

The **STUDENT** **OUTLOOK**

The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

Fight War! Fight Fascism! Fight Reaction!

AN EDITORIAL

*"To fight against fascism and for socialism is a heavy
responsibility requiring integrity and stamina"*

Reaction Over Spain

By ELLEN WILKINSON

The Student L.I.D. Convention

By JEAN SYMES

Reply to Prof. Cohen

By SIDNEY HOOK

A Page of "Hearstmania"

Poems by Carlin Aden

Reviews by Joel Seidman, Frederick V. Field and others

The Student Outlook

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Student Edition

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Fight War! Fight Fascism! Fight Reaction!	3
An Editorial	
"The President Vanishes"	5
A Tale with a Moral	
Is the N.S.F.A. A Company Union?	5
An Editorial	
The Student L.I.D. and War	6
A Statement from the N.E.C.	
A World Student Congress	7
By Morris Milgram	
Reaction Over Spain	9
By Ellen Wilkinson	
Will the South be Organized?	11
By George Streater	
Who's Who on the New N.E.C.	14
The Student L.I.D. Convention	15
By Jean Symes	
A Page of Hearstmania	16
A Page of Poetry	18
New Generation, by Carlin Aden	
Nucleus, by Carlin Aden	
Celia to Marcus, by Eldora Van Buren	
Another Proletarian Poem, by J. D. Rockefeller, Sr.	
Literature of Revolt	19-25
Reply to Prof. Cohen, by Sidney Hook	19
Exploitation in America, by Joel Seidman	21
The Sources on China, by Frederick V. Field	22
Soule on Revolution, by R. E. S.	23
A Thoughtful Play—Sailors of Cattaro	25
Riding the Rods	25
By Carl Campbell	
Agitate! Educate! Organize!	26
Free For All	31

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The Student League for Industrial Democracy
112 East 19th Street New York, N. Y.

The STUDENT OUTLOOK

The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

VOL. III

FEBRUARY, 1935

No. 3*

FIGHT WAR! FIGHT FASCISM! FIGHT REACTION!

Forward to a Mass Student Movement

An Editorial

THE delegates who assembled at Northwestern for the Convention of the Student League for Industrial Democracy were confronted by a precipitate alignment of forces in the universities which was unparalleled in the history of the Student L.I.D. On the one hand there was the alarming growth of vigilantism; on the other, the undeniable increase in student radicalism. The delegates from the west coast, some of whom had themselves been kidnapped and beaten, eloquently and indignantly attested to the virulence of the former.

Straws in the Wind

The proofs of the latter are worthy of recapitulation. For example, following a political parley recently held at Wesleyan College at which all shades of political opinion were represented, the *Wesleyan Argus* undertook a poll to discover whether the speeches of Norman Thomas, Scott Nearing, Dr. Laidler, Hamilton Fish and others had produced any change in student sentiment. 129 of the 336 students who attended the parley shifted their views to the left, while only 21 changed in the opposite direction. Confirming this trend was a survey undertaken by Dr. Brameld of Long Island University in nine eastern colleges, ranging from Catholic University to C.C.N.Y., in which representative groups of students were asked to indicate whether they believed, inclined to believe, were non-committal on, or disbelieved propositions of the following character: "Politics is a tool of wealth," "Socialism is an experiment worth trying," "Workers must organize for the class struggle," etc. Each of these propositions the majority of students either believed or inclined to believe. Another straw in the wind was the meeting of the Council of Methodist Youth represented by more than six hundred young men and women in Evanston, last September, which after condemning the New Deal "because it does not attack the root of the dilemma, the profit motive," and because fascist tendencies were inherent in it, forthrightly endorsed socialism.

Nor was this awakening among students something

of merely academic interest to the delegates. It was amply reflected in all the Convention reports of L.I.D. activity. For instance, the Wesleyan poll could not be separated from the sensational growth of the L.I.D. Chapter at that college. The paid circulation of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK has increased by a thousand. But the most convincing proof lay in the comparison between 1933 and 1934 of new members gained in the months from October to December:

	1933		1934	
October	A. 21		A. 83	
	B. 23	44	B. 27	110
November	A. 23		A. 82	
	B. 34	57	B. 48	130
December	A. 17		A. 59	
	B. 38	55	B. 82	141
		—		—
		156		381

Class A indicates one dollar members;
Class B indicates quarter members.

Program of Action

It was a continual awareness of this amazing growth during the past year, and the sense of thousands of students looking to us for leadership that governed the proceedings of our 1934 Convention. Minutiae of theory were repudiated in order to examine details of organization such as the techniques of increasing the national coordination of the Student L.I.D., of spreading the circulation of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, of increasing membership and making chapters live up to the responsibilities of chartered groups. Plans for extending the student strike against war to every campus and for making it more colorful than last year were discussed in the greatest detail as was anti-fascist activity in connection with raising contributions for the George Weissel Fund. The L.I.D. Summer School and the tour of Proletarian Europe, the extension of our high school work and the sponsoring of educational seminars in War-Fascism-Socialism in connection with May Day

*Due to postal regulations No. 2-3 becomes No. 2

demonstrations were other items that figured most prominently in the debates. Several profitable hours were spent in adopting a program of action for the southern colleges in order to enlist students, both Negro and white, for a basic program of social change. The Hearst attack on liberal professors made the issue of academic freedom an immediate one at the Convention.

The significance of this program of action cannot be evaluated unless one realizes the diversity of viewpoints that found their common denominator in it. There was Al Hamilton, newly elected chairman of the League, who in his person epitomized the journey of the sincere religionist from the mere forms of religious devotion to the true practice of religion and ethics, which in this age means alliance with the workers and farmers in their struggle for a more equitable society. Vernon Holloway, organizer of the powerful chapter at Yale Divinity School and newly elected to the N.E.C., as well as the many who had come into the Student L.I.D. through the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. aided in conveying the impression that the genuinely religious students were finding militant and concrete expression in the activities of the Student L.I.D.

There were sons and daughters of trade unionists at the Convention conscious of their class interests rather than the media of escaping their heritage. And there were also the sons and daughters of wealthy employers who had become emancipated from their class ties. There were representatives of southern Negro and southern white colleges. There were students who were working their way through school, others who were remaining in college because of scholarship aid, and still others with ample allowances.

But it was the political diversity represented in the Convention that was the most striking. There were undergraduates who had worked in the Epic movement and the Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota. There were members of the Communist Party (Opposition), and still others who considered themselves communists but insisted on the small "c." There were the young Socialists whose songs re-echoed through the Evanston campus, and whose clenched fists seemed to have inherited a firmness and pride from the heroism of the young Socialists of the Asturias and Vienna.

It is against this diversity that the unity of the Convention becomes so significant. All these found a common focus in the program of the Student L.I.D. The tie that bound together these persons so obviously disparate in background and habits was not the fight for free textbooks or Phi Beta Kappa privileges, but a fundamental driving hatred of a social order that bred

war, poverty and insecurity, and a passionate desire for a new society in which those who worked would get the products of their toil and nations would be at peace.

Amalgamation and the United Front

Having forged the program of action indicated above, the delegates came to the debates of the last evening dealing with a united student movement. On the floor was the proposal of the National Student League for the amalgamation of our two organizations. Not one voice was raised in favor of the N.S.L. proposal. Having fought shoulder to shoulder with the N.S.L. on many a campus during the past year, there was a deep feeling of sympathy among the delegates for harmonious and close ties. But it was realism and not sectarianism on the part of the delegates that accounted for the total lack of support of the N.S.L. proposal. The delegates did not wish to make the student movement the arena for a battle between the Young Communist League, the Young People Socialist League and other political youth groups to whose interest it might be to capture the student movement. Moreover, the Convention was not persuaded that a united radical student movement would enlist many students who at present are neither members of the N.S.L. nor the L.I.D. On the contrary there was a profound conviction that many would be driven into inactivity by such a merger because of the struggle for control that inevitably would go on in the united movement. Would amalgamation mean greater power in our fight against vigilantism? The Convention felt that our united front pact last year was a more effective medium for guaranteeing concerted action and speed than amalgamation. Examining the balance sheet with respect to amalgamation the delegates indicated that the certain danger far outweighed the possible advantage; and that the latter was already achieved under the united front pact which was renewed by this Convention.

The N.S.L. declared at the National Conference of Students on Politics that it intends to fight the L.I.D.'s rejection of amalgamation tooth and nail. What is the N.S.L. after? The harmonious and concerted action of all radical students—or a disruptive issue? The former we have under terms of our united front pact. There could be no greater crime than to use the issue of unity and joint action as a disruptive tactic. For amalgamation to become a splitting issue would indeed be a grim paradox.

The Student L.I.D. gets no fun out of acrimonious debates with the N.S.L. We want to work together

Is the N.S.F.A. a Company Union?

AT THE recent congress of the National Student Federation of America, Dr. MacCracken of Vassar College urged: "that the student body through their constituent society, be granted the right of collective bargaining with the trustees of their college." The question immediately arises, however, whether the N.S.F.A. is the organization which can fearlessly and intelligently represent the interests of the American student body.

Two incidents of the N.S.F.A. Congress impel us to answer negatively. After passing a ringing resolution about academic freedom, a specific condemnation of the administration of Louisiana State University was defeated chiefly because of the lobbying activities of the delegation from L.S.U. Although the latter council had only three votes, it sent a much larger delegation, since expenses were generously being paid by the university. *However, all of the delegation received instructions on what to say and how to say it from President James M. Smith of L.S.U. before their departure from Baton Rouge.*

When Bill Lobdell, president of the university student body, returned from Boston, he went to see J. H. Cutrer, Jr., dismissed editor of *The Reveille* who happened to be in Baton Rouge for several days, and confessed to him how much his conscience hurt him as a result of his actions during the controversy and in Boston. Lobdell told Cutrer that he found it hard to sleep at night for thinking about it, and explained that the only reason why he had followed the administration's orders was because the university had promised

with the N.S.L. because we believe that it is on the field of common action that good faith, sympathy and tolerance will be established. And these are among the necessary prerequisites of amalgamation.

In the meantime, we in the Student L.I.D. should not be swayed from decisive action in building our organization. The fight against fascism and for socialism is a heavy responsibility requiring integrity and stamina. L.I.D. members in Berkeley, C. C. N. Y., Louisiana State, San Mateo Jr. College and elsewhere have set for us a standard of courage and clarity in the anti-fascist struggle. The Convention proudly adopted the *Drei Pfeile* of the heroic Austrian Socialists as the emblem of the Student L.I.D. Let the import of those three arrows sink into our consciousness and become the directives of all our actions. Fight War! Fight Fascism! Fight Reaction!

him a job when he graduated and he needed the money. At present he is a member of the freshman coaching football staff.

That is company unionism with a vengeance!

As if in appreciation of the breaches of academic freedom that have taken place at L.S.U. this past semester, the N.S.F.A. elected Thomas F. Neblett, graduate student at L.S.U., as its new president! Is or is not the N.S.F.A. in favor of academic freedom? Why was Neblett, who did not raise any protest against the breaches of academic freedom at L.S.U., elected President of the N.S.F.A.?

Until presidents of student councils are elected on the basis of programs, to have the N.S.F.A. represent the American student body in collective bargaining agreements is to run the danger of handing over students' rights to the trustees and administration.

The President Vanishes

A STUDENT OUTLOOK sleuth, sleuthing in the environs of City College, discovered on the military science bulletin board, some comments out of California by President Frederick B. Robinson on Hearst's attacks on the Soviet Union. Wanting to know what Freddie was doing in California, we called Dean Morton Gottschall, who as first administrative officer after the President at C.C.N.Y., should know where the latter might be reached.

"No, I have not heard from President Robinson. I do not know where he is, except that he is in California."

We called the President's secretary who turned out to be even more ignorant than the Dean of her boss'

We called the President's wife, but Mrs. Robinson whereabouts. However, she expected a letter from him, likewise did not know where her husband had gone, although she knew it was in the direction of California. She too hoped for a letter.

In desperation, we decided to call the President's boss, Mark Eisner, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education. Alas, he did not know where Freddie was.

The President had vanished! "Where is our President?" wailed City College. On the principle that red baiters of a feather, flock together, especially when one of them is looking for a berth in case he has to resign his presidency, THE STUDENT OUTLOOK suggests to Frederick's bereaved associates that they look for him in the neighborhood of Billy Hearst's San Simeon ranch in California.

THE STUDENT L.I.D. AND WAR

R.O.T.C. and the Peace Poll

TWO EVENTS, the Supreme Court decision in the Hamilton Reynolds case and the peace poll conducted by the Association of College Editors and the Literary Digest make it important for us again to define our attitude toward war and the R.O.T.C.

On Monday, January 21, the Executive Committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth endorsed the International Student Strike against War, and appointed Hayes Beall, President of Methodist Youth, to serve on joint L.I.D. and N.S.L. committee in charge of the strike. The endorsement was the result of an invitation extended to Methodist students by the National Executive Committee of the Student L.I.D., although at the National Conference of Methodist Youth this last summer in Evanston, a resolution was passed urging strike action at some appropriate date. The Commission of Social Action of Methodist Youth is sending the call to all organized Methodist Student groups in America, Japan, Chile, and other countries where Methodist Youth are organized. The support of Methodist Youth students should be an important factor in helping rally student support to this tremendous demonstration against war.

With a unanimity that has become rare in recent years in matters involving important social questions and the civil liberties of minority groups, the United States Supreme Court on December 3rd, 1934, upheld the right of the Regents of the University of California at Los Angeles to make courses in military training compulsory, and to suspend Al Hamilton and Alonzo Reynolds, for refusal to take such courses. It held that the state had the right to determine what conditions should be imposed upon students entering the university, and that it had infringed no "immunities" or "liberties" guaranteed by the Constitution. Speaking through Justice Butler, the Court said,

"Government, federal and state, each in its own sphere owes a duty to the people within its jurisdiction to preserve itself in adequate strength to maintain peace and order to assure the just enforcement of the law. And every citizen owes the reciprocal duty, according to his capacity, to support and defend his government against all enemies."

Plainly this is, and is intended to be, an unequivocal and clear answer to the agitation that has been growing in the colleges and universities against the R.O.T.C. Perhaps in terms of legal precedents and judicial logic the decision may seem plausible. Nevertheless, objectively, the Supreme Court has placed itself beside those who, both within and outside educational institutions, regard it as imperative to preserve such instruments of

the war machine as are necessary to perpetuate the attitudes and habits of militarism, despite the obvious fact that these have no proper place in institutions dedicated to education and study.

This is nothing new in the history of the Supreme Court. The Constitution is a flexible document, and its content and meaning is inspired by judges who interpret it largely in the light of the experience and the values of the social groups from which they come. It is a very human institution, one that is constantly changing, but one that nevertheless reflects prevailing ideas extraordinarily faithfully. At a time when the peace of the world seems to rest on very precarious foundations, and when there are demands everywhere for increased naval and military preparations, it is not surprising to find the Supreme Court asserting the right of the government to demand of every citizen that he observe his "duty, according to his capacity, to support and defend government against all enemies."

This proposition was hardly warranted by the question with which the Court was presented. The decision goes far beyond the precise issue involved in this case. The phrase above quoted states clearly a theory of the relation of individuals to the state that is not very far from that held by Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, nor from that which is on the lips of fascists everywhere, including the United States. Capitalism demands obedience, and if it cannot be to the masters of industry and finance, as it was in earlier days, then it must be to the "nation," "national honor," the "government," those institutions around which patriotism sheds a holy aura. And the significance of this is apparent in the concurring opinion of Justices Cardozo, Brandeis and Stone. They disagreed, not with the result, nor the judgment, but with the scope of the decision. As Justice Cardozo thought:

"There is no occasion at this time to mark the limits of governmental power in the exaction of military service when the nation is at peace."

Be that as it may, the implications of the decision are extremely important. It should blast once and for all the hopes and illusions of those who expect to combat the war makers by resort to the courts and the constitution. This case closes the door to conscientious objection to war and military training. These were never very sure foundations upon which to build a vital anti-

(Continued on page 28)

A WORLD STUDENT CONGRESS

By MORRIS MILGRAM

NEW YEAR'S EVE., 1935. It is a large hall, decorated principally by eight huge posters, in as many languages, bearing the legend "against war and fascism." Some three hundred young people, obviously of many races, have joined hands, forming three huge rings which whirl about a dark Indian boy and a fair Dutch girl gyrating in the center. Later there are waltzes, and dancing is the international cipher. One, who by genealogy as well as features is a descendent of Paul Revere, finds no language difficulties as he lightly steps with a pretty Dane. The hour advances. Quietly little groups of two and three separate themselves from the dancers and enter a room at the front of the hall. It is midnight, and as 1935 opens, a large, strange committee meets, conducting its business in three languages.

It is the first meeting of the World Committee, elected at the World Student Congress against War and Fascism, held December 29-31 at Brussels, Belgium. More than five hundred students from 31 countries, from every continent, came to the Congress. There would have been more—if there were less fascism—for of eight Spanish delegates elected, six were imprisoned. In Roumania, Prof. Constantescu Iassu, chairman of the committee arranging for his country's delegation, was jailed. At the time of the Congress he had passed the thirty-first day of his protest hunger strike. The Polish and some Balkan delegations were prevented from leaving their countries, but they sent reports and greetings. Austrian, German, and Italian delegates came, at the risk of their life and liberty (of the kind fascist states permit). More than two or three delegates crossed borders without passports.

We have had anti-war and fascism congresses before, but none with the high degree of enthusiasm, objectivity and actual accomplishment of this world-wide affair. The reports from each country were given by those who had fought in student struggles for peace, free speech, and the betterment of their economic conditions. The Porto-Rican delegate had been expelled from the U. of Porto Rico for propagating republican thought, when he lacked but one-half a credit to graduate. There were similar cases, but there were victories likewise to be related by the delegates. Last year fifty Paraguayan students at Montevideo, Uruguay, were ordered by the Paraguayan government to leave for service on the Gran Chaco front. Montevideo anti-

fascist student persuaded the fifty that the Gran Chaco war was one of British versus American imperialism, and by a great student demonstration prevented their departure. . . . In Argentina a 24-hour student strike for betterment of their economic conditions was a brilliant example of unified student expression. . . . From Bulgaria—Tzankoff, who as dictator in 1923 killed more than 30,000 Bulgarians, desired in 1931 to resume his former chair at the University. Students, demonstrating with workers, forced Tzankoff to give up his plan. . . . In Austria, despite illegality, the anti-fascist student movement grows, the Socialist students having an organization of several hundred at the U. of Vienna, are putting out an illegal newspaper. . . . The *Université Libre de Bruxelles* is the stronghold of a splendid anti-fascist movement, *L'Examen Libre*,* which has 1,500 students, (half the student body), and a good many of the faculty, enrolled as paid members. This university has an Anti-fascist Vigilance Committee which recently put out a pamphlet, *Fascisme et Libre Examen*, an excellent presentation of the student case against fascism, edited by a leading socialist student. (By the way, the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* is 80% socialist.)

It is neither wise nor completely honest to dwell too much on the victories, for actually the majority of the reports presented were far less glowing. From India to Australia, Mexico to Morocco, retrenchment and restriction of student liberties seemed to come hand in hand with military budget increases and a greater or lesser degree of fascization of the social system.

The tone of the Congress was set by Louis Dolivet, of France, speaking in the name of the initiative committee of the Congress. "You represent different political tendencies, but you are united by the same interests and the same aspirations. . . . We students are not alone in the struggle against war and fascism—with us we have millions of workers, peasants and large sections of the middle classes who have nothing to gain from another war, and who are definitely opposed to it. . . . Fascism cannot destroy life, and we represent life and the future. . . . We want to find the best means of fighting for a future which should not include barracks and concentration camps, but in which science

*These words are difficult to translate into English. Academic freedom is one translation. Actually the movement is one to preserve free thought and the scientific approach against the encroachments of clerical and fascist dogmatism.

WARNING!

Members of H.M. Forces should not come into possession of this Journal.

NOTE.—This in no way applies to their relatives.

THE PLOUGHSHARE

Organ of the Teachers Anti-War Movement.

No. 6.

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January, 1935

The British Sedition Act in Operation

shall reign supreme with a culture in which all can share and which shall ensure the progress and liberty of all."

A German anti-fascist student, member of Hitler's Storm Troops, thrilled the Congress when he appeared on the platform, disguised and closely guarded. His speech was striking: "Before 1933 German students demanded rights; after January, 1933, it was made clear to them that before anything else they had duties. . . . The Nazis are preparing for war—that is the only field of activity in which they are achieving something. . . . It always produces a strong impression when suddenly, somewhere, our pamphlets and papers are seen by them (German students), when a pamphlet bomb explodes, when our material comes fluttering down out of some window. . . . We are now engaged in forming everywhere—in lecture rooms, in seminars, in fascist organizations, in student houses and labor camps—anti-fascist student committees." Carrying his audience well with him in spirit, he concluded: "The anti-fascist struggle in the German universities will be a decisive stroke against the specially trained army of fascism. . . . In this spirit we grasp hands. Death to Fascism! Down with war! Long live the united battle of students of all countries, the united front against fascism on both sides of the frontiers."

Reports from national delegations and special commissions showed the various methods of student organization. They revealed, too, how fascists and war mongers in general spread their propaganda. The Italian report on militarization is worth reprinting all over the world, so well did it expose the role of schools in Italy under fascism. Il Duce declared "Book and Musket make the Perfect Fascist." That is his pedagogical policy. The Italian report reads: "The alphabet book for children is illustrated with pictures of soldiers, fasces, guns, and flags. . . . Six pages (of another children's textbook) is devoted to the story of Greccio the symbolic child." This story is interesting for the sociologists: "Near the Castle of Greccio there was a house in which very wicked Communist peasants lived. They did not wish to work very much, and said their masters exploited them. Well, my children, do not forget that

the master does work, perhaps, more than anyone else, but he does not boast of it. . . ."

Commissions including representatives from many countries presented reports on the various professions, on militarization, national and racial minorities, the colonial situation, etc. An interesting and informative situation arise in the colonial commission, where the English delegation opposed the inclusion of any reference to the fight against imperialism. The colonial delegations pointed out: "Long before the fascization of European countries, such as Italy under Mussolini, Poland under Pilsudski, and Germany under Hitler, the colonial governments were applying fascist methods of terrorization," giving facts, too, about the terrible concentration camps in Ceylon, Timor, and elsewhere, and of the gagged press and stifled colleges in India. The English delegation wavered, giving in only when the colonial delegation threatened to walk out. The final report pointed out clearly the close connection between imperialism and war.

The U. S. A. report was delivered by Sanford Solender, New York U. L.I.D.'er, who had been elected spokesman for the delegation. He also read a special report on the Negro student, prepared by our own Lyonel Florant of Howard. The Student Anti-War Strike was received by a thunderous burst of applause, and it was agreed to endorse the international strike (at some date to be set by the World Committee).

The International Socialist Student Federation, coming before the Congress twice to express clearly the socialist convictions of the eight large student organizations affiliated to it that were present at the Congress, stood out as the only international organization of its kind at the Congress. It took a firm stand on the point that a purely negative attack on fascism is not sufficient to build a movement, pointing out that only under a socialist system could war be ended. Communists as well as liberals hemmed and hawed that they agreed with us, but that they did not feel that such a program would be acceptable to liberal elements that must be drawn in if the Congress was to be effective. Result: the documents of the Congress express, only by implication, that the fight against war must be the fight against Capitalism. This is only a beginning, but it points the way to a complete acceptance of socialism, when this international movement reassembles next year or so with more experience of the false "revolutionary" appeal fascism makes.

The American delegation discovered that the first World Student Congress against War and Fascism

(Continued on page 29)

Reaction Over Spain

By ELLEN WILKINSON

THE PROBLEM OF SPAIN today is as important as it is interesting to the international movement of the working class. A section of the Spanish workers in October of this year, led officially by the Socialist Party, put up a really vigorous resistance to Fascism, and to a certain degree acted on the offensive. That they did not succeed in wrecking the clerico-fascist reaction was due largely to the division in their own ranks. But where there was unity the vigor and resolution of their action turned the tide of defeatist opinion in Europe. The first "Halt" was called to the sweep of Fascism across the continent.

The division among the workers in Spain is not between socialist and communist, for the communist movement was very small previous to the October resistance and is still confined to small groups. The historic split is between anarchists and socialists. The movement in Spain is the only organization of any size that remains of the old Bakunin anarchism. The Anarchist unions of the C. N. T. (Confederation Nacional de los Trabajadores) is the second largest trade union organization in Spain. It is stronger than the socialist trade union organization, the U. G. T. (Union General de los Trabajadores) in Catalonia, the most industrialized part of Spain, though not in the country as a whole. These anarcho-sindicalist unions have become excessively bureaucratic and politically corrupt. In their hatred against the socialists some of the anarchist leaders, it is said, have not scrupled to co-operate with Lerroux, the present Spanish premier, now head of the clerico-fascist government.

At the same time these anarchist unions contain magnificent working-class material. Though they are the victims of, at the best, an old-fashioned and out-worn political creed, their fighting qualities as trade unionists have won the solid respect of the capitalists. "Do not forget, gentlemen," said a rising young conservative politician in the Cortes, "on the day that the anarchists and socialists are prepared to meet us together, our day is ended."

Undoubtedly the Anarchist leaders actively sabotaged the October revolt, for whatever reasons. On whether the Barcelonian workers come to realize that, and remove the men responsible, the whole future of the workers' movement in Spain depends. News outside and inside the country is heavily censored even yet, but there is some indication already of moves in this direction.

The Socialist Party in Spain, after Alfonso XIII was conducted to the frontier in 1931, seemed to be following the classic line of all the European social-democratic parties after a political semi-bourgeois revolution. The chief union leader, Largo Caballero, an intelligent man of the old school of socialists—he is now 65—became Minister of Labor. The Socialist party went into coalition with the bourgeois republican parties under the astute leadership of Azaña. Azaña was the best defender of capitalist democracy that the industrialists of Spain are ever liable to get. He saw that to make Spain a modern country, safe for industrial profits he must end the power of the Catholic church, which prefers an illiterate peasantry to an industrial proletariat. The Socialist party secured reforms as regards wages, but were helpless to get the expropriation laws against the big landlords enforced. They did good work, administratively but took the attitude that the Republic was an accepted thing and pooh-poohed suggestions for its defence by the workers. Meantime the threatened landlords and the threatened church formed a united front. The Socialist Party was then faced with the crisis that finally led to their taking the important step of ceasing co-operation with the bourgeois republicans and making the historic declaration that "the path of bourgeois democracy lies not in the direction of socialism but of fascism."

When the Lerroux government which succeeded Azaña took the offensive and dissolved 400 socialist municipalities, the socialists with the lessons of Germany and Vienna before their eyes realized what was in store. When three fascist leaders were taken into the



"WEE
ELLEN
WILKINSON"

Cabinet, they felt it was no use waiting any longer. The General Strike in Madrid was successful, but only as a strike. The Catalanian rising collapsed in seven hours partly because of the sabotage of the Anarchists, partly because the bourgeois Separatists got the leadership. The workers are no longer deeply interested in fighting that battle of the Barcelona Capitalists.

In the mountain mining areas of the Asturias the armed miners held out against a concentration of troops for twelve days, only gave in then when they realized that they were alone. The Government brought in Arab and Moroccan troops to do the work that the Spanish soldiers could not be trusted to do. And what they did was the immediate cause of the visit of the Earl of Listowel and myself to Spain on behalf of those who having helped the victims of Fascism in Germany and Austria were willing to lend a hand if help was needed in Spain.

On November 9th we reached Madrid. The situation there was stalemate. The government had won the action by the superiority of its arms. A police terror was in progress and the workers' papers were forbidden, only the conservative and clerical papers appeared. But the difference between the Spanish workers and the German workers I had been with a few weeks previously was

very marked. An American writer friend took me around the main workers' quarters where the strike had been a complete success.

In one of those dark little pubs beloved by the Spanish working man we talked to printers and transport workers and some building tradesmen. They were in great spirits. "If only we had known Asturias was holding out—" "If only we had done more work among the peasants—" "We must get the syndicalists with us next time." That there was to be a "next time" they took for granted.

We got into the "Model Prison"—"model" about 60 years ago—where many of the political prisoners in Madrid were crowded in space intended for less than a third their number. We talked to Caballero of the socialist representatives in the Cortes. But chief in interest I found a group of worker prisoners who were solely concerned in getting us to promise to see what was happening in the Asturias.

We went to Oviedo, the storm center. We carried with us a letter from the Premier of Spain giving us facilities for our mission. But the word of the military "boss" means more than the word of the Prime Minister

(Continued on page 24)



Spanish young Socialists in characteristic berets, being led away under armed guard

Will the South Be Organized?

By GEORGE STREATOR

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT contemplates the South with less despair than formerly. Here and there are signs of an awakening. But it is too soon to write that Southern colleges everywhere show a consciousness on the part of intelligent minorities of students and teachers, pointing to a new social order. The two classic Southern problems, sectionalism and race, have not been solved. If anything, the depression has injected new life into these oft-buried corpses. On the one hand the greediness of the ruling class, on the other the wistful qualities of Southern liberalism make race and sectionalism effective means of forestalling every reformer or radical who tries to move towards land reform, equitable taxation, public health, or education. These two bogymen, sectionalism and race, beset the Southern student.

Southern colleges are as yet isolated from the main stream of American politics. In a sense they are products of a dying feudal age. No such generalization can be sustained in every instance. The red raids fostered by Atlanta police brought the president of Emory University to the fore not with a mealy mouth defense such as Nicholas Murray Butler or "Umbrella" Robinson would have uttered, but with the militant creed adopted by the Methodist Church. No Glenn Frank verbosity characterized the stand of this man. He was no Marxist; yet he cannot be accused of grovelling at the feet of the dollar marks of philanthropy.

In the province of Huey Long, the football team (at least the coach), and the staff of the college paper have had a good taste of dictatorship. The students on the whole conducted themselves with more decency than the puppet president of Louisiana State University.

President Graham of the University of North Carolina ("Chapel Hill") was willing to go bail for Alton Lawrence, State Secretary of the Socialist Party and a recent graduate of the University. Lawrence was in jail for closing textile mills with the help of unemployed during the recent strike. The very existence of young men like Lawrence proclaims the dawn of a new day for Southern student radicals.

The Negro colleges have been in turmoil for ten years. Fisk, Howard, Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta University, Virginia State, Lincoln, and many of the smaller institutions have had strikes and rebellions. In two of these at least, police were called and arrests made. A white president of Fisk in 1925, and the col-

ored president of Virginia State (a Fisk graduate!) in 1934, were willing to risk their students to the brutalities of Southern police—a brutality that is as certain when Negroes are involved as the prospects of the morrow's rising sun.

From these outbreaks it does not follow that Southern students are politically mature. The white students by and large are rebelling, when they do rebel, against the invasion of their Victorian precincts by a horde of barbarians: Longs, Bilbos and Talmadges. Too often the revolt gives rise to some such counter-clockwise movement as the Vanderbilt Agrarians, or the philosophy of Joseph Wood Krutch. Here is a revolt of wishful thinking against the standardization of the machine age; of partakers of the Virginia Reel era of social intercourse as against the radio, the jazz band, the "movies." It is in no sense a revolt against privilege and inequality; it is a revolt against those who tear away the ivy and rent the walls of the cloister.

The Negro students have been revolting both against classical education and Victorian discipline. The Fisk students in 1925 clamored for "courses in economics which will prepare us for business careers instead of the present curriculum which restricts us to school teaching or the ministry." Of the seven acknowledged leaders of that revolt, one went directly to school teaching and there remained; one organized a jazz band and lost himself in the flotsam and jetsam of the Montmartre; the others tried their hands for a time at insurance or salesmanship, only two of the number ever breaking away from the illusions of the great middle class. No amount of romancing by Negro radicals seeking for themselves a revolutionary tradition can change the essentially opportunistic character of the various revolts of Negro students down to the present date.

The revolt of the Negro students has been against suppression, as for example, against the surviving Puritanic social restrictions instituted by the missionary founders of Negro colleges—restrictions against dancing, card playing, smoking, social intercourse; and against oppression in the sense that the students are conscious of faculty restriction of thought and activity. Nevertheless there has been nothing to warrant the belief that Negro students have analyzed the forces of social and economic control.



*Howard students protesting the omission of lynchings in the discussions of
Atty. General Homer Cummings' Crime Conference*

One of the new-born leftists among the Negro people has tried to prove that these Negro student revolts were revolutionary in character, failing in their goals because the leaders consciously steered them into the "swamps of reformism." On the contrary, the average Negro student is fighting for the right to be included among the number of the exploiters; the right to be counted among the "upper classes."

Essentially then, student revolt in the South is directed against levelling forces. The white students want to escape the poor white class of "failures." The Negro students want to escape the masses of the black oppressed. Yet, the economic order which forces the graduates of Southern white colleges into the gas stations as attendants, also forces the Negro intellectual into the Pullman cars and railroad service jobs. The fight against this great economic levelling force is reflected in the efforts of the Negro collegian to learn the technique of big business. It is reflected in the sterile program of James Weldon Johnson who visualizes giant Negro corporations lifting the petty bourgeois Negro storekeeper to the chin level of Owen Young and Charles Dawes. With the white intellectual, it shows itself both in the new Rotarianism of the South

on the one hand and in the attempt to find a haven in the wistful culture of the plantation era, on the other.

In the outset there are two problems. Here are two groups of students oppressed by the same forces, although one enjoys the questionable privilege of looking down on the "Nigras." The white student group is not isolated from the political currents of the South. In a large measure the black student never hears the discussion of any question of a political nature. By and large, the heads of Negro colleges are little lords ruling over feudal baronies. They keep their jobs by the most outrageous persecution of faculty and students; tyrants who can always count on the full support of their boards of trustees. They have only to suggest that the great task is to keep the students happy and "in their place," and the dissenting teacher or student is thrown out on his head.

Here they are, then, two separate groups of institutions with the heavy line of Jim-Crow running between them. The Negroes are in the inferior position: poorer facilities, poorer food, poorer preparation of teachers, and the eternal consciousness of insurmountable barriers which make for inferiority. But the white college is by national standards as poor.

In North Carolina, under the assaults of a man by the name of Clarke who is reputed to be able to smell a radical idea at a distance of one hundred fifty-nine miles, Chapel Hill might become a relic of dead liberalism in spite of Graham and a few stalwarts. With decreased appropriations as a threat, Clarke and the interests he represents are able to convert a potentially liberal university into a community of scared souls. Universities need money. Southern colleges and universities are poor. The Negro colleges are even poorer, but as poor as they are, they make the dual system of education too expensive. To abolish Jim-Crow schools would mean better schools for the whole South, but there are two groups set against abolishing Jim-Crow schools.

The Bourbon South with its control of press, schools, radio, and church, would not tolerate active agitation by any liberal group seeking the abolition of Negro schools. Prejudice is profitable. White laborers who take part-pay in the feeling of their racial superiority are more desirable than white laborers who want themselves and their black brothers organized against their common enemy. The Bourbon South builds a Miami, a Southern Pines, a railroad, a bank, an insurance company on this division of the working class. It wants segregation.

The majority of the Negro middle class want segregation in a certain sense. Where segregation means Negro business and professional monopoly, they want it. Where segregation means the chance for the building of a fortune on Negro patronage, the Negro bourgeois does not shy at segregation; he craves it. Segregated schools mean jobs for college graduates who can find no opening in the white world. The Negro who has "made his" in a segregated world will fight for race rights if and only if they do not interfere with his own bread and meat.

* * *

So a student organization goes into the South facing bewildering problems. The question of strategy, what to do, what line to follow, has not been worked out. Here are some suggestions.

The approach in the Negro college should not be along the lines of least resistance, i.e., the advocacy of the middle-class privileges that Negroes are denied. This catering to the Negro's "nationalism" has contradictory possibilities. While a student group was agitating for a Northern Negro athlete who was shoved off the football team when the coach booked a game with a Southern college, in New York City the football team was being called upon by college authorities to break up radical

and liberal student groups. Presumably a hired football team can bench its members when the gate receipts are involved. While Phi Beta Kappa increasingly becomes an instrument of snobbery in spite of its cherished tradition (Hugh Johnson got it in California), a student organization makes its bid for interest at Howard University by agitating for Phi Beta Kappa for Negro colleges. This is a fight that all Negro college trustees would support, and the very fact that they would support it is a danger sign: it would be another step in making Jim Crow schools respectable and accepted.

Moreover, what right have organizations devoted to the overthrow of the present system to enroll adherents under false pretenses? It should be remembered that the baby weaned on a sugar teat still sucks its thumb.

The race problem can not be set aside until a better day. This is the liberal strategy. While race prejudice increases by leaps and bounds all over the country, and in the South the workings of N. I. R. A., have been devastating for the colored working-man, organizations like the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation have contented themselves with a little polite "chiseling" in behalf of white men and a few Negroes who wanted a share in jobs under the New Deal, or else in pointing out that the rank and file of Negroes are not "red" but black and docile. This hardly needs emphasis, but as long as separate schools, hospitals, churches, etc., constitute an effective barrier to the united efforts of black and white people in the South working for a better day, racial separatism must be fought.

Racial separatism whether misguidedly called "self-determination" or just plain segregation, plays into the hands of Southern Bourbons who are making a huge profit out of it. The Negro has no separate language, religion, or even folkways by and large to set him off from the rest of the South. Even the Black Belt, more a slogan than an economic and social reality, is subject to shifts, and under the present system only the creation of subsistence colonies under the vicious philanthropy of the New Deal is likely to produce a genuine Black Belt. One can easily visualize these communities being ruled by colored nabobs who alone will profit by the whole fiction of black nationalism.

The student conference as a means of building the movement can be effectively employed on a regional basis. National conferences are for the most part restricted to New Yorkers and persons in the immediate neighborhood, with single delegates from great distances arriving too tired and too late for efficient participation. Regional conferences in Southern cities—Richmond, Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans, Memphis, Raleigh,

Birmingham—which are educational centers are possibilities. Out of a regional organization ought to come local leaders who can carry on the work of educating, organizing, and agitating for social change.

Moreover, a black “nationalism” seems a compromise with a dirty problem. What better way to placate the prejudiced white South than to say that under a new social order we will get rid of the Negro by sending him to his own “state”? It is perhaps noteworthy that few Southern radicals subscribe to “self-determination.” Most of the Negro Communists who preach it are not clear about its implications. On the whole, it is interpreted almost as if it were a phrase synonymous with “race pride.”

An organization like the Student L.I.D., interested in promoting a society based on production for use rather than profit, may well go into the Southern field on premises consistent with its philosophy. To disguise itself as the N. S. L. seems inclined to do in a Negro college, so that it appears to be a bourgeois organization fighting for the superficialities of bourgeois educational values, would be fatal. Ten students who will read socialist literature and socialist criticism are worth a hundred who expect to be organized into Phi Beta Kappa.

Before modern transportation, Methodism was spread in the South by zealots on horseback. The hitchhiking L.I.D. organizers are the modern circuit riders, evangelists of socialism to the Twentieth Century South.

WHO'S WHO ON THE NEW N.E.C.



AL HAMILTON, after he was expelled from U.C.L.A. because of his refusal to take military drill, went to the College of the Pacific. Now he is transferring to Chicago, where he will also work for the Young Methodists. He is Chairman of the Social Action Committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth and a member of the Executive Committee of the American League against War and Fascism. Al was elected National

Chairman by acclamation.

RUTH OXMAN, newly-elected National Vice-Chairman, has for years been a leader of the Hunter College L.I.D. She has worked indefatigably as Chairman of the Committee on high school organization.

JOSEPH P. LASH was re-elected National Secretary. A veteran in the radical student movement (C.C.N.Y. '31, Columbia '32), Joe has been for three years Editor of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, and has at the same time borne the brunt of national correspondence, the News Service, various national committee work, and all the maze of miscellany which confronts the National Office.

DONALD P. DONAHUE, Southern Branch of the Univ. of Idaho, has made a record in the virgin territory of Idaho. In two years he has built an effective L.I.D. Chapter, led in the resurrection of the Socialist Party in Southern Idaho, and brought the Social Problems Lecture Course to his state.

GEORGE CLIFTON EDWARDS, JR., a graduate of Southern Methodist Univ. in Dallas and of the Harvard Graduate School, is a long-time member of the Student L.I.D., veteran of many battles in the solid South, and newest circuit-rider for the L.I.D.

LYONEL FLORANT, who joined the L. I. D. at Fisk University last year, has just returned from the International Student Congress Against War in Brussels.

This year he is active in the Howard University Liberal Club, and last summer attended the L.I.D. Summer Training School in New York.

FRED GRAHAM is President of the Social Problems Club of the University of Missouri. He was recently elected a member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and has been a leader in the fight against R.O.T.C. in Missouri.

VERNON HOLLOWAY, Ohio Wesleyan, '32, now attending Yale Divinity School, is the only New Englander elected to the N.E.C. He is president of the Yale Divinity School Chapter of the L.I.D. He plans to get a B.D. in '36 and a Ph.D. in Social Ethics by '38.

HENRY HASKELL has been Pomona's persistent campus radical for four years. Now, in his senior year, he can see the fruits of his labor in the most vigorous Chapter of the L.I.D. in Southern California.

LEONARD LURIE of Cornell, upstate New York's representative on the N.E.C., is one of the many L.I.D. stalwarts who work persistently, building patiently, without the well-merited recognition which has now at last been accorded him.

GEORGE MANN of the University of Chicago Socialist Club has been credited with much of the responsibility for the renewed vigor of the Old Chapter at Chicago. George is doing his thesis on Marxian propaganda in the Modern Theater.

MORRIS MILGRAM was expelled from City College of N. Y. for his share in the effective protest against the visit of Mussolini's student errand-boys last October. He was the official representative of the Student L.I.D. at the International Congress in Brussels, and is Secretary of the N. Y. Intercollegiate Council.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK is managing editor of the Univ. of Cincinnati *Bearcat*. He has led in the organization of one of the most vital of the new L.I.D. chapters.

MONROE M. SWEETLAND, one of the three re-elected members of last year's N.E.C., is known to almost every chapter of the Student L.I.D.

THE STUDENT L.I.D. CONVENTION

By JEAN SYMES

IF PROOF were necessary of the new spirit abroad in the colleges, it was amply furnished by the Student League for Industrial Democracy convention, when over a hundred eager and determined students converged upon Northwestern University from colleges and universities in every section of the country. During those all-too-brief days of December 27 and 28, the plans and policies of the Student L.I.D. movement for the coming year—probably the most critical in its history were formulated.

At the opening session when Professor Maynard Kreuger spoke on the necessity for a student movement to ally itself unmistakably with the workers, old timers, (those who had been in the L.I.D. three, four and five years) could be seen eagerly taking inventory. Last year 21 chapters sent delegates—this year forty were represented. Last year California sent one delegate—this year seven. Last year's convention was open to all Student L.I.D. members—this year's representation was strictly on a delegate basis. Even the New York delegation was larger, although the distance was four times as great. Last year there was discussion whether the "Solid South" *could* be organized—this year's reports indicated great activity in the southern colleges. Small wonder the old-timers reveled in their inventory!

Dick Whitten, retiring National Chairman, was there from Tulane with his tales of battle with Huey's henchmen. Al Hamilton, U.C.L.A.'s most famous exile was present to tell how the nine old men of the Supreme Court did him up. Ruth Oxman, calm, energetic, deliberate—spoke for the N. Y. Intercollegiate Council. Long-time stalwarts like Frances Willard of Berkeley and Kay Cline of Los Angeles, whose names are familiar to every STUDENT OUTLOOK reader, were there. Allan Johnson's phlegmatic "six-feet three in his socks" was present, fresh from being mashed by the student vigilantes at San Mateo. Lyonel Florant of Howard and Morris Milgram of C.C.N.Y. were missed, but they were attending the World Student Congress against War and Fascism in Brussels.

The reports of the field organizers, George Edwards and Monroe Sweetland, bore witness to the growth and vitality of the Student L.I.D. during the past year. The latter stated that he had visited 38 campuses during the fall. On these 38 campuses nine new chapters were organized, at eight no organization was formed but

members were secured and at two in California, chapters withered away. He presented an interesting table, compiled from his own experience showing that west of the Mississippi, the Student L.I.D. had 30 Chapters, the N.S.L. five (this does not include high schools) and seven anti-radical organizations had sprung up. George Edwards reported that he had in the same period visited 51 colleges covering the Atlantic seaboard as far south as Washington, New England and the Michigan area; that he had set up 23 new chapters and secured 200 new student members. He declared: "We have now an organization, weak in spots, strong in others, coordinated nationally into a powerful instrument and fired throughout by a real will to action. That's just the beginning." George Streater reported on his organizing tour through southern Negro colleges.

For the National Office, Joseph Lash reported the publication of three new pamphlets, "The Campus Strikes Against War," "Italian Intellectuals under Fascism," and the "Handbook of the Student L.I.D." In addition he reported the establishment of a weekly news service to 350 college papers, and the increased circulation and prestige of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK. The mention of the latter brought forth spontaneous applause from the convention which felt that the magazine had become a decisive intellectual and agitational force in the undergraduate world. The National Office also reported the establishment of the George Weissel Fund to aid the underground work in German and Austrian universities and the raising of funds to send our delegate to the Brussels congress against War and Fascism. In the international sphere reports were also made on our affiliation with the International Socialist Student Federation, and the progress in lining up progressive and radical student organizations in Central and South America for a pan-American socialist student bureau. The establishment of the L.I.D. Summer Training School was described and the success it had been. But throughout these reports there was one watchword—"no romanticizing." The inadequate circulation of our literature, especially THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, was brought out and responsibility assigned, the lack of adequate national coordination and cooperation from the National Office was hammered upon.

The following day was taken up with forging a program and policy for the coming year. The Program

Exposes Origin of 'Pink' Students' League

**HANGED NAME
BUT NOT ITS
TRUE NATURE**

ustrial Democracy Organi-
ation Declared Socialist
amouflage by Legislator

By HAMILTON FISH, JR.,
S. Representative from New
York.
Written for the Hearst Newspapers.
WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.—The
first papers contained a lead-
editorial today referring to
proceedings of the Students'
League for Industrial Democracy
Northwestern University,
which were directed against the
first newspapers for their con-
spicuous exposure of Communist
activities in our colleges.

**TUDENT BODY
ORGANIZES STRIKE
AGAINST WAR**

and One-Day Protest
Shutout of 50,000 April 5:
at New Social Order

h the avowed purpose of con-
ing American college students
-cialism, the Student League
Industrial Democracy, which
s "many important Commun-
ism" its former members.

warning to Reds

**ishop Stewart
to Look Into
Northwestern**

PLANS ACTION

CHICAGO, Jan. 2.—University
experts who teach Communism

**FAST LEADS
WAY IN WAR ON
COLLEGE REDS**

of San Francisco to Start
course Against Commu-
nism; Hearst's Work Praised

By Universal Service.

ARE THESE COLLEGE CAMPUSES

Hotbeds of Communism?

CONGRESSMAN FISH SAYS THEY ARE

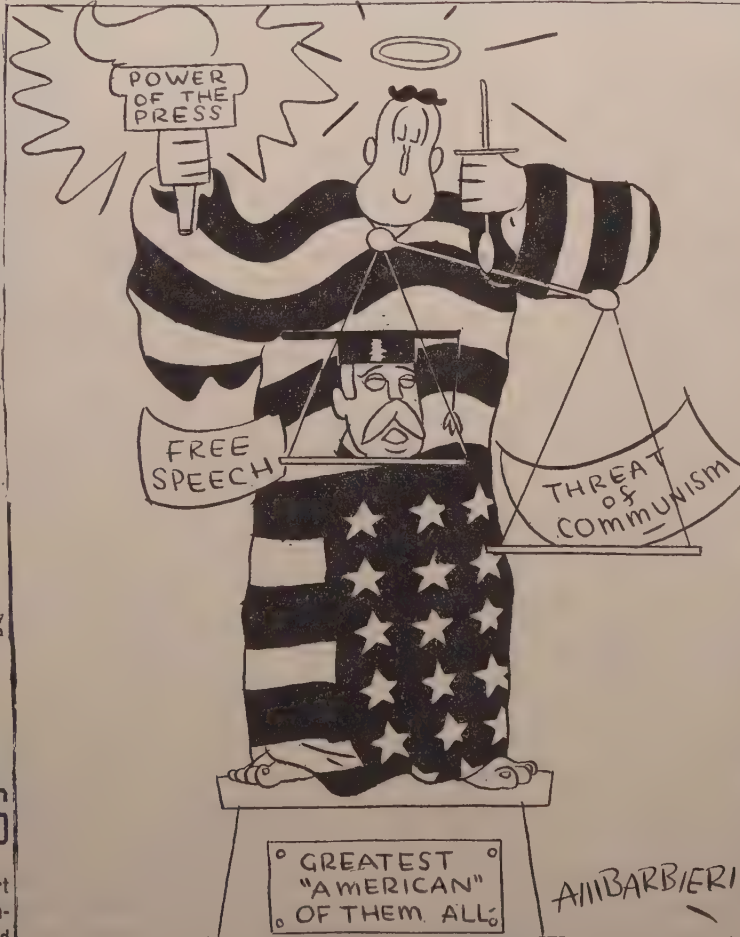
Socialist Student League Condemns Hearst Press for Fight to Rid Schools of 'Reds'

ENEMY NO. 1

**A RATING OF HEARST
NEWSPAPERS BY
COLLEGE RADICALS**

UNINTENDED TRIBUTE

Following is the text of the resolutions adopted yester-
day by the national convention of the Student League for
Industrial Democracy, the Socialist propaganda body in



THE APOSTLE OF FREEDOM

**WHAT ABOUT
COLLEGE REDS?**

**WOLL, LABOR CHIEF,
WANTS TO KNOW**

HEARSTMANIA



Resents Printing
News of Radical
Activities

'BOYCOTT' CALL

Members Pledge
Opposition to
Preparedness

By Charles N. Wheeler.
Closing sessions of the an-
nual convention of the Stu-
dent League for Industrial

claim openly that our design can only be
the VIOLENT OVERTHROW of the ENTIRE
AL social order."

These policies were formally adopted and promulgated
by the Sixth Congress of the Kom-
munist International, which was held in

PUBLIC SERVICE

Editor of Emanuel Evangelical Church, Brooklyn.)

The Unholy Alliance

By BENJAMIN DeCASSERES.

THE convention of the Student League for Industria
Democracy at Northwestern University the othe
day brings up these vital questions:

What is the supreme function of our universitie
and public schools?

Is an American high school or university an INSTI
TUTION OF LEARNING or a BREEDING-PATCH FOR
SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA?

What is the legitimate role of the professor and
teacher?

Is it the EXPOSITION and INTERPRETATION o
FACTS and IDEAS or the inculcation of their PER
SONAL prejudices, economic, religious or political?

As most of our schools and universities are sup
ported by funds drawn from the pockets of ALL th
people, and as they are tax-free, this matter had bette
be settled NOW once and for all.

* * *

THIS Student League convention, which masks unde
the name of "industrial democracy" the ANTI-DEM
OCRATIC doctrines of Communism and left-wing Social
ism, was held on the property of a university that ha
been BUILT UPON AND BY OUR FREE CAPITALISTIC
PRINCIPLES.

University President Walter Dill Scott was "sur
prised" to learn that such a convention was being held
on his campus.

After he had picked up his PINCE-NEZ, which the
"surprise" had jolted off, he emitted this world-weary
remark:

"We are not paying much attention to these youths."

Well, we AMERICANS are!

And, furthermore, we purpose to pay more and more
attention to "these youths," but, above all, to THE PRO
FESSORS who SYRINGE THIS MARXIAN POISON
INTO THEIR EARS.

**Hearst Newspapers
Assailed by Students
For Exposing Radicals**

By CHARLES N. WHEELER,
Universal Service Correspondent.

CHICAGO, Dec. 28.—Closing sessions of the
annual convention of the Student League for Indus-
trial Democracy at Northwestern University today
were devoted mostly to speeches and resolutions con-
demning the Hearst newspapers for printing news of
radical activities in American colleges.

**Seditious Teachers
and the
Hearst Papers**

Committee was unanimous in recommending the holding of a second Summer Training School; plans were adopted for pushing the George Weissel Fund in connection with the holding of demonstrations commemorating the Austrian uprising of February 12. The committee's intensive scheme of action in the southern colleges is outlined by George Streater on another page. It was resolved to participate in May Day demonstrations and to hold conferences on the history of the working class and revolutionary movements to be called—War, Fascism, Socialism. The Convention approved plans for a bicycle tour of proletarian Europe to include a week of seminars with prominent European intellectuals, visits to Vienna and to Prague to confer with socialist exiles; to Southern France to study the achievements of municipal socialism and to meet with Spanish exiles; to Belgium to study its powerful working class movement; to Paris for a united front demonstration and to England.

But the key feature of our immediate program for the spring was the student strike against war. Student L.I.D. delegates had introduced an endorsement of the strike at the I.S.S.F. Convention. It was to be brought up at the Brussels Congress. Students all over the country had been indicating their readiness to support a second strike if it were called. The convention accepted the following detailed plans. The strike is to culminate at eleven A.M. at which time it is hoped it will become general throughout the country. The slogans for this year's strike were set as follows: "Schools, not Battleships!" "Abolish the R.O.T.C.!" "Fight against Imperialist War!" "Fascism Means War—Fight It!" It was decided to cooperate nationally with the N.S.L., Methodist youth groups and any others that would support a strike. Careful preparation for the strike during the month of March was stressed. Torchlight parades on the eve of the strike were endorsed. Chapters are to be urged to get the approval of Student Councils, college editors, professors and church foundations for the strike. If possible, local ministers are to be persuaded to devote a sermon to the strike. On local campuses the strike should be called by the most representative organization possible. It was hoped that on the night before the strike white crosses could be planted on the campuses; and taps played by a bugler as students go to breakfast in order to give the day and gesture a suitable solemnity. After the strike, in the evening there should be an anti-military ball. Every effort will be made to have our rulers realize that the younger generation will not be drafted for another imperialist war.

In forging a general policy for the coming year, the most heated debate hinged upon the offer of amalgamation coming from the National Student League. Division of opinion occurred not upon the present possibilities of an amalgamation but upon the basis of rejection of the offer. After a lengthy discussion, the majority report of the Resolutions Committee was discarded in favor of a substitute offered by Monroe Sweetland which declared that "we look forward to the day when the Communist students have, through our United Front activities, sufficiently gained the confidence of other radicals so that we may work in the same organization without suicidal internal conflict." This resolution was finally passed by a huge majority. During the debate it was reaffirmed that the Student L.I.D. was committed to no political party.

The second part of the Resolutions Committee's report provoked almost as much controversy as the first. This centered upon the issue of the L.I.D. re-joining the League against War and Fascism. By a large majority the delegates rejected reaffiliation with the League on the ground that it could not, lacking trade union support, constitute an effective united front against war. They voted, however, to permit local united fronts with sections of the League where specific issues made this policy advisable and effective.

A resolution released to the newspapers on the first day of the conference denouncing William Randolph Hearst's activities, branding him Public Enemy No. 1, denouncing the nationalistic jingoism of his press, and calling for a boycott of his papers brought a flood of publicity both in the Hearst and other newspapers. A representative of Hearst's "Herald-Examiner" was present throughout the meeting and a long editorial in all the Hearst papers throughout the country, denouncing the L.I.D. as a "Communist" organization followed the release of the L.I.D. offensive.

It was an enthusiastic and inspired crowd that had found its way to Evanston. By bus and box-car they had come from far and near. The New York delegation traveling in an aged bus which broke down somewhere in the hinterlands of Chicago, undaunted, formed the Bus Pushers' Union and shoved on. The California contingent, journeying in an equally ancient motor called "Rosebud," threshed their way across the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico. Carl Campbell, riding box cars from Colorado, had his fingers frozen and was forced to lay over a couple of days, not arriving until the convention was over. Many who were not able to come sent telegrams. One wire arrived from Mike

(Continued on page 27)

NEW GENERATION

Life, you put grimness on us when our days
Were yet so young that beauty might have grown
To full maturity, and morning's sun
Have warmed the white moth wings of hope
That never quite unfurled.

Darkness there was about us.
We were born to tales of dead frustrated spring
That never grew to summer.

When we came with buds of beauty furled within us,
Doors of steel closed upon the sun of summer promise.
From far black nebulae of hate came cold the scream
Of greed across across the sealed stores of plenty.

The white moth wings drooped dead across our eyes.
The bud was frozen cold across our hearts.
And we were driven downward thru the dark
For prying at the pit with fragile straws.

CARLIN ADEN

CELIA TO MARCUS*

Marcus, to save me, speak!
I stand among the ruins of this place,
And watch the wild birds
Circle about your head.

Across the lift of the long sky
Earth revolves, slowly;
We cannot be still, though
Timeless waters
Spring forth at our feet,
And infinity release desire. . . .

Against the scarlet flame of death
Your body is a single shadow.
And I, who fall before them both
In splendid agony, see the stream of mind
Curling itself about itself. . . .

Mute is the shadow I linger under;
The widening stillness is broken only
By the clamor
Of wild birds.

ELDORA VAN BUREN

*Some may look askance at THE STUDENT OUTLOOK's printing this poem since it does not help in the fight against war, fascism, etc. It is the policy of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK, however, to encourage undergraduates ability by publishing such writings in the hope that the authors will develop into allies of the labor movement.

NUCLEUS

Protoplasmic houses start to die
Room by room from dampness and decay.
And crawling thru the house, some dread disease
Moves slowly to the kitchen where the stove
Becomes the center of the dying house.

Poor peoples houses die of slow T. B.
Down to the yellow lighted kitchen,
Down to the tough tenacious kitchen,
Down to the olive oil stinking, the cabbage stinking,
The strong lard stinking stove whose hot sick smell
Can, somehow, fumigate the germs of house decay
And thus save the yellow fevered bulb for dumb
starings in at the window enroute to dumb
standings by the stove.

Dimly they know their nucleus, the stove,
Will keep the kitchen part a living as long
As the bent slow forms gathered about it can
Break up boxes and barrels in the alleys,
Find carrots and cabbages behind the cafeterias,
And shovel snow once in a while.

But when the bent forms no longer can wander thru
the dusk,
And the stove no longer smells of strong fumigating
Olive oil and cabbage and rancid lard,
The nucleus will die and the fevered yellow bulb will
die.

And when the withered screen door has slammed six
times
And six silent forms have turned down the alley,
The dampness will come and the nucleus will be dead.—
Dead with red rusty sores.
And the house will lie—a dead skeleton—
While in the night, silent forms will carry doors and
slats
Away to other nuclei.

CARLIN ADEN

ANOTHER PROLETARIAN POEM

I was early taught to work as well as play;
My life has been one long, happy holiday,
Full of work, full of play—
I dropped the worry on the way—
And God was good to me every day.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, SR.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

A Reply to Professor Cohen

By SIDNEY HOOK

Professor Morris R. Cohen's "review" of my book, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, raises a variety of questions. Some of them concern matters of fact about Marx's life and writings, some concern my interpretation of Marx, and some Prof. Cohen's own social philosophy. Prof. Cohen's social philosophy I shall treat at length elsewhere. Here I shall only examine what happens to Prof. Cohen's oft enunciated ideal of the philosopher as "the priest ordained to keep alive the sacred fires on the altar of Impartial Truth" whenever it is a question of any focal problem in the class-struggle, and indeed, even when it involves giving an objective report of what Marx and his followers have actually believed and said.

In the interest of brevity I shall center the discussion around the three fundamental points involved in Prof. Cohen's "review" and then take up some incidental but important matters bearing upon the accuracy of Prof. Cohen's documentation and historical interpretations. These three points are (1) my conception of Marxism, (2) the Marxian theory of the state, and (3) the Marxian theory of social revolution.

1. In my book I have attempted to show that Marxism is the theory and practice of achieving the classless society. It is therefore essentially historical, interested not in formulating invariant truths for all society but in integrating a body of knowledge as a guide to action in behalf of the needs and ideals of the international working-class. Consequently, its point of view is not only *historical* but *normative* and *practical*.

Professor Cohen's argument against my position is presented in the form of a dilemma. Either Marxism is a *science*, or it is an expression of a *will to believe*. If it is a science then, first, it is absurd to talk about its class point of view, for the truths of science are universal, classless and invariant, and second, since the future is not completely determined, no prediction about it can be scientifically valid: if it is based upon the will to believe, then Marxism is fundamentally irrational and is no better than any other faith.

Now what Prof. Cohen fails to see is that I assert neither one nor the other nor both of the alternatives and that the main thesis of my book is the *denial* that Marxism is either a science or a religious faith. Marxists hold propositions which are factually true and they also affirm judgments of value; but the propositions of fact do not constitute a science in Prof. Cohen's sense nor are the judgments of value merely an expression of the will to believe. Marxism is a critical synthesis of both judgments of fact and judgments of value of a kind

such that the latter are always *historically* conditioned by the former while the former acquire *practical relevance* only in relation to the latter. That is why it is possible to speak of the scientific character of Marxism without implying it is a science and why Marxists can legitimately assert that they have ideals which are more than the arbitrary expressions of a will to believe.

Certainly, Marxism is not a "science" in the sense in which Prof. Cohen uses the word, for he definitely implies that only a hypothetic-deductive system which would enable us to predict the future without reference to the consequences of human activity in the present is a "science."

In the following passage from Prof. Cohen's "review," I have underlined the key conceptions of his philosophy of science which show the conditions which he expects Marxism to fulfill before he will allow that it is a science:

"Prof. Hook reduces the truth of Marx to the single proposition that in the end we shall have either chaos or communism. But this is a prediction about the human future which is by no means self-evident. All sorts of other things may happen. If I am told that this is the great truth for which I ought to devote my life, I must, as a rational being, ask for evidence in the actual present constitution of things to support this prediction. Such evidence must rest on present factual truth as determined by logic and social science. If present-day evidence is insufficient to support any prediction as to the ultimate future (*because the latter is not yet determined*) the truth of Marx as formulated by Prof. Hook is no exception and suffers the same general fate. . . . Marxism must then be true in some ultimate and non-pragmatic sense. Prof. Hook's procedure, however, shuts him off from anything approaching ordinary proof. His faith in Marxism thus rests on a will to believe. This may be the only position possible on certain social issues. *If we do not know the future completely*, we must risk our lives on the best hypothesis or guess, and one may do so on the Marxian formula as on any other. But, if so we should recognize that we have no reason to feel superior to those who have other faiths."

I do not wish to score an easy logical victory over Prof. Cohen by pointing out that on his view of science, since we can never know the future completely, since no one can prove that the future is completely determined, he would have to maintain that all science is impossible. His error is much more fundamental and consists in erecting easy formal dichotomies in complete independence of the specific *historical* consequences of conscious human activity in behalf of one alternative or the other. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx very clearly asserted that the complex of social, political and economic effects of the capitalist mode of production would lead either to the classless society or to barbarism. Most of his subsequent writings attempt to show why

the immanent development of capitalism tends to sharpen the conflict and how a working-class movement led by Marxists can most effectively accomplish the political transition to socialism. In my book I summarized Marx's evidence but Prof. Cohen chooses to ignore it: I present additional evidence in terms of contemporary class-conflicts, and show why the menace of war whose roots are ultimately to be found in the economic crisis of capitalism makes Marx's prediction more pointed today than ever before. Prof. Cohen instead of discussing the relative probabilities that either one or the other of the alternatives indicated by Marx may happen contents himself with the amazingly naive rejoinder that "*all sorts of other things may happen.*" Which other things and what is the evidence for them? Prof. Cohen cannot even state an intelligible alternative which will bear historical examination. Perhaps from the standpoint of pure logic "all sorts of other things may happen," and even here only on the basis of certain questionable metaphysical assumptions. But we are talking about history. And although we may grant that the future is not completely determined—in fact, Marxists insist upon it, otherwise how justify the rôle of the political party, Marxist theory and critical intelligence—that is no valid ground for believing as Prof. Cohen must believe, on his unhistorical view, that the future is completely *undetermined*.

To this superficial rationalism so reminiscent of the philosophy of the enlightenment is coupled a conception of "faith" and "values" according to which all "faiths" enjoy the same democratic status. Allegiance to any one of them is therefore merely a matter of arbitrary preference. "If we do not know the future completely," he says, "we must risk our lives on the best hypothesis or guess, and one may do so on the Marxian formula as on any other [presumably they are all "the best"!—S. H.]. But if so we should recognize that we have no reason to feel superior to those who have other faiths." But it is not a matter of "feeling superior" but of the *intelligent selection* of a faith in relation to those ends that are relevant to the existing situation, the choice of means to secure them, and the probable consequences of attempting to realize them. Strictly speaking it is not even a question of "faith" but of probable truths. The Marxian assertions that a determinate complex of economic and cultural evils will be abolished by the elimination of property rights in the instruments of production, that any serious move to carry through this program will be resisted by those entrenched in power, and that unless this objective is secured civilization will be swept away in the holocausts of war and fascism—all of these are *probable* judgments whose relative validity may be more or less accurately evaluated. And if their status as probable judgments justifies in Prof. Cohen's eyes a reference to them as "faith," is he prepared to assert that their contraries which assert the indefinite stability of the capitalist order are *certain*? And if he admits, as he must, that these other judgments are only "probable," and therefore, faiths, too, it is hard to understand why he considers all faiths to have the same logical justification. True, an element of arbitrariness

enters into the selection of the social ideals which are to be realized by specific ways and means. This must be so on every theory of the good which is not supernaturalistic. But for Marxism, it is only after the scientific evaluation has been made, and *only* then, that the judgment of preference is critically accepted.

Yes, if Prof. Cohen chooses to obscure the issue by a peculiar choice of terms I cheerfully grant that the Marxist like any other human being who chooses between ends has "a faith" and a morality for which he is prepared to risk something in action. He cannot prove his faith in the way he can prove a proposition in mathematics or verify the tendency towards concentration and centralization of capital. His faith *may* turn out to be inadequate but he justifies it by showing that it is a social philosophy which is *grounded* on the existing structure of declining capitalism, and on the social, biological and psychological needs of men within it; that it can *direct* his activities today in such a way as to effect the institutional changes necessary to solve the problems of social life and preserve civilization. There is an element of "belief" in Marxism but it is not religious belief; it does not involve the "will to believe" but the logical "right to believe." What Prof. Cohen's position implies is that since no "faith" or "social philosophy" can be "proved" to be true, since no prediction about the consequences of social activity guided by ideals is demonstrably certain, it makes no difference what our "faith" is. This attitude has its logical (if not psychological roots) deep in his philosophy, particularly in his failure to relate the principle of polarity to concrete activities and situations. It is an attitude which affords a convenient premise to anyone who refuses to take sides in a conflict on the ground that no one side has *all* the truth.

2. It is in his discussion of the Marxian theory of the *class* nature of the state that Prof. Cohen's criticisms become particularly sharp. According to him it requires "wilful blindness" and "wilful exaggeration" to place any credence in it. As opposed to the Marxian theory which regards the state as an historic institution which arose when society was polarized into classes, Prof. Cohen maintains that "no plan of organized society is conceivable without some coordinating organ backed up by some force against the irrational recalcitrancy which is part of our brute nature." The state becomes for him, then, an eternal category made necessary by the natural and inexpugnable cussedness of man. To begin with, it must be pointed out that this view flies in the face of the best anthropological evidence which indicates that many primitive cultures have flourished where there is nothing corresponding to a special "co-ordinating organ backed up by force." In such communities although coercion is applied, no *special* organs of public force exist. Punishment is meted out by the group or by specially delegated individuals whose social functions, however, are not defined by this activity. I have discussed the matter at length in my book (p. 252ff.) but for some reason Prof. Cohen chooses to ignore the distinctions made and illustrations considered. Secondly, Prof. Cohen completely mistakes the Marxian theory of the

state in believing that Marxists hold the presence of coercion and the structure of the state to be co-existent. "The state," says Engels, and this is an essential differentiating element of the theory, "presupposes the public power of coercion separated from the aggregate body of its members." Thirdly, Marxists do not believe that all the present features of the capitalist state have characterized all states but that an empirical analysis of activities of the capitalist state show that the state today (as in all class societies of the past) has been an instrument of class-rule.

It is this last contention that Prof. Cohen is particularly concerned to deny. The state to him is above classes. It is neutral not only by definition but in virtue of its service to the whole community:

"... even today it requires wilful blindness to deny the many services which the state renders to those interests which we all have in common, such as protection of life, the safeguarding of our water supply, the promotion of agriculture, the prevention of plagues, the protection of health through sanitation and hospitals, the extension of parks and opportunities for public recreation, the promotion of education in useful arts and sciences, etc."

This is a very interesting array and I wish I had the space to consider every one of these claims in detail. For a long time now, the community's water supply has served Prof. Cohen as an argument with which to wash away the signs of the class character of the state. His present list is even more significant both in what it includes and *excludes*. It can only have been drawn up in disregard not only of the Marxian definition of the state, the distinctions drawn by Marxists between the state, government and society (elaborated at length by me on p. 253 ff.) but of the actual activities of the state whenever its distinctive character, the use of special armed bodies of men, is most in evidence.

Consider the following illustration from my book (p. 255) which focalizes the distinction:

"The policeman who directs traffic and gives information, and the teacher who imports the rudiments of knowledge to his pupils, are workers performing the administrative, governmental services necessary in any complex society. Were the state to be overthrown and another established, were the state even to disappear, this work would still have to be performed. The same policeman, however, who clubs striking pickets, and the same teacher who inculcates the ideology of nationalism, are servants of the state. Wherever the state exists, it perverts the administrative function of government to its own uses. The distinction nonetheless remains." (p. 255) *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*.

Those governmental services which arise from the needs of any complex society do not require a special coercive force to be administered. The latter is necessary because of the presence of fundamental conflicts and struggles in any society whose organization is such as to produce overt or potential antagonisms. Which conflicts and which struggles? The hypothesis of Marx and Engels is that the state apparatus is necessary because of the irreconcilable conflict and struggles of interest arising from the social relations of production in class societies: the proof of the hypothesis is to be sought in the every-day experience of social life—on the picket lines, in the courts, in executive and legislative

action. The Marxist goes further and asserts that experience shows whenever the performance of the allegedly pure governmental functions affects class interests, policies for public health, public education, the promotion of agriculture, etc., are generally adopted which serve the purposes of the dominant class. Indeed, it would be interesting to know what are the "interests we all have in common" which the promotion of agriculture serves, say, under the N.R.A. and A.A.A. Is it not true that even on matters of public health and education conflicting policies are proposed which reflect special class interests? Critical Marxists do not make the absurd claim that every aspect of technical culture must be understood as an aspect of capitalism: they insist, however, that there is no phase of culture whose social expression today is not affected by economic, social or political problems directly bound up with capitalism.

Professor Cohen seeks to make this view ridiculous first by restating the Marxist position in an absolute form and then pointing to a few negative cases which would disprove it. "It is only by wilful exaggeration," he says, "that an intelligent or critical mind can regard the government of the United States as an *absolute* capitalist dictatorship" (my italics). The whole force of Professor Cohen's argument rests upon the use of the word "absolute." He does not, however, justify his characterization of the Marxian position by any supporting citation either from my book or any reputable Marxian writing. As a matter of fact although the Marxist believes in the existence of a capitalist dictatorship—which is in the first instance *social* and expressed in the control of persons through the control of things—the very nature of his activity and belief compels him to deny the *absolute* character of such a dictatorship either in its social or political form. If it were absolute, he could not account for his own existence as a Marxist, he could not explain the conflict of interests among different groups of capitalists, he could espouse no technique of social struggle, — only the anodyne of personal resignation would be left to him. Marxism, properly understood, does not deal with absolutes. Insofar as it asserts matters of fact, its method is empirical. As I have said in my book: "The crucial test of the validity of Marx's theory of the state must ultimately be found by analyzing the day by day activities of the legislatures, the courts and executive bodies of the country. The state is what it does and what it does is revealed by experience not by definition." (p. 266).

The remainder of this reply containing Dr. Hook's answer to Prof. Cohen's criticism of his theory of social revolution will be printed in the next issue, as well as Professor Cohen's own answer to this refutation of his "Notes."

Exploitation in America

HUMAN EXPLOITATION, by Norman Thomas. Frederick A. Stokes Company. New York.

In its physical capacity for producing wealth the United States is the envy of all the other nations of the world. We have the plant capacity, the raw material,

and the trained labor to establish for all our people a standard of living that would have been the envy even of the kings of past ages. Such are the possibilities; the actual record is a dismal one of poverty and monotonous labor, of unemployment and insecurity, of waste and war—in short, of merciless exploitation of human beings.

"Human Exploitation" is a fascinating, yet objective and highly factual picture of life and industry in the United States. Mr. Thomas makes no great claim to original research. All he has attempted to do—and in this he has admirably succeeded—has been to gather into a single volume the scattered facts of human greed and unnecessary suffering with most of which the careful student of social problems was already familiar. To the general reader lacking intimate familiarity with source materials, however, the book will prove a mine of accurate and immensely valuable information.

The horrors of poverty and exploitation, many comfortable persons will be shocked to learn, were normal life for a large percentage of Americans even in the years we now look back upon as prosperous. Mr. Thomas abundantly proves that prosperity, so far as the working class masses are concerned, is something to be won, not regained. The golden age of capitalism is a myth.

If there is one impression that will be left in the minds of most readers of "Human Exploitation," it is the extent to which the various injustices that are recited are logically bound up with each other in the structure of the capitalist system. Neither with respect to technical efficiency nor sound social purposes can water power be considered apart from other sources of power; nor can intelligent social planning be undertaken for the sick coal industry unless competing forms of fuel, and also industries such as steel in which large quantities of coal are consumed, are likewise rigidly controlled.

This, it should be obvious, is possible only when the entire industries are under complete social ownership. Compared to the urgency and extent of the job of economic reconstruction that is necessary if our economic machinery is to be made to serve our needs, any program of minor reform within the framework of capitalism seems pitifully inadequate and inevitably doomed to failure. Of such inevitable failure the present state of Roosevelt's New Deal offers sufficiently convincing proof. One can scarcely disagree with Mr. Thomas's assertion that there has been no great or essential change under the New Deal, and that capitalism is still capitalism. Nor is a return to unregulated competition either desirable or even possible. "In a country where the two hundred largest business corporations control half the business wealth, and are in turn controlled by less than two thousand directors, most of whom do not direct, it is far more utopian to talk about a return to laissez-faire economics than about the co-operative commonwealth."

Any reader may well desire that the topics in which he is particularly interested had been treated at greater length. So far as exploitation by the government is concerned, to cite only one example, more might have been said about taxation and about the role of the judiciary

in labor disputes. One might wish that the dominant political parties had been discussed, their connections with profit-seeking business exposed, and the part they play in the exploitation of the masses of people made apparent. More might have been said about prices and profits, and the effect upon them of the N.R.A. The list might be considerably extended.

The problem, however, is not to collect enough valuable information on exploitation to fill a volume, but to select a limited amount of data out of the abundance that is readily available. Whatever the differences in personal choice might be, it must be conceded that Mr. Thomas has done a remarkably thorough job.

The social and economic structure necessary before we can produce and share abundance, Mr. Thomas believes, will be built only by those who know what they want and assert effective power. The great mass of workers of hand and brain who have so long been exploited must achieve their own emancipation. "We live in a world which is learning that machinery requires social control and collectivism, but is very slow to learn that that collectivism, to be a blessing, must be practiced by a fellowship of free workers. . . . The first step in man's final emancipation from a predatory society is to build a system which seeks to share the abundance which already we can create. Only on that economic foundation can we hope to build a free and enlightened civilization."

JOEL SEIDMAN

The Sources on China

CHINA'S RED ARMY MARCHES, by Agnes Smedley.
The Vanguard Press. New York.

Information available to Americans on current developments in Soviet China is limited to what can be culled from a very few special memoranda prepared by agents of various governments, one or two translated Chinese documents, incidental and inadequate references in general books on China or the Far East, occasional articles in the English language Communist and bourgeois press, General Yakhontoff's "Soviet China," and Agnes Smedley's two books, "Chinese Destinies" and "Chinas Red Army Marches." Almost none of this can be said to be absolutely first-hand material. It is almost entirely drawn from secondary sources or from conversations with missionaries or Chinese who have been on the fringe of the Red areas.

Miss Smedley comes as close as anyone to giving us first-hand information. She utilizes the reports and conversations of Chinese who have temporarily emerged from the Soviet area and she has doubtless had access to direct correspondence from the Soviet regions. "China's Red Army Marches" has therefore an air of authenticity which is lacking from most other documents.

Miss Smedley's interest is focussed on what may be called the human aspects of the Chinese Soviet movement as distinguished from its strictly economic, sociological or political ones. She does not, however, disregard the latter for she reveals the human side of the story

against the economic and social setting which produced and maintains it.

In the present book Miss Smedley carries the reader intimately into the day by day life of individuals and groups in the Red Army as it retreats, advances, consolidates its position and introduces civil government into the Sovietized areas which until recently centered in Kiangsi Province.

Historically, Miss Smedley's account is concerned with the period beginning in the spring of 1928 and ending with the establishment of the Chinese Soviet Republic at the first All-China Congress of the Soviets in the late fall of 1931. It covers the period, therefore, during which the Chinese Communist movement re-emerged after the drastic suppression which attended the formation of Chiang Kai-shek's government in Nanking in 1927.

Estimates of the extent of area encompassed by Soviet China by the spring of 1931 or of the number of people directly supporting it or under its control are exceedingly difficult. All accounts, however, indicate that at that time there were five important completely Sovietized regions, each surrounded by a wide fringe of partisan areas, and in addition a number of less important partisan centers. These five areas were the Kiangsi-Fukien border, extending eastward halfway into Fukien, southward into Kwangtung and north into Chekiang and Anhwei; the Kiangsi-Hunan border; a large area in western and northwestern Hunan, lopping over into Szechwan and Kweichow; another large area on the Szechwan-Shensi border; and fifth, another substantial territory at the confluence of Hupeh, Honan and Anhwei. A generous estimate would be that the Sovietized and partisan areas covered approximately one-sixth of the territory of China proper, with a population of between eighty and ninety million people.

In recent months, however, these areas have apparently undergone drastic change. The Red Armies have apparently retreated from Kiangsi Province, their former principal stronghold and the seat of their government, westward to the Kweichow-Hunan border and northward along that border toward Szechwan. Whether this move has resulted from the terrific pressure brought to bear by the Nanking Government's troops, strengthened as they have been by foreign munitions, airplanes and strategists, or whether the Communists have decided to abandon the difficult environment of Kiangsi for the exceedingly fertile one of Szechwan, is an open question. So is the question whether the Red Armies have been greatly weakened during the last year and are actually in process of disintegration, as the Chinese Government claims, or whether the Communists are actually consolidating into a position stronger than ever in the western interior.

Miss Smedley's account as well as what can be gleaned from other sources suggests an extraordinary virility in the Chinese Communist movement based on the sort of socio-economic conditions which must inevitably produce a revolt. If these pictures are true, then the answers to the above questions are those in

favor of a continuance of powerful Red Armies and of the development of an extensive and well-nigh impregnable Soviet area in Szechwan.

If there is a fault to be found in Miss Smedley's book it is that it is over-inspirational. When the Red Armies meet the Nanking troops the faces of the Communist soldiers shine with the light of a new day, while the faces of the nefarious Government soldiers are black with evil intentions. Perhaps this is simply an indication of Miss Smedley's strong emotional reaction to China's Communism and against the bourgeois forces of Nanking and Shanghai and imperialism. Her method of writing imparts some of this emotion to the reader in spite of himself and to that extent it is effective writing, the results of which, however, must be carefully scrutinized.

If the reader is interested in getting the fullest impression available in English of the modern Soviet movement in China I would suggest for an excellent and objective historical account Mr. T. A. Bisson's "Foreign Policy Report" of April 26, 1933; General Yakhontoff's recent survey from secondary sources of all that data available in English and Russian in his book "Soviet China"; and Miss Smedley's two books, "Chinese Destinies" and "China's Red Army Marches" for the flesh and blood of the movement.

FREDERICK V. FIELD

Soule on Revolution

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by George Soule. Macmillan and Co. New York.

However much we may dispute the use of the word inevitable, we are all fairly well agreed that the new social order will be a planned collective society. It is when we take stock of our progress toward that new social order that we are at variance. We take as our gauge sometimes the written word, sometimes our temperament and our need to believe, often our greater need to postpone, and sometimes the experience of past history. Mr. Soule prefers to use the measuring rod of history. Generalizing from a series of succinct and masterly summaries of the four major revolutions of modern times, the Puritan, American, French and Russian revolutions, Soule suggests a redefinition of terms and a pattern of revolutionary change.

Instead of juxtaposing revolution and evolution, Soule makes them supplementary. A revolution is not simply a brief and catastrophic transfer of power; it is the culmination of a slow process of changing forces, the critical moment in an evolutionary cycle. For a long period of time previous to the crisis, classes in society are shifting, some classes declining, others growing in power, wealth and intelligence. The revolutionary movement does not bestow power on the successful classes—it gives social sanction, it gives political and legal expressions to the new balance of forces. Technical changes, the discovery of new lands, new ways of organizing production and exchange have brought about the shift of forces. The revolutionary crisis registers in law the power already existing in fact. Misery,

even when mobilized, is unavailing of itself, as the history of ruthlessly suppressed insurrections testifies. The two necessary elements in the revolutionary compound are the internal collapse of the dominant class and concomitantly the self-conscious and unified opposition of a growing class whose economic function is essential to society.

What meaning does this analysis have for America? Is the working class on a curve of rising power? Or is maximum unemployment the limiting point in a series of technological displacements that rob the proletarian of his function? Can the capitalist class cope with the contradictions of a system that breaks down periodically—bring it under control without inaugurating a collective society? Denying the latter, Soule follows the main line of familiar radical argument with the penetration and suggestiveness of a professional economist. He contrasts the growing rigidity of the topheavy capitalist structure with the increasing need for mobility of labor and capital. He subjects the New Deal to a searching analysis and finds it wanting in every significant respect. As to the former question, Soule finds that though the number of machine and factory workers is decreasing relatively, the importance of these workers

is thereby enhanced. Certainly the general strike in San Francisco demonstrated the power of organized labor in an industrial society. Concentrated in urban centers, with their fingers on the sensitive power controls, they have enormous potential force. The farm holiday associations indicated the strategic position of organized farmers in their control over the food supply. Soule, ignoring this potentiality of farmers, uses instead the criterion of numbers and finds the farmer a relatively declining influence. By the same criterion, the white collar class is growing daily more significant, especially that portion of the class that Soule calls the productive professions, namely, the technicians whose power and numbers in a highly industrialized economy are patently increasing.

How far then in the cycle of evolutionary change have we arrived? What is needed to supply the elements of the explosive compound? The dispossessed are potent and dissatisfied. Given the organization and philosophy to transmute their resentment into action when the critical breakdown occurs (and our pressure for reforms should contribute to this breakdown), the dispossessed will then be ready to step into the breach.

R. E. S.

REACTION OVER SPAIN

(Continued from page 10)

of Spain. The military in the martial law area were determined that no word of help or succor or encouragement from the outside should reach the men they were engaged in crushing, and that no report should go to the world of the things they were doing to them.

I have become inured to atrocities in Europe. I have been so close to them these last few years. But the stories of mass executions, of the terror exercised by the Foreign Legion in the mining villages, the shooting, and looting and worse, told us by Asturians in Madrid who had escaped made me determined to keep my promise to the prisoners to see Asturias. Alas you can't argue with fixed bayonets. Under a heavily armed guard we were rushed in armed cars across the mountains, in a wild seventeen-hour ride to the frontier. But the part of Oviedo we had seen looked like Arras, as I had seen it soon after the war. Aeroplane raids had done their work well, but of course it will all be blamed on "miners' dynamite" when the reckoning has to be made.

To the miners who fought there is no mercy in return for surrender. So with what arms they have they are up in the high mountains. But snow was already falling heavily when we were there, and they are being systematically cut off from their food supplies by the armed bands of soldiers under Commander Doval.

What of the future? The workers are facing what is notoriously the most brutal and narrow-minded landed aristocracy in Europe. The industrial magnates are anxious to get rid of the power of wealth of the church (the Jesuit order is said to own a third of the wealth of Spain) but they wanted a palace revolution, not a popular one. The peasants want the land. In some parts of the country they have been eating grass at times this last two years. Their poverty is incredible, and the ferocity and greed of the Spanish grandee is proverbial.

The industrial workers realize that their three needs are unity among the workers' organizations, organizational work among the peasants, and better organization of contacts with an army which though under reactionary officers, is anything but loyal to the present regime. The "Workers' Alliances" formed spontaneously during the revolt are moving in this direction. The danger is that they will be split into fresh factions by theoretical struggles between communists, Trotskyists, socialists, and anarchists. Unless the people who talk so much about a United Front are willing to get together and not assume that "United Front" means everybody thinking like them, the movement in Spain will follow the Italian, German, Polish, Austrian and Balkan workers' movements into the abyss of Fascism. If the lessons of these countries can be learned in time for real unity to replace faction fights, Spain always regarded as the Cinderella of Europe may be the first country where Fascism is really defeated.

Riding the Rods

By CARL CAMPBELL

MY TRIP to and from the L.I.D. Convention was not pleasant—but it was interesting. I left Denver the day before Christmas with five dollars concealed in my boots. Hitch-hiked to Cheyenne, Wyoming and hopped a U. P. "Manifest" out of the Cheyenne yards on Christmas Eve. Reached North Platte, Nebraska at daybreak. Was donated a Christmas dinner by switchmen at Grand Island. Caught a "Hotshot" U. P. on the fly and reached Omaha that night. Met a lot of drifters on the rode—some of them college students. They never ate anything—they seldom talked. A boy with a slight German accent told me that he had not had anything to eat for three days.

"Where yuh headin'?" I asked.

"East."

"Chi.?"

"No. Just driftin'. It doesn't make any difference where yuh go any more. Hows work up in Chi.?"

"Don't know. Haven't been there much."

"Well, I'm goin' tuh climb off and take a flop at the next division. Got some folks up in Minnesota. They might get me into the C.C.C. camp."

That was the way with most of the American Citizens I met on the road—just drifting. No work anywhere! There are bad Dicks at Cheyenne. It is bitter cold.

I rode across the River to Sioux City in a Cabby with some brakemen. They told me the number of a "reefer" which was booked for Chicago and had no heater or ice. (The Heaters are marked with a skull and crossbones. They burn a poisonous charcoal, and the novice who enters an ice box which contains one, or even an empty box when a heater is in the other end of the car, simply goes to sleep and does not wake up.) Refrigerator Car No. 133,284 took me to Perry, Iowa. I had left the lid of the ice box open, fearing there might be a heater in the center of the car. The temperature went down to 10 below. About daybreak someone slammed the lid of the ice box shut. Fearing that it had been locked and that I might end my career in 133,284, I came up for air. Two yard bulls kicked me off the freight. I had to handle iron so fast in getting away from them that I froze my fingers, which are still numb. Laid over a day and a half in a hotel at Perry to recuperate. Hopped a "hotshot" with an empty to Decatur, Illinois, across the river. Rode a wreck train of skeletons on to the Junction and took a bus in to Chicago.

(This example of devotion might be remembered by those who feel they cannot hawk five copies of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK to their classmates.)

A Thoughtful Play

SAILORS OF CATTARO, by Friedrich Wolf. Presented at the Civic Repertory Theatre by the Theatre Union.

In some ways the current production of the Theatre Union is even more satisfactory than *Stevedore*. It does not take splutteringly to the barricades in the wishful-thinking way *Stevedore* does and therefore is more convincing. It raises and treats realistically one of the central problems of all radical working class organizations: that of dictatorship versus workers' democracy. The Sailors' Councils, set up after the revolt of the Austrian fleet at Cattaro, debate and delay over whether the fleet should pull out of the harbor of Cattaro. Rasch, the leader of the revolt, knows that to delay means to run the risk of being bottled up in the harbor by the Pola squadron manned by picked crews. As Commandant he can give the order to steam out of Cattaro and carry the revolt aggressively to the Pola squadron. Rasch refuses to give the command unless it is agreed to by the Councils, asserting that what the sailors had

revolted for was the right to determine for themselves their own fates. The revolt is put down, the leaders executed, the war flags again unfurled and everything reverts to the *status quo ante*. One is left to debate with oneself whether the ideal of workers' democracy was worth the objective setback to the workers' movement.

One of the exhilarating things about living in New York City today is the sense that down at the Civic Repertory Theatre, there is always a play which is as competently produced as any on Broadway, and affording more satisfaction than the ordinary play. *SAILORS OF CATTARO* is excellently staged. The sets, especially that of the quarterdeck with its gleaming gun turrets, brings spontaneous applause from the audience. The cast is good, although Tom Powers as the leader of a revolution is somewhat unconvincing. Structurally the second part of the play is a bit monotonous. There are no surprise turns in the development, indeed there is very little development at all. But then that is not the fault of the Theatre Union, which has done a fine job. You should not miss it.

J. P. L.

Agitate! Educate! Organize!

There are a hundred odd Student L.I.D. units throughout the country. The Secretary of each Chapter is required to mail in a report to the National Office on the first of each month describing the activities of the L.I.D. group on his or her campus. Those reports are summarized here. Together they constitute an accurate barometer of the American student movement.

—THE EDITOR

Who Rules the Schools?

STARTLING information on the domination of big business over the colleges of this country was revealed at the Conference on "Who Rules the Schools?" held at Columbia University by the New York chapters of the Student L.I.D. An exposé of the Columbia connection with the land occupied by Rockefeller Center and its tie-up with the proposed increase in fees at that college was one of the most sensational disclosures made.

One of the absorbing incidents revealed by a speaker was the following case. "Mrs. Alling was a teacher in the Atlanta Public Schools. On October 14, a current events group met in her home to discuss world peace. Five minutes after the meeting began, the police entered and arrested all those present for "inciting to insurrection." . . . The following "Communist" literature found in her home was offered as evidence that her group was inciting to insurrection; Nation, New Republic, Liberty, Pearl Buck's "Good Earth," E. Haldeman-Julius booklets on sex, and an American Express Co. pamphlet on Russia. A later speaker, Reinhold Niebuhr, discussing the Ives Bill which compels all New York State teachers to sign an oath that they will support the Constitution of the U.S. said that the Bill was "bad enough in itself, but more important as the entering wedge for something much worse."

At the second session held Saturday morning, study circles on public school boards of education, governing bodies of public universities, and boards of trustees of private colleges were led by Howard Frisch of City College, Irving Lipkowitz of N. Y. U., and Sam Lipkowitz graduate of N. Y. U. Sam Lipkowitz discussed retrenchment in education, taking as his concrete example the proposed increase in student fees at Columbia. Over a hundred years ago Columbia was given the four city blocks now occupied by Rockefeller Center which the latter acquired in 1928 under a lease. In 1933 a modification of the lease was secretly effected. By the terms of this second lease rental income was \$415,000

less. According to the original lease, Columbia should have received an increase in income from the land. This budgetary deficit which President Butler has claimed will have to be made up by an increase in fees this year, could have been more than covered by the income of the land under the original lease.

Resolutions were passed at the end of the session on the Ives Bill, demanding its repeal at the next state legislature; resolutions asking investigations into the proposed increase of fees at Columbia, the book situation at City College, and the purchase of chemical materials at Brooklyn College; and a resolution asking the right of public hearing for students and teachers against whom disciplinary action is taken.

An amusing interlude was provided in the Conference when Professor Goodwin Watson told the assembled students that it would do no good to concentrate any control in the hands of professors because most of them were sissies. He declared that academic freedom could be violated easily in the nation's colleges because the professors were afraid to come to the aid of their colleagues. "What kind of people turn out to be professors," he asked. "For the most part they were good boys. They stayed at home, got good marks. They tried to please their teachers. The vulnerable point of professors is themselves. The really serious situation in American colleges is that professors stand by when their colleagues are discriminated against."

PROGRAM OF "WHO RULE THE SCHOOLS?"

A CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY
Student League For Industrial Democracy
HELD AT HARKNESS ACADEMIC THEATRE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FRIDAY DECEMBER 14, 8:00 P. M.

GENERAL SESSION

CHAIRMAN - HARRY W. LAIDLER, L. I. D.	
A. DRUMMOND JONES, C. C. N. Y.	HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNING BOARDS
GOODWIN WATSON, Teachers College	WHO RULE THE PROFESSORS?
REINHOLD NEIBUHR	TEACHERS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES
Am. Civil Liberties Union	PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARDS
HOWARD K. BEALE	IN ACTION
Am. Historical Ass'n	THE STUDENT STRUGGLE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM
JUSTIN C. STEWART, Student L. I. D.	

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 10 A. M.—11:30 A. M.

SEMINARS ON

PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARDS OF EDUCATION—ROOM 613, School of Business
GOVERNING BOARDS OF PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES—ROOM 309 " "
BOARDS OF TRUSTEES OF PRIVATE COLLEGES—ROOM 415 " "

Seminars will be led by students with Donald P. Cottrell, Teachers College, Robert K. Speer, New York University, and James E. Mendenhall participating.

RESOLUTIONS SESSION TO FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY AFTER SEMINARS IN ROOM 309, SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

A Reproduction of the Conference Program

At the University of Chicago, the Socialist Club, which recently affiliated with the Student L.I.D. has undertaken a campaign against the installation of R.O. T.C. units in all the Chicago public secondary schools. Simultaneously the Club is cooperating in the preparations for a midwest student conference to make plans for the approaching anti-war strike.

At the University of Missouri, our Chapter called together a group of undergraduate leaders to hear George Edwards speak on the plans and necessity for the coming anti-war strike. Our correspondent writes: "At first there were some of the usual objections such as the 'strike wasn't any use, that it would alienate public and student opinion against us, etc.' Edwards answered all their objections so simply and convincingly that when the meeting adjourned, not one of the ten or twelve people were opposed. All but one of them were enthusiastic about the idea, and about half of us resolved "to make the success of that demonstration the most important part of our semester's work."

The City College chapter of Phi Beta Kappa which includes among its L.I.D. members, Professor Morris Raphael Cohen and Felix S. Cohen, after declaring that: "The City College has rendered distinguished service to the city which founded it and has generously supported it for 87 years. We believe that under more enlightened and sympathetic direction, it can render an even greater service in the future," urged, "the Faculty to reconsider the cases of the suspended and expelled students and the Student Council," and "the removal of President Robinson as unfit to be the head of a liberal institution of learning."

"Campus Critic," writing in the U. of Idaho, So. Branch paper, declares: "that the L.I.D. is the only organization whose existence is justified by works."

In Washington, D.C., L.I.D. members in the various colleges have gotten together and set up a city-wide council, whose first action was to order 100 STUDENT OUTLOOKS. The Council plans to sponsor a Junior Town Hall and organize the capitol's high schools. Fred Joiner of George Washington, was elected President, Alison Claffin, Secretary, and Elliott Osgood, Treasurer, also of G. W. U.

At Tulane our Chapter took part in an anti-fascist united front at the time of the visit of Ambassador Luther.

The University of Idaho group of L.I.D. members in Moscow (!) started auspiciously when they were attacked in the school magazine, the *Idaho Blue Bucket*. Helmer Westerlund writes that the Chapter now is trying to get university recognition. It is cooperating

with the L.I.D. group in the normal school in Lewiston, Idaho.

The Berkeley Chapter, writes Dick Criley, is planning a frontal attack upon the Criminal Syndicalism laws of California in connection with the trial taking place in Sacramento of the leaders of the agricultural workers' strike last year. If the state's attorney succeeds in convicting the defendants it will be tantamount to making the Communist Party illegal in California.

A year ago a Rhodes Scholarship went to Wilfrid Sellars, president (for three semesters) of the Michigan Socialist Club, and son of the socialist philosopher and writer, Professor Roy Wood Sellars.

But the socialist students are not resting on past laurels. This season, Martin Wagner, another member of the Socialist Club has been made a Rhodes Scholar. He is well liked on the campus where he is known as a "strong character." Members of the economics faculty, where he is studying labor problems, termed Wagner perhaps their most brilliant student.

Since the Convention some ten inquiries have come into the National Office asking about the establishment of Chapters from places as separate as Memphis and Georgetown, Texas. We will report more fully on this next month. Also the National Office finds no development more encouraging than the flocks of new dollar members it gets in its mail every morning. We expect a batch every other day from our field organizers, but the way Chapters are garnering new recruits is unprecedented.

THE STUDENT L. I. D. CONVENTION

(Continued from page 17)

Smith, 22-year-old member of the Washington state legislature, to the L.I.D. reporting he was about to introduce a bill to eliminate compulsory drill.

As the delegates met and discussed mutual problems and as they made the walls of Garrett Commons boom with the tones of "Internationale," "Solidarity," and "Rote Fahne," the significance of the national and international student movement became a reality. The speeches of Joe Lash on the International Socialist Student Congress at Liege last summer and of John Stafford Cripps of Oxford on the British student movement made the delegates deeply conscious of their international ties. The convention voted to adopt the emblem of the Austrian underground movement—the three silver arrows as their official emblem. To the American S. L. I. D. the arrows are given an additional meaning: agitate, educate and organize!

THE STUDENT L.I.D. AND WAR

(Continued from page 6)

war movement, depending too much upon the strength of will of individuals, as such.

The decision of the Court could well have been predicted from previous decisions in the Schwimmer, MacIntosh and Maryland cases. Moreover, it clarifies a much muddled situation among pacifists. It demonstrates conclusively the fundamental correctness of those who believe that the only way to fight militarism and the R.O.T.C. is by organization directed to compelling a change in existing conditions.

The fight now must go forward on every campus, in every state, and throughout the country. Students must organize to demand the abolition of the R.O.T.C., not only as a compulsory element in the curriculum, but also as an optional course. What we are opposed to is *militarism in education*. Our hope is that when drill is made elective, few students will choose the course, but our objective is to root R.O.T.C. out completely from every campus. To achieve this organized pressure must be brought to bear on trustees, regents, and state authorities to repeal all existing orders, rules or statutes which authorize in any way the giving of courses in military science.

On the national front, there must be unity of all students for the complete abolition of the R.O.T.C., either by Congressional withdrawal of funds for the work or through the repeal of the Morrill Act, which provides that land-grant schools must offer courses in military training as a condition of receiving federal funds. The Student Strike against war which will be held on April 5th should be a tremendous demonstration that students mean business when they say that they want the R.O.T.C. abolished, and when they say that they are opposed to war.

Five questions were raised in the A.C.E. ballot, and it is significant of the great student interest in the issue of war that over one hundred college papers have commented editorially on the poll, and more than 50,000 undergraduates had mailed in their ballots at the time *THE STUDENT OUTLOOK* was going to press.

The questions were:

(1) Do you believe that the United States could stay out of another great war? (a) If the borders of the United States were invaded would you bear arms in defense of your country? (b) Would you bear arms for the United States in the invasion of the borders of another country?

(2) Do you believe that a national policy of an American navy and air force second to none is a sound method of insuring us against being drawn into another great war?

(3) Do you advocate government control of armament and munitions industries?

(4) In alignment with our historic procedure in drafting man-power in time of war, would you advocate the principle of universal conscription of all resources, of capital and labor in order to control all profits in time of war?

(5) Should the United States enter the League of Nations?

The National Executive Committee of the Student L.I.D. declared its position as follows:

The Student L.I.D. does not believe the United States can stay out of another great war so long as industrial production exceeds the absorptive capacity of our national market. So long as there are industrial surpluses, export to foreign markets will be vital to the harmonious functioning of American capitalism. In the search for foreign markets our business interests come into conflict with the business interests of other great capitalist nations. This conflict can be resolved only in one way—war. The introduction of socialism, which adapts consumption to production by raising the purchasing power of workers and farmers, alone obviates the need for imperialistic ventures.

An understanding of this fundamental fact governs our answer to the subordinate aspects of this question, namely whether we would bear arms for the United States in an invasion of another country, or in defense of our country if we were invaded. The only cause for our invading another nation would be to guarantee the foreign investments of American capital. Obviously the country is in no mood to do that. American imperialism realizing this will therefore present the war as one of "defense" against a foreign invader. In point of fact no nation has ever admitted it was fighting an "offensive" war. That is always left to the judgment of post-war historians. In the World War every nation felt it was engaged in a defensive action. Regardless, however, of what nation is responsible for precipitating the declaration of war, it is the clash of fundamentally antagonistic imperialism that causes war. In a world in which the media of enlightenment—press, radio, cinema—are in the hands of the same groups who gain by American imperialism, students can have only one attitude toward war—offensive or defensive, so long as the government is not in the hands of the workers and farmers of the country, so long as the government continues to be dominated by industry and finance, no war that this government might undertake would be to our interest and, therefore, we should refuse to participate.

An American navy and air force second to none, rather than insuring us against another war, promotes it. Present day war preparations were equalled only in one other period prior to this—1914. They proved no guarantee against war then. Heavy armaments are of use to the military officialdom who glory in a huge military bureaucracy; to the munitions makers; and to the imperialists who foresee a use for an army and navy in defending their investment. We are for complete and total disarmament.

We do not advocate government control of the armament and munitions industry because it will serve more as a delusion than a protection. So long as our government is

controlled by the class brothers of the armament makers, there will be no effective government control. There is so much resentment today against the munitions people that it is quite conceivable that the armaments manufacturers themselves would welcome government control as a stopgap to more fundamental legislation. With perhaps a few more bribes, the industry would continue merrily to ply its murderous trade. The arms industry will continue in business so long as there are imperialist interests to be protected in China, Latin America, etc. War is an expression of imperialism. You cannot eliminate munitions unless you eliminate war. War—munitions—imperialism, each implies the other.

The elimination of profits in time of war by the universal conscription of capital and labor is a measure the Student L.I.D. cannot consider because the question takes as its assumption cooperation with the government to bring a war to a successful fruition. Should war be declared the Student

L.I.D. considers itself to have only one responsibility; intransigent opposition to the continuance of the war and to the government which brought us into war. Even should such opposition be declared illegal and made treasonable, that will remain our duty and task.

We believe the United States should enter the League of Nations because it may strengthen the hand of the Soviet Union against the war-minded fascist bloc, and because it may aid in obtaining the neutralization of Austria, reestablishing democracy in that country and removing it from the orbit of German and Italian rivalries. The League of Nations, so long as it is mainly a league of capitalist nations cannot guarantee peace. But since it is, in words at least, committed to peaceful policies, it may through the pressure of the common peoples of the world, aid in warding off another war until that time when the working classes will come into control of their governments, and a cooperative commonwealth of socialist nations is established.

A WORLD STUDENT CONGRESS

(Continued from page 8)

was broader, in a political sense, than most of our American united fronts. From England there were representatives of the Student Christian Movement, the League of Nations Union, the Federation of Student Societies (communist), University Labour Federation, (affiliated to the Socialist Student Federation), as well as representatives of college bodies and widely representative local anti-war groups. From Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and a few other countries, the delegations were equally broad. From Canada a delegation of three were sent, from the U.S.A., seven, including official representatives of the N.S.L. and the Student L.I.D. Other representatives came from such groups as the North Carolina Methodist Students Conference, the Howard U. Liberal Club, and the N.Y.U. Student Councils.

Considering the broad representation in the Congress, a series of documents were drawn up that are remarkable in their content and in their flexibility. There are three documents, a "Declaration of Students' Rights," the Manifesto of the Congress, and a Plan of Work, all of which were accepted unanimously.*

The Plan of Work is a detailed, lucid statement of the activities the movement is to carry on, with the proviso that it devolves upon each local or national group to fit the plan to its requirements. The plan proposes to make the fight against militarization and war preparations the focal point of the movement during the next few months. It suggests various types of activity possible, from research to real action, against the fascist menace. The immediate goal is "... to develop in all

the schools and universities of the world a vast network of committees which, while respecting the autonomy of affiliated student bodies, will unite progressive students."

The manifesto of the Congress, after analyzing the economic situation of students, points out that: "We are suffering the effects of a society founded on the exploitation of man by man, a society which is approaching the end of its existence, of a system which is opening the way to fascism and war. . . ." In order to smash the munition makers and their tools who by political intrigues and imperialist attempts at expansion bring on war, it is necessary to unite with workers to oppose war. It ends with a vivid appeal to all colleges and secondary schools to set up committees against war and fascism on the broadest possible basis. "Join the great international movement for Peace and Liberty. . . . Long live the union of student youth in fraternal alliance with all workers of society against fascism, imperialism, and war!"

The "Declaration of Students' Rights" throws a gauntlet down to those who would place restrictions on students in their search for truth, culture, and a better society. It is the expression of the many student protests and demands which were voiced at the Congress.

What will the World Student Congress mean to the American student movement? Just as much as the American Student Movement wants it to mean. The World Congress has, abroad, plenty of momentum. It is up to American students to build their own movement. It is up to us, while we have a considerable degree of civil liberty, while we are not yet involved in war, to devise ways and means to build a movement of students that will increase the one and prevent the other.

*All three documents will be printed shortly.

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Jan. 17 Akron, O.
Feb. 5 Atlanta, Ga.
Feb. 1 Auburn, N. Y.
Jan. 31 Binghamton, N. Y.
Feb. 4 Birmingham, Ala.
Jan. 28 Buffalo, N. Y.
Feb. 7 Chattanooga, Tenn.
Jan. 18 Cleveland, O.
Jan. 25 Detroit, Mich.
Jan. 9 E. Orange, N. J.
Jan. 27 Erie, Pa.

Jan. 20 Flint, Mich.
Feb. 5 Hartford, Conn.
Feb. 5 Jackson, Mich.
Feb. 8 Knoxville, Tenn.
Jan. 24 Lansing, Mich.
Jan. 23 Lawrence, Kansas
Jan. 23 Long Branch, N. J.
Jan. 20 Louisville, Ky.
Feb. 8 Manchester, N. H.
Feb. 6 Nashville, Tenn.
Feb. 7 New Bedford, Mass.

Feb. 3 New Orleans, La.
Jan. 14 Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Jan. 21 Pontiac, Mich.
Providence, R. I. (Indefinite)
Jan. 29 Rochester, N. Y.
Feb. 4 Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Jan. 30 Schenectady, N. Y.
Jan. 24 Springfield, Ill.
Jan. 15 Topeka, Kansas
Jan. 14 Tulsa, Kansas
Jan. 10 Yonkers, N. Y.

If there is a series in your city you should attend!

FREE FOR ALL

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK is not sufficiently representative of rank and file Student L.I.D. opinion. FREE FOR ALL is a page on which you can express your ideas if you keep them within 250 words. Each month we will ask some leading question and in the next issue print the most suggestive replies.

April question—replies must be in our office by February 18. "WHAT MEANING SHALL THE EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION HAVE FOR THE AMERICAN STUDENT?"

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MORRIS MILGRAM who was expelled from C.C.N.Y. for his anti-fascist activity, attended the Brussels Congress as the representative of the Student L.I.D. Morris is now hunting about for means of completing his education, which was abruptly terminated in his sophomore year.

WEE ELLEN WILKINSON's red head is known all over Europe because of her work in aiding the underground movements in the fascist countries. A member of the British Labor Party, she will stand for the constituency of Jarrow in the coming elections.

JEAN SYMES makes her literary debut with the article on the Convention in this issue. Jean worked like a Trojan in the longshoreman's strike and is active in the Berkeley L.I.D.

GEORGE STREATOR has an encyclopedic memory when it comes to Negro history. George could have his pick of jobs if he would compromise with his revolutionary integrity. Until he finds a job that does not involve such compromise, George says, he prefers to work with the Student L.I.D. at no pay, finding it one of the most congenial and fearless of radical organizations.

CARLIN ADEN's poetry is one of those things for which editors live and send up a prayer every night. He is a student of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

ELDORA VAN BUREN is a student at Bennington College.

One of the mysteries of the radical movement has been why PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK was *persona non grata* with the Communist Party. Some attribute it to a critical review he wrote of one of Stalin's pamphlets. Others to his Deweyian leanings. We do not know, but are grateful since it has made Dr. Hook's writings available to THE STUDENT OUTLOOK.

JOEL SEIDMAN is an instructor at Brookwood Labor College.

FREDERICK V. FIELD is an old friend of the L.I.D. and Secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

R. E. S. is a member of the Socialist Teachers' Committee in New York.

CARL CAMPBELL is one of the most devoted and industrious workers in the Student L.I.D. He is an officer of the Denver Chapter.

Berkeley, Calif., Jan. 11, 1935

To the National Student League,
Berkeley, California

I regret the publication in the STUDENT OUTLOOK of a report from this chapter which seems to imply that we accuse the National Student League of not playing fair. As far as my own experience goes, I can say that I have seen no evidence of bad faith on its part. Far from it, I can heartily thank them for the active and loyal co-operation they have given us during the past semester, and I sincerely hope that this co-operation can continue in the future.

Sincerely,

RICHARD CRILEY

(We regret that the quotation from the Berkeley Chapter report in the editorial in the last issue of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK to which the above letter has reference, was included. There was nothing in the report to indicate that it referred to a situation which existed in the spring of 1934, and was no longer true when the editorial was written. We are glad to make amends and trust that united front activity at Berkeley will continue.—THE EDITOR.)

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LEVERING TYSON, Director, National Advisory Council on Radio in Education

ELLEN WILKINSON, former British M.P.; and former Parliamentary Private Secretary of Labor Ministry of Health

February 14 TAXATION

HAROLD BUTTENHEIM, Editor of *The American City*, President of the Tax Policy League

CARL SHOUP, Assistant Professor of Economics, Columbia University

February 21 THE FLIGHT OF EDUCATION

HAROLD RUGG, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia; author of *The Great Technology* and other books

WILLIAM D. BOUTWELL, Editor of *School Life*, organ of Office of Education

February 28 INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS

DR. HENRY GRADY, Chief, Trade Agreements Section, U. S. State Department

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist Leader; author of *Human Exploitation*, and other books

March 7 UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

DR. ISADOR LUBIN, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics

MARY VAN KLEECK, Director of Social Studies, Russell Sage Foundation

March 14 OLD AGE PENSIONS

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL, President of the American Association for Social Security

DR. ELMER FRANK ANDREWS, New York State Commissioner of Labor

March 21 HEALTH INSURANCE

DR. JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, Former President, National Federation of Settlements; Leader, New York Ethical Culture Society

DR. NATHAN SINAI, Director of Medical Economics, Twentieth Century Fund; Member of the Technical Staff of the Cabinet Committee on Economic Security

March 28 INDUSTRIAL CODES

JOHN MAURICE CLARK, President of the American Economics Association; Professor of Economics, Columbia University

DR. GARDINER C. MEANS, Financial Advisor, U. S. Department of Agriculture; co-author of *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*

April 4 GOVERNMENT REGULATION

DR. JAMES C. BONBRIGHT, Professor of Economics, Columbia University; Vice-Chairman of the Power Authority of the State of New York

DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy

April 11 GOVERNMENT COMPETITION

DR. WILLIAM TRUANT FOSTER, Director of the Pollak Foundation; author of *Profits*, and other books

LELAND OLDS, Secretary of the Power Authority of the State of New York

April 18 OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

J. RUSSELL SMITH, Professor of Economic Geography, Columbia University; author of *Our Industrial World* and other books.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, Professor of Sociology, New York University and author of *Profits or Prosperity*

April 25 THE LAND PROBLEM

HENRY A. WALLACE, Secretary of Agriculture

DR. FREDERIC C. HOWE, Chairman of the Consumers' Council, A.A.A.

May 2 THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

MRS. JAMES P. WARBASSE, of the Consumers' League of America

SECOND SPEAKER TO BE ANNOUNCED

May 9 SECURITY AND CAPITALISM

DEAN JOSEPH P. WILLETS, Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania; President, National Bureau of Economic Research

BROADUS MITCHELL, Professor of Economics, Johns Hopkins University

May 16 SECURITY UNDER SOCIALISM

WILLIAM A. ORTON, Professor of Economics, Smith College

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist Leader

May 23 SUMMARY

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