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TUDENT

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The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

OUTLOOK

*Two Views of the Strike*

*John Dos Passos*

*A College President*

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**HUEY LONG**

on the

**Student Movement**

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*Comrade the World Over*

*By Naomi Mitchison*

**Vol. III, No. 4 - April, 1935**

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## The Student Outlook

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# The STUDENT OUTLOOK

The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

VOL. III

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## Sweet Land of Liberty

THE PAST few months have witnessed a terrific drive in all parts of the country against civil liberties. This drive has had its repercussions on the campus, in the acts of violence of student vigilantes at U.C.L.A.; in administrative abrogation of student rights at Hunter; and in statutory legislation—in New York in the form of a bill requiring an oath of loyalty to the Constitution, in California in the shape of bills “relating to activities of a seditious nature in connection with the public school system” and bills “to prevent the formation of organizations among the student body . . . for the purpose of resisting or interfering with the management and control of any such educational institution. . . .”

If these bills pass, if these groups are successful, the student movement against war, the student movement for a socialist society will be forced underground and seriously crippled in its work. That should be clear to everyone.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that this unAmerican drive against civil liberties for radical students is being undertaken in the name of preserving our Constitution, in the name of American ideals. It is an unconstitutional attempt by congressional and state legislation to amend the Constitution and to nullify the Bill of Rights. Although the Declaration of Independence and many state constitutions explicitly state that the people have a right to overthrow their government, once it becomes oppressive, these reactionary groups would rivet the present system of mass starvation and political inequality upon the country forever, *in the name of Americanism*. Indeed, Senator Nunan, speaking on behalf of American idealism, could brazenly state that his bill was not supposed to apply to a respectable institution like Vassar, but only to City College!

Thirdly it is clear now that these bills are merely entering wedges against the labor movement. At the Assembly hearing on the Nunan Bill, its sponsor declared that he was quite ready to introduce legislation to make both the Socialist and Communist parties illegal in New York State. For him the student bill was merely a beginning. The student movement has been

attacked first and most sharply by the fascists. Whether we like it so or not, we are the first bulwark, the front line trench against this fascist sortie. We must stand up and fight back for all we're worth.

Finally in this fight for student civil liberties we have discovered the need for united action upon the part of all students, and how effective such united student pressure can be. No undergraduate paper in New York State failed to attack the Nunan Bill. Most Student Councils came out against it. Hundreds of students travelled up to Albany. And the bill was killed. Similar action is needed in California, if the kindred bills, aptly called “Shot Gun Legislation” by the *Californian*, are to be defeated.

The need today is for vigilance by all. For an attack upon the civil liberties of any one group, is an attack upon all.

## Why a Strike

THE RESPONSE to the strike CALL has been so tremendous in all parts of the country, the strike has gained such unexpected momentum even early in March, that many administrations have offered strike committees substitutes in the form of officially-inspired assemblies, chapels, etc.

All the organizations represented on the strike committee consider it imperative to emphasize again *that there must be no substitutes for the strike*.

Why do we call our April 12th action a *strike* rather than a one-hour holiday or demonstration? First, because every one recognizes the strike as the most intensive form of protest. On Armistice Day we had assemblies, demonstrations and anti-war conferences all over the nation, yet few of them broke into the newspapers, and few of them came to the attention of our fellow classmates. On the other hand our student strike last year made column 1, page 1, of the New York Times, started discussion on hundreds of campuses, and threw consternation into the ranks of the R.O.T.C.

We are calling upon the students to strike because a strike most clearly brings out the solidarity of the student anti-war forces. It gives us a sense of our own





Pictures of last year's student strike



# COMRADE THE WORLD OVER

By NAOMI MITCHISON

**W**E, IN the English Labour Party call one another "Comrade," and it means something very serious and very friendly. It means that we accept one another as fellow workers, that we trust one another in all kinds of ways: we aren't going to cheat or lie, and we shall even try not to be jealous or talk scandal about one another. "Comrade" is perhaps an artificial word; people laugh at us sometimes for using it; it sounds ugly in London dialect, though well enough in the Midlands and North. We say in the Labour Movement "Comrades and Friends" to make it easier, and also because at most meetings there are people who aren't in the Party yet, but who are coming. So far, in England it means working together, not fighting or dying together, but we are aware of its implications. We know that now it means organisation, trade union and co-operative work (remember our trade unionists and co-operators are part of the same movement in Great Britain—it is not out of place to address a Women's Co-operative Guild Meeting as "Comrades"); it means addressing envelopes, writing up registers, house to house canvassing, municipal elections to work for every year, all that sometimes rather uninspiring side of things. But—it may mean more before we are done.

And in other countries? "Tovarish" is the ordinary polite Russian mode of address. If one is in the U.S.S.R. on a job, with credentials—including credentials from the Party which the sillier Communists call Social Fascists!—one is addressed as Tovarish oneself. In the U.S.S.R. the word means being a good citizen of the classless society. It means living for the common goal, not only working for it, but playing for it, marrying and educating for it, and being ready if necessary to defend it. It is the happy and satisfactory thing to be there, as it will be yet for the whole world.

In France "Camerade" still seems rather an artificial world, a little stiff on the lips which first, after their revolution, used the word "citoyen" in praise and brotherhood and true equality—for the time. Just now, though, it does mean the "Front Commun," a real United Front of action against a Fascism backed by royalists and the Catholic Church. French Socialism is perhaps the most intelligent in the world; it has a long and honourable political history. And during these last years it has meant a very practical brotherhood

with socialist refugees of all countries, who are allowed into France more freely than into any other European country, and who meet and talk in the Paris cafés with almost complete freedom. There have been Italian refugees ever since the beginnings of Fascism and now there are Germans, Austrians, Spaniards, and socialists from all the Balkan countries over which terror and silence reign, as well as the latest refugees from the Saar who know that their lives will be worth little after the League of Nations Commission withdraws.

The word in German is "Genosse." But it is not a word one should say lightly in Germany, not a word to be overheard. Its meaning there is danger of death or beating up, or at best concentration camps. It is a word which is used, all the same, for the Germans are a very brave and a very serious people and brotherhood comes naturally to them. There are many now who have joined the Nazis hoping for brotherhood, thinking they would get it in the Labor Camps, but who find that it has been twisted to serve the ends of the same people who used to oppress them, and that it is brotherhood for war. Their discomfort and trouble of the spirit may yet turn to action: that is if the rest of the world do not force them by economic and military pressure to keep in the twisted Nazi brotherhood.

In Vienna one may still whisper what can only be said by glances in Berlin. The Austrian Socialists are still working, inside the country as well as outside; they have even something approaching a mass organization. The Viennese working class districts are still mainly socialist, though many of the Genossen have been turned out of their beautiful Gemeinde houses and are now living in the old slum tenements from which the socialist municipality rescued them during its years of practical work. The word here means something heroic; it may be that the leadership was unwise and over-idealist but at least there was no betrayal. This time last year all compromise ended in a blaze of courage and the beautiful brotherhood of action. Men and women stood together against the howitzers of the Austrian Fascist party. When women were expected, according to the old laws of war when women were treated as any other possession, to take themselves out of the field of danger and leave the men to fight it out, they were real comrades. They kept their men going



with ammunition and food, or fought side by side with them, with rifles and machine guns. Paula Wallisch was a good comrade to her husband last February, as she had been all their married life; she was with him in the fighting at Bruck, in the retreat through the snow, and in the final capture. In all the Gemeinde houses in Florisdorf women were carrying on the work, when their husbands were dead or imprisoned or across the frontier. It was from them mostly that one heard the word which meant something as real as food and friendship; it was they standing with one in their smashed and ruined homes or holding one's arm in dark archways out of sight of the police, who called one Genossin and whispered the socialist password "Freundschaft und Freiheit"—friendship and freedom—both of which must wither and die under fascism and can only come in the fullest sense amongst us, amongst the comrades.

## Huey Long – Words and Deeds

**T**HOUSANDS of college students throughout the country recently heard Huey Long's persuasive voice over the radio asking the youth of the country to join his Share-the-Wealth movement. A few days later Huey made a dramatic plea in the Senate for an appropriation of one billion dollars to be used in aiding financially distressed college students. Many people have thus been impressed by Senator Long's apparent solicitude for the student. He talks over the radio to them, he promises them a better society if they join his movement, and he urges the appropriation of vast sums of money to assist young men and women in obtaining a college education.

Do not these facts show that Huey is "with" the students of the country? Does he not stand as a leader for the worried and tormented youth of the land? Will he not provide a college education for all "deserving" students?

In order to answer these questions we must examine the record he has made in his own state as regards education. We know what he *says*; now let us find out what he has really done in Louisiana concerning education.

According to a report\* issued by the U. S. Bureau of Education in 1933, the state of Louisiana, as compared to all the other states, ranked 44th in general education, 47th in literacy, and 47th in general attendance. It must be remembered in this connection that

\*This report applies only to the white population.



YOUNG SOCIALISTS OF SPAIN

By JOHN BLAIR

Long became Governor in 1928 and thus had ample time to improve this condition had he so desired.

If Huey really cares so much about education, he certainly should have a warm place in his heart for the teachers. Perhaps in his heart this "warm spot" for the teachers actually exists, but he does not seem to evidence any regard for the condition of their pocketbooks.

In the schools for white students during the school year 1931-1932, the median salary for elementary school teachers was \$849, while for high school teachers it was \$1269. In the school year of 1932-33 the median salary for elementary school teachers had dropped to \$622, and for high school teachers it had dropped to \$977.†

In the schools for Negro students the situation was much worse. It was true that in these schools the wages were not cut so greatly, but that was only because they were so low, they could not be cut much lower. In 1931-32 the teacher in the elementary Negro schools received \$288 a year while the Negro high school teacher received \$581. In 1932-33 these salaries had been cut to \$219 and \$442 respectively.

It must be remembered that through political pressure Long has dominated most of the parishes‡ in the state. Thus it is interesting to compare the salaries for teachers in a parish not controlled by Long to the above

†These figures are taken from the 84th annual report of the Louisiana State Department of Education.

‡In Louisiana counties are called "parishes."



median salaries of the state. Orleans parish, which is anti-Long, pays the highest salaries in Louisiana. The salary received by a white elementary school teacher in Orleans is \$400 above the next highest parish. As regards Negroes the difference is even greater, for Orleans parish pays Negro high school teachers \$1347, which is \$765 above the next highest parish.

From these figures we may conclude that the salaries paid to school teachers in Louisiana are disgracefully low, that the salaries have taken a decided drop during Long's control of the state, and that the salaries paid in an anti-Long parish are far higher than those paid by any pro-Long parish. It must be remembered, too, that Long could have raised these salaries throughout the state if he had so desired, but instead of going up, the salaries dropped.

If Huey really cared about educating the people of his state, he certainly would not have allowed the number of days during which school was taught to have been diminished. In 1931-32 the number of days taught in white schools was 176, and for Negro schools it was 120 days. The following year, 1932-33, the number of days taught in both white and colored schools was decreased by 20 days.

A bill was recently passed in one of the famous "two-hour" sessions of the state legislature which places under state political control (that is, under Huey) all school budgets and employment of teachers. In other words the "Kingfish" will now have direct legal control over the state school system, and he will no longer be forced to control it by political pressure. The placing of all state educational institutions under such direct political control cannot be said to be in keeping with any of the ideals of education or academic freedom.

The question might be raised as to how and why Long puts his appeal to the students. He tries to spread his dogma to them in many ways, foremost among which is the radio. The real motive in the matter is that many of the students whom he can reach and convince by the radio (or by any other means) are of voting age, and many more will be old enough to vote by 1936.

Then, too, he figures that his proposal in Congress to set aside one billion dollars for the purpose of aiding financially distressed students will swing many youthful voters to his side. As a matter of fact he knew the bill would never pass, but it makes a beautiful issue to spread throughout the land. One can almost hear him yelling, "I wanted to help the poor student, but that Wall Street gang wouldn't let me." Perhaps he has also heard that besides being voters, young men make excellent Storm Troopers.

Finally he has attempted to make Louisiana State University a vote-factory by providing it with many new facilities of a kind appealing not to scholars but to alumni.

These are just a few of the methods which the "Kingfish" can use to bring the youth of the land into his fold. Each college student who places himself under the Long banner ought to be able to bring at least three other voters with him. Right there Huey would have a voting nucleus of no mean size.

Long has one other particular method of soliciting the aid of college students which he may or may not use. This method, as divulged by one of Long's right-hand men, is still in the theoretical stage.

The plan runs something like this. Certain students of Louisiana State University who show particular evidence of possessing speaking and organizational abilities will be sent to other universities throughout the land. Each student of L. S. U. who is thus sent to another university will have all his expenses and fees paid by L. S. U. or by the Louisiana State government itself. Upon entering the new university, this student will proceed to organize a Share-the-Wealth club on the campus, and will endeavour to spread Long doctrine as greatly as possible. Thus there will be Share-the-Wealth clubs on the campuses of colleges throughout the land, and most of these clubs will be started by students sent out from L. S. U. for that particular purpose.

We do not know whether or not Huey will run for President in 1936, but if he does, he certainly has established a fine basis for getting the support of the nation's youth. Yet should the youth of the country support him? That is the real question.

It has been pointed out above that Long's solicitude for education is only apparent. During his control of the state, salaries of the teachers' were slashed, and the length of the school year was shortened. Furthermore the state as a whole, compared to the other states, is in a disgraceful position regarding general education, literacy, and general attendance. If Huey has been this hypocritical in his own state, will he not be likewise in the nation itself? Since we know that in Louisiana he has merely mouthed demagogic, fascistic phrases in order to increase his political power and has carried out but few of those pseudo-radical promises, is it not likely that this nation-wide appeal to college students is merely a means of obtaining national political power, and these wild promises to the students will be cast aside when he obtains national political power?



# THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND HUEY LONG

A BRIEF INTERVIEW

The following is an interview between Monroe Sweetland and Senator Huey Long. The interviewer was allowed only twelve minutes and given no chance to interrupt the Senator's flow of words:

"Senator Long, the Student League for Industrial Democracy is vitally interested in your attitude on several public questions of concern to students—the question of war and peace, the problems relating to retrenchment in education, academic freedom with particular reference to the legislation now proposed in many states to compel all students to take loyalty oaths," I began.

"Well, there hasn't been any of that in Louisiana, and there won't be. All the radicals and reds in the colleges won't do any harm. It's a mighty good thing that they are beginning to do a little thinking. I wish there were a few million radicals. They can't do any harm. They can't make things any worse—talk about revolution—they can't do anything that'll kill as many as the one half that's starving now . . ." (I couldn't keep up with his running fire of epigrams and succinct, slo-ganic statements) . . . "Now, this war business . . . the

## THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM Of The Share Our Wealth Society

*Government Would Assume the Cost  
and Burden to Guarantee College,  
Professional and Vocational  
Education for All Students*

UNDER the present policy of government the young man and young woman whose parents are possessed of means can be given a college education or vocational and professional training. There are some exceptions to this rule; that is to say, that in some few cases students can find work by which to pay their expenses through college. As a general rule, however, only those with parents possessing extraordinary means can attend college.

"All men are created equal," says the Declaration of Independence, and to all those born the Constitution of our Nation guarantees "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These provisions of our immortal national documents are not observed when the right to education rests upon the financial ability of one's parents rather than upon the mental capacity of a student to learn and his energy to apply himself to the proper study necessary for him to learn.

THE "share our wealth" program contemplates that from the billions of excess revenue brought into the United States Treasury by limiting fortunes to a few million dollars to any one person, that such large sums will be expended by the Government as will afford college education and professional training to all students based upon their mental capacity and energy rather than upon the wealth of their parents. Such an education contemplates not only the scholarship but such supplies and living costs as a student may have in order to attend college.

This will transfer the youth of our land into making preparation for building a better and greater nation. It will take their surplus labor out of the ranks of employment and afford more room for others; it will mean an immediate expansion of our educational facilities and the bringing back into active service of hundreds of thousands of learned instructors whose intellect and capacities, now idle, may be used for the moral, spiritual, and intellectual uplift of the Nation. Architects, engineers, builders, material men, and craftsmen now idle would find extensive and continued field for employment in providing and maintaining such extended educational facilities in the Nation.

ALL in all, the program is one of national organization; it means no great or burdensome outlay because there is a surplus of the goods and things needed for the care of all students, and the consuming of the same will immediately aid our problems of over-production.

HUEY P. LONG,  
United States Senator.

President's spending billions for war and battleships. . . . I say educate 'em first and kill 'em later! (Clearly the Senator meant that education came before war in his program, not what the cold words might appear to mean!) . . . Take this rotten bunch of grafters in the steel and munition business—I always said that if you could take the stealage out of it the patriotism wouldn't be half so great. You know, I voted against that Vinson Bill last year when I began to find out what those grafters were doing, and I'll oppose the same stuff this year. . . . Now, I was a terrible poor boy, and I was just lucky I ever got to be a lawyer. When we have our say every kid that's fit to do the work will get an education . . . I'm bringin' some of those nigger kids forty miles to school in Louisiana now. When all the other places has been cutting down on schools, we doubled and tripled and quadrupled our appropriations during the depression . . . DURING THE DEPRESSION, mind you! In L.S.U. tuition's cut out entirely—no tuition for medicine or law even—you can get through there cheaper than any other school in the country, and get Class A work, too—\$160 a year will cover everything, even for a student in medicine . . . When I came in as Governor we spent just \$600,000 a year on schools—now it's about two and one-half million a year, not to mention five or six millions we spent on buildings—on new buildings. . . ."

I wrote frantically, but whenever he stopped for breath, I tried vainly to butt in with a "Now, Senator . . ." or "I also wanted to know. . . ." for interesting as his comments were, I did want to ask why the staff of *The Reveille* was so arbitrarily ousted at L.S.U., to ask whether he knew Thomas Neblett, to enquire what steps his legislature was taking to make R.O.T.C. optional in Louisiana . . . but when my time arrived, he stood up, called to his Secretary to bring him a copy of his autobiography *Every Man A King* and autographed it as he told me he was glad I stopped in.



# The Communist Party and Dual Unions

By ABRAHAM S. WEISS

SINCE 1886, when Engels warned the Socialist Labor Party "not to pooh-pooh the Knights of Labor from without, but to revolutionize it from within," dual unionism has been a perennial issue in the American labor movement. The policy of splitting existing unions and forming revolutionary sects has often been tried and has invariably failed. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, the Industrial Workers of the World, and finally, the loudly heralded Trade Union Unity League—all were organized by revolutionary enthusiasts, all gained momentary successes, but all ultimately sank into the morass of ideological sterility and organizational isolation. Our discussion, however, is primarily concerned with and limited to tracing the development of Communist trade union tactics.

In March, 1919, the Communist International was created to replace the decadent Second International which had practically disintegrated during the War. The C. I. could easily have united the proletarian movement but demanded instead "a complete and absolute rupture" with the reformist and centrist Social Democrats, and "unconditionally and peremptorily" insisted "that this split be brought about *with the least delay.*" The reason for this splitting policy lay in the Communist belief that the world revolution was then imminent. In May, 1919, Zinoviev, the head of the C. I., jubilantly exclaimed that "in a year's time the whole of Europe will be Communist!" As late as August, 1920, the C. I. explicitly stated: "The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war."\* Since civil war calls for military tactics, the C. I. unequivocally asserted that any party desiring to join it must unqualifiedly accept its program and "iron discipline." It was on these fantastic assumptions and sectarian principles that the Communists proceeded to successfully split the entire working class movement.

Holding that reforms on the eve of the social revolution were sopas and palliatives retarding the activities of the proletarian forces, the American Communists demanded an immediate break with the reformist, wage-conscious A. F. L. They advocated dual unionism and supported the declining I. W. W. They scorned any immediate demands, concentrating their efforts upon

formulating "pure" revolutionary programs, such as the call for an armed insurrection and proletarian dictatorship during the strike of the Brooklyn street car workers. However, the course of events ran counter to their predictions, thus compelling them to revise their tactics.

Towards the middle of 1920, the Red International of Labor Unions was formed as the economic counterpart of the C. I. At the very first plenum of the R. I. L. U., the question of dual unionism provoked sharp debate, because many groups favored the immediate organization of revolutionary dual unions. But the R. I. L. U., as originally established, firmly opposed and categorically repudiated any attempts to leave the reformist unions and set up revolutionary sects. Losovsky, in his report on organization, maintained that "to win the trade unions" it would be absolutely essential to "bore from within." In America, the Trade Union Educational League (1920-28) soon became a Communist satellite. It was primarily a guide for the "revolutionary opposition" in the reformist unions and a center for the emanation of Communist propaganda. It was affiliated to the R. I. L. U.

Although the R. I. L. U. had determined not to foster dual unionism, many still favored deserting and splitting the conservative unions. Lenin severely criticized these "infantile left-Communist" views, asserting that "the Communists must on no account leave the reactionary federations of labor." The Third Congress of the C. I. declared that "they will not find salvation in leaving the old unions and creating new ones . . .," while the Fifth Congress even more succinctly stated that "Leninism on the field of the trade union movement is the struggle against splitting in any form." This position was more or less consistently maintained until 1928.

Early in February, 1928, the C. P. U. S. A. resolved that "it would be a grave error on our part to make a fetish of unity with the old unions" and ordered its supporters to proceed "promptly, resolutely, and aggressively to the formation of new (read: dual) unions." This sharp change in trade union tactics was the center of heated discussion at the historic 1929 convention of the C. P. U. S. A. Although the majority was opposed to Foster's dual union psychosis, this sentiment was denounced as a "right deviation" from the party line by the C. I., "the holy of holies in the labor movement" (Stalin). Stalin and Piatnitsky defined the principal

\*The Twenty-one Conditions of Admission into the Communist International, point 3 (*italics theirs*).



task of the C. P. as that "of organizing an apparatus parallel to the reformist trade unions." The reasons for such a transformation in trade union tactics are, as follows:

1. By 1927, after several years of "boring from within," the Communist influence in the trade unions was almost negligible. Only in the N. Y. C. needle trades and fur market, where the C. P. capitalized on the chaotic industrial conditions and the radical leanings of the workers, was any measure of success attained. Even here an attempt to make good rash promises led the Communists to conduct several disastrous strikes which practically destroyed the organizational gains of over a decade, and completely discredited their leadership. This, coupled with the hiring of gangsters like Rothstein and the suppression of trade union democracy, convinced the rank and file that the Communists were not builders, but destroyers. This attitude played into the hands of conservative leaders, who quickly inaugurated a vigorous expulsion campaign. Communists, in the event that they were expelled from a union; had a definite program of action. At all costs and sacrifices, they were to fight to get back. This policy was repeatedly seconded by responsible bodies of the C. I. and R. I. L. U., but now it was not in conformity with the new orientation. The Communists were now told to "build the new unions," and those who wanted "to go back into the strike-breaking A. F. L." were either ridiculed or expelled.

2. The trade union resolution of the Seventh National Convention of the C. P. U. S. A. stated: "It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A.F.L." This erroneous conception of fascism prompted the Communists to consider it their duty "to destroy the A. F. L. unions and build new unions." On February 15, 1932, Losovsky said to the R.I.L.U. plenum:

"There is no need to shout from the housetops 'destroy the unions' as was done in Germany (in 1929—A.S.W.). But that we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to explode their discipline, that we want to wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it . . . of that there cannot be the slightest doubt."

Thus, although "the organization of the masses into new unions" represented the main emphasis of the newly-formed T. U. U. L., Communists were still sent into the reformist unions. They were exhorted to "bore from within," the reformist unions in order to capture them, or, failing that, to split and destroy them as a means

of strengthening the rival T. U. U. L. unions. Such tactics alienated rank and file support, and made it extremely easy for officials to expel the Communists. They would then resort to forming paper, "industrial unions."

3. At the tenth plenum of the E. C. C. I. there was promulgated the absurd theory of the "third period." Its exponents were convinced that this period marked the end of capitalist stabilization; furthermore, the constantly increasing radicalization of the masses was a sign "of the eve of the revolution." In essence, this ideology was a revival of the 1919 illusion of imminent world revolution, and caused the Communists to again embark upon the course of dual unionism.

4. The C. P. predicated their success on a premise excellently illustrated by the following analysis:

"What is the future of the A. F. L. and the old craft unions generally? Are they definitely in decline as labor organizations? . . . The question of perspective of the A. F. L. becomes very important because in it is involved the question of whether or not there is a real base for the development of the industrial union movement. . . . The A. F. L. is definitely in decline as a labor organization."\*

The Communists logically concluded from the premise of the decline of the A. F. L. that the road was now clear for an industrial union movement organized and led by the T. U. U. L. and C. P.

Such perspectives and conclusions are analogous to those expounded in 1919-20. Again, as in those years the Communists proceeded to divide the working class on sectarian principles and fantastic assumptions.

Although the T. U. U. L. insisted that its "main task was to organize the unorganized," every one of its ten unions was organized in opposition to an already existing reformist union.\*\*\* The administration of these T. U. U. L. unions is a horrible example of sectarianism run wild. Their officials were appointed from above, they were mechanically subjected to the C. P. line, and were compelled to accept decisions without preliminary discussion. Even more reprehensible than this complete abrogation of trade union democracy is the vicious strike strategy of the T. U. U. L. To offer the bosses cheaper terms of settlement than the rival A. F. L. union so as to be recognized or to call strikes without preparations and then make "strategic retreats"—these were manifestations of a suicidal trade union

\*W. Z. Foster, "The Decline of the A. F. of L.", *The Communist*, Jan.-Feb., 1929, pp. 54-57.

\*\*cf. C. R. Daugherty, "Labor Problems in American Industry," pp. 455-466.



policy. These tactics completely isolated the C. P. from the main stream of the American labor movement. Unable to gain a foothold in the reformist unions, its energies consisted solely in attempting to discredit and disrupt them. This practice, however, had a reverse action; the Communists succeeded only in discrediting and disrupting themselves.

With the advent of the N. R. A., dual unionism received a terrific blow. Even the C. P. now recognizes that the phenomenal growth of the A. F. L. contradicts its hypothesis that the A. F. L. was declining. This mass movement stands out in sharp contradistinction to the bankruptcy of the paper T. U. U. L. unions. This dichotomy has given rise to two main lines of trade union policy: the T. U. U. L. is liquidating certain unions and simultaneously attempting to strengthen others; C. P. members are urged to form an opposition group within the A. F. L. and at the same time exhorted to establish a base for an "Independent Federation of Labor uniting all those workers outside of the A.F.L." (Stachel). These two apparently mutually exclusive tactics are merely an extension of that contumacious splitting policy which has raised so much havoc in the ranks of the labor movement since 1919.

At the Eighth National Convention of the C. P. U. S. A. (1934), it was resolved that "the party must conduct a sharp struggle against any liquidating tendencies." Immediately the "Bolshevik" discipline of the

C. P. was evidenced by one liquidation after another. One must not assume, however, that the T. U. U. L. orders its unions to return to the A. F. L. in the interest of unity. Only those unions are liquidated that are isolated and have no possibility of growth (i.e., National Miners Union); unions with a semblance of influence are not only not liquidated, but are ordered "to build themselves up" (i.e., Fur Workers Industrial Union). The C. P. still considers it imperative "to build the T. U. U. L. unions" and the stress upon "work in the A. F. L. implies not a weakening but a strengthening of the work in the T. U. U. L. unions," or as Stachel has stated: "We must shift our main work into the A. F. L., . . . because you cannot talk about any building of T. U. U. L. unions without serious work in the A. F. L." The implication is only too clear: Communists are to "bore from within" to either capture or split the A. F. L. as a means of creating a new dual union base (i.e., an Independent Federation of labor).

An organization built up and orientated on the basis of split will itself ultimately become disrupted. In countries where the Communists were once ably represented by strong parties they are today powerless, sterile, dying. From 1919 to the present date, one split after another has devastated the C. I. A similar process of organizational collapse has taken place in the R. I. L. U. and T. U. U. L.

## Retrenchment Brings Resentment

During the week of February 12th the newspapers of the Middle West featured an almost 100 per cent strike of the students at Franklin College, a Baptist institution in Franklin, Indiana. In this college faculty salaries average \$25 a week, with one as low at \$8. Long-repressed resentment broke loose with the expulsion of Richard Cox, one of the more active students in opposing the administration policy. His reinstatement was one of the outstanding accomplishments of the strike. The grievances were summarized in the Indianapolis Times of February 16th as follows:

"Pres. Wm. Gear Spencer, D.D., is accused by students of paying 'deplorable' salaries, the lowest in the state, to his faculty and of not taking advantage of opportunities to pay them more; of not cooperating with the student body; of guiding the entire College program to cater to a 'Baptist Constituency'; of the lack of an 'intelligent progressive program and refusal to incorporate modern proved plans of education.' The President, furthermore, is accused by the students of stifling student initiative and enthusiasm; refusing to

recognize student boards of arbitration; the reduction of the quality of compulsory chapel programs below the average student's intelligence and appreciation of value."



GUESS WHOSE PAPERS?



## Undergraduates Say:—

### "PLIGHT"

"You call it the 'plight' of the sharecropper. We don't call it anything. We don't know any words that could express: We haven't any homes, we haven't any clothes. There's no food for our wives and our babies. . ."

Vassar listened incredulously to these words spoken by a black man and a white man from southeast Arkansas last Monday, and when they had finished Vassar laid its precious intellectualism humbly at the feet of something bigger. Our intricate little cosmologies, built of philosophies and facts gathered eclectically from the field of space and time, rarely admit truth as simple and as terrifying in its simplicity.

"I wonder how many of you know what a sharecropper is . . . is it just another thing, like a taxi?" Mr. McKinny asked, sharing very honestly with us the insulated experience of his own negro youth. He answered himself, "First of all it's a man—a human being—just like yourselves." The sharecropper who was a human being spoke more convincingly to us of suffering, and exploitation than any number of "theories of the sharecropper" could have done.

This lack of involved concepts—of dialectical analysis or statistical data—intensified the one fundamental truth underlying all they said and were. Unadorned by the phraseology of religion or law or economics, there was only this left: man exploited by man through the power of private property.



At Vassar we study many political and economic theories. Some of us believe in the social contract, some in the divine right of kings, some in the theory of surplus value. Whichever theory we hold however, it is very likely to remain just that—a theory, unrelated to human experience.

Down in Arkansas life is sterner. Unlike ourselves, the sharecroppers do not have time to try all the experiments; nor can they take refuge in intellectual vagaries and by-paths. The business of living and dying, food and hunger, occupies most of their days. Only the fundamental solution to a problem will answer their need.

Perhaps that is why these men from the most anachronistic section of our twentieth century country could startle Vassar by the firmness of their conviction to socialism, why, without education, they have grasped facts that much of our theory only serves to hide from us. Simply and naturally they have reached through experience what few of us have the courage to accept purely rationally. —*The Vassar Miscellany News*

### GALLANT 100 SAVE OGLETHORPE

We can't help expressing our deep admiration, commendation, approbation, and whatnot, of the active interest manifested by students of Oglethorpe University in the welfare of their alma mater.

The record of the Oglethorpe football team last year was not particularly impressive. Five games were won, five games were lost. It wasn't difficult for even Oglethorpe students to realize that they were only breaking even. And a mediocre football team isn't an effective advertisement for any school.

So what happened? We see by the Atlanta papers that a full hundred Oglethorpe football candidates were drawn up in terrible array recently to defend their campus against a single Emory student who had been invited to speak there on "Conscience," a dangerously subversive subject. A hundred football candidates from a student body numbering, according to the son of the Oglethorpe president, about two hundred male students! One out of every two male students training and practicing in the attempt to give Oglethorpe a better football team! School spirit reaches a new high.

If the efficiency of the Hundred on the gridiron be commensurate with their efficiency as a patriotic vigilante group, certainly their next season should rivet national attention. Hardly had the Emory student set foot on the Oglethorpe campus, accompanied by the two professors of the university who had invited him, when the players suddenly loomed before him and barred his further progress. They probably thought his Phi Beta Kappa key was an insignia of the U.S.S.R., for he had once been accused of being a "communist" and was doubtlessly an undercover agent for Moscow. (There had been some talk that a grand jury somewhere had found the charge ungrounded, but that rumor must have been idle chitter-chatter.) He was to talk on "Conscience," but it wasn't to be supposed that if allowed to speak he would let slip the opportunity to whisper an insurrectionary word to a prospective comrade, who would immediately seize a red flag, grow a beard, and hurl bombs to the right of him and bombs to the left of him. To save Oglethorpe University from this menace, the Hundred left the practice field and reached the scene with a celerity that still has us puzzled.

—*The Emory Wheel*



# Strike News

March 20

THE opposition to the anti-war strike has crystallized in true California fashion. At U.C.L.A., as you probably know, the vigilante *Americans* aided by the campus police have raided the strike headquarters and "confiscated" the anti-war literature.

At Berkeley, a city ordinance has been raised against us to prevent distribution of leaflets at the gates of the campus—the campus proper being barred by university rulings. Today nine of us were arrested for the distribution, and after being finger-printed and photographed were finally let out on our own recognizance without bail, when we began to make efforts to raise the ninety dollars needed from the most prominent faculty members.

Here is the statement issued by us in jail:

"We nine students are at present in the custody of the Berkeley police department for distributing an anti-war bulletin. We were informed by the city attorney yesterday that no permit can be obtained for such distribution. The ordinance which was passed in 1913, obviously for the regulation of commercial leaflets, has never been used against student leaflets until this anti-war bulletin appeared. We consider it more important to maintain our right to protest against war and to give the reasons for the student anti-war strike on April 12th than not to violate a city ordinance. Distribution of leaflets is our only means of publicity on the anti-war issue and we consider that the enforcement of the ordinance against us is a clear infringement of our constitutional right of free speech."

When we requested that the president of the Associated Students of U. C. raise the bail from the A.S.-U.C. funds he replied that since it was not a university ruling it did not concern him; and that since we had broken the law his conscience did not allow him to give us A.S.U.C. support. This is Alden Smith recently elected by the N.S.F.A. to be their delegate to the international conference at Buda-Pest.

*It might do us some good if immediate protest could be sent to him and to the police department of Berkeley.*

I hope that this hurried note suffices for the time being. We send greetings to other chapters of L.I.D. and hope that they are less hampered than we in carrying out the anti-war program.\*

DICK CRILEY

*The following news has been received by the National Office of the Student League for Industrial Democracy of strike preparations throughout the country. These flashes by no means give a complete picture. They indicate, however, the widespread character of the strike movement, and the furore it is causing in undergraduate life.*

"Strike committees have been set up on the campus at George Washington U., American U., and Howard," according to *The Index*, weekly journal published by the D. C. Council of the Student L.I.D. The national capital is indeed a strategic place for an anti-war strike.

Cedric R. Flagg of the Middlebury L.I.D. writes that: "Indications are that April 12, 1935, will witness the first Middlebury Strike against War."

Following a vicious attack upon the strike in the *Temple University* paper when news of it came over the U.P. wires, 65 students attended a meeting to make preparations for a Temple strike. A huge walkout is expected for the strike. Likewise at the University of Pennsylvania.

The C.C.N.Y. Student Council has asked the faculty to suspend all classes on April 12th from eleven to twelve so that students can participate in the strike.

The largest outdoor demonstration in its history is anticipated by the Columbia University strike committee. All sections of the University, the professional schools, the undergraduate college, New College, Barnard have representatives on the committee arranging for the strike.

Strike preparations are being made all over the country, with broad strike committees already functioning at Rutgers, U. of Chicago, Michigan State Normal, Colgate, Marshall College in W. Virginia, Harvard and M.I.T., U. of Michigan, U. of Missouri, De Pauw, U.C.L.A., San Mateo, U. of Oregon, Western Reserve.

The National Student Strike Committee is having its greatest difficulty in the universities where liberal administrations are giving their cooperation on the condition that another time be set, and that the protest not be in the form of a strike. For example at the University of Minnesota, administration officials granted permission to campus peace organizations to hold a special afternoon meeting in Northrop auditorium on April 12, and announced that Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, would be invited to speak! The situation is complicated at this university by the existence of three campus peace groups, the Practical Pacifists who were going to organize a counter-demonstration to the strike, the Peace Action Committee, which does not wish to antagonize the administration and the militant student organizations.

The Syracuse and the Smith College administrations likewise have offered administration support if the word strike is not used and another time be set. Vassar has decided to hold its demonstration on the 16th in the form of staging four short anti-war dramas!\*

The National Student Strike Committee has urged upon the students at these places the necessity of NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE STRIKE.

\* Two days later eight more undergraduates were arrested for the same offence (Editors).

\* Because of L.I.D. insistence there will be a strike at Syracuse (Editors).



# WHERE WAR MENACES\*

## The Treaty of Versailles

Any study of present-day international problems in Europe must begin with the Peace Treaties of 1919. These Treaties made territorial changes in Europe greater than any that had occurred for centuries. They were professedly designed, in accordance with the ideals

of President Wilson, to make frontiers coincide more nearly with nationalities. But in so doing they frequently ignored the economic realities of the twentieth-century world.

Let us begin with the Treaty

of Versailles, "the corner-stone of the present European political structure."

On her western frontier Germany had to cede the districts of Eupen and Malmédy to Belgium, and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to France. In addition, the Saar Basin, bordering on Lorraine, was placed under the administration of a League of Nations Commission for 15 years, the coal of the region in the meantime going to France.

In the north, Germany ceded part of Schleswig to Denmark (which had been neutral in the war).

On the east, Memel Land, to the north of East Prussia, was at first placed under League of Nations control, but, later (1923), handed by the Allied Powers to Lithuania; the major part of the provinces of West Prussia and Posen went to form part of the new state of Poland; as did also part of Upper Silesia (the exact area of this last being decided by plebiscite later). A further small portion of Silesia was allotted to Czechoslovakia.

## Conflicting Interests in the Mediterranean

Since the "opening-up" of Africa by the Powers and in particular since the cutting of the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean has become the centre of various competing national

interests. To France, direct communication with her North African empire is vital. Italy, too, has her interests in Tripoli and—

via Suez—in her colonial possessions on the Red Sea; she too seeks undisputed control of the Adriatic. From west to east of the sea runs the British high-road to India, with its key-points at Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Suez. Greece resents the Italian occupation of



Rhodes and the British occupation of Cyprus. Russia is concerned in the "balance of power" in the eastern Mediterranean, since the Straits (Bosporus and Dardanelles) leading from the Black Sea are the sea-outlet to her whole southern coast-line.

## The Ukraine

The Ukraine, the belt of territory inhabited by the Ukrainians, extends across South European Russia, eastern Poland and eastern Czechoslovakia, touching also Roumania. The Russian part of it was constituted an independent state by the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (1918), was overrun by various "white" invaders and "nationalist" leaders after the Russian Revolution, was reconquered by the Red Armies in 1919-20, and in 1923 the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic became a constituent member of the U.S.S.R. It is a vitally important part of the Soviet economic system, including as it does the most fertile agricultural land in Russia—the

black earth belt; as well as the great coalfield of Donetz, the ironfield of Krivoi Rog, the important industrial centres of Kiev and Kharkov, and the great electrical generating station of Dnieprostroi. Its coast, with the ports of Odessa, Rostov, and Novorossisk, is Russia's most important seaboard.

During the last year, in the period of acute food shortage, a counter-revolutionary Separatist movement developed in the Ukraine; but this has now died down and the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement now exists chiefly among circles in Western Europe and America.



## The Powers in the Far East

The Far Eastern problem is the problem of China. That vast country, with its hard-working millions of peasant farmers, would in all probability have lost its independence as and when India did but for its greater distance from Europe. It was the coming of the steamship which brought China "within range," and began the process of her dissolution. For the main ways into China were sea ways, a great mountain barrier cutting her off from the rest of Asia on the west, and Russia controlling the land approaches from the north. During (Con. on p. 22)



\* Reprinted from Horrabin's "Atlas of Current Affairs" through the courtesy of the publishers, Alfred Knopf.



# VASSAR FIGHTS THE NUNAN BILL

By BETTY WELT

It's hard to know what is the most important angle of the defeat of the Nunan Loyalty Oath Bill for Students. Should we devote ourselves to gloating over its death, should we prepare a fight against similar legislation in the future, or should we mull over what we learned in the actual campaign against this measure? All are valid and important.

Although no one knows exactly to what extent the eight to five vote of the Education Committee of the Assembly against a favorable report was the result of the student protest action, I am convinced that the students were almost entirely responsible. As a member of the Vassar delegation to the Senate I saw at first hand how near enactment the bill was when we arrived. It seems to me that the recent death of the bill is another example of the effectiveness of mass-student pressure as a political weapon.

As for the second point: it would be naive to suppose that in killing this measure students have earned much more than a year's respite from repressive legislation. We've checked New York state's speed in the All-American race for fascistic legislation, but we certainly haven't scratched its name from the lists—much less halted the race itself. It seems safe to predict that next year there will be a reoccurrence of this Loyalty Oath disease and that we'll have even a harder fight next time, to stop it.

On the third point there can be no doubt, at least no doubt so far as the Vassar delegation is concerned. Whether or not the expedition has done any good as far as the bill was concerned, it should have been an invaluable educational experience not only for the 85 girls who were a part of it, but for the insulated 1115 who remained behind.

It was quite true that the bulk of the students who went to Albany considered themselves "conservative." Actually an outsider who was more careful of his definitions of the several political labels than Vassar students, would call them liberal. Certainly they weren't reactionary, and if they had been indifferent to politics, this was dispelled as soon as they entered the Albany State House. With almost no exceptions the trip was the group's baptism in practical politics, and with no exceptions, I think, it was a blow. For no matter how glibly a few of us had been accustomed to tossing off axioms about the political degeneration and corruption

which accompanies the collapse of capitalist economics, we hadn't *realized* the situation until we encountered it at first hand. For us the day in Albany was the affirmation of the abstractions which we had previously phrased. For the non-Red majority it was a complete eye-opener.

It was an eye-opener to observe that when we arrived most of the senators were prepared to support the bill without, in many cases, even having read it and without, in almost all cases, having studied it. It was this fact which was generally noticed by the Vassar delegation and reported to the girls back home plus observations on the relation between good government and this almost criminal neglect. It was an eye-opener to hear a prominent member of the Senate Education Committee announce that this was an anti-Communist bill and, when some one murmured "free speech," that if free speech meant communism he was opposed to it. Any young idealist within range of this remark got a clearer conception of what it meant even to talk about socialism and a socialist America. After the senators had gotten more accustomed to us, one young man remarked blandly that he'd just as soon oppose the bill except that he was interested in holding his job and one didn't buck a Hearst measure if one hoped to retain one's seat in the Senate. Vassar eye-brows soared, Vassar throats gasped, Vassar ears burned, and Vassar students went home thinking in rather different terms about democracy and especially the Hearst ridden, prejudice-ridden democracy of the Albany legislature.

Had the Nunan Bill passed it would have proved one of the most powerful boomerangs ever placed in the statute books. Like all repressive legislation it would have increased rather than diminished the radicalism against which it was aimed. That it failed of passage does not mean that it was completely ineffective from this point of view. Under the very eyes of the Senators, in that very august hall, Vassar girls moved Left—moved under the impetus of an unintelligent, narrow-minded, and machine-dominated group of legislating robots.

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The Daily believes that the University of Minnesota exists primarily for its students. The Daily has for years fought for increased student rights and privileges. The Daily pledges itself actively to support the council in its struggle to uphold student rights.

—The Minnesota Daily



# LITERATURE OF REVOLT

## Socialist Planning

THE FIRST WORKERS' GOVERNMENT. By G. R. Mitchison. With an Introduction by Sir Stafford Cripps. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 1934.

This volume is perhaps the most important contribution of the present decade to serious thought on social reconstruction. The Marxian analysis of the decay of capitalism is today current coin. The technique of peaceful democratic revolution insistently demands thought. Towards the development of this technique the author of this volume offers a chart of the course of a socialist government in England, through the first crucial years of its existence.

Here are facts and figures on the problems that will face such a government: the constitutional position of the Crown and the House of Lords, the necessary reorganization of political machinery for the administration of economic functions, the threat of capitalist sabotage and the means of socializing credit, the mechanics of national planning, the special problems of socialization in coal, iron and steel, textiles, retail trade, foreign commerce, power, transport, land and agriculture, the essentials of colonial and international policy, the reconstruction of education, and the revision of the legal system. All these problems have been dealt with before in the rich literature of British socialism, but never, I think, in so coherent and conscientious a way.

It would be doing the author an injustice to refer to this study as prophecy. Although written in the form of a history of the "First Workers' Government," inaugurated by the Labor Party in 1936, its truths are conditional, as all scientific history must be. If the parties of capitalism peacefully surrender political authority to a socialist party supported by a majority of the voters, and if the military and civil servants of the state own allegiance to the new government, and if organized capital submits to castration without stirring up civil war, then certain types of political action are possible and desirable. It would be unscientific to deny certain other possible conditions that may attend the inauguration of socialism. Other volumes as valuable as Mitchison's may some day be written tracing with as much care the problems and the forces which these

alternatives involve. The uncertainty of the future is only an insistent challenge to expand the scope of our analysis.

A volume concerned with the future, if it is not to be utopian, must show not only how a given form of society can exist without internal contradictions but also how it can emerge from the dynamic forces of present-day society. This responsibility of scientific socialism is frankly recognized by the author, who in every problem that he treats deals with the facts of today and indicates how the existing forces of labor and cooperative organization, of political education, and of party activity may be used to change the present structure of society. Suggestive of the starting point of this analysis is the following passage:

At that time (1934) there were practically no arrangements for mobilizing the available knowledge and energy of persons who were members of the Party, or sympathized with it, but held no official position in its organization. In 1934 a section of the Party headquarters was formed, under the charge of Frank Colet with the object of ascertaining what special knowledge and ability were available among Party members, and how they could best be employed. Colet, a young man with university education, some experience of teaching and a fervent belief in the possibilities of Socialism, set himself to his new task with vigor. In a year he and his colleagues visited nearly every Divisional Labour Party in the country in order to organize such matters as local research and the political education of Party members and possible supporters. The first result was the discovery of many people who had been only too anxious to do special work within the Party but had found no opportunity of doing so. The next was the introduction to the Party of a large number of persons with Socialist views, who had never joined the Party because they did not see what they could do in it. . . . (pp. 31-32.)

There are, of course, significant peculiarities of the British scene which make much of the concrete material of this volume inapplicable to these United States. The federal structure of our own government, the peculiar position of our judiciary, the backwardness of our co-operative movement, and our peculiar race problems involve serious questions that are not considered in "The First Workers' Government." But the major elements of Mitchison's treatise can be applied to the American scene with very little amendment.

It would be too much perhaps to expect that a scientific treatise should at the same time be effective propaganda. "The First Workers' Government" is written throughout from the viewpoint of the socialist administrator. This viewpoint is very different from

The immense quantity of student news and material about the student strike have compelled the Editors against their will to postpone publication of the second part of Dr. Hook's reply to Professor Cohen and the latter's further refutation. They will be published completely in the May issue.

—The Editors



that of the socialist educator or that of the non-socialist worker. From this viewpoint all problems are problems of social structure, of managing human materials, of reorganizing class forces. From this viewpoint a forest is nothing but trees, and the task of chopping down a forest involves the chopping down of each tree, which seems drearily prosaic and gradualistic to the revolutionary romantic. Unless the reader brings to this volume his own awareness of the way in which the structure of society molds our every-day hopes and joys and fears he is likely to find in Mitchison's treatise a forbidding picture of socialism without songs, socialism without the sense of comradeship and the sense of struggle, without the new vista of human relationships and human enjoyments that must be the chief justification of socialist society. But if this volume is too dispassionate to serve as an effective vehicle of propaganda, it is immeasurably useful in advancing our knowledge of the things to which propaganda may be intelligently directed.

FELIX S. COHEN

## Undergraduate Poetry

COLUMBIA POETRY, 1933-1934. *Columbia University Press*. \$1.50 each.

Of technical crudities sufficient to cause even the ultrasensitive to wince, there are few; of lines capable of inspiring ecstatic blasphemies, there are probably no more. Yet this is not to imply any dead level of competency. There are distinct variations in merit within each volume; what is less of a truism, the volumes themselves are of unequal value. A glance at the pagination will reveal the difference of the two volumes in quantity; the variation in quality is proportionate. The 1934 harvest produced not only more bushels to the acre but also fuller and firmer berries. This judgment can be best confirmed by quotation from the respective prize-winners. Royal Murdoch's poem, "Le Pauvre Vatel," to which the judges ascribe "originality of theme, sustained tone, and technical dexterity," begins:

At Chantilly the jonquils bloom  
(I visit there by book),  
The yellow jonquils in the gloom  
Of every forest nook

Light all outdoors as Louis Quatorze  
Rides hunting in the park.  
Ah! You should be at Chantilly  
To meet le grand monarque.

Choosing more or less at random from Leila E. Jones' group in the 1934 volume one comes upon such lines as these from "The Stray":

Hear the belled cows—slow gold muffled note  
Sounded through dusk; and the charmed whippoorwill  
Unlocks the music of his turbulent throat,  
Thinking he hears across the darkened hill  
His call to sing in that sweet mournful clank,  
A waking bell to shake him from the bough.  
Still through the soft fern on the dripping bank  
Stumbles the lost, spell-ridden, dreamy cow! . . .

The editor of the 1933 volume remarks with some complacency that "in these verses no raven croaks his Nevermore over the depression, nor do the innumerable choir of dawn welcome the N.R.A. Rather do our University poets turn to love and death, to beauty attained or aspired to, as values that no trembling of the social fabric can shatter." In this he speaks no less and no more than the truth, but in 1934 appeared at least a few poems such as "Wall Street—Dusk," "Portrait of a Women's College," "Garbage," "Down at de Wharf," which evidenced a social awareness perhaps smothered in those halcyon days of 1933 when most young people of college age capable of raising tuition were singing "Happy Days Are Here Again," in the sunshine of the Roosevelt smile. During 1934 the music has faded out, the smile grown a little strained. This is not to assert that it is the few poems specifically expressive of social consciousness which are responsible for the greater fineness and intensity of the poetry in the latter volume. As a matter of fact, only one or two of these are particularly successful. It is probable, for example, that the outrageous smugness of the bourgeois soul self-revealed in "Lines to a College Communist" is more effective anti-capitalistic propaganda than the forthright but somewhat blundering attack in the perhaps related "Portrait of a Women's College." Rather, the necessity of thinking, perhaps for the first time, about the economic bases of society, has

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**The American Diplomatic Game** by Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown. \$3.00. Doubleday, Doran and Company. Garden City, N. Y.

This book throws an unusual spotlight on how American foreign policy is fashioned. It is an indispensable supplement to the volumes of statistics and depersonalized surveys of foreign affairs that usually constitute our understanding of nationalism and imperialism. It turns the State Department inside out.

**Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State** by M. Parmelee. \$3.00. John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 440 Fourth Avenue, N. Y.

One of the few books to attempt to bring the various types of current political and economic systems within a single focus. It contains informative chapters on Italian and German fascism, while its analysis of what radicals call "bourgeois democracy" is provocative. A good base from which to start one's own researches in political science.

**Human Exploitation** by Norman Thomas. \$2.75. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 443 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

A study of the exploited classes in the United States with consideration of the special problems of women and children and the Negro, by the leader of the Socialist Party in America. Fully indexed. Called "the best book in its field."

**Poetry of C. Day Lewis.** \$2.50. Random House. 20 East 57th Street, N. Y.

Mr. Lewis is a member of that group of English poets—which includes Spender and Auden as its other luminaries—who have seriously and capably grappled with the problems of embodying social themes in their poetry. Mr. Lewis has the further virtue of immediate lucidity. The essay at the end of the volume is required

resulted in a greater sensitivity to all aspects of life, of which these more or less socially aware poems are merely symptomatic.

It is highly creditable that even so populous and prosperous a university as Columbia should have produced and sponsored such an annual collection (though the price might seem somewhat stiffer than the paper covers did not one remember that the potential circulation is also proportionately slimmer than the volumes). These anthologies, with their high standards if limited range, will be an encouragement and inspiration to the sensitive and articulate young people, both in Columbia and elsewhere, who will learn therefrom that they are not utterly alone in an unsympathetic world, that there are others of their own generation who are sharing their thoughts, their emotions, and their desire to express them lyrically.

KENNETH W. PORTER

reading in order to understand this whole group of poets.

**One Hell of a Business** by H. C. Englebrecht. \$1.00. Robert M. McBride and Co., 44 West 16th Street, New York City

A concise and interpretative survey of the evidence uncovered by the Senate Committee investigating the manufacture and sale of munitions. Especially valuable for its demonstration of why nationalization of the industry will not ensure peace. Chiefly his argument is one of the close identification of governments and armament men.

**The Economic Consequences of the New Deal** by Benjamin Stolberg and Warren Jay Vinton. \$1.00. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 383 Madison Avenue, New York City

The most brilliant pamphleteer in the United States with the capable assistance of W. J. Vinton scorchingly analyzes the New Deal program giving us a study that is factual, critical and studded with epigrams on why the poor have become poorer and the rich richer, why scarcity has been aimed at instead of abundance, why labor has been gulled, etc., under the Roosevelt Administration.

**World Diary: 1929-1934**, by Quincy Howe. \$3.50. Robert M. McBride and Co., 4 West 16th Street, New York City.

A running record of political events during the last five years by a shrewd student of international affairs. It ranges over the whole globe emphasizing the growth of a militant nationalism in Germany and Japan, the growth of productive machinery in backward nations and the industrial stagnation and financial panic in the advanced capitalist nations. A valuable document with useful quotes from newspapers and utterances of our leaders.

**The State in Theory and Practice** by Harold J. Laski. \$3.00. The Viking Press, 18 E. 48th Street, New York City

This book brings Professor Laski's researches into the nature of the state and the scope of sovereignty within the framework of Marxian scholarship. Prof. Laski is one of the closest advisers of the British Labour Party, and is in daily touch with the dirt and grime of practical politics. This makes his observations on how socialists shall obtain power in the bourgeois state in order to transform the latter, of unique interest. He states the difficulties with insurrection as well as gradualism.

**Must We Fight in Asia?** By Nathaniel Peffer. \$2.50. Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33rd St., New York City

The common people of the United States really believe war threatens between the Soviet Union and Japan. Few believe we will go to war with Nippon. Yet Mr. Peffer conclusively demonstrates what Professor Beard and others have asserted, that our foreign policy in the Far East is a war policy. The whole patchwork of imperialism in China—bribery, protectorates, concessions, monopolies—and its consequences is courageously discussed in this book.



# 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

**T**HE busiest chapter in the Student L.I.D. during the past six weeks has been the Berkeley Chapter of the University of California. The trials for criminal syndicalism at Sacramento, the campaign of terrorism against the Amado County miners, the anti-red laws before the state legislature, the visit of the Nazi crew of the Karlsruhe have kept our stalwarts working overtime. In addition the Chapter has striven to get a student-controlled Open Forum on the campus. It has also cooperated with the Students Rights Association, of which Dick Criley is Chairman, to preserve academic freedom a job requiring eternal vigilance in California. Lanky Allen Johnson is the new Student Secretary.

Bob Spivack writes from Cincinnati: "Our L.I.D. has begun a fight on the sales tax here which we shall not terminate until we have had this dastardly legislation removed from the records. I would like the other L.I.D.'s in Ohio to take up the fight and I wish you would send them word of what we are doing."

Bob also says: "The football schedule for next year has been given out by the administration. As a result of the pressure we brought there will be no southern football teams playing our team next year—because they persist in discriminating against our Negro students. I have it from good authority that Vanderbilt and Chattanooga were about to be announced as opponents but that President Walters definitely stated that we would not play any team that discriminated against any of our eligible players."

At Jacksonville, Ill., after an attack upon Hearst, the Legion and the Chicago Tribune, during a conservatively-sponsored anti-war conference, the left-wingers came up and introduced themselves to Monroe Sweetland. As a consequence a thriving city chapter has been set up embracing undergraduates from Illinois College, MacMurray and the Illinois School for Blind. The Students Secretary is Henry G. Walker of the Blind School.

Among the bills now pending in the Washington State Legislature, writes Rose Works, Student Secretary of the Normal School in Bellingham, is "House Bill 168, the title of which is the 'Smith Bill for Optional Drill.' This measure provides for the complete

abolition of military drill in all high schools of this state, and makes it optional for all students attending either the University or the State College at Pullman." Mike Smith is the 22-year old state legislator who joined the L.I.D. directly after he was elected.

George Linn and Orville Meyer of the L.I.D. at the U. of Wyoming have been debating by mail with students at Black Hills T. C. in South Dakota the proposition: Resolved, that the profit system should be abolished. The Wyoming Chapter has a standing challenge within the University to any other group to debate this proposition.

Following a visit of George Edwards to Austin, a splendid chapter has been set up at the University of Texas, of which John H. Faulk was elected Chairman and Jacqueline Eckert, Secretary. Their first meeting took up the plight of the sharecroppers and telegrams were sent to the Governor protesting the reign of terror in that state.

"We'll get sweet Jennie Lee here if there is any chance," writes Armin Suedmeyer from Eden Seminary. The famous Ward Rodgers spoke before the L.I.D. there.

The U. of Chicago Socialist Club writes that: "During the fall quarter we held three large meetings with an average attendance of 300 each. Fred Henderson, Julius Deutsch, Gerhart Seger lectured on the various phases of the Socialist movement. . . The Club was one of the two original organizations which formed the Student Union against Fascism and War . . . and worked hard to get university recognition for the organization. . . . We also cooperated with the Workers Committee on Unemployment in the preparations for the mass demonstration and hunger march . . . Two club members, Fred Fortes and Hal Goldstein, were arrested while picketing at a relief station."

"January has been a slow month," writes Carl Campbell. "The Denver Chapter has held three meetings, each attended by about 40 students."

The L.I.D. Chapters at Temple and Haverford cooperated in a mass meeting against lynching that took place in Philadelphia recently and are part of the Permanent Committee.

Frank Schaap of San Mateo wants us to run an article on How to Combat Terrorism on the Campus. "All of us are going to come up against this sooner or later, and methods of fighting same might save much grief."



"Sooner" is the declaration of our group at the Univ. of California in Los Angeles, who have had their meetings attended by greater numbers of vigilantes than L.I.D.'ers.

Gordon Millikan of the Bellingham L.I.D. was elected president of the Associated Students. Lester Rosner of the C.C.N.Y. L. I. D. was elected president of the Student Council.

An overflow crowd of more than 450 students and faculty members came down to hear Tony Sender, German Socialist exile when she was presented by the Boulder L.I.D. at the U. of Colorado.

The Pomona L.I.D. had a tag day during which students in the college were solicited for funds for the George Weiss Fund. The National Office has gotten no kickbacks yet on the dime banks it sent out to the Chapters for the G. W. Fund.

Al Hamilton on an organizing expedition down to De Pauw writes: "Oh, yes. About 35 miles outside of Indianapolis, after standing in a pouring rain for a couple of hours a great big Chrysler pulled along side and stopped. Geo. Mann and myself were together, and we climbed in. You never would be able to guess who it was in a thousand years . . . Kohler of Kohler, Wis. Now wasn't that a coincidence? Geo. made a remark, "understand that you have had some labor troubles," . . . the answer was short and sweet. "Yes." That was that.

John Blair and Alvin Johnson, Jr., our stalwarts at Tulane, write: Every week a forum . . . circulars all over the school . . . faculty lectures to students about their pitiful lack of interest . . . last night a meeting of Newcomb girls and the obtaining of their full cooperation." The Chapter organized two splendid meetings for Naomi Mitchison, English socialist and author of "Vienna Diary" who visiting this country promptly placed herself at the disposition of the L.I.D. We sent her down to sharecropper country, but en route she spoke thrillingly to many college L.I.D.'s on the underground movement in Austria.

Theodore Scrivner of the Iowa State Chapter sends clippings on a debate between the L.I.D. and the College debate squad over the need for a society in which production will be for use and not for profit.

There is such a scad of material from all over the nation, that it cannot all get in even if your Editor had five pages in which to include it. The Chapter at Wesleyan has undertaken to get the local theatre to cut jingoist propaganda from the news reels presented at the theatre. New Chapters are springing up throughout Ohio, Kansas, and the south following the fruitful

trips of Monroe Sweetland and George Edwards.

However, we must mention the splendid work being done in Washington, D.C., and in New York City. The D. C. Council now embraces representatives from George Washington U., Howard, American University and some high schools. It is showing motion pictures of social conditions in the national capital and is conducting a junior town hall forum. In New York L.I.D. members did trojan work in killing the Nunan Bill. They have cooperated in the many strikes taking place notably, the National Biscuit Company and the Butler.

Students from the College of the Ozarks, stood by our organizer when he was jailed for "barratry" in Arkansas, and were constantly in attendance at the trials to, as Edwards put it "the great disgust and inward perturbation of that little cockeyed judge."

Chapters are under way in three colleges in Memphis. The current red scare in that city, closely related to the reign of terror just across the river in Arkansas, makes it inadvisable for us to mention the names of active members. They are functioning quietly but effectively and helping the sharecroppers.

At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, the Student L.I.D. has taken a leading place in the free speech fight involving the L.I.D. Lecture Series driven from the city following an anti-red campaign stirred up by a local "yellow Journal."

A new chapter in a Georgia University which must also be nameless to protect our students from a red-fearing college administration and local community has already protested the arrest of a student held in jail on an insurrection charge and is making plans to bring student help to a strike in a nearby town.

Fisk University, Morehouse College at Atlanta, Agricultural and Industrial College at Nashville, and Shaw University at Raleigh are just some of the Negro Schools that have already started active L.I.D. work.

#### WHERE WAR MENACES *(Continued from p. 16)*

the latter half of the 19th century and the earlier years of the 20th, the great colonial Powers steadily encroached upon her borders and established themselves, for purposes of trade, in "treaty ports" within her actual territory.

The map shows the grouping of the four main Powers at the present time: Japan—the "Power on the spot"—established on the mainland in Korea and Manchuria; the United States in the Philippines; Britain at Hong-Kong, commanding the southern (Canton) gateway into China, and at Singapore, nearly 1,500 miles to the south; France in Indo-China. Russia, which in Czarist days had a special "sphere of interest" in Manchuria, is now cut off from direct contact with China by the Japanese occupation of that country.



# FREE FOR ALL

## A Card of Thanks to Mr. Hearst

DEAR SIR:

I shall always owe a debt of gratitude to our friend Mr. William Randolph Hearst. He was responsible for my joining the S. L. I. D. I happened to read his writeup of the recent national convention of the S. L. I. D. at Northwestern. If Mr. Hearst is so against this, I said to myself, there must be something about this organization. I wrote for information. I became a member. Mr. Hearst I sincerely thank you!!

*Southwestern U.*

DURWARD BAILEY

## Student L.I.D. and War

DEAR SIR:

Our N. E. C. states that it favors entrance of the United States in the League of Nations because the League may (1) remove Austria "from the orbit of German and Italian rivalries," (2) "through pressure of the common peoples of the world, aid in warding off another war," and (3) "strengthen the hand of the Soviet Union against the war-minded fascist bloc."

On point one: Has the League removed the Gran Chaco area from the orbit of British and American oil interests? Or Manchuria from the orbit of Japanese and Chinese rivalries? Why does our N. E. C. think that the League may succeed in the Austrian question when it has shown itself totally impotent in these two cases?

On the question of the League's promoting peace: Does our N. E. C. wish us to believe that the vultures who feed on our sweat and blood, who rule us, and who sit in the League of Nations, will be turned from their imperialist plans by "the pressure of the common people"? Isn't this class collaboration? If we can trust our hopes of peace to the bloody hands of our masters, why not leave it up to them to introduce industrial democracy?

As for strengthening the hand of the S. U. against the "war-minded fascist bloc" in the League of Nations, does not supporting the make-believe peace gestures of the League weaken the cause of peace and the S. U. itself? The way to stop imperialist war and strengthen the S. U. is to struggle relentlessly against all capitalist governments, and draw no arbitrary, opportunistic line between war- and peace-minded capitalist nations.

*Princeton*

GEORGE DEAR

## Imperialism at Brussels Congress

DEAR SIR:

The L.I.D.'s stand on the peace poll is satisfactory as far as I can see. Our position on the League of Nations was the only doubtful statement. However, I think it was pointed out pretty clearly that we recognize the impossibility of the League being anything other than a capitalistically controlled organization and operated in the interest of capital.

About the Brussels Congress one thing comes to my mind.

It took a statement to the effect that every colonial delegate (with the exception of the Indonesian delegate) and myself, the American Negro delegate, would withdraw from the Congress if a statement condemning imperialism were not included in the Manifesto. For two days we fought with the Resolutions Committee, holding a separate meeting which took all of us away from the Congress itself. The main opposition came from the British delegation who said that the students and workers in England would not support an anti-war congress that included the anti-imperialism stand, as they did not associate imperialism with war. The English had the support of a German student and the representative of the American delegation, Walker, sent to sit in on the proceedings. They were willing to include "we are against colonial oppression." This did not satisfy us, so at 6:00 p.m. after two days of continuous arguing, we declared our "minimum demands" to the Resolutions Committee. They were accepted by the Congress at large at 9:00 p.m. However, the English delegates then stated the reservations with which they accepted the Manifesto.

The Negro situation in America received somewhat similar treatment from the American delegation. It took threats on my part to rise from the floor and present a minority report before they considered including it. Then when it was read, it was a separate report practically forced through.

I have nothing more to say about it other than it seemed typical of the American's attitude to problems at home when they offer a sympathetic hand to starving Armenians.

*Howard University*

LYONEL FLORANT

## WHO'S WHO IN THIS THIS ISSUE

NAOMI MITCHISON who has written beautiful novels about Greece and Rome, also has worked in the Socialist movement. She is a member of the British Labour Party, and went down to Vienna after the Socialist uprising to help organize relief, an experience which she recorded in a fine book, "Vienna Diary."

JOHN BLAIR is Chairman of the Tulane Chapter of the Student L.I.D.

The controversial paper on the Communist trade union policy was recommended to us by Professor Wolfson to whom it was submitted as a term paper. Its author, ABRAHAM S. WEISS, is a member of the L.I.D. at Brooklyn College.

BETTY WELT is News Editor of the *Vassar Miscellany*, and a member of the Social Problems Club.

FELIX S. COHEN is author of a brilliant book, "Ethical Systems and Legal Ideals." We recommend to our readers his paper in the Summer Issue of the *American Socialist Quarterly*, "Socialism, and the Myth of Capitalist Legality."

KENNETH PORTER is an instructor of English at Harvard and a frequent contributor to Socialist publications.



# L.I.D. Summer School Announcement

Second annual Summer Training School for members of the  
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held in New York City

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TO TRAIN STUDENTS FOR THE RADICAL MOVEMENT

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June 24—29	Basic Socialist Theory
July 1—6	The Case for Socialism
July 8—13	American Labor Problems
July 15—19	Techniques of Propaganda
July 22—26	Civil Liberties in America (Two lectures) Race Relations (Three lectures)
July 29—Aug. 3	Program for a Radical Student Movement

The courses listed will be given by experts in those  
fields. A list of lecturers at last year's  
summer school is given below

Roger Baldwin	Leo Krzycki	George Sklar
Herbert Mahler	Mary Fox	Frank Palmer
Norman Thomas	Harry W. Laidler	Paul Peters
	B. C. Vladeck	

\*At least half of each day will be devoted to work in the  
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in one of the progressive labor unions of New York City.  
Each student will be assigned to a special job in one of  
these organizations which he will keep throughout the  
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