA TO ORGANIZE

Just before the fall semester ended, the same *Collegian* published a report that an organizing committee was attempting to establish a chapter of Students for Democratic Action on campus. The committee hoped to get campus recognition as an official, legitimate student organization which can use college facilities, publicize openly and recruit freely as a non-partisan group interested in defending civil liberties, promoting tolerance, and exchanging political ideas.

It remains to be seen whether an administration with a record of attacking civil liberties and fostering right-wing views will actually permit an organization to achieve official status which has as one of its avowed aims the objective of safeguarding and extending civil liberties, including the right to hold political forums and to debate controversial views on campus, using campus facilities and publicity outlets.

As socialist defenders of democracy, we also hope the SDA is allowed that necessary recognition indispensable for effective organizing and fruitful work. LACC needs such a free arena badly for democratic student activity. A militant SDA could provide a counter-balance to the poisons exuding from the student MacArthur club, and reverse the endemic political lethargy of the LACC tradition.

Any genuinely democratic force is to be welcomed and nourished by those students who do not wish to encourage the trends that drive America toward the garrison state: the currents, official and otherwise, that attempt to shackle freedom of speech, assembly, and thought, which, even if inadvertently, help the growth of racist movements.

The MacArthur clubs are significant examples of how a great imperialist power, locked in mortal struggle with a rival imperialist power, Stalinist Russia, beset by its own internal problems, can move so far down the path of militarism and the "permanent war economy" as to spawn the parasitical growth of fascism. Fascism and reaction feed on a decaying social system, not on one in the bloom of health. The MacArthur club is such a warning and, while not the most ominous, is certainly not the least significant.

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE



LABOR ACTION

The Independent Socialist Weekly

114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

Please enter my subscription: NEW RENEWAL

Six months (24 issues) at \$1.00

One year (52 issues) at \$2.00

NAME

(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

APT.....

CITY

ZONE

STATE

Bill me Payment encl. (stamps, currency or postal note)

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 W. 14 Street, N. Y. C.

specializes in books and pamphlets on the Labor and Socialist movement, Marxism, etc., and can supply books of all publishers.

Send for our free book list.

The Attack on the Schools

"Once again the nation's public schools are in a serious plight. Eighteen months of defense mobilization have taken their toll. Danger signals are flying everywhere, but often are not heeded. Many advances made in the first five years after World War II are being swept away.

"The schools, like other aspects of civilian life, are beginning to feel the effects of the Korean conflict. As a result, they face a gloomy year. Many educators are worried lest the gloom continue for another decade."

This is the conclusion reached by Benjamin Fine in a series of New York Times articles on the effect of the war mobilization program on the nation's public schools. This is not the opinion of a single commentator but the consensus of leading educators all over the country: "The reports . . . all point to a downward trend."

In a country that spends fabulous billions of dollars on a war mobilization program, only a little more than five billion dollars is spent on the entire public school system in the country. And of this amount over one billion dollars is

spent by two states—New York and California.

While the amount of money spent on public schools has risen slightly in the last year, because of the inflationary pressures in the economy it buys less in educational services. There is less spent on each child even in absolute terms since the number of children attending public schools has increased by 826,194 students in the last year to a total of 26,525,115.

CONDITIONS WORSE

The public school system, as a result of this situation, is caught in a squeeze between increased enrollment, inflationary costs, lack of building material and an acute teacher shortage.

Not all of the present difficulties of the school system today should be traced to the rearmament program. Many schools were in a dilapidated condition and overflowing to the windows (if there were any) long before the Korean war. It is the Korean war which in an immediate sense blocks the way to their improvement. However, because of the war economy, there can be no assurance

that this scandalous situation will be radically improved.

The Korean war is aggravating a bad situation, but it did not create it. "Over the nation 3,500,000 elementary and high school children—one out of eight pupils in the public schools—are suffering an impaired education because of inadequate facilities. A year ago a Times survey showed 3,000,000 children were being deprived of an adequate education. Thus, there has been an increase of half a million in twelve months."

While the school children of the nation are having their education impaired due to the inadequacy of school construction and allied causes, this occurs at a time when there is another and even more serious attack on the public school system itself and the academic freedom of the teachers.

SCHOOLS SMEARED

These two major assaults upon an already inadequate and minimal educational standard are closely related because they are both affected by the Korean war and the war-economy atmosphere. The two primary targets of the

witchhunters and hysteria-mongers in the U. S. have been the government service and the educational system. But there has not only been an attack upon the academic freedom and even personal political point of view of teachers. The free public school system has been smeared, as well as progressive and liberal educational methods. Naturally they are charged with breeding "communism." Anti-Stalinist hysteria is being used as a pretext to cover the espousal of reactionary ideas, and it is a means whereby they can receive a serious hearing.

The reactionaries cry for a return to "traditional educational methods" away from the fancy educational methods that turn the young students toward "subversive" thoughts and "foreign ideologies." They cry for a return to the teaching of history as chronology so that a student may get a wonderful background in the birthdates of the presidents or the middle names of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence.

This is part of an attack upon the anti-formalist approach in education and history championed by John Dewey, James Robinson and Charles A. Beard. It is not that public schools actually succeed in accomplishing the sort of job that is possible or necessary with these methods, but the goal of teaching a student to understand and deal with the problems of today is preferable to the primitivism of "readin', ritin' and 'rithmetic" and history dates.

PANDORA BOX

We already have seen the ousting of Stalinist teachers from the school system, and the passage of the Feinberg Law in New York with the intention of eliminating a more inclusive group of "subversive" teachers. Moves are on foot all over the country to check "subversive" text-books. Exactly what is to be considered "subversive" or "disloyal" depends on the particular witchhunter.

Self-appointed protectors of the public morals, such as the Americanism Committees of the American Legion are demanding the right to check the "subversiveness" of entire college faculties as they have done at Sarah Lawrence College. Even Harry Gideonson's administration at Brooklyn College has not been immune from such attacks. The pioneering work of Sidney Hook several years ago in arguing for the expulsion of Stalinist teachers is bearing bitter fruit. Hook has since moved out of the picture, protesting that he never intended these consequences. But these are the results which necessarily followed, as we argued when we opposed Hook's proposals.

Whatever may have been the alleged dangers of Stalinist teachers in the public school sys-

tem, they certainly cannot be compared to the Pandora box of reaction opened by the inquiry into the political ideas and affiliations of teachers. First it was charged that Stalinists could not be competent teachers because they were bound to a party line, but as yet no charge has been brought up on the basis of incompetence. It is membership in an organization which is used as the basis of the charges.

A growing shortage of teachers has been developing along with the rising school enrollment and declining amount of funds for school expansion and maintenance programs. The Times survey points out that "despite the need for teachers, young people seem to be shy at entering the profession. The teachers colleges report a decrease this year of 16 per cent in their entering classes. This means in effect, that four years from now, when the school rolls will have increased by more than 5,000,000, there will be fewer trained teachers."

TEACHER STANDARDS

And with regard to the existing body of teachers, "The National Education Association estimates that of the 600,000 elementary teachers in the public schools 300,000 do not hold college degrees—the minimal standard. Of this number the NEA says, at least 100,000 are so inadequately prepared as to make their continued presence in the classrooms dangerous to the mental and emotional growth of America's youth."

A great part of the reason for the teacher shortage has been the relatively low pay. The Times report gives a national average annual wage of \$3290 with a high in New York of \$4500 and the low in Mississippi of \$1475. In the past year the national average has increased only \$193 and this has forced many teachers out of the profession, attracted by higher wages in other jobs.

The teachers' morale in many areas has been lowered as a consequence, as well as a general lowering in professional standards. Their morale has also declined because of the singling out of the teaching profession for political attack and "loyalty" checking. Repeatedly there are reports of teachers shying away from teaching controversial topics, or even current historical and political developments out of fear of future reprisals.

"... the effects of the Korean war can be seen in the classrooms of every community in the United States." The effects have been both physical and political. And almost as if a bad joke were to be played on American youth they are informed, in effect, that the shortcomings of the American educational system will be remedied by Universal Military Training!

U. of Cal.: Straitjacket — —

(Continued from page 1-5)

a rule that policy changes must be tabled for one week, Harry Hanson, one of the sponsors of the bill, bluntly argued: "The vote will not change. Any time it is presented it will pass, so I don't see why it can't be considered tonight, rules or no rules."

But he well knew that the vote very probably would change, once the students began to put pressure on his friends. A unanimous decision was necessary to pass the bill without delay, and this the sponsors failed to get by one vote. Thereupon, it was moved to suspend the required unanimity, and the motion passed. However, someone pointed out that this was unconstitutional, so the committee reluctantly tabled the resolution. Editor Alva Senzek understandably called the whole procedure "a railroad."

Miss Senzek had little opportunity to work up opposition to the committee. She had time for only one editorial, which was to be her farewell statement. It would have been impossible to attempt to open a campaign just then, but the embittered editor concluded with: "I cannot say that the job (editorship of the Daily Californian) has prepared me to go out into my chosen profession with full confidence in the integrity of man."

LED BY HEARST MAN

The next session of the committee was scheduled for January 16. By this time the Daily Californian was through for the semester, and most students were studying for finals. Several attempts to delay passage of the bill were made, but it was futile. Carolyn Stay, the representative voting against the bill at the first meeting, moved that the whole thing be made a recommendation rather than a resolution. This was also defeated, and the resolution was then passed.

Although the behavior of the Executive Committee was disgraceful, the resolution did not actually originate with it. Civil liberties are continually taking a beating (at UC), and most of it can ultimately be traced back to the Board of Regents. In this case, it originated with one man, John Neylan.

A former Hearst associate, John Neylan is now prominent in the conservative wing of the state Republican Party. This wing, according to local papers, represents oil men and big farmers. It was described by Governor Warren as follows, "Jack is never so happy as when he is spraying venom on somebody. It doesn't matter whom." Neylan let fly on the Daily Californian at a Regents' meeting last December. He complained about two articles the paper printed which seemed to him outrageous.

GAGGING THE "DAILY CAL"

It has been Daily Californian policy for years to print contributions by students, regardless of political opinion. Accordingly, two questionable articles by a student who had attended the Berlin Peace Festival were accepted. These pro-Stalinist articles were answered by another student, well acquainted with Russian totalitarianism. The Stalinist writer was thoroughly discredited by the answer. This did not satisfy the Regents, who ordered an investigation of the matter. Soon after, President Sproul summoned Alva Senzek for a conference. She agreed to take action at once.

However, the Executive Committee members who sponsored the recent measures must have started to draft their proposal almost immediately, for Representative Harry Hanson said at the January 14 meeting that almost a month had been spent on the bill. It is uncertain whether or not this was done underhandedly, but it is certain that there is

no reference to the proposal in the Daily Californian itself, until the resolution was brought up as a point of special business on December 14. The whole business has an unmistakable odor of bureaucratic maneuvering.

Although the two Stalinist articles offered a convenient excuse, there is strong reason to believe that there were other and more potent motives for muzzling the University of California newspaper. A local paper reported that the student press had attacked the Executive Committee severely in the past, and some of the student representatives may have seen their chance to step in and silence the opposition.

A famous example was the recent "Shachtman issue" in which Dean of Students H. E. Stone refused to allow ISL Chairman Max Shachtman to debate on campus, because the ISL was on the subversive list. A student movement was organized against this arbitrary action, with the help of the Daily Californian which took up the cause of academic freedom. There would have been little significant protest without the help of the courageous campus newspaper. Such leadership will probably have to be found elsewhere from now on. The advisory function of the new board can easily change to something much stronger, if the occasion demands.

LOYALTY OATH TREND

Whatever the immediate spark, the latest action can only be understood as part of a trend that began several years ago. Since the loyalty-oath fight, California has taken the lead in reactionary repression. The recent case in point was the incident of the subversive list. Now the administration has turned against the organ of student expression. It will certainly be much harder in the future for the students to defend what little remains of their academic freedom.

The reaction in California centers on the university largely because of the once great political life of the school. It is hard to forget the gigantic peace rallies of the pre-Pearl Harbor days, or the magnificent response of the students when their faculty was under fire two years ago. Only vestiges remain of this progressive militancy of the campus. The revered tradition of the Daily Californian as a defender of students' rights was such a remnant.

The Daily Californian is called "The monarch of the college dailies" with only slight exaggeration. It is certainly one of the finest college papers. Under the new censorship, it can hardly be expected to continue in this path. The experience of other campus newspapers has proved that only a free press can maintain high standards for long. The fate of UCLA's Daily Bruin, and Chicago's Daily Maroon are tragic examples. The Daily Californian may follow in their footsteps.

A core of liberal students needs the unification that organization can give them. Because the latest step in the direction of regimented education was taken by a humbled student government, only the students can stop it. Such a campus group as the Graduate Student Association, and off-campus political and religious organizations, can work together to focus the silent resentment accumulating among the student body.

United action will demonstrate that the Executive Committee was not acting on the behalf of those they represented when it gagged their paper. But if the committee is allowed to proceed unhindered, all students will feel the effects, for resistance will be more difficult in the future. The time to resist is now.

New York SYL Friday Forum

Friday, Feb. 15—9 p.m.

THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM IN EGYPT

Speaker: GORDON HASKELL

Friday, Feb. 22—9 p.m.

HEMINGWAY: NOVELIST OF VIRILITY

Speaker: AVEL AUSTIN

At LABOR ACTION HALL

114 West 14 Street, New York City

UMT: Toward Garrison State — —

(Continued from page 1-S)
as bad military strategy, or unnecessary at this stage of the cold war.

(4) A large amount of talk was spent on proving that army experience is not conducive to "good moral character." On this point, a great many amusing things were said. Dr. R. M. Hutchins, for example, was quoted as saying: "I was in the army from the age of 18 to the age of 20 and cannot recommend it as a school of responsible citizenship. I came out lazier and more negligent than when I went in. I became an expert at cutting corners and at the elaborate kind of cheating to which privates devote most of their time."

The NSTC report, on the other hand, went into great detail about the benefits to be expected. "The greater need," it wrote, "is to stimulate and lead, to establish within the UMT program standards of honor and conduct comparable to those of a first-rate military academy or civilian college." (This was probably written before the great West Point scandal.)

In order to assure American mothers that their sons will not fall into traditionally bad army habits, it is planned to have post establishments selling 3.2 beer situated at an "inconvenient distance" from living barracks, and in the place of "hygiene" lectures usually delivered, there are to be talks on "the virtues of clean living."

ALTERNATIVES

All of these arguments, however cogent they may be in part, suffer from their proponents' failure to suggest any real alternative to UMT as long as America maintains its present type foreign policy, which is completely based on building up her military power even further. Norman Thomas could only plead the cause of "universal and enforceable disarmament," a proposal which suffers only because of its utopian character.

The fact is that for all who have come to accept America's aims in the cold war—political, diplomatic and military—there is ultimately little choice but to accept the hard necessity of a huge military apparatus with all of its reactionary

consequences. And, if UMT can build this better than the draft, then opposition to UMT becomes "unreasonable."

Contrariwise, socialists who oppose America's aims are also opposed to the methods by which they are carried out, including Universal Military Training.

Present opposition to UMT, though widespread, is by and large disorganized or of meager political content. Its base undoubtedly rests to a substantial extent on the opposition of mothers who just can't be sold on the desirability of having their sons conscripted for reasons which are, to them, not immediately compelling. Senator Russell of Georgia explained it this way: "you are always going to have trouble with legislation that will affect intimately the lives of so many persons." And in a spirit of candor he added, "Let's not fool ourselves. The election campaigns are not going to help a bit."

CHANCE FOR REPEAL

It is the very widespread, even though largely inarticulate, sentiment in opposition to UMT which makes possible its defeat. Even if passed, it is likely to have a clause prohibiting it from running concurrently with the draft, and beginning after Selective Service expires. This will give anti-conscription forces, both socialist and non-socialist, opportunities for working for its repeal before the program is actually put into effect.

The real task, however, is to attempt to create a broader understanding of UMT in relation to the cold war: how it aids in the creation of a Garrison State at home, and is an instrument for fastening American imperialism's yoke on the rest of the world. Opposition to UMT must be based on rejection of Washington's aims, as well as those of Russian imperialism—the threat of which is so often invoked by UMT advocates. But as against methods, military preparations and both these forces, with their aims, diplomatic maneuvers, the alternative of a Third Camp must be posed as the solution to the present impasse in world politics. As part of that perspective, the attempt to militarize America must be defeated.

'Operation High School'

Opponents of compulsory military training always have pointed out that the appetite of militarism is insatiable. One more proof of that fact appeared in the October 1951, issue of *Coronet* magazine. Anticipating success in compelling every 18-year-old American boy to undergo a period of military training and indoctrination, the militarists already are reaching into the high schools for the younger boys and girls.

This first phase of "Operation High School" is a large-scale assault using a series of 14 "educational" films very shrewdly. The films, under the general title "Are You Ready for Service?" were prepared by Coronet Films, a private firm, with the cooperation of the Department of Defense.

The ostensible purpose of the films will appeal to many parents and educators. Citing the "bewilderment" and "discouragement" of older boys in high school because they face possible military service, the films propose to explain why this service is necessary, what it will be like, and how boys—and girls—can prepare for it.

PEACE —'OBSOLETE'

The encroachment of enforced military service is producing discouragement and cynicism in teenage boys, who see their life plans being interrupted and even destroyed. Inevitably, many concerned parents and educators will welcome help in dealing with these youth—unless they see clearly the real purpose under the persuasive sales talk.

That real purpose was revealed in *Coronet* magazine, published by the films' producers. It is to help young people adjust psychologically to the "new principles" that *Coronet* claims America must now accept. The "old principles," now outmoded, are ones that the boys and girls in high school, says *Coronet*, "have taken for granted." What are these now obsolete principles? "First, peace is basic. Youngsters have been taught to abhor violence and to value 'getting along with others.'"

If "peace is not basic," then war is. If we do not value "getting along with others," then we shall value compelling others to obey us—or liquidate them, as the Communists do!

The films do just this kind of job—but they do it skillfully. Here is how they do it:

(1) They emphasize the inevitability of war. Even though the accompanying text points out that the conscripted boys "may not necessarily" be involved in war, the effect of this is destroyed by the defining of communism as a purely military threat and the plain implication that only military means can deal with it.

(2) The films take permanent conscription for granted. There is no suggestion that universal conscription might be temporary. On the contrary, the films emphasize that the American pattern of life has been changed: henceforth every youth must count on a period of military service as he counts on home, school, and work. They imply, without stating, that this service provides the principal motivation for good citizenship, for staying in school, and for planning one's curriculum.

DEBASING DEMOCRACY

(3) They oversimplify the problem of world peace. The films reduce world tension to the cops-and-robbers level. Nothing is involved in the threat of war but the lust for power of the Communists. Nothing is said of the problems of hunger, nationalism, and other factors that can only be combated on a non-military level. People whose understanding of world problems stops on this level will be unable to find, or even comprehend, any other type of solution than a military one.

(4) They debase democracy. Like much other advertising-level political thinking, the essential nature of the "American way of life" is defined principally in terms of "the right to stop in at the corner hamburger stand" and the "right to spend your money as you choose." As an afterthought, the narrator mentions—but only mentions—freedom of speech, press and worship, but gives them no content or meaning.

The films, on the whole, will do little good and a great deal of harm. They should be kept out of schools wherever possible.

—National Council Against Conscription.

SYL Aims to Top The Fund Drive

By DON HARRIS

All indications at the start of this year's Fund Drive are that the SYL is going to make the largest quota in its history—and oversubscribe to a considerable extent.

While last year's quota was \$500, and over \$850 was actually collected, this year's quota totals \$1500 and final collections may be several hundred dollars over that amount. Every unit listed below has either already accepted its quota, or indicated that it will do so. New York already has over \$400 pledged.

Chicago, seeking to remain in the lead this year as last, writes that it hopes to top its quota by 150 per cent! St. Louis decided that it wished to have its tentative quota raised from \$35 to \$50 and that it would try to raise even more. In no case did any unit ask to have its quota reduced.

This augurs well for the

drive's success! Throughout the drive, as receipts are reported, the SYL will be listed separately with one total amount, but each separate contribution will be acknowledged in the Fund Drive articles week by week.

The only category which is now in doubt is that attributed to "general." It is hoped that SYL members-at-large, and sympathizers of the SYL throughout the country, will independently contribute to this fund. Separate quotas are as follows:

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| Chicago | \$475. |
| New York | 375. |
| Berkeley | 175. |
| Detroit | 175. |
| St. Louis | 50. |
| Buffalo | 40. |
| Los Angeles | 40. |
| Northwest | 30. |
| Madison | 20. |
| New Haven | 20. |
| General | 100. |
| TOTAL | \$1500. |

University of Chicago Chapter Socialist Youth League

Jews in the Soviet Union

Speaker:

Jerzy Glicksman

Survivor of Russian forced-labor camps;
Author of "Tell the West"

SUNDAY, MARCH 2 at 4 p.m.
EAST LOUNGE, IDA NOYES

Admission Free. Light refreshments.

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!

STUDENT SOCIALIST

Student-Youth Section of LABOR ACTION

No. 5

February 18, 1952

Section Editor: SAM FELIKS

U. of Chi. — —

(Continued from page 1-S)

The reactionary, red-baiting opponents of democracy, however, will not cease their efforts. Their propaganda is based upon and nourished by the drive toward war on the part of the American government. Dean Strozier's statement carefully leaves the door open to a future withdrawal of recognition, should the pressure become too great. It is up to the students of the University of Chicago, by maintaining their opposition to any and all infringements on academic freedom, to see that this does not happen. Students at other universities should take heart from the success at Chicago. If students are united in their defense of civil liberties victories for democracy can be won.

New-Fashioned

"Similarly, old-fashioned economic exploitation [in Africa] has disappeared, but this has not prevented Western Europe from drawing liberally on the resources and riches of colonial Africa in order to recover from the ravages of the war."—N. Y. Post, Feb. 7, series by J. P. Lash.

Horror Dept.

"The steel industry told a Wage Stabilization Board panel yesterday that the board would hamper the country's defense against atomic attack, undermine our foreign economic policy and introduce 'totalitarianism' in the United States if it recommended that Southern steel workers get the same pay as Northern steel workers."—N. Y. Times, Feb. 7.

Wonder what became of the poor widows and orphans. . .