

The Student Outlook

The INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW

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OCTOBER, 1935

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The American Student Union

*A Recommendation
from the N.E.C.*

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The N.Y.A. and the American Youth Act

•

MONROE SWEETLAND
The C.C.F.

•

Revolution and Reform

*A Review of Earl Browder's
"Communism in the U.S."*

Documents on the Liberty Article

This Is the Truth

By NANCY BEDFORD-JONES

—

Seduced by a Letter

By MAC COLEMAN



Negro Education and Status

By LYONEL FLORANT

The Student Outlook

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW

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PRIZE CONTEST

In connection with the publication of Dr. Harry W. Laidler's
"SOCIALIZING OUR DEMOCRACY"
we are offering three prizes of \$25, \$15 and \$10
for the three best reviews of the book

The book is of extreme significance to the undergraduate population of America, raising as it does, the questions of what a socialist society would be like in the United States, what measures a socialist administration would take upon being elected to office, and how present events are dictating new tactics upon the part of socialist and progressive groups. In addition, the book tries to give a picture of how the professions, the church, the family, art and education would develop under socialism.

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK because it considers the questions raised in "Socializing Our Democracy" of such great importance, is sponsoring this competition.

ANY STUDENT IS ELIGIBLE TO SUBMIT A REVIEW, WHICH SHOULD NOT EXCEED 1,200 WORDS,
SHOULD BE TYPEWRITTEN AND IN THE OFFICE OF "THE STUDENT OUTLOOK," 112 EAST 19th
STREET, NEW YORK CITY, BY OCTOBER 15, 1935.

Judges will be NORMAN THOMAS, B. CHARNEY VLADECK, MARY FOX

PRIZES WILL BE AWARDED ON THE BASIS OF CRITICAL APPRAISAL AND ACCURACY OF INTERPRETATION.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONTEST, "THE STUDENT OUTLOOK" IS PRIVILEGED TO OFFER COPIES OF THE BOOK, WHICH SELLS FOR THREE DOLLARS, AT TWO DOLLARS. PURCHASE OF THE BOOK, HOWEVER, IS NOT A CONDITION OF ENTRY.

112 EAST 19TH STREET

THE STUDENT OUTLOOK

NEW YORK CITY

The American Student Union

A Recommendation from the National Executive Committee

IN 1905, as Jack London began the first collegiate organizing tour for our then-new organization, he told his audiences, "I found my University . . . clean and noble, but I did not find my University alive." For thirty years his organization has appealed to students to "be alive." It has contributed many able leaders and workers to progressive and socialist ranks. It has made college life, for thousands of students, something more than the "passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence" which had generally characterized American education from Jack London's day until recently.

Through the years many student organizations came and went, some beginning with high intention to "change the world," some were religious, some "purely revolutionary," some intellectual in their approach. But the only survivor of the flood and ebb of events through the three decades has been our organization. In 1931 there appeared in New York, however, an association sympathetic to the Communist movement, called the New York Student League. Soon it became the National Student League and grew strong in several metropolitan districts. At first its program and tone were quite different from the L.I.D. The policy of dual unions was still fully accepted and the N.S.L. reflected this tragic attitude. Although slightly less bitter, it held the theory of "social fascism," and did its best to isolate the L.I.D. and student Socialist leaders by character assassination and manoeuvrings. On the campus, however, events gradually forced both groups to a more and more identical program. By 1934 the N.S.L. competed for the allegiance of progressive students in about one-third of the colleges where the L.I.D. was organized. The early attacks of the N.S.L. upon the Student L.I.D. gradually subsided. Rivalry increasingly gave way to cooperation. At the National Convention of the Student L.I.D. in Washington, D. C. in December, 1933, there was established, in spite of considerable distrust of the new organization among L.I.D. members, a

committee instructed to plan cooperative action with the N.S.L. on some issues. A proposal of merger was given short shrift by the delegates, and it was apparent mutual confidence did not yet exist.

During the ensuing year cooperation between the two groups was given great impetus when the N.S.L. wholeheartedly supported the L.I.D. proposal for the first Student Strike Against War in April, 1934. During the whole academic year, 1934-35, campus sentiment grew in support of the almost identical program of the two organizations. At the Christmas Convention at Northwestern University no delegate proposed organic unity with the N.S.L., but the Convention overwhelmingly renewed the united activity pact, and pledged organic unity "when, . . . through these united activities, (they) have sufficiently gained the confidence of other radicals that we may work in the same organization without suicidal internal conflict." It is essential to note in the resolution rejecting amalgamation at the Convention the absence of any basic disagreement in principle. This was so because the N.S.L. had now come to support the bona fide labor movement and an honest united front. Amalgamation was rejected at the Northwestern Convention for the stated reason of lack of confidence in the N.S.L. among our membership at that time.

Subsequent to this convention was the epochal second Student Strike Against War in April. The Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. were clearly the spearhead of that tremendous demonstration of campus sentiment against war, now also endorsed by many other student groups. But the rising tide of cooperation at this time was hardly less prompted by programmatic accord than by defensive necessity. Together with the vitriolic lies of the Hearst and MacFadden publications, the agitation of "patriotic" organizations, etc., appeared general intimidation, censorship and expulsion on the campus, and the first scattered instances of mob violence by reactionary student groups.

It was clear by May, 1935, that the era of the "passionless pursuit" bemoaned by Jack London had at last passed for a large section of American students. The crisis of capitalist collapse had been no respecter of the cloistered campus!

At the June meeting of the National Executive Committee an exhaustive three-day discussion of the situation found general agreement that reorganization of the student movement was an urgent need. Not only did increasing reaction impel this agreement, but the fact that neither the N.S.L. nor the Student L.I.D. had made organizational gains commensurate with the numbers of students they had led in various activities during the spring, showed that the continued organizational rivalry was holding back the student movement. At the N.E.C. meeting support for a non-political student organization developed. The committee recognized that the program of the American Student Union, which it now proposes would mean a new orientation in the life of the campus. Collective efforts on the part of a student union would necessarily be rooted in the struggles on student issues. An autonomous and distinctly non-political student organization, it was felt, would make a more effective appeal to large numbers of students in urging them to join the fight for student rights — to oppose suppression of freedom of speech, to fight for constructive changes in curricula, to join the struggles against campus racial discrimination and compulsory R.O.T.C., to campaign for the relief needs of the college and high school student as represented in the American Youth Act rather than in the National Youth Administration.

The interrelation of these immediate issues to general social problems seemed obvious to both organizations, but the Student L.I.D. felt that it was essential that the American Student Union should participate actively in the general struggle against war and fascism in which campus issues of compulsory R.O.T.C. and suppression of student rights inevitably involve it. The Stu-

dent Union, it was felt, would find itself in active alliance with the trade union movement, not by preconceived conviction, but because its campus struggles made it obvious that only through the action of this powerful force could the war mongers be successfully resisted and the goal of a socialized order be realized.

It was apparent that the first step toward this end must be to bring into one organization the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L. The following motion was thereupon approved by all fourteen members of the N.E.C.:

"The N.E.C. approves the principle of the reunification of the student movement, and a sub-committee of five members of the N.E.C. is authorized to draw up a preliminary schedule of terms on which the N.S.L. could be united with us. This schedule is to be submitted to all members of the N.E.C. before July 15th, and the Committee's report shall be of no effect unless approved by a two-thirds vote of the N.E.C., and if so approved will be a recommendation of the N.E.C. to the National Convention of the Student L.I.D."

The sub-committee composed of Ruth Oxman, Robert Spivack, Lyonel Florant, Monroe Sweetland, Joseph P. Lash, and Albert Hamilton, ex-officio, carefully analyzed the conflicts of program and policy which might arise in reaching a least common denominator for a unified organization.

The new approach finally clears up any misunderstanding of the political nature of the student organization. It has been true that although the Student L.I.D. was not under the discipline or direction of the Socialist Party, the close affiliation of many of its members often confused outsiders. The new form of organization clearly will leave to the various youth political groups a task of conducting their own partisan political activity among students. The Young Peoples' Socialist League, it is understood, is already planning such activity.

In late July the Committee invited the N.S.L. Executive Committee to meet with them to discuss the whole question. The problems of program proved less difficult than the technical problems of organization. On September 14th, a general agreement was reached on the salient issues.

Brisk controversy was prompted by the question of the extent to which the new organization should identify itself with the working class. The N.S.L. contended the approach of the new organization should be almost solely through student problems, but the L.I.D., mind-

War Is Now An Immediate Probability

WE OF THE STUDENT L.I.D. RENEW OUR PLEDGE. WE PROCLAIM AGAIN, SO THAT WALL STREET AND WASHINGTON WILL HEAR: "WE WILL SUPPORT NO WAR WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAY CONDUCT"

Remember these facts; broadcast them—

- * * * This is not a "different" war.
- * * * A War "Against Fascism" in 1935 is the counterpart of the War "For Democracy" in 1917.
- * * * Defense of Ethiopia, like Belgium in 1914, is not the Real Issue.
- * * * Fascism can be fought only by displacing the capitalism of which it is a form.
- * * * In the words of Eugene V. Debs: "There isn't enough difference between any two capitalist governments to be worth fighting about."
- * * * The League of Nations, once the hope of millions, invokes sanctions only when they serve the interests of the victorious Versailles powers.
- * * * Secretary Hull's plea for every "practical" measure to maintain peace repeats the professions of the Democratic officials in 1914-16.
- * * * Only one certain weapon remains to the youth of America; their mass refusal to support war.
- * * * If America stays out, our decision must be made now by multiplying our organized strength against "The Day."
- * * * "Fight war effectively, on every front, and you find yourself fighting for Socialism."

EDUCATE! AGITATE! ORGANIZE! NO MORE WAR!

ful of its cooperation with organized labor in the past, took the position that students should increasingly be brought into association with the class which all agreed was the mainspring of social change. After prolonged discussion the following motion by Joseph Lash was approved: "We realize that a student organization which will fight for the immediate needs of the students of the U. S. will find itself fighting for basic reorganization of the present social order. In this fight for basic reconstruction we also realize the need for alliance with the working class, which is the leading force in the drive toward social reorganization."

Many inquiries have recently come to the National Office whether the N.S.L. has changed its anti-war position, which up to now has been the same as the Student L.I.D. and is epitomized in the Oxford Pledge. In spite of the position of some Communists to the contrary, after prolonged discussion the N.S.L. gave assurance that it will "refuse to support any war which the government of the United States may conduct," and with no reservations whatever.

The question of defense of the Soviet Union was also sharply in issue, but the N.S.L. at length agreed that the Soviet Union should be referred to in the new program only as an example of a non-imperialist nation whose peace policy deserved support. On the troublesome question of "united fronts" and affiliations with off-campus activities,

it was agreed that no joint activity could be undertaken, nor affiliations to any federated body such as the American League Against War and Fascism, without the approval of three-fourths of the members of the new National Executive Committee. This provision was inserted to insure that there would be no embarrassment caused by involvement in partisan political issues.

It was agreed by the N.S.L. that the Student L.I.D. should have a preponderance of members in the new N.E.C. over the N.S.L., although not a majority if representatives of other student organizations are elected. In the preliminary conversations between the Committees it was the position of the Student L.I.D. that since the N.S.L. was established dual to the Student L.I.D. in 1931, and for other reasons, amalgamation should be achieved under the name of the Student L.I.D. To this the N.S.L. finally agreed. However, when the N.E.C. became convinced that an entirely new organizational structure was preferable, it proposed the name American Student Union, to which the N.S.L. immediately consented.

The Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy, at its meeting on September 18th, approved a memorandum which gave its blessing to the new Union if approved by the Convention. "We have felt," the statement says in part, "we should endorse heartily the students' desire for a united student movement. Perhaps such an organization may be able to lay the

Prelude To . . . ?

By ELEANORA DEREN

AMAN is awaiting the decision of the United State Supreme Court which will determine whether he is to be a free man or is to spend 18 to 20 years on a Georgia chain gang.

Aloof, cold words, meaningless save here and there where they touch the human sympathies of someone . . . and even then meaningless and easily forgotten, for prison, death and injustice are century old bedfellows of the masses.

foundation for a genuinely united radical movement in the future. . . In our opinion, if all the student leaders of our group are convinced, after mature deliberation, that an amalgamated movement is the necessary next step in the student field, we should not stand in the way of such development, but should maintain such a relationship to it as will make us most effective in relation to the students of America."

If unity is ratified at the Christmas Conventions, immediate efforts to enlist the support of other student groups and leaders are proposed.

In conclusion it was agreed by both Leagues that there must be no abatement of individual organizational activity before the Convention. Each will maintain its present chapters and conduct its own organizational expansion into new territory.

The N.E.C. of the Student L.I.D. is empowered only to recommend this proposal to the membership. It is essential, however, that the decision at Christmas, whether it be approval, compromise, or rejection of this recommendation, be made by a thoroughly representative Convention. It is therefore imperative that each chapter begin now to lay plans to send its full quota of delegates to the Christmas Convention.

This statement is a general presentation of the major issues, and no attempt has been made to discuss many issues which were less controversial or less essential. Friends and members of the Student L.I.D. are urged to write the National Secretary for any clarification of the schedule of terms which is to be the basis of Convention action. The final schedule of terms is approved by twelve members of the N.E.C., one dissenting, one not voting.

But the name of Angelo Herndon, along with Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, and the Scottsboro boys has been lifted from the daily, commonplace welter of names of the unfortunate to a bannerhead by the masses; lifted not so much by token of human sympathy as by the significance lying in the blunt, undeniable facts of the case.

And the facts are few and clear.

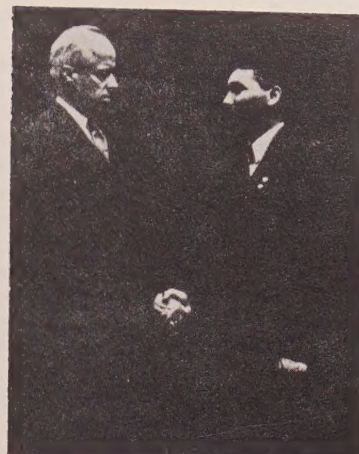
Angelo Herndon is an unpretentious young Negro of 22, born of a miner's family of slave ancestry and himself a miner at thirteen years of age. Aroused to revolt against the miserable, impoverished conditions he knew so early, he undertook the organization of workers as the sole solution to the problems which they faced. Initiated into the workers' movement first by the Unemployment Council of Birmingham, he proceeded in that direction, acquiring finally a considerably successful record of labor organization. In 1932, he went to Atlanta as organizer for the Unemployment Council.

In spite of the fact that in the middle of June the state closed down all relief stations on the plea of lack of funds, Herndon led 1,000 starving workers before the commission which speedily voted \$6,000 for immediate relief. But the concession proved to be only a treacherous forestallment of the workers. A few days later Herndon was arrested entering the post office, and was placed in Fulton Towers for 26 months of torture and ill-treatment.

Following a trial in January, 1933, at the conclusion of which he was indicted on a law (based on an old statute of pre-Civil War days designed to crush the uprisings of slaves against their masters) which read:

"Any attempt, by threats, persuasion, or otherwise, to induce others to join in any combined resistance to the lawful authority of the state, shall constitute an attempt to incite insurrection. Any person convicted of the offense of insurrection, or an attempt to incite insurrection, shall be punished with death, or, if the jury recommend to mercy, confinement in the penitentiary for not less than five nor more than 20 years."

The jury recommended the questionable "mercy" of 18 to 20 years on the



Norman Thomas and Angelo Herndon

chain gang. (No one has been known to survive on the chain gang for more than ten years.)

The International Labor Defense immediately appealed to the State Supreme Court which upheld the sentence but was forced, by public pressure, to set bail. This they did at a figure they hoped was impossible to fulfill . . . \$15,000, but the money was raised and Herndon was released on August 4th.

The case was then appealed to the United States Supreme Court which refused, on a false and obscure technicality from which even three of the judges themselves dissented, to review the sentence.

Stay of execution was obtained from Justice Owen J. Roberts, and petition for rehearing will come up before the court when it reconvenes next month.

Meanwhile, an intensive campaign for 2,000,000 signatures, registering the indignation of the people at the injustice of the barbarous insurrection law of Georgia and the cruelty and inhumaneness of the fate which awaits Herndon, is being sponsored. The organizations actively involved in this campaign include the American Civil Liberties Union, the Communist Party, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the Socialist Party, and the Young People's Socialist League. Numerous trade unions, worker's organizations, and student groups are engaged in circulating the petitions.

If Herndon's case has achieved only this solidarity of working class organizations, it has already become an outstandingly important note in the his-

tory of the American working class movement.

And we cannot remove ourselves from the universal import of Herndon's predicament. The figure of Angelo Herndon, as he stands before the serene, suave, complacent judges of the United States Supreme Court next month is multiplied a million-fold by workers who demand the right to live, by students who demand the right to think, speak, and insure for themselves, as future workers, an abundant life, by professional workers, men and women who demand the right to exercise their moral integrity without the threat of economic impoverishment.

As Terre Haute, California, and a thousand other places have shown us, we can no longer raise our eyebrows with the remark "That incident smells of fascism," we can no longer sit quietly and discuss philosophically about the time, somewhere in the dim and distant future, when fascism will come; encroachment upon encroachment upon our inalienable human rights and liberties cannot but blazon the fact in our mind: fascism *is* come.

But it has not yet wholly conquered, and though the symphony of the century has already in it the dark brooding strains of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro boys, and Tom Mooney, the final fate of Herndon will sound the major note of the prelude. Will it be a prelude to the death dance of fascism, of slavery, of a modern "Dark Ages," or will the hands of the people force the social symphony into the enlightenment of a world free of social and economic injustices?

A Socialist Training School

By LEWIS M. COHEN

University of Louisville

ABOUT the middle of June twenty-two young men and young women met in the office of the Student League for Industrial Democracy in New York City.

Five of them came from Ohio. Two were there from California, two from New York, and two from Kentucky. Pennsylvania Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Wyoming, Oregon, South Dakota, Arkansas, Washington, and Connecticut were represented. One of the young men was a member of the legislature of the state of Washington. There were three editors of college newspapers.

These twenty young men and women were the student body of the second annual summer training school of the Student L.I.D. Doubtless we were a fairly representative cross-section of the radical student movement today. We hailed from every section of the country. Some of us had practically no experience in the radical movement. Others had been several years on the labor front. Some of us came from moderately wealthy conservative, middle-class homes. Others had been proletarians long before they became students. We were a heterogeneous group, and yet, linked as we were by a common purpose, strangely homogeneous. Chosen either because we had already accomplished something in the student movement or because we were in a

position to accomplish something with the proper training, each one of us came with expectation of gaining a wealth of theoretical knowledge and actual experience.

Our six-weeks program was opened by the annual summer conference of the League for Industrial Democracy near Bound Brook, New Jersey. There we heard Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Abram Harris, Raymond Gram Swing, David Berenberg, Colston Warne, and others analyze the position of the middle class under capitalism. We also participated in the round table discussion of various groups of white collar workers led by recognized authorities in each field. The conference lasted three days. When we returned to New York, our work was separated into two main divisions—theoretical study and discussion, and active field work with unions and other working class organizations.

Every morning we met with one of the prominent radical and labor leaders, while others came to speak at lunch or dinner. Joel Seidman, acting director of Brookwood Labor College, gave an excellent series of lectures on the American trade-union movement. Dr. Harry Laidler presented a Marxian critique of capitalist economics and politics. Arthur Garfield Hays and Roger Baldwin discussed civil liberties in an extremely interesting fashion. Race relations were treated at length by George Streater, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Work-



The 1935 Summer School

Bottom row, left to right: A. Hamilton, National Chairman, Student L.I.D., Ralph Meinking, Chicago, Central Y.M.C.A. College; Ted Smith, Salem, U. of Oregon; Bob Bloom, N. Y., N.Y.U.

2nd row: Stoyan Menton, Detroit, Wayne U.; Jean Scott, Wyoming, Colorado U.; Ernestine Friedl, Cleveland, Western Reserve; Esther Ellsberg, Radcliffe.

3rd row: Marvin Halvorson, S. Dakota, U. of Nebraska; Norman Ball, Ky., Berea; Lewis Cohen, Ky., Louisville U.; Grace Smelo, Pa., Antioch; Bob Spivack, Ohio, U. of Cinn.

4th row: Alvalne Hollister, Ohio, Antioch; Grover Bethards, Calif., C. of Pacific; Alice Dodge, Mass., Vassar '33; Monroe Sweetland, L.I.D.; Joel Leighton, Conn., Wesleyan.

5th row: Bill Hollister, Ohio, Antioch, Mike Smith, Washington State Legislature; Molly Yard, Pa., Swarthmore, '33; Anna Caples, L.I.D.; Seldon Osborne, Cal., Stanford.

ers, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Chairman of the Harlem Investigation, and others. Reinhold Niebuhr gave an account of the Second International, while Bertam Wolfe lectured on the Third. Norman Thomas discussed the possibilities of socialism in America. Interesting lectures on the cooperative movement, both here and abroad, were presented by Sidney Hertzberg, former Scandinavian correspondent for the *New York Times*, and Wallace Campbell, a member of last year's summer school now connected with the Cooperative League.

Some of our other speakers included Herbert Mahler of the I.W.W., Angelo Herndon, Stuart Chase, B. Charney Vladeck, George Soule of the *New Republic*, Dr. Jesse Holmes, professor of philosophy at Swarthmore, Richard Hippelhauser, Associated Press writer, Herbert Solow of the Non-partisan Labor Defense, Powers Haggood, Lou Hay, the New York high school teacher who is largely responsible for the high school chapters of the L.I.D. there, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Varian Fry, editor of *The Living Age*, and Paul Peters. Julius Hochman, Chas. Zimmerman, Joseph Schlossberg, Rose Schneiderman, Murray Baron and David Lasser were a few of the trade union and unemployed leaders who spoke before the summer school.

Hearing all these radical and labor leaders meant much more to the students of the summer school than meeting personalities and hearing their views on various questions. Many of us came to New York with somewhat nebulous and hazy ideas concerning the radical movement. The lectures and discussions, of an infinitely varied and yet closely inter-related character, crystallized the problems and their solutions into more definite patterns. They imparted a direction to our field work. They helped to fill in the gaps in what might be referred to as our "leftist philosophy." The last of the six weeks was especially important. Conducted by Mary Hillyer, Monroe Sweetland, Joseph P. Lash and Anna Caples, it was devoted entirely to the vital campus problems that the radical student movement must face.

Field work was carried on with three different working class groups, the students being assigned on a basis of past experience in the labor union field. Ten of us worked in locals of the Workers Unemployed Union, under the guidance of David Lasser, the president. We joined the locals as rank and file

members, spoke at street meetings, distributed leaflets, worked as grievance committee members, participated in demonstrations before home relief bureaus and one outside Gen. Hugh Johnson's office, campaigned for new members, and in short entered into almost every phase of the locals' work.

Other students aided in the organization work of the militant Radio Workers Union, laying the groundwork for the unionization of workers in several shops by distributing leaflets to the men and engaging them in conver-



The Summer School Helps the B. S. and A. U.

Alice Dodge, Seldon Osborne, Ted Smith, Ralph Meinking

sation. More than once in the course of their work they were chased away by angry bosses and foremen.

Two of the students in the summer school were appointed organizers for the Suitcase, Bag, and Portfolio Makers Union, under the supervision of Murray Baron. After about five weeks of intensive work, they saw a strike called by the union just before the summer school closed, and allied themselves actively with the strikers in the few days before they had to leave for home.

A most valuable contribution of the first L.I.D. summer school to the unemployed movement was repeated this year. We conducted an extensive survey of flats in representative tenement districts on the lower east side, in the Bronx, in Harlem, in Brooklyn, and other sections, in order to determine just how (or whether) the workers on home relief were managing to keep alive on their allotments. The statistics were turned over to the Workers Unemployed Union to be used as a basis for increased relief demands. Aside

from the material attainments of the survey, we gained much experience in conducting survey work and in dealing with the unemployed, as well as an intimate insight into the condition of those capitalism can utilize no longer. Many of us carried away plans to continue the unemployed work as L.I.D. projects in our home towns.

The field work as a whole was of immense value, especially to those of us whose experience in the labor movement had been small. Here we had, and used, the opportunity to ally ourselves directly with the working class, with organized labor, to take their problems as our problems (as indeed they are) and to deal with these problems directly. The field work was a veritable training ground in street meetings, picketing, demonstrations, strikes, organizational work, and all those other methods which labor must employ in its fight against the injustice of capitalism.

Many of New York's summer demonstrations in addition to those of the unemployed found us taking an active part. When Hunter College held its commencement exercises, L.I.D. students were on the picket line protesting expulsion of several Hunter students now fortunately reinstated, for anti-war activity. When Clifford Odets, New York's brilliant young playwright, and his companions returned to New York after being refused admission to Cuba, we turned out *en masse* as part of the welcoming delegation. When strikers at the Brooklyn biscuit manufacturing plant issued a call for street speakers in an effort to raise some funds, the summer school was there with speakers and collectors.

Some of us had our first encounter with the arm of capitalist law during the summer, when approximately fifty-two picketers, representing the National Student League summer school, the League of Women Shoppers, and the L.I.D. summer school were arrested at the offices of the *American Mercury* magazine on Fifth Avenue, in response to a request by the Office Workers Union. After a series of rather amusing incidents, including the "misplacement" of the key to one of the patrol wagons by an unapprehended student, we were all taken into custody. We were held for four hours. We utilized those hours in efforts to organize some fifteen peddlers in the "bull-pen" with us, and to fill a petition to free Angelo Herndon. Paroled in the custody of our

lawyer by the night court magistrate, we moved in a body to Norman Thomas' house for a pre-arranged joint L.I.D.—N.S.L. party. The next morning we were back at court with two Socialist Party lawyers, an I.L.D. Attorney, and Arthur Garfield Hays. Thanks to their able defense, the case was dismissed.

Publicity in all New York papers from Hearst's *Journal* to the *Daily Worker* made the picket line such a gratifying success that it was repeated the following week—at the request of the Union but minus most of the success. A Tammany magistrate who professed a bleeding heart for the three L.I.D. students and the one N.S.L. member arrested imposed a fine of five dollars or 3 days apiece, after admirably concocted perjury by the arresting officers. It took a Saturday night street meeting in Greenwich Village to raise the money for the fines.

It was about this time of the summer that two men from the summer school paraded through Manhattan's garment center clothed impressively in barrels and white collars. They were assisted by signs which other summer students carried in reminding office-workers that they had nothing left but their white collars, and that the Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants Union was holding a street meeting at noon. As a result of this unique announcement, 2,000 office workers attended the meeting.

Not all of our time in New York was occupied by lectures, field work, and demonstrations, however. Two dances and several parties received their share of spare hours. Clifford Odets' successful plays, "Awake and Sing," "Waiting for Lefty," and "Till the Day I Die" were on Broadway during the summer, as well as the Theatre of Action's production, "The Young Go First." There was a picnic as well as two swimming parties. We could enjoy concerts at the Lewisohn Stadium for a quarter if we got there early enough, and free concerts in Central Park. In spite of the fact that the collective finances of the summer school were persistently at low ebb, we managed to "do" New York. On one delightful occasion we were the all-day guests of Mrs. Isabelle Friedman at Far Rockaway, and another eventful day was at the home of Norman and Mrs. Thomas at Cold Spring Harbor.

One of the most important factors in the undoubted success of this year's

summer school, was the spirit of congeniality and good nature which reigned throughout (although sometimes just a little difficult to perceive in the white-heat of an argument on, say, the Franco-Soviet pact). Discipline, recreation and other managerial detail was cared for by self-government of student committees. The bond of friendship among the students and the members of the staff has been continued since the close of the school by a round-robin letter to which each of us makes an addition as it comes to him. It should be around my part of the country pretty soon now.

And that is the story, briefly told, of what we twenty-two L.I.D.ers did for six weeks in New York City: our work, if anything so intensely interesting can be labelled work, and our play. I be-

lieve that this six-weeks course comprised the most valuable six-weeks I have ever spent. We studied theory under several of the leading theoreticians of the radical movement. It was a rare experience to have met the most brilliant personalities in the fight for a new social order. We participated as rank and file members of unions, learning what organizational work really entails. We learned how to speak at open air meetings, and what techniques to employ (or to avoid) in demonstrations. We dealt carefully with the immediate problems that we shall have to face on the campus. In brief, we gained something of experience from almost every phase of the radical and labor front. And we left New York City in August with a host of new ideas and new enthusiasm for the fight ahead.

The High School Summer School

By LILLIAN KASHDON

HERE we were—fifteen high school students representing almost as many New York City high schools, as we met for the first time on the first floor of the "Utopian Club-rooms" on 21st street. We eyed each other doubtfully, but the ice melted as the group grew heated in discussing plans of a six week course of study in the City L.I.D. school, with Louis Hay, National High School Organizer presiding. It was then suggested that we wear name tabs—and so we became acquainted.

We found in each other one great common interest—for "education, agitation, and organization."

The plans for this school—first of its kind for high school students—were to hold a morning session, Monday and Wednesdays, 10-1 p.m.; a session for students who were busy during the day to be held in the National L.I.D. Office, 7:30-10 p.m., Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Wednesday evening was set aside for a combined meeting, cultural pursuits and outdoor public speaking.

The idea behind the organization of the school was to give high school students a theoretical and practical background for winter organization. Therefore, there was a speaker on a current issue the first hour, an intermission whereat we sang our favorite songs in chorus (more or less). "We Are The L.I.D." and "The March Song of the

Worker" were among the most favored. As for "Casey Jones," the strikebreaker, we could never all agree on the same tune.

The second session we discussed the theoretical aspects of the morning's topic—and in the third session, we connected the topic with specific student problems, and in committees we explained the steps we would take were the problem to occur during school-time.

For example—Frank Palmer of the Federated Press, a Utopian, spoke to the group when it was considering the subject "Waste and the Machine Age" on Factory Sabotage. After stretching ourselves, we spoke of other "wastes."

After discussion we came to the conclusion that with a "system of production for use and not for profit" such "wastes" would be eliminated. Our method of attaining such a system was different from the speaker's, and so we clarified the differences between Socialism and Utopianism.

The third hour, we concluded that when there are consumers cooperatives—food, etc. is priced lower. (These conclusions have been reached before, but to many of us they were new.) To follow that line, it was decided that, were there student cooperative lunch-rooms, prices would be lower and food would be of a better quality. The group broke up into committees—and with the reports of the committees there

originated the idea of having a campaign in September for changes in the school lunchrooms!

Other speakers and their topics are listed below:

Social SecuritySaul Parker
Imperialism and War Frances Henson
American Civil Liberties M. Sweetland
Labor and PoliticsJoel Seidman
Capitalist MoralityMary Hillyer
StrikesAugust Claessens
Schools and other Means of
PropagandaFred Schulman
Socialist and Communist Inter-
nationalistsMurray Baron
The Road to PowerBen Gitlow
Socialism and the Good Life

Joseph P. Lash

We did not agree with the sentiment of all the speakers, but we must acknowledge their wit, particularly Comrade Claessens, with his impersonations, dialects, and funny but true stories.

Besides attending classes there were other types of work—learning to be an efficient chairman (whereupon a certain member would become so incensed for *The Exact* Parliamentary procedure that Lou Hay casually had to remark that “Parliamentary procedure is to help and not to hinder.”) We took turns at being secretary, practised writing leaflets and press releases, and doing such work at the office as mimeographing.

While we did practise public speaking indoors, we did not have sufficient

outdoor speaking. Some members, on their own initiative, picketed Loew's theatres for showing Hearst Metrotone News—and others spoke at outdoor meetings—but the group's luck as a whole was not great, for here is what happened on several consecutive evenings scheduled for public speaking: Either it rained, (whereupon the advisors tried to—and we must admit, succeeded in consoling us to a very great degree by bringing up refreshments and having an informal party); or one Wednesday the group went to hear Harold and Theodore Draper debate on The Franco-Soviet Pact; then there was time when outdoor speaking was postponed in favor of the party for the L. I. D. and N. S. L. training schools, but which in turn was held late in the evening since the majority of the guests were on trial in night court for picketing the *American Mercury* offices.

A spirit of comradeship was established among the members of the group, so that criticisms were offered as freely as praise, and we were not satisfied with good results when we did something but worked for the very best.

So—after six weeks of studying and enjoying together—15 students were developed into more capable organizers who are by no means satisfied with what they have sampled of knowledge, but were more determined than ever to “educate, agitate, organize” themselves and others in the high schools and colleges that they are entering.

The C.C.F.

By MONROE SWEETLAND

WATCH the Canadian Election. October 14th.

On that day our Canadian neighbors go to the polls throughout the Dominion to vote in an election in which the choice for the first time is not between the usual tweedledum and tweedledee of the Liberal (Democratic) and Conservative (Republican) parties. Only two years ago there was formed the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation by an amalgamation of the various local Socialist, labor, and farmer parties. Already the C.C.F. has influential blocs in several Provincial legislatures, has won the municipal elections in Winnipeg and Toronto, as well as many smaller cities, and has a vigorous nucleus in the House of Commons, led by the veteran war-resister and Socialist, J. S. Woodsworth of Winnipeg. Many political commentators are giving them an even chance against the Tories (Conservatives) to be the official opposition Party at Ottawa after the now-impending Liberal landslide.

It might have been expected of such a combination that the Socialist program would have to be seriously compromised to win the support of organized labor and agriculture. Surprisingly enough, this has not been done. It is frankly a class party. In its program it says: “The C.C.F. brings together not only those whom the present economic system condemns to poverty and insecurity, but also those, of every race and creed, who see the visior of a just society where there will be plenty and leisure for all.”

It is not controlled by a political oligarchy: “Unlike Liberals and Conservatives it holds annual conventions at which leaders are elected, and program and policy discussed.”

Nor is there any brief for the British Empire: “The C.C.F. will keep Canada out of the next imperialist war even if Great Britain is taking part.”

It stands for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism: “Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely the eco-

THE SONG OF THE LARK

*I know sweetheart, I know—
 You need,—You need,—I need,—I need,—
 You need new shoes, I need a shave,
 And love thinks silent secret things
 After the pretty screen-folk things
 We saw at the picture show.*

*So hard, so hard to take one's heart
 Back beyond the railroad yard.—
 So hard, so hard for love to live
 In cindered smoke of railroad yard.*

*You gave yourself as queen who came to me.—
 Then we saw dirty walls, heard calls
 Of harried children breeding harlot hearts.*

*At the museum once, I saw “The Song of the Lark.”
 And it was you,—beautiful, barefoot,
 Balanced like a dream on the edge of night.—
 But dear, portraits only, grace a living want.
 Dying day has never been so bold.
 To give its gold to our own poverty.
 And immortality will never grace our gray dusk
 With far-off cloud-reflected spark
 Which gave another love short play
 At listening to a lark.*

CARLIN ADEN

Negro Education and Status

By LYONEL FLORANT

conomic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population. No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

The youth section of the C.C.F. is the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement. Unlike the Student L.I.D., the C.C.Y.M. is chiefly concerned with immediate campaign activity. Whether it will maintain an effective national organization for education and action after the election remains to be seen.

In some sections of Canada, especially where the large Ukrainian and Finnish settlements have located, the Communist Party has shown greater vote-getting ability than in any section of the United States. The new line of the Communists favoring a mass labor party prompted some of the Canadian Communists to go into the C.C.F. a few months ago. They were not wanted by the C.C.F.ers, however, especially on the eve of an Election in which the capitalist parties were trying desperately to pin the "Red" tag on their new and popular challenger. However, they have united on collateral issues, such as the fight against war and fascism, far more than have Socialists and Communists in the United States. In the Dominion Parliament it was only the C.C.F. members who spoke out against the ruthless treatment of the "trekkers" in the recent Communist-inspired "march" upon Ottawa. In the political field there are one or two instances where C.C.F. candidates have been endorsed by the Communist Party, but generally they are still running their own candidates wherever their strength warrants. In one Winnipeg "riding" the reports indicate that Mr. A. A. Heaps, an incumbent C.C.F. member, is being hard pressed by Tim Buck, a spectacular Communist leader, but the election of any Communist is quite improbable.

The effect of the recent Social Credit landslide in Alberta upon the Dominion election is difficult to determine. C.C.F. leaders, unable to square Social Credit patching with their fundamental socialism, have repudiated the plan, and have campaigned against it. When the votes were counted, however, every single C.C.F.-endorsed candidate of the

IN 19 states of the United States and in the District of Columbia there is a segregated or Jim Crow school system for Negroes where per capita appropriations for a Negro child's education run as low as one-thirtieth of that for a white child. The glaring discrepancies in educational facilities apply to elementary, high school and college training, and in only two of the nineteen states is there any provision for graduate or professional training for Negroes. In northern states where a segregated system is not provided by statute, the effects of segregation are produced by prejudice and discrimination.

This vicious system of undereducation for Negroes very effectively dwarfs the Negro mind in its infancy. Its immediate effect gives status to anyone with a white skin, and in the final analysis it keeps the masses of Negroes in the unskilled occupations on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, split from the poor whites who are no better off economically.

The American educational system for Negroes is a product of the late seventies, when, following the withdrawal of federal troops, the southern

whites gradually regained power. An immediate drive calculated to fix the status of Negroes became evident in much of the legislation. First there was legislation against intermarriage, then Jim Crow laws for railroads and street cars, and finally a complete caste system was instituted which affected the religious, educational, political, social, and most of all, the economic life of the Negroes.

This system, contrary to many opinions, was not brought out by any "physical repulsion against intimate contacts with Negroes." According to E. Franklin Frazier, "The slave-owning whites in the South had been accustomed for generations to close association with the blacks; but during slavery there was no question concerning the terms of association." Superordination and subordination were fixed categories for whites on the one hand and Negroes on the other. After the abolition of slavery, "even the poor whites, who on the whole had not been accustomed to close association with the blacks, were concerned with fixing the status of the Negro rather than erecting barriers to prevent an intimacy that was physically repulsive. Therefore, these laws

United Farmers was defeated, and their following had tramped after the Social Credit pied piper, William Aberhart, a Calgary teacher and evangelist. This is generally considered to be a local situation, symptomatic of the desperate economic plight of Canadian workers.

Although the advantage accruing to the C.C.F. from the tradition of the British Labour Party is considerable, it is important to remember that Canada, unlike Australia and New Zealand with their Labour parties, has not followed the political pattern of the mother country. In politics as in business, Canadians have modeled after the United States. Their nomenclature was "Liberal" and "Conservative," as in England, but their politics has been "Democrat" and "Republican." A Canadian labor party appears only now, thirty years behind England, and at the same time that left political sentiment mounts over wreckage of the same capitalism in the United States. Furthermore, it is apparent to every student of Canadian economics and politics that there can be no ultimate separate

triumph for Canadian workers and farmers unless there is contemporary success across the line. Their issues are the same, they have one organized capitalist opposition, geography and kin have united them in their destiny. If another great area of the world is hereby eventually won for socialism, it will be North America, and not Canada alone.

Therefore the October 14th Election becomes hardly less important to left Americans than to left Canadians. The C.C.F., if it becomes an important minority in this Election, will serve as a powerful catalyst to the formation of a similar party in the United States. Those Americans who are pulling for a national farmer and labor and socialist alliance are banking heavily upon this example of the C.C.F.

The C.C.F. may portend the stemming of fascism, and be the next long step toward Socialist America.

The official weekly publication of the C.C.F., *The New Commonwealth*, and general information and literature may be secured at their National Office, 225 Richmond West, Toronto, Ontario.

which attempted to maintain the separation of the two races were designed to 'keep the Negro in his place.'"

In every southern state, an over-supply of cheap unskilled labor is a requisite if the plantation and mill owners are to retain their iron grip on the economic and political life. Negroes are therefore prohibited by law from attending the regular schools. All told, nineteen states and the District of Columbia maintain by law that Negroes cannot study in the same school where white students attend.

Discrimination in education, however, is not unique to the southern states. New York, Indiana, and Wyoming make segregation "permissive." Then in several states, such as Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and others separate schools are found—"despite the fact that the courts have ruled that where separate schools are prohibited by statute, or are not expressly provided for by statute, boards of education and school officials have no authority or discretion to establish them." In other northern states and portions of states it follows an extra-legal pattern. By restricting Negroes to inferior overcrowded schools conveniently placed in almost solid Negro areas, the desired result is obtained.

An examination of educational facilities offered to Negroes in every section of the country shows wide inequalities in educational opportunities. These inequalities, instead of decreasing, are on the increase. "In 1900," according to the *Journal of Negro Education*, "the discrimination in per capita expenditure for white and Negro children was 60% in favor of the white; by 1930, this discrimination had increased to 253%. Again, despite the fact that the training of Negro teachers, today, more nearly approximates that of the white teachers, the discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers increased from 52.8% in 1900 to 113% in 1930."

A study made in 1930 of public schools in all of the 19 states prohibiting Negroes from attending the same schools as whites indicates the great difference in the education afforded Negroes as compared to whites. In Mississippi the average amount spent on each colored child's education was \$5.45 as compared to \$45.34 for each white. Similar discrepancies existed in the other ten states doing lip service to equal educational opportunity for all.

In some counties the difference in expenditure was as great as thirty to

one. In 1932 Lowndes County, Ala., had a public school population of 995 white children as compared to 10,225 colored. \$42,787 was spent that year for the instruction of white children as compared with \$17,568 for the Negroes. Thus, despite the overwhelming majority of Negroes in the county, the white children received almost four times as large an appropriation, and on a pro rata basis, \$75.50 per white child for all school purposes as compared to only \$1.82 granted each Negro!

There is a state supported land grant college for Negroes in every southern state as provided by federal statute. These colleges are terribly inadequate to meet the needs of their large Negro populations, and only two states maintain additional Negro colleges. The entire appropriation for all 17 land grant colleges, is less than the annual appropriation for one white university in West Virginia, and only a little more than the appropriations for white universities in Kentucky and Tennessee. Is it any wonder then that there is only one Negro student for every 515 of the Negro population, while there is one white student for every one hundred of the white population in the south?

Other glaring inequalities consist in overcrowding of Negro classrooms, inadequate facilities, cheaply constructed structures, no transportation for Negro children where busses are provided for whites, and a less capable teaching staff due to the lower wage scale offered teachers in Negro schools.

The National Survey of Secondary Education put out by the federal government, remarks: "In the 15 states comprising this investigation, 230 counties, with a Negro population of 12½% or more of the total, are without high school facilities for colored children. These counties contain 1,397,304 colored people, 158,939 of whom are 15 to 19 years of age."

In seventeen of these nineteen states, according to the *Journal on Negro Education*, not a single state-supported institution exists where Negroes may go to pursue graduate or professional courses. "On the other hand, in 1930, some 11,037 white students were enrolled" for graduate courses and professional training in 15 of these states, in schools supported by taxes from black and white alike.

Exactly thirty-seven cases have been taken to court in the last seventy years contesting the constitutionality of the

Jim Crow school system laws. Mirroring the dominant economic interests, the courts have ruled in every case: "Segregated schools are constitutional; where equal educational opportunity is offered, the Fourteenth Amendment is not abridged." (*Dameron vs. Bayless*, 126 Pac. 273 (1912)).

These decisions imply that the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal educational opportunity for all. It is obvious that any educational system with equal educational opportunity would be a far more expensive proposition for the states than the present set-up. Also, if such were established, the objectives of keeping the masses of Negroes undereducated and of maintaining an abundant unskilled labor market would be lost. The dominant interests therefore will fight tooth and nail against any change in the present set up. Needless to say they oppose the abolition of the segregated schools which would pave the way for the unification of black and white workers having common interests.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's program to fight the issue of unequal educational opportunity through the courts this year must be heartily supported by everyone interested in the struggles of the working class. However, we must realize the limitations set on any legal struggle, by those who control the courts. At best, if this organization is completely successful, only an educational system parallel to the thoroughly inadequate one afforded to whites will be obtained.

This bi-racial setup, of equal though separate schools for Negroes and whites advocated by most inter-racialists and many Negro liberals, would still maintain the line of demarcation between the black and the white school children of the working class and so would still be to the advantage of the owning class.

The role of the S.L.I.D. this year will be to support on the campuses the legal action of the N.A.A.C.P., inviting those involved in the legal proceedings to speak to student groups. We must stage demonstrations and hold mass meetings in order to dispel racial prejudice on the campuses, in order to force the school administrations to admit Negro students on the same basis as whites, and in order to force the courts and legislatures to repeal existing educational legislation of a discriminatory nature. In all of our action, however, we must bring

(Continued on page 23)

This Is The Truth!

An Answer to H. Bedford-Jones' Attack in Liberty Magazine on the Student L.I.D.—Written by His Daughter:

NANCY BEDFORD-JONES

I HAVE a story to tell. It is a sordid, unpleasant story. It deals with lies—deliberate, malicious, insidious lies—lies my father told the American public.

Maybe you read them. Maybe you even believed them. Heaven knows they were clever and sly enough. You read them if you read "Shaw's" article called, "Will the Communists Get Our Girls in College?" in Liberty for September 7.

Yes, this article was written by my father. But not under his own name. He didn't want America to know he wrote it. He was ashamed. He knew that he was lying. He knew that thousands of American students knew the truth.

Not even to me did he admit that he wrote it and the article attacks thousands of progressive students directly through me. But I know that he wrote it. He did tell me that he gathered the material and outlined it. He told me this himself. And I saw the manuscript before it left his hands. It was written on his typewriter and by him. I know this. I have read hundreds of thousands of words typed on his machine; I would know the peculiar type, an unusually small one, anywhere. And all my life I have been reading his stories and articles; I know every trick of diction, sentence structure, style that he uses.

The author of these slanderous lies is my father—H. Bedford-Jones. He is a famous writer. He is America's most prolific writer and has entranced millions of readers for two decades. I had always loved and admired my father as a pal and I was heartsick when I learned of this. I didn't believe a father could do this to his daughter and even more to the movement in which her ideals are bound. But it is true. I can swear to that. It is fantastic, incredible, sordid—but true.

Why am I so sure the article in Liberty is about me?

If you read it, you have learned that it pretends to be a discussion by three men of their daughters, tracing the changes made in the girls by their absorption in the student progressive movement. You remember that it tells of "their" intellectual, spiritual, even attempted physical, prostitution—all resulting from the progressive movement, which is termed a collegiate system of Red penetration enmeshing young girls by a "systematic campaign of mental and moral damnation."

But remember that I am really each daughter, the one person these "three" represent. My father told me so himself. And he proves it definitely by what he says of each of the "three." There is no doubt that each one is really I, and I alone. If I can show this, it must be admitted that I have the real truth to tell about the rest. And I can show this. I am the daughter of Shaw—of Johnson—of Morgan.

First, the article tells of Shaw's—the alleged writer's—own daughter. "Shaw" is my father; I am the daughter. He speaks of a conference which his daughter attended involving the Y.W.C.A. and the Epworth League which he claims was really a meeting for recruiting revolutionists. He says further of his daughter that a month later her name was in the papers as a radical leader, and that she is 17 years old.

Here is the truth. At the end of last December I attended a Pacific Coast student conference, an annual affair sponsored by the Student Christian Association, made up of college divisions of the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. From all over the Far West and from Hawaii, Christian students gathered, this year, to discuss freedom in the modern world in the light of the teachings of Jesus Christ. Known as the Asilomar Conference, it has been bitterly attacked by reactionaries for its supposed radicalism. But it is only as radical as existing injustices make any true Christian. Two months after I was at Asilomar, my name was in the papers, not because I pretended to be a "radical leader," but because I was active in the student strike against war sponsored by the progressive student organizations. I am 17 years old. I was the only 17-year-old at Asilomar whose name has been associated in the press with the student movement. I am "Shaw's" daughter.

Of the second girl, supposedly the daughter of a man called Johnson, the article says that she was one of the victims of "Cyril Gerbertvitch," allegedly a young Red who seduces girls in order to travel about the country at their expense; according to the article he borrowed the car of Johnson's daughter

This article was given by Nancy Bedford-Jones to the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L. to use as they saw fit in answering "Liberty's" libels. It has already been printed in "The New Masses."



"He has not and he cannot change my beliefs."

Nancy Bedford-Jones

and forged her name to gasoline certificates. The chap and that he "derussianizes it at times." other documents, is actually Serril Gerber. As a inent in the student peace strikes of the last two y occasion also lent him my gasoline credit card an I recall, also, that I gave him in writing permission verification. Is this forgery? Frankly, I do not l many of you have not permitted a close friend or counts? How many of your friends are guilty c

Is This Advice

A Letter From the Student

DEAR NANCY:

. . . You must not let your affection reactions to your honest attempt to settle fo all relations in life are political, and on a friendly terms as possible with your dad, e that history and life are with you and wil cannot swerve you. He runs all the risks o love, understanding, devotion that you mu your dad.

. . . Working for socialism is a long agements, full of many incidents to which ial fine ardor is anything like mine was whe it with knowledge if your enthusiasm is t awaken with a dry taste in your mouth, wit say to yourself: "These are not my friends. much that is good and fine for an ideal in. It is important for you to read and learn. mands a socialist society today; that that

What I am trying to impress upon yo vantage of your four college years to lear a writer—and you are gifted in that respect up reams of paper, just as someone who v that instrument. I am sure you understand you possess great ability and promise for th our time is building for socialism. The nob of men and women who are working for so at life dispassionately and objectively.



"The man responsible for much of it is Joseph P. Lash, the National Secretary of the Student L. I. D."
—LIBERTY

sinuates that Gerbervitch is the true name of real name, according to his birth certificate and the National Student League, he has been promised him my car, a Ford roadster, and on one permission to sign my name to the certificates. My name in case the gas-station attendant wanted technicalities of the law about this. But how sign your name to gas warrants or store acrobacy?" It is clear—I am Johnson's daughter.

"Damnation"?

to Nancy Bedford-Jones

May 29, 1935

ness for your father be diminished by his the basic issue of our generation. Not plane you should try to remain on as since you are fortified by the certainty our present convictions to be right. He inverted. But life is so parsimonious with provoked into withdrawing yours from

ous undertaking, full of many discour- people must close their eyes. If your initiated the movement, you must supplement ined. Otherwise some fine day you may whelming feeling of futility and you will not my ways. Why have I sacrificed so comrades do not seem to be interested?" have a basic conviction that history deis only possible under socialism.

imperative necessity of your taking ad- and learn some more. If you want to be st use your four years at college in filling ay the piano spends hours every day at gs, but I want to make certain because e movement. The greatest adventure of o in the world today is that great band ut they do not want us if we cannot look

Yours,

Lastly, "Shaw" considers the case of "Sally Morgan"; he tells that she had been "working at a journalism course," and that after she was ensnared by the tentacular network she hitch-hiked to the state legislature to address it on a bill. "A fall guy for this cursed S.L.I.D.," he wrote of Sally Morgan.

Since I was in Junior High School I hoped to enter Columbia's School of Journalism and I did visit the California State Legislature. I drove to Sacramento, the state capitol, together with fourteen other students, representing the thousands of southern California students who want peace and freedom. The occasion was a public hearing on proposed bills which, had they been passed, would have smashed in California every vestige of liberties of free speech and assembly. I was elected spokesman for the group and we appeared, not before the legislature, but before an Assembly committee. Do you doubt that I am Sally Morgan?

I might go on endlessly, with additional facts to prove that the entire article is written by my father—H. Bedford-Jones, masquerading under the name of "Shaw," that the article is concerned with myself. Now I want to tell you the truth about the whole story.

Why was this article written? Why did a father write these cold-blooded lies of his daughter? His attack was not on me—it was an attack on every progressive idea, every progressive student and citizen, the whole progressive student movement of America. It is only an infinitesimal part of the vast flood of propaganda deluging America, attempting to discredit the beliefs of hundreds of thousands of students and citizens.

But it is a new strategy. How the Red-baiters and mudslingers will welcome this new angle! Not the old "Red scare"; not the old "un-American" gag; not the old sneers—but a vicious attempt to fill American fathers and mothers with a deadly fear for their daughters—fear of some vile, horrible web of moral and mental conspiracy that exists in the public schools. How clever an attempt to strike at the most vulnerable and unreasoning spot in the adult's armor—their children.

Yes, there is a web of "moral and mental disintegration—" but it is not spun by the progressive movement. It is woven from the sewage and filth of American reaction—Hearst, Macfadden, et al. And this is a new strand.

I owe it to my fellow students, to the American public and to the ideals which I hold—to tell why and how I became a part of the student progressive movement. When I entered the University of California at Los Angeles last September, I was imbued with more than average eagerness at the prospect of college. I wanted to inquire, to learn, to act. Here, in the university, would lie the greatest freedom to do so.

It was not so. From the day I entered the classroom I found not vigorous thought but stifling dogmas. I saw professors and instructors monthing these text-book ideas—even though they knew them to be untrue. How many times has a professor answered an inquiring student with "I'm sorry, but I cannot answer that in the classroom; come into my office after class and we'll discuss the matter." What mental degradation!

And then the climax. One morning in November, I was caught up in a crowd of three thousand of my fellow students. They were assembled in the middle of the campus quad. Someone was trying to talk, perched on the steps of a building. Suddenly those grouped about him were attacked; a flying squadron pushed through the crowd and seized the speaker. Another took his place and was knocked down. A girl tried to speak and was hurled to the ground. It was true: students were not allowed to speak on their own campus! The campus was swarming with police and detectives. We rebelled, the 3,000 of us; we wanted to hear what was to be said. We knew that five students, recognized campus leaders, had been suspended from school the day before as a result of their activities as leaders in a movement for a student-controlled campus forum. Not until then did I realize and appreciate the meaning of the struggle of our forefathers for freedom from tyranny.

Bitterly shocked and disillusioned, I determined to find the factors responsible for this situation. Was this an incident, a passing phase of obstreperous students and stern administration? If so, it was apparently duplicated to an unusual degree elsewhere. I looked to a nearby school, Los Angeles Junior College, and on April 12, 2,500 students were gathered in a strike meeting—part of the great national student strike of 175,000 students against war and fascism—I saw police led by the director of the college club two girls into unconsciousness. High school students in my own city were intimidated by principals for protesting educational retrenchment, and when they organized demonstrations against war, were suspended from school.

I looked beyond the campus. In the agricultural fields of California I saw workers arrested for trivialities thrown into prison, beaten and half killed by vigilante gangs. I heard all about the veteran Tom Mooney who lies in

prison for life. I heard about the Scottsboro boys and attended a meeting at which Angelo Herndon spoke. And always I asked why do these things happen. I learned fast. The agricultural workers wanted a decent living and democratic rights; Mooney was a working-class leader; the Scottsboro boys had black skins; Angelo Herndon led Negro and white unemployed workers together in a struggle for relief. I saw the line-up clear as day: bankers, industrialists, monopolists, government, police, courts, newspapers, school administration against workers, students, farmers, liberals, progressives, radicals—the minority against the majority.

I still wasn't satisfied. I wanted to know the real cause of it all. Well, I've decided about as follows: that what I saw was part of an entire economic and social structure, rent with conflict, the economic interests of the few pitted against the welfare of the majority; the few had power now and were determined to resist all attempts to change the situation and build a system of justice and security; that our only hope was in common organization of all progressive elements into one solid front.

So I say to my father (although he knew it when he wrote his article; I've told him a hundred times), I say to my fellow students and to the American public that I became part of the progressive student movement because of this scene of injustice that I was determined to change—and not through any web of moral seduction. This is the truth and I believe the American public will recognize it as such.

Yes, these are the things motivating our student movement. These and nothing more. We're not all agreed as to how we will change things. Some of us think that we can do it within the present system, others of us say that we can better things under this system but the final solution of all these problems lies in a new socialist society. But we all know the strength of unity and so we've joined hands around the slogan "Peace, Freedom, Progress."

This is the reason for the American Youth Congress; this is the slogan of the Congress. I became associated with the American Youth Congress shortly after my return from the Asilomar conference. I acted as secretary of the arrangements committee for the Southern California Regional Youth Congress and to this very day aid in the work of the continuations committee elected by the Congress.

My father writes that the Youth Congress is part of the vast network whose object is the enmeshment of young people and students especially, into the corruption of the radical movement.

Let me quote from the famous Declaration of Rights of American Youth adopted by the 1205 delegates to the Second Congress in Detroit, July 4, of this year:

We declare that our generation is rightfully entitled to a useful, creative and happy life the guarantees of which are: full educational opportunities, steady employment at adequate wages, security in time of need, civil rights and peace.

Our Youth Congress includes church, workers, student, political, farm, unemployed, social, sport—every conceivable sort of youth group. Founded in 1934, it has been welcomed and supported by youth in almost every state of the nation. Its program is one that answers the needs and desires of the vast majority of American youth. It is 100-percent democratically run—with equal rights for all participating groups.

My father did not object to my work for the American Youth Congress. But he did object to my participation in the activities carried on jointly in California by the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, and to my membership in the former. Incidentally, both these organizations are participants in the American Youth Congress. After his first objection, he said nothing more and I continued activity with the group.

Preparations for the great one-hour student strike against war and fascism last April 12 absorbed thousands of religious, liberal and radical students early in March. And with the strike came the first hint I had of my father's willingness to sell out his daughter's ideals. This strike of 175,000 students expressing their great desire for peace and for freedom should be welcomed by every true American. But not so with my father and the reactionary clique with whom he has associated himself. They see in the strike only a plot aimed at the government. He dares to quote me as saying that the strike was not really a "peace strike" but was aimed at the government, hence we were only interested in state colleges because these are connected with the government. This lie is too simple. What about the strike action of students at Harvard, Vassar, Yale, Columbia, Chicago and the many others? This was a demonstration of the peace sentiments of students no matter what their school. Look at the national sponsorship of the strike: the American Youth Congress, the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Student League for

Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, the Inter-Seminary Movement (Middle Atlantic region) and the American League Against War and Fascism, youth section.

The week-end of the strike he and my sister successfully conspired to draw me over a hundred miles from U.C.L.A. on the pretext of some fabricated family matter. Since then he has coolly read my mail in secret, believing that I knew nothing of it, has forced me to withdraw from U.C.L.A. at the expense of my scholastic credit and has constantly threatened to take legal action on trumped-up charges against my closest friends.

In the light of all this you will understand my father's continuous attacks on Joseph P. Lash as the "man responsible for much" of what he calls this "damnation." Lash is the national secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy. I joined the organization knowing nothing of Lash and to this very day I have never met him, he being in New York and I in California. I have been in correspondence with Lash and were I to reprint here the substance of these letters you would agree that they are entirely in line with the best ideals of our American student movement.

Politically, Lash is a Socialist and he has no reason to hide the fact.

What I have written is the simple truth. My father does not know, as yet, that I have written this. After he learns this, he will undoubtedly take action against me. But he has not and he cannot change my beliefs. Nor can he hurt the progressive student movement. No lies can, because that movement has truth and right on its side. It is fundamentally impregnable to these attacks.

QUOTATIONS FROM "LIBERTY"

"Damnation? That's the exact word for it."

"... there are such things as laws, despite Joe Lash and his friends."

"Same way in my case," I told him. "She isn't mixed up with men?"

"I wish to God she were! It's worse. She has a mission to remake the world. Student strikes, student speeches, giving her money to the cause—which means overthrowing the government from soup to nuts."

"... I looked up the lousy outfit, had a couple of cops handy, and you should see the gang! She wants to quit school and take a garment-worker's job."

"My own daughter quotes Strachey at me: 'The final choice lies between moral and intellectual suicide and Communism.' Her brain's warped."

"Haven't you enough will power to leave them alone?"

"It isn't that. I'd be afraid to. I'd be dumped—beaten up. Not once, but all the time."

Seduced by a Letter

By McALISTER COLEMAN

THE tender solicitude shown by our educators, editors, business-evangels over the political and personal morals of our youth affects me to the point of tears.

When I think of two such Puritanical defenders of monogamy, the Home and Family and the proper Hearth as William Randolph Hearst and Bernarr McFadden, standing out there in their shining armor, shielding our young Womanhood from the wanton assaults of lustful Reds, my heart is lifted up.

Now I can retire to my couch o' nights, giving thanks that there still remains among the leaders of American manhood enough of the iron spirit of our New England forebears to spring to the rescue of imperilled chastity, whether it be that of the body politic or somebody else.

A method of seducing our young, mentally I mean, is to send them form letters from such subversive organizations as the L.I.D. and the Yipsels. I never dreamed that form letters could be so effective. In my youth, lo, these many years sped by, the letters I received from the L.I.D. had to do with the embarrassing matter of my dues. That constituted the only delinquency with which I was concerned as far as that organization went, but maybe nowadays they are writing 'em hotter.

The idea, however, is an appealing one. Mathilde is sitting at the beautifully-appointed board of her extremely wealthy father in their magnificently-caparisoned home just off Park Avenue.

Mathilde's father is discussing the pleasing prospects of a war between Ethiopia and Italy when Meadows, the butler, enters carrying on his solid silver salver a letter. The letter is addressed to Mathilde, but at the sight of it, a strange expression comes into the eyes of Mathilde's father, the big English Muffin, Scott Tissue and Kodak Supply man.

"Meadows," he shouts in the voice that has made many a humble soda jerker lay a sliced egg sandwich, "Give me that letter."

"But Marster," says Meadows in great distress, "this goddam scrawl is for the young hussey."

"Silence," thunders the Muffin Man, "I command you to hand me that letter. I am writing a piece for 'Liberty' called 'Seduction ala Socialism' and I am about two hundred words short and I have to print my daughter's personal mail to show my readers what high standards of honor prevail among we ruling classes."

"You don't mean among 'we ruling classes,'" said Mathilde gently. "Among takes the objective."

But Mathilda's father only glared at her and, with fingers trembling with rage, opened the letter from the L.I.D. It began:

"Dear Friend: As you know, at this time of the year the financial situation confronting the vast majority of non-commercial organizations, becomes critical. In spite of the fact that our office workers are now taking their luncheons at the Municipal Lodging House and that our Field Director is hitch-hiking across Oregon on a fertilizer-spreader, there are certain essential expenses which must be met at once. We are therefore asking you to enclose \$1.89 as your share, etc."

"God, I'm ruined," shrieked Mathilde as her father, in a voice quivering with emotion, read these ominous words aloud.

Holding the incriminating letter aloft, Mathilde's father ran to the telephone.

"Give me William Randolph Hearst," he cried and then a moment later, "No, no. The name is not Lang. Nor Beal either. I'm your Park Avenue reader. Sure, you know me. Well look, Mr. Hearst, I got a red-hot letter from the communists here. They want more bomb money. If you don't want this letter, Bernarr will eat it up. You'll make a new series out of it? Call it, 'Moscow Gold Pours Into U. S. A.' Good."

He slammed down the transmitter with a triumphant air. Then the stern countenance of the Great . . . softened and it was with the face of a brooding father who has snatched his dearly beloved from the flames that he bent over Mathilde, prepared to kick her in the neck.

—*Socialist Call*, Sat., Aug. 31, 1935

A Woman's Comments

By DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

Columnist on Women's Page of the "World-Telegram," September 9, 1935

WHEN a father damns his daughter in print for having ideals—and sticking to them—he only shows how bankrupt in virtue certain members of the older generation are.

I am moved to this bitter reflection by an article captioned "Will the Communists Get Our Girls in College?" which appeared over the name of one J. G. Shaw in a recent periodical.

The burden of the piece is that America's innocent girlhood is being corrupted and enmeshed by unscrupulous radical leaders—many of them foreigners—who lure them to meetings in squalid dives. The girls, it seems, are on the road to hell, and will soon be scorched by the fires of damnation unless the American legion of fathers goes into action.

The piece is stamped with all the stigmata of sensational journalism. The author says, for instance, that girls are practically shanghaied into the radical movement and beaten up if they desert. Such a statement appearing in a magazine that specializes in hot fiction can hardly be taken seriously.

If the author didn't load his dice with the names of a few student leaders, you'd think he was writing the mystery story of the year. An article in the *New Masses* by the girl who claims to be his daughter, and who is a member of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and not of the Communist party, as he stated, voices the hurt cry of a daughter. She says bluntly that her own father has lied about her in order to damage the united student struggle for peace and social justice.

The tragic thing about this father and daughter squabble, and other simmering dissensions within family circles, is that any father should scoff at a daughter for the reasons "J. G. Shaw" gives in his article.

He deplores her turning from snobbish sororities to an interest in working people—her believing that she has a mission to remake the world—her leading an anti-war strike—her giving money to the "cause"—her identifying herself with women garment workers—her lobbying at the Legislature in opposition to "some damned liberal bill."

Such activities, I should say, are not exactly the kind that dot the primrose path to the lower regions. Any man who has principles of his own should be proud of a daughter who has put aside frivolous things at the age of 17 and dedicated herself to something besides pleasure.

You may, of course, think that the young radicals should show more tolerance and less emotion, or that they should try to achieve a just social order within the pres-

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The N.Y.A. and the American Youth Act

LATE last June when President Roosevelt announced the establishment of the National Youth Administration, the Student League for Industrial Democracy issued a statement highly critical of the whole set-up. We warned our student membership that the Roosevelt plan called for a "government-supervised youth and student movement;" that by a mere shuffling of administrative agencies it attempted to make youth feel on the eve of a presidential election that it had "a stake in the Roosevelt Administration;" that while it represented "a slight increase in the total number of youth beneficiaries (i.e., increase over the number provided for under the old FERA College Aid program and the new WPA), it is . . . totally inadequate in light of the 3,000,000 unemployed young people;" that the vague apprenticeship provisions played right into the hands of employers looking for cheap labor.

"In the whole project," the statement concluded, "there is obviously no solution to the problems of American youth. This ostensibly generous scheme to extend relief to needy students is so fraught with danger to the integrity of the growing student movement for a reorganized society, that we cannot endorse it. We urge the students of America to redouble their efforts to build their own organizations. We warn our fellow students not to be taken in, as have many American workers and farmers in the recent past, by the Greek gifts of the capitalist-dominated, military-minded Roosevelt Administration."

Nothing since the original announcement of the N.Y.A. has arisen to make us change our opinion—if anything it has been strengthened. On the campus there are five times as many legitimate applicants for relief as there is money available. Yet \$32,000,000 of the \$50,000,000 turned over by the President to the N.Y.A. was allotted for *student* relief. The other \$18,000,000 is to be used for model projects on which unemployed young people would be engaged. But even the Administration admits that there are 3,000,000 unemployed young people which the \$18,000,000 cannot pretend to cover. Obviously the \$50,000,000 represents no real concern for youth, but an attempt to make Roosevelt appear the great white father of the young generation at a cheap price.

No attempt was made to consult youth in setting up the N.Y.A. until

long after its main policies had been determined. The National Advisory Council has no *bona fide* youth representative on it, although it is rich in MacFaddens and Owen D. Youngs. Some of the leaders of the N.S.F.A. and the Y's thought that the President would appoint to the Advisory Council young persons elected by a representative group of youth organizations, and so called together such a group. In it were leaders of the Girl Scouts, the Intercollegiate Council, the Y.M.C.A., etc. Thomas Neblett of the N.S.F.A. and one other person were chosen to go down to Washington as the representatives recommended by this group for the Advisory Council. The Student L. I.D. and N.S.L. were opposed to nominating anyone for the Council since we did not believe that anyone could achieve anything through the N.Y.A. Mr. Neblett went down but despite his high recommendations didn't get to first base so far as appointment to the Advisory Council was concerned. It has been indicated to other youth leaders who went down to Washington, that the N.Y.A. was not interested even in advice from youth organizations, although this may not be the rule with state administrations!

In light of these facts the Student L.I.D. reaffirms its opposition to the N.Y.A. and declares that it is the responsibility of youth organizations constantly to point out the bureaucratic, political character of the N.Y.A. and the total inadequacy of the \$50,000,000 allotted for youth relief. *It is the responsibility of youth organizations to speak out in the name of the millions of unemployed young people who are not provided for at all under the N. Y. A.* To pursue an attitude of toleration, of sweetness and light, toward the N. Y. A. and its administration in the hope that we may be allowed to counsel it on the type of projects that should be set up, is to refuse to recognize our main duty to youth.

How can we best carry on our criticism of the N.Y.A.? An extremely effective instrument has been provided by the American Youth Congress in the American Youth Act. This Act is in draft form and is being submitted this fall to the youth of America for discussion and revision. In January, the American Youth Act will be redrafted in accordance with the discussions that have taken place around the

country and introduced into Congress. The preliminary act has been drafted with an eye to the inadequacies of the N.Y.A., yet it will represent an organic development from the N.Y.A. When the American Youth Act will finally be submitted to Congress, it will in a real sense represent the democratic wishes of American youth.

Therefore in the coming few months we must: (1) carry on a bitter struggle against the inadequacy of the relief now being granted to students, organize those who need relief, and get after N.Y.A. local officials; (2) be on guard against bureaucratic tendencies in the N.Y.A., e.g., we have just heard that in one community the only way a young person can qualify for relief under the N.Y.A. is to join a youth organization set up by some local politicians; (3) popularize the American Youth Act by having it discussed, amended and endorsed.

"AMERICAN YOUTH ACT"—A bill to provide under the terms of the Executive Order of June 26, 1935, establishing a National Youth Administration pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11—74th Congress) for vocational training and regular employment on public enterprises of unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 25; to provide for full educational opportunities and vocational training for high school, college, and post-graduate students, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that this act shall be known by the title, "The American Youth Act."

Section 2. All works projects authorized under the terms of this Act and the aforementioned Executive Order shall be projects actually beneficial to the community such as but not limited to the building, maintenance, and operation of community centers of culture and recreation, libraries, playgrounds, public gymnasias and swimming pools, public health centers, adequate school facilities, public camp sites, and public forest shelters; and that no work projects so authorized shall be of a military character or under the jurisdiction of the Departments of War or Navy, or designed to subsidize any private profit-making enterprise.

Section 3. The Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are hereby authorized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of vocational training and regular employment on public enterprises for the purpose of providing regular wages for youth between the ages of 16 and 25, unemployed through no fault of their own. These regular wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed, as determined by the local central labor union or trades council or other representative body of organized labor, or in cases

where none exists, the average local wages for such work, but it shall in no case be less than \$15 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

Section 4. This Act shall be administered and controlled, and the minimum compensation and conditions of work shall be adjusted by the Youth Employment Commissions. Those Commissions will also determine eligibility for benefits under this Act on the principles provided herein. In all administrative boards set up under this Act and under the aforesaid Executive Order, not less than one-third of the membership shall consist of the elected representatives of youth organizations, allocated in proportion to the actual membership of such organizations within the jurisdiction, not less than one-third shall consist of the representatives of organized labor and farmer groups, similarly apportioned, and the remainder shall consist of representatives of local social service, education or consumers' organizations. The minimum compensation guaranteed by this Act shall be increased in conformity with the rise in the cost of living.

Section 5. The Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are hereby further authorized and directed to provide for full payments of fees plus the average weekly living expenses of needy students in high schools and vocational schools, provided that such compensations, exclusive of all fees, shall in no cases be less than \$15 per month. These payments shall become effective upon entrance into high school or vocational school and shall be made throughout the entire year.

Section 6. The Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are hereby further authorized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of regular employment on college projects for the purposes of providing regular wages for needy undergraduate and graduate students in colleges. Those projects shall be of academic nature in accordance with the education purposes of institutions of higher learning. These regular wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed, determined in the same manner as under the terms of Section 3 and/or by the local Youth Employment Commission; but shall in no case be less than \$25 per month. Employment on these projects shall be provided upon entrance into college and shall be continued throughout the entire year.

Section 7. The benefits of all sections of this Act shall be extended to all youth without discrimination because of age, nativity, sex, race, color, religious or political opinion or affiliation. No youth shall be disqualified from enjoying the benefits of this Act because of past or present participations in strikes or refusal to work in place of strikers, or at less than average or local trade union wages, or under unsafe or unsanitary conditions or where hours are longer than prevailing union standards of a particular trade or locality, or at an unreasonable distance from home, or at apprenticeship employment where for work equal to that of an adult or of

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Socialist Youth Week!

ALL OVER the world, October 1-7, young Socialists will celebrate International Socialist Youth Week. In Austria young men and women will gather in small rooms with blinds drawn and in the twilight raise clenched fists—in low tones sing the *Internationale*. In Germany, where the bitterest terror cannot suppress the underground movement, youthful socialists will escape the vigilance of the million-eyed Nazi stool pigeon and by a movement of the lips or a gesture of the hands rededicate themselves to solidarity and socialism. The suppression in Spain has already failed. There will be demonstrations and the *civilistas* will shift nervously knowing Asturias is yet to be avenged. While in Paris into the boulevards will pour young Socialists and Communists together in one of the huge demonstrations that has become such a familiar sight since the united front was established over a year ago.

Why do we demonstrate during this first week of October? International Socialist Youth Week marks the anniversary of a conference of young Socialists held in Berne in 1915. The conference was a vain attempt upon the part of Socialist youth to reestablish the international solidarity of labor which was shattered when both the French and German Socialists had voted war credits in 1914.

Although its call for unrelenting opposition to the war went unheeded, history has vindicated the position of these young Socialists and has made the Berne meeting a beacon in the struggle against war. Especially at this moment should we hearken to the declaration of this gallant band which did not allow propaganda about aggressors, defense of the country, etc., to divert them from the basic principles of socialism which affirms that within capitalism no country is the aggressor and that the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism.

Vigilance!

The student strike against war last April focused public attention on what has come to be referred to as the student movement. That strike represented more than the N.S.L. or the Student L.I.D. It enlisted the support of a wide swath of the student population which is ordinarily quiescent. These students awoke on April 12th. But April 12th was an effective challenge to the war-makers only as a symbol. How shall student interest be sustained and organized for the fight against war and fascism? This is a crucial problem for the student movement.

Our answer has partly been indicated. Growing organically out of the strike is the Student Vigilance Committee against War and Fascism. On this Committee are represented the National Student Federation of America, the student divisions of the Y's (insofar as this committee will organize next year's anti-war strike), the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L., the American Youth Congress, the youth section of the American League against War and Fascism. Its meetings are also attended by representatives of the Committee on Militarism in Education and visitors from the National Council of Methodist Youth. The Student Vigilance Committee genuinely represents the American student body.

What are the functions of this Committee? In the first place it is preparing for next year's anti-war strike. Extremely heartening in this respect was the action taken by the National Councils of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which by a large majority have decided to support next year's strike. Their resolution states in part: "In view of the growth of war danger our Student Christian Movements should redouble their efforts to build a warless world. Believing in mass student action, it is proposed that the Christian Associations join like-minded groups in anti-war protests." The Vigilance Committee in addition to the anti-war strike, is planning appropriate Armistice Day demonstrations. It is organizing a nation-wide campaign on the expulsions for anti-war activity at Michigan U. and Columbia Medical Center. It is supporting efforts to have the American team withdrawn from the Olympics if they are held in Germany. It will cooperate in the C.M.E.'s campaign for the Nye-Kvale Bill. In general it will attempt to serve as a watchdog of student liberties and a precipitant of large-scale student anti-war action.

The national Student Vigilance Committee is anxious that local replicas of the Committee be established on every campus. These local committees should recruit delegates from every student group sympathetic to the fight against war and fascism. To the extent that these committees are genuinely representative of student sentiment and organization on your campus, to that extent will the work of organizing next year's strike be more productive of results; to that extent we can truly be a vigilance movement and not just a letterhead.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Socialism in America*

By DR. WM. BOHN

SOCIALIZING OUR DEMOCRACY

Dr. Harry W. Laidler. Harper and Brothers. \$3.00.

THIS book should be made required reading for all radicals—especially for young radicals, foreign-born radicals, and those living in New York. College students should be included: they are about as foreign as anyone. A lot of other folks will read it without being required.

To the plain citizen of these United States Dr. Laidler gives a picture of America as it is now and of Socialist thinking as it is now. To the Socialist and the Communist he gives analysis of the concept of revolution and of the revolutionary forces in America. Both are genuine, realistic—and, therefore, interesting.

The book divides itself into four parts: I. The economic difficulties of our present set-up. II. The nature of revolution—especially American revolution. III. Present tendencies toward change. IV. The nature of the Socialist society toward which we are tending.

The first 80 pages give us a sketch, a rapid and dramatic sketch, of the difficulties of the American industrial, commercial and financial system. The thinking of our economists and reformers, the New Deal effects, all the attempts to modify regular capitalist procedure to meet the difficulties of the depression, are brushed into the picture. The whole thing is sharp, adequate—despite being so encyclopedic. And the figures are the best part of it. The conclusion is that present trends are “bringing increasingly near the breakdown of the capitalist order.” “They will not,” the author is careful to add, “bring about Socialism with automatic precision.”

The chapter on revolution—with special reference to revolution in America—should be published separately. Not all who talk about revolution know what it is. Here in his thirty pages Dr. Laidler gives us a capital introduction to the subject, boils down a lot of history, social theory, economics and psychology. Experience in the older European shifts of power is given full weight, and the post-war transformations in Russia, Germany and Italy are summarized so that light shines out from them. But the author does not forget for a minute that he is talking

about the United States of America. Out of deference to one section of his audience he is careful to quote a certain Dr. Karl Marx, who may have known a bit about revolutions, to the effect that different countries may be different. Having got this idea established on such high authority he undertakes an analysis to prove—what might in former years have been thought un-



Harry W. Laidler

necessary—that these states are not Russia or Germany in disguise.

The distinctions between Communism and Socialism are clearly drawn and well authenticated, and the deep antipathy between the American mind and doctrines of Moscow is sketched with just as much quiet clarity. The author does not permit the real danger of Fascism to stampede him into dictatorship under other names. And all the lures of romantic conspiratorial revolutionism are sharply analysed and filed away. The author keeps carefully in mind the ways in which changes are being made here and now. He is careful not to prophesy, but his underlying assumption is that life will move on without essentially breaking the pattern. On this basis he reaches the conclusion: “There are many forces at work which point to a genuine possibility of peaceful change in this country, and the revolutionary movement should strive with might and main to make this possibility an increasing probability as time goes on.”

Instead of going on from this point with a discussion of methods of organizing the American working class behind Socialist ideas, the author jumps immediately to a chapter on Plans and

Tactics of Transition. He is referring here to actual measures to be adopted by a Socialist government when it finds itself in possession of the machinery of government by virtue of a majority vote. Here he leans rather heavily on plans of the British Labor Party, but his remarks on the psychology of the various groups in American society exhibit a good deal of shrewdness. He sees the forces of capitalism as they actually are—not in the fairy-tale forms in which they are so often presented to us. Capitalist individuals and groups are by no means united in opposition to popular changes. In regard to any particular change they are usually divided. A rapid analysis of the groups that make up most of American society convinces the author that “the industrial workers, the main supporters of a Socialist government, could depend on the passive or active help of large numbers of non-workers in its fight to maintain its Socialist gains.”

The chapters on present tendencies in the direction of a co-operative society show us a genuinely pragmatic mind working with real materials. He is not at all deceived by government ownership of industries—either here or in Russia. But he sees the enormous significance of the rapidly increasing municipal, state and federal participation in the ownership and administration of industry. The Port of New York Authority and the Tennessee Valley Authority are, after all, quite different from Standard Oil. They are different in motivation, administration and in the relation of the public to them. They are not socialist. They are not democratic in control or administration. But they are public, and they can easily be made Socialist. In them we are not merely learning technics of administration. The population is learning an entirely new attitude toward industrial property.

Voluntary co-operation—as in the consumer co-operatives—works in the same direction. Unfortunately the author is here obliged to draw almost entirely from European experience. But it will come as a surprise to many that we have in this country 6,600 consumer co-operative societies with 1,800,000 members doing a business of \$365,000,000 a year.

The section on Democracy in Industry is largely theoretical except for the part that deals with the gradual diminution of methods of democratic control in Russian factories. The theories of the Webbs, of the British Guild Socialists and of certain American groups are carefully presented and some of the experiments in this field are described.

The best thing about the utopian section of the book is that it escapes being

*This review is not entered in the prize competition.

utopian. In discussing such subjects as incentives in a socialized society—or art or education or health—the author finds the picture of the future in the changing practices of the present. He is constantly reminding us that the co-operative commonwealth will not be a society in a museum, that it will be living, changing, experimenting. These chapters are lively and provocative.

Chapter VII., which deals with the state in a socialized commonwealth, deserves a separate paragraph. Here the author's modesty prevents him from being as effective as he might be. When he gives his pragmatic spirit the right of way, he makes fine contributions to the matters under discussion. But here and there he is over-awed by the great names in political science. People who talk of the state as nothing but police power have no difficulty in showing that its function will largely disappear in some future society. But the state—now more than ever—is a complex of innumerable functions and powers. To speak of a set of organisms which are constantly growing under the exigencies of modern life as though they will suddenly disappear when life has gone on further in the same direction—this is to be absent without leave from realities. Dr. Laidler does not fall into this error. In fact his tendency is to steer quite clear of it. But he is much too gentle with the over-simplifiers.

UNION SMASHING IN SACRAMENTO

By Herbert Solow. National Sacramento Appeal Committee. August, 1935. Can be obtained from Student Outlook. Five cents.

CERTAIN facts stand out in sharp relief in Herbert Solow's pamphlet, *Union-Smashing in Sacramento*. Mere union activity in California, is a felony punishable by fourteen years imprisonment in San Quentin; California juries carry on horse-trading with human beings as the objects; newspaper reporters who seek to investigate conditions are escorted out of the Imperial Valley, in some cases after being jailed; a "peace officer" declares to the San Diego *Sun* that, if the Federal Court were to enjoin attacks on strike meetings, "there will be bloodshed."

The other manifestations of aroused reaction are present, but these are not so astonishing because of the greater frequency with which they appear. The herding of strikers into pens, the siding of local authorities with the ranchers, the issuance of drastic anti-labor injunctions, the kidnapping of strikers' lawyers, the hue and cry that the "Community Wants a Conviction." Class lines are sharp in California.

At the criminal syndicalism trial here recorded the usual farce of excluding union men and workers lest the jury fail because of prejudice to bring in a verdict is gone through. The Hearst and McClatchy press which compete with each other in raising the spectre of Bolshevism; the Associated Farmers, the industrial organization which seeks to pass as a "small man's organization"; the American Legion, Elks, Lions, Moose, Rotary, all line up against the defendants whose only crime was that "they organized miserably paid fruit and cotton pickers into a militant union."

The case is a serious one. If the verdict stands, union activity in California will longer be legal. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, composed of ten organizations with widely differing points of view is appealing the conviction in the courts of California. Solow's excellent pamphlet is a good outline of the case.

Revolution and Reform

By JOSEPH P. LASH

COMMUNISM IN THE U. S.

By Earl Browder. 1935. International Publishers. 352 pages.

THIS book embodies an invaluable series of documents. It contains the speeches, reports to various committees and conventions, and the odd writings of Earl Browder, Secretary-General of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and its acknowledged leader. The period covered is one of crucial change in the policies of the Communists, and these changes are reflected in this book, as indeed the whole busy life of the Party is intimately reflected.

The crucial change that makes this book so invaluable a document in Communist history is the decision of the Party to shatter its shell of sectarian isolation and secure a mass base in the various strata of America's working population. In this review we shall not examine the convergence of forces that finally impelled the Communist Party to make a realistic attempt to abandon its isolation, but we shall examine how this basic motive has affected the day-to-day activities of the Communists, and the implications of the latter for the American working class.

The book starts out with the Manifesto of the 1934 Convention of the Communist Party boldly reaffirming that the Socialist Party is social-fascist, i.e. by its alleged class-collaboration tactics with Roosevelt and the bourgeoisie it is paving the way for fascism. From this the Manifesto concludes that

no united front is possible with the Socialist Party officially or with its leadership, only a united front from below. (p. 52) Gradually in the course of the book one notes how the Communist Party comes to discover that it cannot make contact with the members of mass organizations at the same time that it excommunicates as an ally of the bourgeoisie every organization which is not Communist-dominated. Failure to make such contact was not only in itself a blow to acquiring mass influence, but also it weakened Communist struggle for such immediate demands as Negro rights, social insurance, etc. on the basis of which it was hoping to win mass following. As the emphasis of the Communists shifts more and more from such slogans as "dictatorship of the proletariat," "defend Soviet China," etc. to specific issues, the policy of social-fascism also undergoes drastic modification, and by the end of this book the Central Committee of the Communist Party is addressing courteous appeals for joint action to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, to trade union organizations and leaders, etc.—all of whom are roundly denounced in the early part of the book.

Perhaps the Communist Party's changing attitude toward immediate demands sheds the most light on its changing character, for this is the heart of the problem of Revolution and this essentially was the basis for the cleavage of Socialists and Communists in 1919.

At the time of the founding of the Communist International, Europe seemed to be in a state of revolutionary ferment. A workers' government had been set up in Russia. Soviets had appeared in Germany and Hungary. Italian workmen were occupying the factories. The leaders of the Russian revolution, who laid down the line of the Comintern, and who had led the Bolsheviks, a group almost military in its discipline and centralization, in the seizure of power, declared the period to be one of civil war. It was full of tumultuous, inconscient mass movements, requiring centralized, disciplined Bolshevik parties in all countries. Using as nuclei the various left-wing Socialist groups who had been sickened by the Second International's collapse in 1914 and exhilarated by the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russians set up Bolshevik centres in every European country and in the United States.

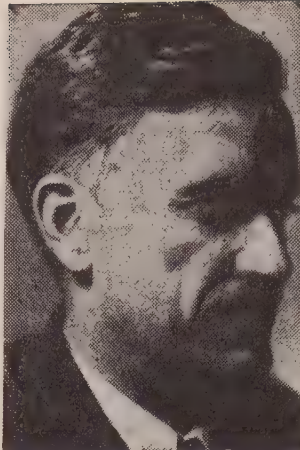
These Bolshevik parties were to raise not "immediate" demands but "revolutionary" demands, i.e. demands which the capitalist system could not grant without collapse, but which would galvanize the discontented workers, peasants and soldiers of Europe

and America into movement, although these masses might not be conscious of the revolutionary implications of their actions. Revolutionary demands were of the kind to disorganize the bourgeois state, precipitate riotous demonstrations and strikes, break down confidence in the government, and give a small disciplined group such as the Bolsheviks the opportunity to seize the leadership of the huge, dissatisfied masses and overthrow the government.

Starting on the assumption, as the Comintern did, that this was an emergency period of civil war, full of violent mass movements, which provided no opportunity for education, propaganda and consolidation of the masses, it was logical for the Comintern to set up parties that could appropriate leadership, and, modelling themselves on the dynamics of the October revolution, seize power.

This distinctive character of the Communists, and Socialist differences with it, were eloquently brought out by Leon Blum at the Tours Congress of the French Socialist Party in 1920. An immense majority of the Party was about to vote affiliation to the 3rd International. To stand against that tide required a socialist integrity based on clear perception and the willingness temporarily to forego popularity. Blum's speech was a dramatic one, and clearly set forth what differentiated revolutionary Socialists from Communists. It related, Blum declared, to one's conception of revolution, which is the essence of Socialist doctrine. The differences at this Congress he pointed out, were not ones as between revolution and reform, but between two conceptions of revolution. Reformism or revisionism had officially been repudiated at the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International. Socialism was revolutionary. It was a movement of ideas and action leading to the total transformation of the property regime, and the revolution is, by definition, this very transformation. It is more—it is the realization that this transformation will not be the result of a cumulative series of reforms (as the revisionists imagine), for when one comes to the essential question, to the property basis of the modern state, a rupture of continuity will be necessary, an absolute categorical change. This rupture, which is the beginning of the revolution, has as a necessary but not sufficient condition, the conquest of political power. By the latter Blum meant the conquest of the State by any means, excluding neither legal nor illegal ones.

From this concept, Blum continued, there are two deviations, right or revisionist, and left or anarchist. The latter consists in thinking that the con-



Earl Browder,
General Secy., Communist Party, U.S.A.

quest of power is by itself an end not merely a means. The seizure of power independently of understanding the social transformation to which it should be a means is an anarchist notion. The Socialist membership card states as the aim of the party, "the total transformation of the economic regime;" the Communist statutes state as its purpose, "armed struggle against bourgeois power." This is so because Communists do not believe that widespread working-class education is possible before seizure of power. The Communists hope that with their small, disciplined numbers, in the tumults of the times, to drag behind themselves as advance guards, the non-Communist masses, unaware of their leaders' objective, but aroused and made tense by Communist propaganda. This policy leads the working class to great tragedies. It shifts from group to group. This movement to power rests on instinctive passion and mutinous violence.

The Socialists, on the other hand, believe that the revolution will be made by millions of organized workers, consolidated and instructed in the process of winning reforms, knowing what they want, what methods they will employ and ready to accept the necessary sacrifices and sufferings. It will be the whole working-class of a nation educated in the historic process of class struggle that will make the revolution, not an omniscient few. This Socialist conception of organization received moving tribute recently from the *New York Times* Vienna correspondent, who, speaking about the Socialist underground movement in Austria, declared:

"In strong contrast with Nazi terrorists' quiescence, which suggests that when their foreign source of strength feels it inadvisable to lend

support they are practically powerless, were the scenes that marked the cremation and burial of the Socialist City Councilor Gloeckel.

"Despite every obstacle placed in the way by authorities, including the deliberate publication of the wrong hour for the ceremonies, and despite the knowledge that strong police forces would be present and seeking opportunity to make arrests, many thousands of Socialists flocked out on both occasions, fearlessly facing baton charges and mass arrests rather than miss one limited opportunity of showing their loyalty to their cause.

"Here, it was clear, was no new-fangled political creed arousing temporary fanatic enthusiasm by foreign support, but a great and indestructible movement, rooted in the soil, its roots as firm as ever and ever ready to push up new shoots vigorously."

This long excursus has been necessary because Communist mentality even though C.I. congresses early admitted that the period of civil war was over, has remained dominated by the original conception of revolution and revolutionary demands here sketched. Communists would not raise demands, which if granted could be interpreted as tending to stabilize capitalism; for the granting of such demands rendered the worker better off under capitalism, and therefore contented with his lot under it. This was an unfortunate way of construing the struggles for the immediate needs of the working classes, a way imposed by Russian domination of the Comintern. It overlooked the unifying and organizing values of a successful campaign for higher wages, etc. It ignored the historical fact that successful struggle provided a new more resilient springboard for future more advanced struggles.

Refusing to fight for realizable, immediate demands, the Communists all over the world were soon isolated. The masses of workers and farmers, not educated to Soviet objectives, would not support a party whose immediate demands could not be satisfied short of the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. They were not lured by pie in the distant sky of Soviet America. Where there is mass starvation and discontent among huge, backward populations such as in China and colonial countries, the Bolshevik method of organization and struggle has application. But this was not the case in Western Europe and the United States. The French Communist Party, which in 1920 enrolled some 80,000 members as compared with Socialist 30,000 soon found the figure reversed. The Ameri-

can Communists who started out with some 40,000, by 1932 had dwindled to less than 10,000 members. But not until the recent Congress of the Comintern did the Communists fully acknowledge this reason for their isolation and realize that the successful struggle for the immediate needs of the people represents not the stabilization of capitalism but the process of consolidating a mass workers' and farmers' party that will by its power of mass and socialist will finally shatter the bourgeois state. It was an inflexibility and dogmatism of tragic cost to the working class.

This change in Communist policy is interestingly reflected in the volume under review. In 1934 Earl Browder analyzed the Communist approach to immediate demands as follows: (p. 57)

"The other group (the Communist) says: 'The workers' demands are just and necessary; they must be granted; the productive forces of this industry and the entire country are sufficient to provide this and many times more; the capitalist is only anxious to protect his own profits; he can easily afford to pay; but even if he can't, then so much the worse for him and his system. We understand that the workers sooner or later must do away with capitalism and establish a Socialist system. If our fight for higher wages, now, hastens the coming of socialism, hastens the coming of the working class revolution, then so much the better. We will fight all the harder for higher wages.'

But unfortunately workers do not strike in order to put the capitalist system to test. They want to see immediate advantages forthcoming and when they observe that Communist leadership in strikes does not produce these advantages, they abandon that leadership. Historically that has been the record of the Red unions in this country.

In the last two years the Communists in this country, wanting mass influence, undertook several campaigns that altered their notion of immediate demands. For instance they abandoned the revolutionary dual unions. It was not enough they soon learned merely to be a member of the A. F. of L. and a Communist in order to achieve leadership, but Communists had to learn how to lead strikes that would win, how to make strategic retreats, how to build a union. When the Communists undertook their campaign for the Lundeen Bill they discovered that the greatest obstacle to winning wide support for this bill was the belief of people that the bill was impractical and had only an educational value. These people

were mistaken. Earl Browder could declare at a Congressional hearing on social insurance: (p.235)

"But those gentlemen who really want to remove this 'menace' (of revolution) should listen to the advice which we, the Communists, give you gratis. Remove the desperate situation of these millions, grant that minimum measure of social security, such as is provided in the Workers' Bill, prove in fact, in life, that it really is possible for the masses to live under capitalism."

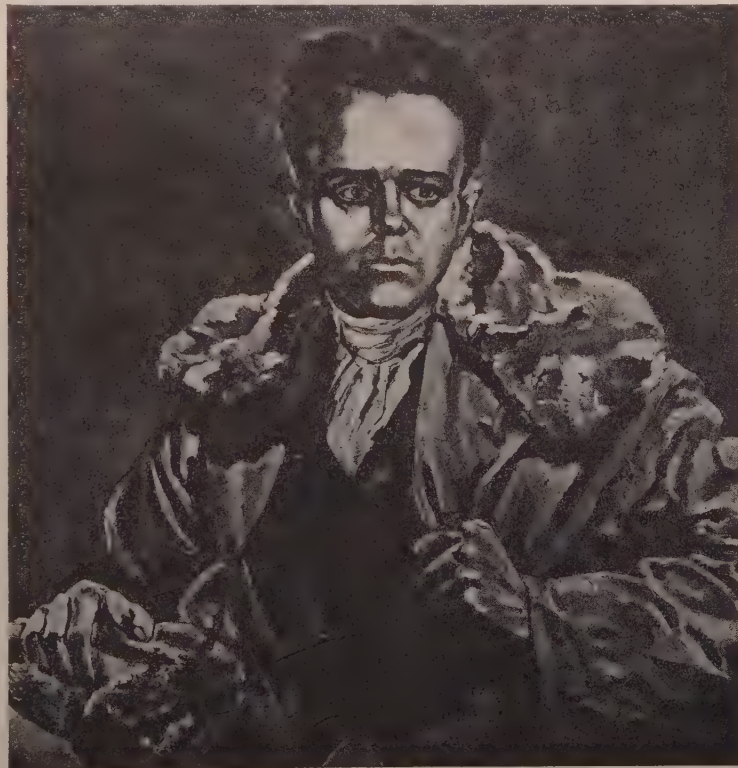
In other words Earl Browder was pointing out to these congressmen that the passage of the Lundeen Bill was their best practical bet against revolution. Which is a far cry from the old days. What Earl Browder did not say, but what he knew, and this is behind the campaign of every left-wing party for a bill of this sort and is the justification in terms of revolutionary objectives of putting forward such an immediate demand, is the realization that a successful campaign for social insurance would greatly enhance the power and prestige of the revolutionary party that led the struggle for it, increase the militancy, self confidence and class-consciousness of the workers, and there-

by bring that much nearer the possibility of revolution.

We must go to Earl Browder's remarkable speech before the Comintern Congress to see the complete crystallization of this change among Communists toward the problem of revolution and its relationship to the day-to-day struggles of a revolutionary party:

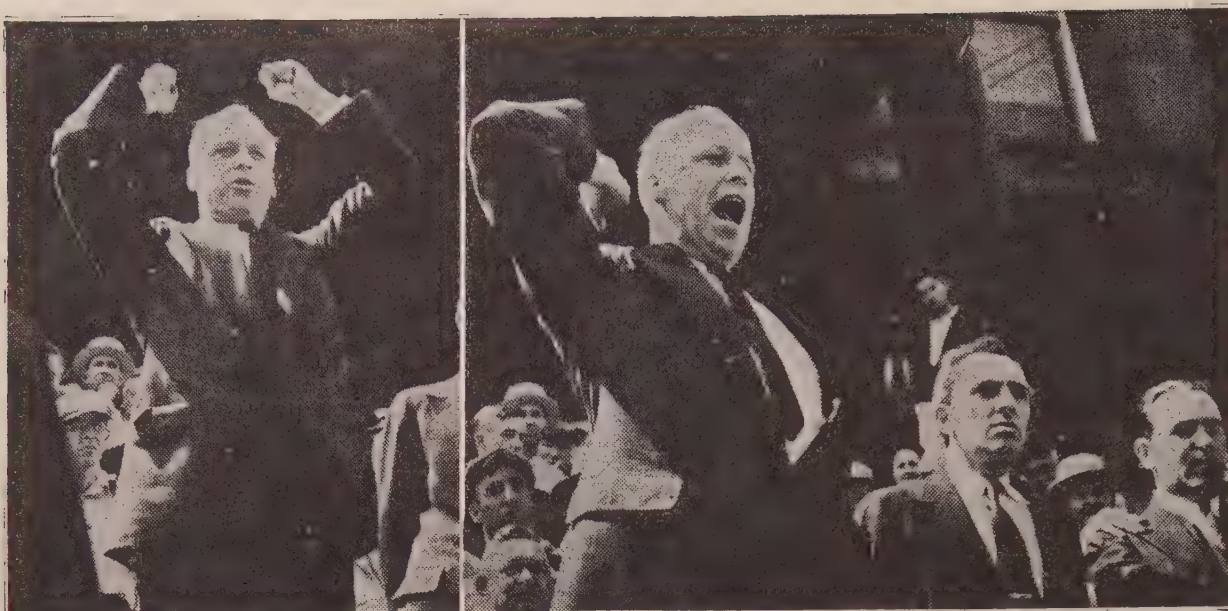
"We must say clearly, yes, we will fight together with all those in the united front, for a majority in all elective bodies, local, state and national, in taking over administrative powers, so long as it really uses these powers to protect and extend democratic liberties and advances the demands of the masses. But the masses will ask us: what will be your role? Will you stand aside as critics, preaching merely for a Soviet power for which we are not ready to fight? We answer: The Communists are even prepared to participate in such a government. We openly declare that such a government will not be able to introduce Socialism, which is possibly only at the hands of a really revolutionary government—a Soviet government—but that it can prevent fascism from coming to power, can protect the democratic liber-

(Continued on page 23)



John Reed

A portrait painted by Robert Hallowell and presented to Harvard by a committee of Alumni including Roger Baldwin, John Herling, Corlies Lamont



NORMAN THOMAS

You can find him on the roads of Arkansas confronting a mob of drunken riding bosses; or in Passaic reading the Declaration of Independence when everyone was being hauled into jail by the militia; or, as in the surrounding pictures speaking from the courthouse steps to break the martial law in Terre Haute.

Here is a leader who does not operate from a swivel chair. He is always in the workers' front line in the struggle between classes. Always generous, always quick to respond, always a statesman, with one consuming devotion, Socialism, we, in the student movement salute him.



Reprinted courtesy of *Indianapolis Times*

THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

(Continued from page 17)

other young workers they do not receive equal wages.

Section 8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated sums as may be necessary for the purposes herein enumerated. Further taxation necessary to provide funds for the purposes of this Act shall be levied on inheritance, gifts, and individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 a year and over.

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The Joint Committee to Aid in the Herndon Defense consisting of the I.L.D., the General Defense Committee, (I.W.W.) League for Industrial Democracy, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense urges you to do the following:

- 1 Circulate petitions to have Herndon freed. These petitions can be obtained from the I.L.D.
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- 3 Get organizations to hold meetings on the Herndon case.
- 4 Send in money with an order for the Joint Committee's pamphlet on Herndon.

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JOIN THE AMERICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT WITH THESE OBJECTIVES

The Student League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street

New York, N. Y.

REVOLUTION AND REFORM

(Continued from page 21)

ties of the toiling masses, can fight off hunger and economic chaos, and give the toiling masses time to learn, through their own experience, what is the larger more deepgoing program around which they must unite in order to realize a Socialist society, and who can lead them to this only final solution of their problem."

We will not raise the difficult question here left unanswered, of the relationship of immediate struggles on specific issues to the ultimate question of seizure of power by a mass socialist party, because we ourselves believe that these ultimate questions will indicate their own specific solutions when they become the order of the day—indeed, as they are doing today in France. What we have stressed in talking about Comrade Browder's book has been the fundamental change in conception and tactics which seems to make the Communist perspective on immediate tasks in the United States similar to the Socialist. Time and deeds alone will prove the genuineness and significance of a change that in so large a measure may reflect not the conviction of American Communists but the needs of the U.S.S.R.

A WOMAN'S COMMENTS

(Continued from page 15)

ent framework of society But you'll have to admit, if you've had any contact with the student progressives who hail from religious groups, Y.W.C.A.'s or the left-wing groups, that they are

for the most part a high-minded lot, and that they are as American as you and I.

The student leaders I have observed—including two young men whom "Shaw" pillories as rascals—also have a capacity for work and rigorous living which shames us older folk, who are loath to make sacrifices.

These young people are aflame with determination. Slander of them and their ideals will only make that flame burn brighter. It's tragic that some fathers and daughters should today be as far apart as the North and South Poles. But if the fathers don't want the world to come between them and their children, they must treat them with the utmost honesty and fairness. If they want to keep their respect they will have to drum up a few ideals of their own.

NEGRO EDUCATION AND STATUS

(Continued from page 11)

home to the students the role of the courts as instruments of the capitalist interests. We must, then, instill in the Negro and white students the values of student unity and mass pressure in our struggle for student rights.

Such a line of action in the colleges will carry over beyond the college community into the labor movement itself, giving rise to working class unity. Without the abolition of race lines in the struggle of the working class for economic and political power, the socialist society based on production for use and not for profit will in America remain a figment of the imagination.

Announcing

AN EDITORIAL WRITING CONTEST on a National Issue of Immediate Interest to Students

The Topic

Why Congress Should Pass the Nye-Kvale Amendment*

Who's Eligible? Any undergraduate in any college or university in the U. S. who mails a typed copy of his editorial as written, together with a clipping of his editorial as published locally, to the Committee on Militarism in Education on or before January 3, 1936.

Prizes: Cash prizes will be awarded the three best editorials, as follows:

First Prize: Fifty Dollars
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Third Prize: Twenty Dollars

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Instructions: Papers submitted must be mailed to the Committee on Militarism in Education not later than January 3, 1936. They should be written in editorial form. Length, from 800 to 1,200 words.

- Before mailing to the C.M.E. each contestant should submit his editorial to his own undergraduate newspaper requesting its publication. If, because of censorship or for other reasons beyond his control, the contestant is unsuccessful in getting his editorial published, he should not fail to send to the C.M.E. at least a typed copy of his editorial as written, together with a brief statement on the circumstances preventing local publication.
- Student editors, of course, are eligible to enter this contest; but they will not be favored over other contestants. We solicit their co-operation in enabling their fellow students to get their editorials published locally either as "guest editorials" or in "student opinion" columns.

FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS CONTEST AND ON THE NYE-KVALE AMENDMENT, AS WELL AS A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND OTHER MATERIALS ON THE MILITARY TRAINING QUESTION

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GEORGE A. COE, Chairman, or EDWIN C. JOHNSON, Secretary
COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION

o o o o o o 2929 Broadway, New York City o o o o o o

* What's the Nye-Kvale Amendment?

Why, haven't you heard? It's a proposed amendment to Section 40 of the National Defense Act, introduced in the House and Senate on July 24 last by Senator Nye and Congressman Kvale, and duly numbered S. 3309 and H.R. 8950, which if and when enacted into law, will "limit its application (the Defense Act's) in the case of civil educational institutions to those offering elective courses in military training." This purpose the Nye-Kvale amendment would accomplish by inserting a phrase at the appropriate place in the present law providing that no R. O. T. C. unit shall be established or maintained at any school or college "until such institution shall have satisfied the Secretary of War that enrollment in such unit (except in the case of essentially military schools) is elective and not compulsory."

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