

THE STUDENT REVIEW

VOL. 1 - NO. 2

JANUARY - FEBRUARY 1932

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THE CHINESE STUDENT AND THE REVOLUTION

R. Doonping



JOHN DOS PASSOS ON THE KENTUCKY MINERS



HARRY ALAN POTAMKIN ON THE MOVIES



FOR A NATIONAL STUDENT MOVEMENT

a suggested basis



YOUTH "PIONEERS" IN PENNSYLVANIA

Gizella Kandor



THE GANDHI EPISODE

George D. Herron

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

The Student Review

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THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE,
Box 144, Madison Sq. Sta., New York City.

I am interested in the National Student League and would like to have further information concerning its activities.

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Hence the importance to every thoughtful American, young and old, of the February Disarmament Conference at Geneva; and of the two articles on Disarmament by David Wainhouse, Assistant Research Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, which will be featured in January issues of THE NATION; and of the weekly dispatches to THE NATION from its special correspondent on the scene at Geneva while the conference is in session.

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A PRACTICAL PROGRAM FOR AMERICA
BIRTH CONTROL (special issue, January 27)
THE PRESIDENTIAL LINEUP FOR 1932

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FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The Student Review is a the banner of the revolutionary student movement which is now organizing itself around the National Student League. It is the voice of student revolt against the present intolerable order. It is the prime organizer of the radical student movement. ¶ And in addition, the Review will be what its name implies, a periodical reviewing the contemporary political, economic and cultural situation, from a Marxist point of view. ¶ Published and edited by college students, it will reflect the continued rise of student dissent against the narrow confines of the capitalist order. While non-student contributors may be called in from time to time to inform us of a situation which we consider important, the Review will remain a student publication, a training ground for the development of revolutionary writers. ¶ The Editorial Board requests contributions from those who can afford it. It urges everyone, however, to subscribe.

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For a National Student Movement

A Suggested Basis

THE economic forces which brought about the crisis and which are spelling the disintegration and decay of Capitalism are at the same time destroying the narrow insularity of the American college student. While, in the past, circumstances permitted and even enforced for the college student an isolation from the world of social and economic happenings, today the problems presented by the crumbling of an outworn system are so immediate that they require and receive his consideration.

The problems are those of immediate income and future employment. They are the problems of impending wars which are inevitable under this system. They are problems presented by the impossibility, for the mass of students, of successful adjustment to an irrelevant and meaningless culture. These problems are the consequence of the great economic struggle which refuses to be stopped at the campus gates and which, once within the forbidden confines, demands a revaluation, on class lines, of the economic and social interests of the student.

In this revaluation, the student's early perspective of a comfortable life with an assurance of steady income is dispelled by the staggering totals of world unemployment. All his efforts to prepare himself for a career are seen as wasted as the avenues of professional employment are closed to him. Turning from a view of endless breadlines, he learns that in New York City alone, 8,000 licensed teachers and substitute teachers are unemployed or employed only at infrequent intervals. He knows that the professions of law and medicine are "overcrowded," and that employment in the engineering profession is so light that one engineering school has invited its unemployed alumni back to classes. He recalls the statement several years ago of a dean of a school of journalism which said that although there were only 80,000 positions in the fields of journalism, advertising and publishing, all already filled, at least 80,000 students were preparing for this work in various professional schools.

Turning from the better paid professions, he is confronted by the modern travesty on education: New York department stores requiring a college education of their employees and paying them less than \$15 a week. In the commercial and banking fields he sees that the small percentage of last year's graduates who were able to procure jobs is ground down by long hours, monotonous work and small pay.

Within the college he finds that students who work their way undergo extreme difficulty in procuring jobs of any sort. While in "normal" times, more than 60 percent, according to an estimate in a typical college, earned part of their expenses, now a larger percentage is in desperate need of the fewer jobs available in the offices, restaurants and homes adjoining the campus.

Thus, the student realizes that in spite of having been trained in the habits and the service of the ruling class, his broader interests lie with that class which is striving to build a new social order. He is therefore drawn, through the two-fold interest of his immediate needs on the one hand, and of the larger need of a new social order, on the other, to the uncompromising position of supporting the workers in the class struggle.

This conclusion is supported when he measures the approach of new wars which are continually threatening under the present order. His belief in an eternity of peace following upon the "war to end wars" has been rudely de-

stroyed, and he recognizes that Capitalism *makes* wars. He sees that the periodic destruction of millions of lives is inevitable as long as the economic motives of the capitalist class are translated into imperialist governmental policies. Only the working class can prevent wars, he finds, and only a new social order built by workers will insure peace.

Thus the student is skeptical of the Pacifist approach to the problem of war, because he knows that war cannot be avoided by liberal resolutions or idealistic platitudes. As an observer of social and economic forces, he finds that not only is war inevitable under Capitalism, but that the very liberal and "humane" attitudes of the pacifists are used by the ruling class to cloak war preparations. The student is too well aware of the role the Pacifist played in the last war. Those who had been most eloquent in professions of sentiments against war turned quickly, when war approached, to noisy and enthusiastic support of the government's war program. What happened with individuals, he sees, was an indication only of what was happening to the Pacifist movement as such. The pacifist movement was thus revealed as a conscious process of capitalist imperialism. The League of Nations, disarmament conferences, the Kellogg Peace Pact, etc., emerge not as peace instruments but as a technique for making wars and partitioning defeated competitors. The student therefore recognizes that his energies must be directed not to pacifist platitudes, but to the support of the working class as the only force historically destined to eliminate war through revolutionary class struggle.

The student realizes that democracy is a myth under capitalism, and that political equality does not and cannot exist beside vast economic inequality. He sees the principles with which he was indoctrinated as a student become increasingly inconsistent with the growing use of every conceivable type of extra-legal rule, "class justice," and the daily violation of what he was taught were the elementary principles of civil liberty and "democracy." This fact also forces upon him the necessity of a definite class orientation.

It is for the purpose of giving this orientation to the mass of American students that the *National Student League* is formed. We propose to encourage and lead the activity which will inevitably follow from the adoption of such orientation, and to coordinate and guide the activity of those college clubs which are at present wandering, sometimes aimlessly, in this general direction. We propose to create wherever possible a network of clubs whose purpose shall be to carry into effect, to the best of their ability, the program outlined below.

A PROPOSED PROGRAM

1. We propose to participate in all the struggles of the working class by popularizing working class issues; by lending active and financial support to the struggles of the working class; by joining wherever possible in picket lines, demonstrations, etc.

2. We propose to struggle resolutely against imperialist war, against preparations for such war, and against manifestations of war danger which take in colleges the forms of military training, jingoistic propaganda, etc.

3. We propose to expose the sham of "democracy" and the failure of "representative government" to represent the interests of the working class under capitalism; the consistent denial of the elementary rights of free speech, press and

peaceful assembly; the violent repression of working class struggles.

4. We propose to expose and fight against the constant trend in America towards a fascist reign by capitalist interests; to warn students against "national planning" and "social control" programs which under capitalism can mean but one thing; i.e. the direct control of governmental machinery by business interests. We propose to point out that such techniques instituted to bolster capitalism are at the same time measures of repressing the working class.

5. Because the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which has been able to avoid crises and to eliminate unemployment and mass poverty, because planned economy as exemplified in the Five Year Plan is raising the standards of living of its population, the Soviet Union stands out as an inspiration and guide to us who in other parts of the world are experiencing and witnessing the social and economic evils which accompany Capitalism. Upon the student movement, therefore, devolves the historic obligation of popularizing the achievements of the Soviet Union, and of working for the recognition and defense of the U.S.S.R.

6. We propose to fight against racial and national discrimination, in college and out, recognizing that race hatreds and national prejudices are tools to carry out the age old strategy of ruling classes: "divide and conquer."

7. We propose to prosecute an unending fight for academic freedom; to the end that neither instructors nor students shall be "gagged" in class rooms or out, and that they may not suffer discipline for their political beliefs. This is necessary in order that we may continue to exist, and it is vital to us as students that the channels of information may be kept open to us. It is also necessary if we are to disseminate information on working class struggles among our fellow students.

8. The Student League will support the demand of the 12 million unemployed producers in the country for unemployment insurance paid by the government on the basis of a capital levy, taxation of large incomes, turning over the huge war budget of almost 2 billion dollars for relief of the unemployed.

The responsibility for relieving the terrible plight of the millions of jobless falls directly upon industry and the government. We wholeheartedly support the demand for unemployment insurance, and will wage a consistent and relentless struggle against all elements who are showing a cynical and brutal disregard for the suffering of the unemployed, while pouring billions into the coffers of the bankers, railroads and into the war machine.

DEMANDS

It is logical that from our principles there should flow certain demands which represent the needs of the student, both as a student and as a prospective worker and producer.

1. We demand unemployment insurance for all students graduating or leaving college who are not placed in positions. This insurance must be payable immediately after the student leaves school and must continue until he has found employment. On the basis of present costs of living, each student must have \$25 a week, to be paid from funds collected by the government through levies on high incomes.

2. A free employment agency administered by student committees must be established to work with the colleges in placing graduates in positions.

3. We demand a state fund collected from levies on high incomes which shall be used to assist students in colleges to complete their education. The extent of this need is to be ascertained by a census in city and state colleges, which shall be taken by member clubs.

4. We demand increased appropriations for city and state colleges in order that laboratory and class room facilities, instruction, etc., may be improved.

5. We demand for women educational and professional opportunities equal to those offered men.

6. We demand that colleges and universities abolish all forms of discrimination in admission requirements on the basis of race, color or nationality.

7. We demand the abolition of all forms of compulsory religious services and chapel in those colleges where this custom exists.

8. We demand the elimination of the star system of sports prevalent on the majority of campuses which restricts sports to a small proportion of the student body. We propose in its place a system of intra-mural sports with an opportunity for all students to engage in athletic activities.

9. In those schools where this evil exists, we demand the correction of such abuses as exorbitant tuition fees, text book fees, etc.

10. We demand that there be no faculty interference in extra-curricular activities. College publications must not be subject to censorship by the administration, faculty bodies and trustees, and officers of publications must not be disciplined for political or economic views expressed. Student clubs must be beyond faculty or administration censorship and must be permitted to affiliate with such outside organizations as they choose.

ACTIVITIES

In order to work in the direction outlined by our program, and to achieve our demands, we shall indicate a line of activities. Several specific forms which these activities will take are immediately suggested.

1. We propose to continue the publication of the *Student Review*. Inasmuch as it will serve as the most constant link between the various clubs, and between the League and unaffiliated students, we must give it our best support, for the *Student Review* will be one of the most powerful weapons of the student movement.

2. The League will support on a national scale the activities and campaigns of its member organizations. As the occasion arises, the League will serve as a speakers' and information bureau for its clubs. It will support the struggles of students in high schools as well as colleges in fighting for the remedy of grievances.

3. The League will hold regional conferences of member clubs at periodic intervals, arrange symposiums, mass meetings, etc.

4. The League will engage in certain phases of social and economic research, the results of which will be published in the *Student Review* and later in pamphlet form.

5. The League will affiliate and cooperate with other organizations which are working toward the aims and in the direction outlined by the program. The League will support actively this movement in the high schools.

THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
(formerly the New York Student League)

Free Speech Speakin's *

*All the women in this coalcamp
Are sittin with bowed down heads
All the women in this coalcamp
Are sittin with bowed down heads
Ragged an barefooted an their
Children acryin for bread
No food no clothes for our children
I'm sure this ain't no lie
If we can't get no more for our labor
We will starve to death and die.*

STRAIGHT Creek is the section of Bell County that has been organized fairly solid under the National Miners' Union. A three-weeks' strike ended the week before we got there with several small operators signing agreements with the union at thirty-eight cents a ton and allowing a union check weighman.** (The boy who was check weighman told me that in the mine where he worked one cwt. weighed eighty pounds when he took it over the scales.) They say that thirty-eight cents is not a living wage but that it's something to begin on.

Straight Creek is a narrow zigzag valley that runs up into the mountains from Pineville. The mines are small and often change hands. The houses are low shacks set up on stilts, scattered in disorderly rows up and down the valley floor. They are built of thin sheathing and mostly roofed with tarpaper. A good many have been papered with newspaper on the inside by their occupants in an effort to keep the winds out. The floors are full of cracks. I have seen similar houses in Florida shantytowns, but here in the mountains the winter is long and cold. It's hard to imagine how the miners and their wives and children can get any semblance of warmth out of the small coalburning grates. They have to pay for their coal too, though some of the operators allow the women and children to pick up what they can around the tippie. It wrings your heart the way scantily furnished rooms have been tidied up for the visitor.

THE visitors form a motley straggle through the little door-yards (there have been cows and pigs kept in some and you have to be careful where you step); a certain Mr. Grady, who I believe is the same gentleman who made such a fuss last year about losing his job as technician in Soviet Russia, has turned up and is putting everything down in a little notebook. When somebody asked him whom he represented, he replied: "I have nothing to do with you people; I represent American citizenship." It would be interesting to know who is paying Mr. Grady's fare now that he has been fired by the Soviet Government.

The A.P. man and the gentleman from the Courier-Journal have a harrowed look on their faces; they keep

*John Dos Passos was a member of the committee of writers which, led by Theodore Dreiser, went into Harlan and Bell counties, Kentucky, to investigate the reign of terror prosecuted against the trade union activities of coal miners, and to test freedom of speech and assembly in that region. Mr. Dos Passos, along with Mr. Dreiser and the other members of the committee, is now under indictment by the state court for criminal syndicalism.

Interviewing the miners and attending miners' meetings was a part of the committee's program. These sketches describe the background of some of the interviews and meetings. They are a part of a book soon to be published by Harcourt-Brace entitled: "The Harlan Miners Speak." Editor's Note

**Since then the miners of this section have struck again. They claim that the coal operators, influenced by Judge Jones and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, have refused to carry out the agreement.
—J. D. P.

looking behind things as if they felt the houses had been put up to hoax them. They refuse to believe that people can be so badly off as that. They crowd into the door of one shack to hear what Aunt Molly Jackson, the local midwife, has to say, but you can see them getting ready not to believe what she says, what their own eyes see.

WHILE Dreiser is questioning old man Hobbs, one of the militia officers is standing on the back stoop looking out into the gathering dusk, and remarking that as a military man he felt the absence of sanitation very keenly. Somebody explained that during the summer they'd had a cow for a while. The militia officer went on to wonder whether anything could be done to teach these people sanitation.

Afterwards some of us drove up a heavily rutted road up one of the forks to a tumbledown shack where an old man lay dying.* It was nearly dark. The little cabin was crushed under the steep black of the hill and the ramshackle structure of a mine tippie jutting up into the sky. The first step I took into the cabin the floor creaked so, I put my hand against the wall to steady myself. The rotten boards gave. With several people crowding into it, the crazy cabin looked as if it would crumple up at any minute. The floor of the kitchen had already caved in. In an inside room, in front of a brightly burning coal grate an old man is lying back in a low chair, half supported by two women. His clothes are pulled apart so that you can see an open suppurating gash on one side of his abdomen.

THE hollow was completely black. To get to the Glendon Church, where the meeting was to be held, we had to cross a high swinging bridge above the creekbed. Young miners in their best clothes had been posted by the N.M.U. to guard the approaches to it. The low frame hall was packed with miners and their wives; all faces were out of early American history. Stepping into the hall was going back a hundred years (or perhaps forward a few years). These were the gaunt faces, the slow elaborations of talk and courtesy, of the frontiersmen who voted for Jefferson and Jackson, and whose turns of speech were formed on the oratory of Patrick Henry. I never felt the actuality of the American revolution so intensely as sitting in that church, listening to these mountaineers with their old time phrases, getting up on their feet and explaining why the time to fight for freedom had come again.

The chairman was a young preacher named Meek. He spoke of the crowd as a congregation and of the meeting as a service. The old slogans of religion seemed to serve him just as well for the new hopes of unionism. The comic relief was afforded by a fat woman who stood in the aisle with her arms akimbo during many of the speeches, glaring at the speakers. She finally broke into something the chairman was saying to remind him he'd never paid her ten dollars he'd owed her for two years. She was the local agent of the Red Cross and the bookkeeper at the Carey mine.

Then Aunt Molly Jackson sang her now famous Hungry Miners' Wife's Blues and her younger brother, Jim Garland, made a very funny speech about why the Coal Opera-

* He died a few days later.

tors called the miners red. He said folks might maybe call him a red because his people, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had been so long in that country that if you went any further back you came to Cherokee injun blood and that was red all right. Then he said maybe another reason you might call miners red was that they'd gotten so thin and poor, from the small wages they got, that if you stood one of them up against the sun you'd see red right through him. Then George Maurer of the I.L.D. made a speech asking for solidarity and Harry Gannes of the *Daily Worker* reminded everybody that that night was the fourteenth anniversary of the Soviet Union and that this was probably the first time such an anniversary had been mentioned in the mountains of Kentucky. One miner summed up the general feeling by saying (after he'd described how a march of a thousand men going out on strike under the U.M.W. that spring had been broken up in spite of the fact that they came out with five American flags,) "By God, if they won't let us march under the American flag, we'll march under the red flag."

The speakin' at Wallins Creek next afternoon took place in the gymnasium of the handsome High School on the hill above the town. The high school seemed to be the only visible sign left of the boom period of '20-'21. We'd been told that there might be trouble at Wallins Creek and that the deputies were threatening to break the meeting up. Nothing happened however, but you could see that the miners in the audience got nervous as it got dark, and many of them left before the meeting was over.

JOHN DOS PASSOS.

Lenin on How to Write

"It is not the words in the pamphlet, but the facts, that talk and convince." Krupskaya, wife of Lenin, thus characterized his writing in an appendix to her *Memories of Lenin** in which she attempts to summarize for the reader the method which Lenin employed in all his writing. The virtues of expository writing are simplicity, clarity and persuasiveness, qualities which are not out of place in any form of writing. At this period, however, when expository writing is so essential to the revolutionary movement, it is doubly important that the lesson which Lenin learned be repeated here.

There should be no artificial distinction made between writers, on the one hand, and organizers and workers, on the other. The most effective revolutionary writing will come, no doubt, from persons active in fields other than writing alone, because the good writer is the writer who is expressing in understandable language the lessons which he has learned in experience, in an active as opposed to an armchair learning process.

Nevertheless, many of us as students have learned, and are learning techniques of study and research, and we may expect that an important phase of our contribution to the revolutionary movement will be in the form of articles, books, and research studies. In the immediate present, moreover, there is our magazine, the *Student Review* which in addition to serving as the banner of the student movement, must also serve as a training field for young revolutionary writers. One of the tasks which the editorial board has set for itself, therefore, is to hew to that line, exemplified in the writings of Lenin, which promises the most effective type of radical literature. The editorial board, with the help of such experienced writers and editors as consent to

aid us, will attempt to assist in training young writers for the important job before us all.

Krupskaya's analysis of the method of Lenin is especially valuable here. "If we look at the pamphlet, *The Law on Fines*," she writes, "we shall see that it is written in very simple language, but at the same time that it is far different from the superficial agitational material which is still issued in such abundance even in these days. The pamphlet contains absolutely no agitational phrases or appeals. But the choice of theme itself is very characteristic. It is a theme which greatly exercised the minds of the workers in those days—a theme they were intimate with. The pamphlet starts off from facts well known to the worker, and is based throughout on facts carefully selected from a multitude of sources, and clearly set out. It is not the words in the pamphlet, but the facts, that talk and convince. These facts are so telling and so convincing that the workers upon acquaintance with them draw their own conclusions. The plan of the pamphlet also shows it has been carefully thought out.

"The concluding section briefly formulates the deductions that the worker himself will already have made from the facts cited in the preceding sections, and merely helps him to generalize and finally formulate these conclusions. These conclusions are simple, but of great importance for the workers' movement."

As a concluding paragraph which is simple and yet striking, Krupskaya quotes the final paragraph of Lenin's *What Our Ministers Are Thinking*:

"Workers, you see how deadly afraid our Ministers are of knowledge coming to the working people. Show everyone that no force can deprive the workers of their consciousness. Without knowledge the workers are defenseless; with knowledge they are a force."

One must not assume that writing for students or intellectuals is in any very definite sense different from writing for workers. Those qualities which make for good workers' literature make also for good writing generally, the same qualities of convincing, simple and lucid language. Krupskaya declares that Lenin learned most for his writing from the workers themselves. He talked with them for hours, inquiring about all the petty details of their life in the factory, listening carefully to their casual remarks, and to the questions they put. While working hard to convey his ideas to the workers in the clearest and best possible form, at the same time Lenin remonstrated against all vulgarization, all attempts to narrow the question, to simplify its substance, or to "write down" to workers.

"Popular speeches and popular literature should have a concrete object," Krupskaya continues, "one which urges to definite action . . . Statements should be based not on abstract arguments, but on facts closely concerning the reader. These facts should be gradually explained, link by link, in connection with the most important questions of class struggles, with the most important questions of Socialist construction."

Krupskaya's conclusion may well be our conclusion: "At the present moment popular literature is of particular importance. The sharpened class struggle makes it essential that the masses understand the situation as clearly as possible, that they understand how to link up the current facts of day-to-day life with the fundamental questions of the fight for Socialism. We have absurdly little of such literature. It is necessary to produce it. Both from Lenin and from the masses, we must learn to write in a popular style, must set ourselves to the collective work of improving this kind of writing, and must test in practice the success of our results."

* International Publishers, New York, \$1.50.

The Gandhi Episode

THE failure of the London Round Table conference, and the developments which have occurred since, have at last cleared the air of any misapprehension which even the most cautious reader of the news might have concerning the position and the class alignment of either McDonald, the Princes, or Gandhi and his congressmen.

To the British Government which has been playing the age old game of *Divide et Impera*, this failure is a triumph. Once more it can face the world with a disunited India and say: "See, the Indians are not ready to govern themselves, so we must remain in India and carry on with courage our pacifying duties." They can point again to the quarrels between the Princes and their subjects, between the Hindus and the Mohammedans (the present form of which the British themselves have fostered), and to all the age-old conflicts which have troubled the Indians from time immemorial. But the British Government has failed to take into account two highly important factors: the growing economic power of the middle classes and the growing class consciousness of the workers and peasants. So long as these two factors were of little or no importance on the Indian scene, so long as India was merely a disintegrating Eastern civilization, the British capitalists could apply successfully the policy of divide and rule. This has been the secret of England's much vaunted feat of ruling 350,000,000 with 100,000.

But by their surprisingly narrow obstinacy, the British have committed the fatal mistake of denying to the Indian middle classes sufficient concessions. Gandhi, allowed to return home pretty much empty handed, is apparently ready to make trouble again. At the same time, incredibly blatant, oppressive measures have been passed in India.

In the past the only feeling which could be said to have in any way united the Indians, regardless of race and class, has been the hatred of their common imperial oppressor. After the war, the economic stimulus, brought about by contact with a mature capitalist civilization, began to bear fruit. The vague anti-British hatred was concretized in the form of nationalism. Gandhi, with his bourgeois ideology, with his sentimental and religious appeal against outworn and oppressive customs (such as the attitude towards the Untouchables), against foreign domination and self-destructive internal squabbles, exercised an influence which seemed to cut through class lines. With the ripening objective situation, the movement, led by Gandhi, came to a climax in the civil disobedience campaign of last year.

Then, as was to be expected from the very nature of his ideology, and as a natural consequence of his anti-violence doctrine, Gandhi ordered a halt. As soon as the movement showed signs of getting out of his control, i.e. becoming violent, he began to accept the overtures of a frightened British Government. There comes a time in every bourgeois revolution when the middle classes fear more the mass force which they must awaken to obtain their demands, than they do the current ruling class for whom they are trying to substitute themselves. This fear and doubt sharpens the inherent conflicts between the various levels and groups of the bourgeois class, and these conflicts at times take the shape of a reawakening of the historic religious and regional differences. The bourgeois revolution in India seems to have reached this stage. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of a bourgeois revolution within a colonial country, where the masses have already come into contact with communism, it

is perhaps as far as it dare go. The middle classes must limit their role to an attempt at holding back mass unrest while, at the same time, they must convert it for their own interests.

By going to London Gandhi betrayed no one. Liberals never betray their cause. Their cause, if anything, betrays them. Even before it began, the Round Table conference was doomed to failure by the attitude of the British rulers and the Princes, and by the class cleavages which began to cut across Gandhi's party as soon as he called a truce. The Federal scheme of autonomous government, the only one which the British seriously countenance, satisfies no one except the Princes. According to this scheme, the ruling Princes, who govern 70,000,000 people, would nominate their own delegates to the central assembly. In such manner they would guarantee their own absolute rule and at the same time leave no room for bourgeois expansion within their principalities. Because of the fear of losing their own vested interests in India, by fanning regional and class differences, the British have made it impossible for the Round Table Conference to agree on a bourgeois democratic form of government.

Although Gandhi's non-violence was known to all, his more militant followers were rudely awakened when he bleached and shuddered at the first drop of blood, and threw himself into the arms of a sympathetic British Viceroy. They could not but see through his ideology and understand its significance. More often than not he is now greeted with cries of "traitor" and he can no longer claim to represent the "Indian People."

As if to make matters worse, McDonald came out on December 28 with the grossest statement he has yet made since he shed the mask. Recent disorders, he said, referring to the activities of the "Red Shirts," did not represent a "baffled and oppressed people struggling to be free" but a "mischievous movement trampling in its own self-will upon India's progress. An enlightened India would not only give them no countenance but would turn and rend them . . . So too every Indian who cares for his motherland must see in these recent events the hand of a spirit of mischief rather than that of a spirit of emancipation." Gandhi might have said the same thing. Thus we are presented with the spectacle of McDonald and Gandhi marching ideologically arm in arm, the bourgeois politician and the Indian saint pointing the same direction.

Gandhi can now claim at best to represent only the middle classes in India. In their turn they may shelve him for a leader who will cater more to the rising temper of the masses, and Gandhi will join the long list of liberal tragedies. Whatever may occur in India within the next few months he will never give up his anti-violence doctrine. He would prefer to see a thousand of his followers slain by the English than to see one Englishman slain by his followers. The bourgeoisie, which he represents, is in a very difficult position. Either they must continue to labor under the restrictions imposed on them by British imperialism or, if they revolt, they must run the risk of starting a real mass upheaval which would sweep them away as well as the English. In any case they can trust Gandhi not to go too far. He and his congressmen may attempt to revive civil disobedience, but, as before, it would be stopped as soon as it over-stepped the bounds of non-violence. In the meantime the British imperial government is clumsily continuing to exasperate the

Indians with terrorist measures before which Gandhi is powerless. It is taking advantage of his non-violence in a way that will defeat their own purposes. The English also know that Gandhi will not go too far, but they seem to ignore the mass unrest to which they are giving life. For all purposes of true leadership of the masses, Gandhi might as well have disappeared when he sailed west with his goat and his spinning wheel.

The failure of the London conference is to be deplored only by the bourgeoisie in India. The example of the Southern Chinese cannot but stimulate the Indian masses and their leaders who have become disillusioned of Gandhi-ism. They are acquiring, through contact with communism and through bitter experience, that knowledge which shall make them an irrepressible force.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

The Student Movement and the Chinese Revolution

"The disintegration of the Chinese Nationalist government proceeded rapidly tonight, while riotous students held sway in the capital . . . The students wrecked the Foreign Office and broke up a meeting of government leaders . . . It was estimated nearly 80,000 students were crowding the capital from all parts of China . . . Chiang's (Kai-Shek) decision to step down followed weeks of demonstrations by students against the government's non-aggressive policy in Manchuria . . . The students sang Communist songs, waved red flags, and shouted anti-government slogans."—United Press dispatch from Nanking Dec. 15, in the *New York World-Telegram*.

"SHANGHAI, Dec. 23.—The general tendency in China today seems to be definitely toward the Left, with the Communists and other extremists working with renewed fervor in their attempt to gain the advantage for their cause."—Hallett Abend in the *New York Times*, Dec. 24.

THE student movement, of course, is not an exclusive product of China. Every country has its particular brand of student movement, using the term "movement" in its broader sense. In a way, the student movement of a country is a mirror of its social development. The young men and women who make up the bulk of American college students are not in and by themselves light-hearted, childish, and superficial. They are rather victims of the social process which determines the direction in which the students of a certain country release their social energy, which moulds the character of the individual and the group activities of the students and gives form and content to the student movement of the particular time and place.

In every critical period of the social process when class relations in society become extremely mobile, the students, like every other social group, usually emerge from their deadly academic slumbers or all-engrossing athletic activities and plunge energetically into the social struggle. This is exactly what is happening in China today. And this may be what is happening to the student of America.

Of course, there is always the danger of exaggerating the role of the student movement in the social struggle. Because of the temporary and transitory character of the student status, the heterogeneous class composition of the students as a group and the lack of a common economic status for the members of the student group, the student movement can never constitute an independent force in the social struggle. However, as an auxiliary force, attaching itself to a major revolutionary social class, it can and has made valuable contributions to the social revolution. On the other hand, it can be a real impediment when it attaches itself to a reactionary class. The role played by the Italian and German students in the Fascist counter-revolution is a clear illustration of the latter point, while the history of the Chinese student movement furnishes excellent examples of the former process.

The famous incident of May 4th, 1919, can be considered as the first milestone in the history of the student movement in modern China. On that day, several thousand students from the universities in Peking staged a demonstration against the submission of the Peking government

to the makers of the Versailles Treaty in which they ceded Shantung to Japanese imperialism as the price of the latter's participation in the world imperialist conflict. The demonstration ended with a militant attack on the residence of one of the Chinese diplomat politicians, giving the treacherous Chinese minister to Japan and the Minister of Communications, a notorious agent of Japan, who were at a conference in the building, a sound beating.

This incident initiated a nation-wide patriotic movement in general and a movement against the Versailles settlement of the Shantung question in particular. Politically and economically the movement brought to the foreground the issues of struggle against imperialist oppression, internal militarism and political corruption, and particularly the problem of tariff autonomy. Culturally the movement awakened the Chinese intellectuals to a consciousness of the strong influence of semi-feudal institutions still dominant in China which served as obstacles to all attempts at modernization. All these were preliminary manifestations of a developing bourgeois-democratic revolution. But the Chinese bourgeoisie, weak, servile, and dependent, was unable to take the lead in the struggle which the students initiated. The students, by virtue of their status, could not furnish a steady and enduring leadership. Hence the development of the revolution was temporarily arrested until a few years later when a new social force appeared on the horizon and assumed the leadership of the struggle.

The new social force is the proletariat. Toward the latter part of 1919, when the first big student movement was losing momentum and its sporadic and vacillating nature had been fully exposed, a considerable number of the most active elements of the student body began to realize that the solution of China's national problem depended upon a successful solution of its social problem, and that the students could best contribute toward this solution by serving the interest of the most progressive and revolutionary class in society. Workers' evening classes conducted by student volunteers grew up like mushrooms in every part of the country. Many students actually severed connection with all their petty-bourgeois surroundings, lived among the workers, and became union organizers or political workers among the proletariat. Thus an enduring contact was made between the radical left wing of the intellectuals and the proletariat, a contact which considerably strengthened the labor movement of the time and gave direction and purpose to the organized student movement of the subsequent period.

The effect of this contact was evident when the masses of China again rose in revolt in 1925. It is significant that this time it was a labor incident, the murder of a leader of the workers by a Japanese factory manager, that lighted the flame of popular indignation. The revolution spread far and wide and with great momentum, until the Canton revolutionary government conquered half the territory of China proper. During this period, the most powerful and influential organization among the students was the Young Communist League of China, which, under the leadership of

the Communist Party, rallied the young workers as well as the students to the support of the revolution. The students proved their usefulness to the mass movement during this period, but they also exhibited a great weakness when the revolution, as a result of the betrayal by bourgeois interests, suffered a serious setback in 1927.

Particularly in a period of reaction, the vacillating character of the students makes them easy victims of bourgeois bribery and intimidation. It is not without good reason that in the years of reaction since 1927 the workers and peasants in the Communist Party of China and in other revolutionary mass organizations have usually looked upon the student elements with some suspicion.

But the regime of reaction in China could corrupt only individuals with its silver. It could give no perspective to the mass of the students except one of oppression and starvation. On the other hand, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the workers and peasants were fighting a glorious battle for a Soviet China, a China which would mean national liberation and social emancipation.

Thus it is not surprising that with the ascending wave of the social revolution, the students should rise again in a nation-wide mass revolt. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria naturally gave this movement an unusually strong impetus. The movement has now developed to such proportions that bourgeois observers are trying to hide their alarm by declaring that the movement will in due time play itself out as in 1919. These observers are in error. In 1919 when the bourgeoisie was weak and the proletariat was not yet politically mature enough to lead, the students tried to play the role of an independent social force and naturally failed. But in 1932 the student movement is not being forced to play an impossible role and therefore will not fail. With a mature proletarian leadership provided by the strong Communist Party of China, the students are marching to the front as part of a larger force, with a definite purpose and direction. The success of the revolutionary student movement is guaranteed by the ultimate success of the social revolution itself.

R. DOONPING

Youth "Pioneers" in Pennsylvania*

BECAUSE Marie was too sick and rich enough to travel by train, and I too poor and well enough to travel by bus—I came alone through miles of twilit dazzling snow-covered countryside, through an endless subterranean passageway of darkness and night, through a vast continuum of space and time indistinguishable. I had no sensations at first but one of unfeeling; I left a house embroiled in bitterness and shrill unreason—my preparations were senselessly impaired, I did not really believe in my going. My thoughts, as a result of much gratuitous outside contribution and much confused preconception, were now utterly unshaped. I did not really know where I was going.

One thing I did know, and I knew it well. I have a quirk which I had not and have not overcome. When certain tasks are assigned to me, when I am given control over the children's movement in virtually five small towns, involving a display of all kinds of initiative, I am instantly riddled by self-doubt, inwardly informed of my no-accountness and *ungeschicktheit*. Objectively this is not at all true—even when my own absurdly high standards are considered. Indeed, comrades, I have turned out to be a fiery and *simple* speaker! My vocabulary may still creep through on paper, but on a platform in Arnold, Pennsylvania, in an erstwhile church, before two hundred miners and steelworkers and glasshouse burners and unemployed, I make myself understood beyond a shadow of doubt.

For, listen to me, you urbanites. I am a "shocker" in the "field," which is very proud communist slang. At the center here everybody asks everybody else: "Have you been in the field yet?" It is the supreme measure of revolutionary experience, it is the decisive test of the workable truth of communism and the abilities of shockers; and it is a fine anvil for little people like me whose self-preoccupation and literary subjectivism inevitably must be hammered down and reshaped. But certainly this is not the prayer of a Sandburg, celebrating the beauty and ruthlessness of Industrialism; it is the eager and humble declaration of Ginzella

Kaldor who can scarcely contain and classify an accumulation of five days' wisdom.

I am Section Pioneer director of the Alleghany district, including Arnold, New Kensington, Verona, Wildwood and Springdale. Each of these towns has an average of from twenty-five to thirty thousand population, engaged in steel mills, glass houses, mines, aluminum works and joblessness. Each of these towns was seethingly embroiled in the Strike—especially Wildwood, where Bob Young and Tom Myerscough and 48 other workers were beaten, maimed and generally wounded in the famous riot. When I walk across the melancholy bridge from New Kensington to Verona over the oily waters which are as bread to all the dark factories and mills on its banks, I can see—rising gloomy and formidable—the walls of the Workhouse in which these same 50 comrades are now imprisoned for—hell only knows how long.

History here is measured only from one strike to another; and from a hundred different lips in a hundred different dialects and accents have I heard stories of the strike.

BEING post-Strike, the present is a difficult and straining period for the movement. The workers are relaxing into the harsh passivity of poverty, as against the militant excitement of the Strike. Now the task is routine organization, slow construction, until the flames of another Strike flare up in the distance. Veterans of the last conflict sit in N.M.U. halls, ceaselessly fondling reminiscences, feeding on soup whose composition is highly indeterminate and on memories whose substance is stronger than their scanty food. They are, of course, idle; the Blacklist—that sword of Damocles striking terror into those strikers who are now back at work under vastly worse conditions than before. In this part of the country, the Socialist Party is as thoroughly unknown as, let us say, James Branch Cabell. Everybody, virtually everybody, is a Red or potentially so. Class consciousness is ingrained in the very marrow of their beings—from the all-too-numerous children to the old drunken sots tottering into permanent apathy. Their simple Worker-Against-Boss ideology is triumphal evidence of the approach of political crises—of the sweeping of all ex-

* Written simply as a letter to a friend and comrade back in New York, this journal of Gizella Kaldor, recent graduate of N.Y.U. and now a district organizer for the Young Pioneers in a section of Pennsylvania, is printed here as one of the first documents of student participation in the revolutionary movement.—Editor's Note.

traneous elements into bitter preparation for the Great Duel in which the middle class is visible only to the extent to which it has been forcibly merged in the ranks of each of the contestants. All this is a political platitude of course, a foregone conclusion, but whereas before it was to me doctrinaire Marxist truth, now it is tangible. I cannot overcome the wonder of seeing it in every momentary contact I make. The political development of the masses is as yet slight and their radicalism is acquired purely through their fierce struggle for existence, through the narrow rigid economy of their lives.

The one enormous task confronting the Party is the provision of permanent leadership and theoretical training to this vast army of workers. For, without guidance they are not only dormant but absolutely crippled; they can do little constructive by themselves, except in the heat of spontaneity and under the pressure of emergency situations. They are ignorant, and aside from the phenomenon of class struggle, know only harmful things for the most part. Their characters are violent and undisciplined. Their interests are often obscene, always bourgeois. The social life of the men tends towards constant inebriation, towards gleeful violations of the law which they hate with an elemental hatred. The girls usually "go out" in service to the rich families in the fine houses up on the "Hill."

Yes, its exactly like in the books—a sooty railroad track divides the town into two residential classes—across the tracks and over the hill live the "bawsses"—and the tracks become the symbol of class inequality. I know kids, workers' kids, who have such a strong sense of class loyalty that they scorn the friendship of other kids merely because "oh, his father's a boss." There is ever present on the part of the worker and his family the terrible fear of betrayal. The movement in a small industrial town like this therefore takes almost underground forms, since raids are periodic occurrences and discovery by the bosses of one's affiliations spells something similar to death. In an atmosphere like this it is harder for girls to find outlets other than boys. As a result, the girls indulge in hysterical gayety and purely vicarious enjoyment. They hardly go anywhere, but if it's only in the house or across the yard to a "girl friend" their faces are hideously rouged, and their dresses are absurdly short. They have one stubborn preoccupation. They spend all their money on every manner of movie magazine, cut out the pictures of these legendary heroines, discuss their private lives, and produce an astounding amount of giggling small talk.

This is where I live and work; this town is typical of thousands of others, with, perhaps, variation in the nature of the specific industry. Long, narrow streets lined with grey wooden houses, each one with a 2 by 4 porch and a nothing by nothing lawn. And above each house chimneys and smokestacks show the inevitable factory always waiting on the back street, easy of access. All one has to do is to look out of the kitchen window and maybe the eye will meet the cold barren stretches of General Electric's coal car railroad, or the red-hot furnaces of the glass house or more likely the high steel gates of the colossal Aluminum Works which sprawl over half the town. Wherever you go you must encounter these gates, shutting undesirable elements out and shutting mechanical slaves in. There is hardly any distinction between the dwelling places and the mills,—they fraternize in the middle of the street, they rub backs, they encircle each other. Thus everything assumes a uniformly bleak aspect, and even the dawn is dark with smoke and oppressive with the sights and sounds of toil. Perhaps this is a seasonal feature, perhaps it is the still, freezing air

which poises stiffly over the housetops and hovers menacingly in almost visible circles around the thin little bushes on the naked lawns. Certain new phenomena enter into one's physical life,—like the daily layer of black particles on the face, and the profuse supply of coaldust in the nose. One's language grows expertly technological, one joins sympathetically in the general denunciation of script, "expenses" in the pay envelope, tricky shifts, company unions. One gets to know the interior of all the houses, how to enter like an old hand by the back door, how to appear at ease among primitive furnishings, how nonchalantly to take a candle and walk through scrubby underbrush to the outhouse.

IN Verona the general standard of living among the workers is conceded to be the lowest of the five towns. In Verona houses swarm with broods of children, filthy and diseased; old stables are converted into homes, dark alleyways sprout rows of tumbledown shacks. The Negroes live in the swamps by the water's edge and boast the largest families. Big Mike Marano is the party organizer. He is a blacklisted steel worker, a huge, laughing Italian, whose dynamic vigor propels the whole movement into violent action. He wants to know whether the revolution will come within one year, two years at the most. He invites me, the communist leader from New York, to his house for a meal. He has six starved puling kids and a starved skinny wife. She is sullen and biting. They live on the top floor above a lumber-yard. His wife is antagonistic and secretly mortified at the sordidness of their life. She is covered with wounds, great gaping sores, and suffers from epileptic fits as a result of too much breeding and insufficient nourishment. She slaps the kids around and noisily sets the table, muttering half-apologies for the food. Black bread, blacker coffee, a plate of potatoes. I gulp quickly and act pleasant.

Everywhere they live to eat, even the little they have. Food is their one concern and their one obsession. The kitchen table is the most prominent and important object in the house,—just as the bed is in furnished rooms, and just as in big cities, the preparation of food is discreetly and genteely hidden in mysterious compartments and mechanical jig-jigs. In large families, all the children stay up until all hours in the morning to assist in the ritual of bread making. For bread costs too dear in the store. Bread and potatoes and coffee, the three staples, the three staunch props of life.

I live with a Ukrainian family, and Comrade Kurowsky being a plumber, is considered relatively prosperous and fortunate. First, we have a bathroom, and hot water twice a week. Second, we have cabbage soup and sometimes Halushka, which is indescribable. If I stay in Arnold, I have three meals a day. If I must wander around to other points in the section, hitching with good Comrade Yankel or alone, I sometimes eat twice a day. Only twice have I been annoyingly hungry, in the beginning. I endure certain discomforts unimaginatively and without poignancy.

Sometimes it is awkward, this business of living with a comrade. If I am in the house at an odd hour, or for more than an hour at a time, Comrade Kurowsky walks up and down making cackling noises and hints—You hungry? Maybe want something to eat? If I go into the kitchen it is worse. There follow long involved explanations of how long it is to dinner or supper, and what delicious morsels were put into the cabbage soup. It is not that I am hungry or that she is embarrassed. It is simply the law of life, the constant blind waiting for the next meal, the recognition of the vital social importance of food, the ideal translation of

wages into means for subsistence, the supreme working out of economic determinism in its most direct and primary stages.

And its consciousness is permeating me too, conditioning me so that however well gorged I may be, the mere sight of an oilcloth-covered kitchen table makes my mouth water foolishly; so that sometimes walking over any one of the million bridges between the towns, I will concoct fantastic adventures in which I pass a fruit store and buy an apple, a bakery and buy a doughnut. Apples I eat plentifully and even chocolate cake. But there you are, or rather, there I am.

All the kids spring from foreign parentage, mostly Slavic, and are angelically beautiful, devilishly tough and pitifully hemmed in by poverty. All they need is teaching—they scarcely need organizing. You don't have to convince them

verbally of the class struggle or class inequality. Their experiences soak them in such knowledge. Those who remember the strike glow with enormous enthusiasm.

The course of the movement here is breathless and lurching and crazy—like a scenic railway. We waver between hysterical joy and profound discouragement.

I am pounding this out in defiance of cold feet and a frigid office. Although I can no longer write with meaning, you must hear about the Hunger March . . . But fate intervenes. A meeting at the hall down the street. An opportunity to talk about the kids, to sell the magazine, to speechify vehemently. An opportunity to hear old Pomfret, the Scotchman, pound the table, the floor, anything within reach, and flamingly denounce Andy Mellon, his particular nemesis.

GIZELLA KALDOR

The Film-Fighting Arm

THE movie is a benevolent monster of four I's; Inventor, Investor, Impresario, Imperialist. Entertainment as propaganda: that is the movie. Its most eloquent and insistent attack is in behalf of the guiding eyes, in the interest of imperialism's major benevolence, War!

The American film reached its preeminence in the mercantile arena with the coming-of-age of American imperialism. It became responsible to and agent of American financial interests in the World War. In 1915, when we were ostensibly neutral, films were produced sympathizing with French and German soldiery but making of war a wistful attraction. That year England manufactured films with a dual purpose: to stimulate enlistment and to encourage Anglo-ophile sentiment in America. An English producer said to an American journalist at that time: "Our days—and nights too—are spent in glorifying the British and showing the Germans up in an unfavorable light . . . American exhibitors have no desire to violate Uncle Sam's admirable desire to be neutral." The tone, as well as sequence, is ironical. "Fooling the Fatherland" became, for American consumption, "A Foreign Power Outwitted." Of this film, advance notice said: "The explanatory matter of the play is to be so altered that it mentions either a nameless or fictitious power at war with Britain." But—"for all our scheming we fail to cover up the fact that the enemy wear German uniforms, and a 'doctored' photoplay may always be detected by others."

In September 1915, Hudson Maxim's preparedness tract, "Defenseless Peace," was filmed as "The Battle Cry of Peace." Henry Ford attacked the picture in full-page newspaper advertisements. "He pointed out," says Terry Ramsaye, "that Maxim munitions corporation stock was on the market." Thomas Ince served the platitudinous pacifist tract, "Civilization," which strengthened Wilson's campaign on the "Kept Us Out of War" ticket. The dubious pacifism produced "War Brides," instigated by the acuteness of feminism at that moment. It told "how a woman, driven to desperation by the loss of loved ones, defied an empire." Its romantic futility satisfied the uncritical pacifism that subscribed to, and was betrayed by, the Wilsonian slogans "too proud to fight," "watchful waiting," "he kept us out of war." How simple it was to convert these into one glamorous "make the world safe for democracy." "War Brides" was suppressed. The suppression was justified thus: ". . . the philosophy of the picture is so easily misunderstood by unthinking people that it has been found neces-

sary to withdraw it from circulation for the duration of the war."

William R. Hearst, more interested in Mexico and Japan than in Europe, took the serial, "The Last of the Cannings," glorifying the Dupont family and American womanhood, and converted it into "Patria," an attack on the objects of Hearst's phobias. We were not yet at war with Germany but close to it, and Japan was an ally of Britain, an enemy of Germany. Woodrow Wilson asked that the anti-Japanese touches be removed. The Japanese flag was lifted out, and, by contiguity, the Mexican too. Preparations for the war-objector, the C. O., (conscientious objector) were part of the preparedness propaganda. In the last months of 1916 "The Slacker" told of the conversion of a society butterfly into a flag-sycophant. It should be indicated also that the soldiers in "War Brides," against whom Alla Nazimova rose, were out-and-out German.

Films appeared romanticizing British history and espionage. In 1914 the *New York Herald's* outdoor showings of war-news brought counter-applause from Alliance and Entente sympathizers. "We were neutral with a vengeance in those days." But the financial interests were concentrating popular interest upon the Allies, and pro-British, pro-French films appeared. Pictures of our troops in Mexico, and the war abroad, had served to create an ennui for battle. The yearning was there, at first weak and confused, but steadily strengthened into violence by suggestion and direct hypodermic. The rape in Belgium was perpetrated in the studios of America. An uninterrupted propaganda turned America about face. The need was to create a sustained ambience of war-temper, to eliminate all qualifications, and to extract devotion, moral and material.

The impressionable directors set to. The Ince producers of "Civilization" emitted "Vive la France." Slogan films became plentiful. Love for our brothers-in-arms was instilled by films domestic and imported. The historic strifes of France were served to America: the French Revolution, the conquest of Algeria, 1870. The vestiges of admiration for Germany were dissipated by films like "The Kaiser the Beast of Berlin," made by the makers of "All Quiet." German-American support was bid for in tragic-comedies describing "the German Calvary of bestiality," "the hell-hounds," and "the repentant Kaiserman"; Chaplin ridiculed the Kaiser in "Shoulder Arms."

"War Brides" suppressed, the fair sex had been intrigued before our entrance by Geraldine Farrar in "Joan the

Woman." The symbol was Americanized in "Joan of Plattsburg." In 1916, "when everybody but the public knew we were going into the big fight overseas," a glittering Joan on a white horse, contributed by the movie people, had paraded in a suffrage march on Fifth Avenue. The movie stars, like Mary Pickford, became the symbolic Joans of American divisions in war. A miniature Joan, Baby Peggy, was loaned to the abominable harangue, "Don't be a slacker!", which kids spat on fathers of families. An insidious propaganda among children was instituted and developed. The "non-military" Boy Scouts had films especially made for them.

The C.O. and alien were shamed by "Don't bite the hand that's feeding you" films. German atrocities were insisted upon. All branches of the service were gilded. Drafted men, students "inducted" into the Student's Army Training Corps (ridiculed as "Safe at the College"), were humored and made "Fit to Fight" by venal films.

Government organizations found incentive in conjunction with England, citizen bodies, and the films corporations. An American Cinema Commission went abroad. With Creel's Committee on Public Information, the Red Cross set up the Division of Pictures, which released four films to one-third of the movie houses, "about the same number of audiences as Chaplin audiences." In New York there was the Mayor's Committee of National Defense, Jesse L. Lasky, motion picture chairman. The movie companies organized a War Cooperative Council. In 1918 the films are said to have put \$100,000,000 into the war chest. Movie stars spoke and carried on for the Red Cross, the Liberty Loan and enlistment. A propaganda slide in the cinemas read: "If you are an American, you should be proud to say so." The sale of Liberty Loan bonds was helped by 70,000 slides. Doug Fairbanks jumped from the roof for \$100 donated to the Red Cross. Chaplin sold autographed halves of his hat. The enlistments of movie stars was publicized, although many valuable ones joined the California Coast Artillery and organized the Lasky Home Guards. Captain Robert Warwick, film rave, told his public of the glories of war. Lasky himself was awarded an accolade. After the war the government cooperated with him in making "Wings."

The destruction of the Russian monarchy was seized upon as vindication of the slogan "make the world safe for democracy." But at the same time Russia's defection was threatening. Brenon, the chameleon who made "War Brides" before the war and was to make "Sergeant Grischa" after the war, directed "The Fall of the Romanoffs," in which Rasputin is the villain, the Czar a duped innocent, and the pogrom-maker of Tzaritzin (now Stalingrad), Iliodor "the mad monk" himself, is the saviour of Russia. "Anton the Terrible" admitted the guilt of the czarist officer, who apologizes for his cruelty, and condemned the revolutionary. Simultaneously an official Bureau stated that the American economic mission in Russia would use the movie to enlighten the uninformed Slavs "misled by German propaganda" and the "existing conditions in Russia" upon America's part in the war and "the German devastation of Belgium." "If Ivan laughs at Charlie Chaplin and falls in love with Mary Pickford," the economic mission would have an easy time.

The armistice did not end the anti-German film. Ibanez became the source for film-fare. There followed feminist anti-war films and grander ones that explicitly condemn war, but implicitly, by their nostalgic tone, their uncritical non-incisive pacifism, their sympathy with the protagonist, their censure of the stay-at-home, their excitement,

their comic interludes, their showmanship—all made war interesting. There were and are comedies making of war a farcical holiday. There is national competition. There are films complimenting the sacrifice of the mother who has lost her sons. There is governmental cooperation. Film-producers, impresarios, stars carry honorary military titles. The fan magazine recollects the stars who wore the uniform in 1917-18. All these total to just the state of mind that plays into the deliberate ambiguities of disarmament parleys. Whatever there is in war-films that might question war is too weak and unsustained, altogether too vague, too personal and apart, too hurried and hypocritical. The effect is panoply. Only the neurosis of "national honor" resents films like "All Quiet" and "Hell's Angels" as too stringent. While the German fascist resented the treatment of the German in "All Quiet," the French fascist applauded it, Laemmle, the producer, was urged for the Nobel prize, although he once made "The Kaiser the Beast of Berlin," and since "All Quiet" his company has produced a series of sergeant-private-girl war-farces starring one of the agonized Germans of his Nobel film.

An old vaudeville act of the war-hysteria period is revived in the movie, with the same player; revived with a fanfare finale. Fay Foster's wartime declamatory song, "The Americans Come," re-appears in a sententious "filler." Not for years has applause for "flag and country" been provoked as it has this year. RKO has a Patriotic Week publicly acclaimed by Vice-President Curtis. On Armistice Day the RKO Cameo Theatre in New York marches some ex-soldiers into a showing of an assembled film taking a pacifist tone for a jingoist message. The newsreel gets more and more crowded with war details. The navy is fitted for sound-projection. U. S. officers are instructed at Warner Brothers in the use of sound. The navy declines to cooperate in films ridiculing officers. Gobs may be derided but no film may invite seamen to laugh at gold braid. The movie continues increasingly as a recruiting medium through films that urge to Join the Navy and See "The Cock-Eyed World!" with a promise of "A Girl in Every Port," "Women of All Nations." A recruiting officer congratulates Fox on "Seas Beneath" as a recruiter. And there are films glorifying every service from diving to aviation and every American aggression from the War with Tripoli to the Nicaraguan invasion.

Today imperialism looks toward Soviet Russia for the next war's target. Accordingly the movie sets that land as the target of its melodrama. The Fox film "The Spy" is an overt idealization of the counter-revolutionary and a bid to assassinate Soviet officials. There will be many anti-Soviet films from Hollywood. The target however happens to be the one land whose *kino* indicts war as the natural expression of a competitive society. The Soviet *kino* selects epitomes, images at once real and symbolic, that concentrate the horrors of war and relate the war to its source. Andreas Latzko, in "Men in War," created a picture of war whose images are at once real, symbolic and relentless. No film-producer has proven his sincere condemnation of war by filming this book. Capitalist society wants its pacifism delectable. The late F. W. Murnau once said that the war-film he'd make would fill the screen with entrails. This is a correct passion but not enough. The Soviet *kino* goes beyond Latzko and Murnau by setting the war directly within the milieu producing it. A film devoted entirely to war can do nothing but make of war an ominous, therefore, compelling, universal. The Soviet motion picture makes war a portion of the film, the hideous peak of competitive, capitalist society.

HARRY ALAN POTAMKIN

Students Take the Lead

THE first step to ascertain the number of college students in need, and the extent of their need, has been taken not by college authorities or "public-spirited citizens," but by the students themselves. The Liberal Club of the evening session of the College of the City of New York recently presented to the College Administration a petition asking a census of student unemployment in the college, to be taken by the Administration and the student council. The club asks that these statistics together with information as to the adequacy of existing facilities for relief, be made public.

The Liberal Club has pointed a way which might well be followed by other liberal and social problems clubs in the country. The necessity for this sort of information is obvious. It is needed so that the measure of actual suffering which students are at present undergoing may not be concealed, and it is needed as a basis for demands for relief which the students must prepare to make.

Already cognizant in a general sense of the plight of the students, the Liberal Club at C.C.N.Y. goes ahead to incorporate in its petition several concrete demands for relief for unemployed students. It asks that text books and laboratory equipment be loaned to unemployed students without charge; that unemployed students be granted the free use of the college gymnasium and physical recreation courses, and that in the event college funds are inadequate to provide this relief, the student body be permitted to petition civic authorities for the necessary appropriations.

There is a valuable lesson in revolutionary tactics to be learned from the Liberal Club's example. In the case of general unemployment, government authorities did not move to establish reliable statistics until pressure was exerted from below, and what relief is now being given came because of fear of the rising tide of mass protest. In the case of student unemployment, it is the students who must take the initiative, both in demanding (and gathering) statistics, and in insisting upon relief. To paraphrase Marx, the emancipation of the students must be the task of the students themselves.

The petition of the club is quoted in full:

THE Liberal Club of the Evening Session of City College hereby petitions the administration of the Evening Session of the College of the City of New York that

1. A census be taken of the unemployed students of the Evening Session under the joint auspices of the Administration and the Student Council of the Evening Session.

2. Republication in "Main Events" of funds collected for unemployment relief from students in the Evening Session together with an official statement showing the amount of this money used in aiding students of the Evening Session.

3. Republication in "Main Events" of all sources administered by the Evening Session to which all students in the Evening Session may appeal for unemployment relief (how long they will last, how they may be replenished, etc.)

The Liberal Club wishes the foregoing measures to be taken for the purpose of furnishing reliable statistics which will make clear to the Student Body at large the adequacy or inadequacy of existing facilities for relief.

The Liberal Club further petitions that the necessary changes in the technical administration of the Evening Session be made in order that

1. Course text-books and other returnable equipment be

loaned to unemployed students free of charge for the coming spring semester with provision for the continuation of this policy during future semesters, according to the prevailing economic conditions.

2. Unemployed students be granted the free use of the gymnasium and associated courses of physical recreation.

3. Course fees for unemployed matriculated students in the Evening Session be suspended for the Spring session with provision for the continuation of this policy during future semesters, according to the prevailing economic conditions.

4. Laboratory equipment for unemployed students be purchased from the official funds of the Evening Session, and distributed to them free of charge.

5. Lastly, in the event College funds are inadequate for putting these measures into effect, permission be granted for organized petitions by the general student body to be presented to the Civic Authorities for necessary appropriations.

Liberal Club of the College of the City of New York, Executive Committee.

A Judicial Dispensation

I believe nature has sinned against you more than you sinned against nature. People like you are born with diseased minds. I sentence you to five days in which to cool off, and to you I give the option of ten dollars or two days."

Thus spoke our impartial judge, his honor, Judge David Hirshfield, in passing sentence upon Dubitsky and me. What was our crime? We had been distributing copies of the New Utrecht Student Council Bulletin in front of the New Utrecht school. What was the charge against us? "Littering the streets and unlawful distribution."

Beneath the charged offense and the judgment there lies the offensive of the rulers against the ruled. Because the Bulletin made demands for the children of the oppressed and exploited workers of the community, because the Bulletin voiced the spirit of enlightenment, because the students dared to defend their opinions, because the knowledge of the new is replacing that of the old, every opportunity to combat and retard this advance is utilized.

The stringency of the law was being directed once more against a violator, and not against a violation. I mean the legal process was employed not because we had violated a petty city ordinance, but because we, the adjudged guilty, had adhered to our constitutional liberties of free speech, free press, and the freedom of religious opinions.

Let me recount the facts of the case. On the fifth of November 1931, Dubitsky and I were accosted by two policemen for distributing the "New Utrecht Student Council Bulletin" in front of the school. Brought before the principal, Dr. Potter, for instructions as to further procedure, the police were summarily instructed to prefer a disorderly conduct charge. In the custody of the two officers and Dr. Leuchs, assistant principal, we were taken to the station house. There one of the officers gave a copy of the bulletin to the sergeant with the preferment of a disorderly conduct charge. The sergeant glanced through the brochure to discover the grounds for the serious charge. The purely school character of the articles (e.g.—cleaner and less crowded lunch room; accounting of all funds taken in through lunch room and G.O.; lower cost for milk and food purchased in school) did not, he believed, warrant the terroristic charge. A complete release, however, would be a concession to the students. There was only one outlet.

The mighty men of law and authority conferred for fifteen minutes and finally issued a "littering the streets and unlawful distribution" charge.

The summonses were handed to Dubitsky and myself. The next morning we appeared in answer and had our case adjourned until the twenty-fifth of November. On the appointed date we appeared to defend ourselves, supported by a contingent of seventy-five New Utrecht students, and two lone college students. The result of our defense was the above conviction.

I believe I have objectively related (if the reader will pardon a few parenthetical insertions) the facts. But facts—vague, cold, and unattached—have little significance. Nor has the sentence much import if not connected with the defense. I have already alleged that our conviction was the result of the fact that we based our defense on the rights granted in the constitution. A few illustrative excerpts from the proceedings will therefore, reveal the disregard of these rights, the prejudiced interpretation of the facts, and the vengeful sentence.

Upon taking the stand, three of our witnesses were questioned as to their belief in a God. And three times the judge refused my objections to the interrogation, made on the basis of their irrelevancy, by saying, "Sit down. I am the judge here and will ask any question I wish." He continued, "If you do not believe in a God or an Almighty Being, how can you take an oath? How do I know you will tell the truth?" Are these the questions of an impartial jurist?

When I asked one of our witnesses, an officer, in the New Utrecht Student Council to explain to the court the contents and the reason for the contents of the Bulletin, the judge struck the question from the minutes of the court on the ground that he was able to read the Bulletin and could ascertain for himself its nature. Yet for an impartial review of the case it would be necessary that the material of the magazine be recorded as it is the character of the material that would constitute the Bulletin as being legal or illegal for distribution. In referring our judge to the case of "People vs. Johnson" where the ruling was, that matter of a social, political or economic nature, was not subject to the ordinance against distribution of handbills, circulars, pamphlets and other advertising matter, he ruled that, "I consider this Bulletin to be a handbill and therefore a violation of the city ordinance." By deliberately ignoring the precedent established by the former ruling he revealed his bias.

It was when I appealed to the judge to dismiss the charge against us as being biased persecution by the school authorities that he declared that our minds were diseased. And then he sentenced us.

Is there need of further proof, further explanation to support my condemnation of the conviction as an action against us for practicing our "constitutional liberties of free speech, free press and freedom of religious opinions?"

But if our conviction will cause the students to cringe with fear, another victory will be added to the continuance of the rulers' state. Therefore, it was only natural that precedent should be obliterated, that new interpretations aiding the holders of power be given to statutes. Our conviction on a petty charge is the answer to the awakening of the plundered.

Some may still hold that justice is obtainable, that counsel can be secured free of charge to appeal the decision on our case. For those who believe so, I have the following information. The New Utrecht Student Council submitted our case to the Civil Liberties Union for appeal. They accepted. A week after accepting I received a letter from the C.L.U.

Westward Ho!

—by Leo Gruliow—

PUPILS FAINT IN SCHOOL

CHICAGO—After a Chicago school teacher reported that the children of one family became sick in school, investigation revealed that the boys and girls had not eaten a square meal for days, and that on the day they had fallen ill they had not eaten at all.

In one Chicago school, children fainted from lack of sufficient food. In another, it was revealed, the pupils are so reluctant to reveal their hunger that the teachers are forced to depend on weighing them to discover their condition.

Out of their own pockets the teachers supplied the undernourished children with food. These same teachers have received no cash pay since April.

These conditions are revealed in a letter to Frances Swain, head of the department of home economics for the Chicago board of education. Miss Swain is in charge of the penny lunches provided for starving school children.

Writing to the hungry school children's fund, one of the sob-sister activities of the Chicago Tribune, Anna R. Jordan, Chicago school principal, said:

"I wish to call your attention to the destitute condition of a great number of school children. Last year we received no help from outside agencies, and our teachers handled the most desperate cases. We spent \$100 a month. Our unexpended fund was placed in a neighboring bank, which failed. We anticipate great suffering this winter."

Kathleen McLaughlin, director of the Tribune fund, estimates from reports of officials that the number of starving pupils in Chicago schools is 15,000.

* * *

CHILDREN GET NICKEL MEAL DAILY

DETROIT.—This city now feeding 20,000 school children one meal a day in the schools, at a cost of 4c or 5c a meal, and for many it is the only food they get during the day, officials admitted while the mayor's unemployment committee conducted a drive for \$100,000 to keep up the feeding.

"Principals of nearly all schools tell us that hundreds of school children come to school each morning without breakfast," Dr. Frank D. Adams, chairman of the committee, said. "Their parents are too poor to buy them breakfast. If we are forced to stop feeding these malnourished children I do not know what will become of them."

No comment was noted as to the adequacy of a nickel-a-day diet for a growing child.

* * *

STUDENTS HARD HIT BY SLUMP . . .

MADISON, Wis.—Of 150 students who have withdrawn from the University of Wisconsin in the first few weeks of the semester, about half have been forced to drop

attorney stating that the cost of the minutes, in addition to other "necessary disbursements, makes it (the appeal) practically prohibitive."

What is there left to say? What additional explanation or invective need be added? For the student there is but one task—the acquisition and dissemination of the scientific interpretation of history, so that a society may develop free from injustices and oppression.

LOUIS JOEL

out by unemployment, bank failures and lack of funds.

A list of 40 withdrawals, selected at random, showed 16 due to lack of funds, two to unemployment and two to bank failures. Most of the remainder could not pay their fees and dropped out without explanation. One of the 40, who withdrew because he could not get a job, possessed a scholarship.

The unemployment bureau of the university has a record of more than 1,500 unemployed students who are wholly or partly dependent on jobs while at the university. Most of these will be forced to drop out if they cannot secure work, and the employment bureau is helpless.

The student loan funds have been penniless for some time. Many proposals for relief have been advanced by various individuals and groups. Nothing, however, was done until the Social Problems Club, newly organized radical club, demanded the right to hold a tag day, dance and other benefit events for jobless students. The university has now undertaken these projects. A post-season football game, proposed for purely student aid, wound up as a benefit for state unemployment relief, though there has been some agitation to reimburse the players and give some of the funds to the loan chest.

Communications

Fellow Students and Comrades:

From the University of Minnesota F.S.U. Club I want to send the heartiest greetings and congratulations at the launching of the Student League and the *Student Review*. Beginnings are always difficult, and usually are the most trying period for an organization of our sort. The fact, however, that we have started so successfully augurs well for the future and speaks highly of our determination and ability; and moreover, which is more important, is a guide and an inspiration for the groups that have yet to develop.

It is high time, indeed, that the lethargy of the American student be shaken, and that his latent powers be awakened and released for the enormous role they shall play in the gigantic socio-economic transformation now in prospect. In the past, with some admirable but insignificant exceptions, the students accepted with a happy and uncritical complacency the bourgeois order with its standards, norms and ideals.

This was not at all unnatural. The epoch of history from which we are just emerging was one of felicitous individualism, where the college youth was enabled to achieve a competence and to advance up the social scale with relative ease, where opportunity at least *appeared* a generous sort, and where the class structure was fluid enough to disguise to all but the keenest minds the predatory basis of our culture. It was this fact which determined the bent and bias of the ideology of our age.

Since the Civil War, however, class lines have been gradually but surely defining and establishing their limits; the class structure gradually but surely undergoing the process of crystallization. Along with this trend, the vicissitudes of the system have been growing more and more severe, and more and more unbearable. It was not entirely a national movement, it was international. The World War marked and caused the culmination of one stage of the process, the consummation of national capitalism. The new era was ushered in by the snapping of the weakest link in the chain, Russia, and the establishment there of proletarian dictatorship and socialist production. The rest of the world, since

then, has been in an unsettled, profoundly revolutionary condition.

In this country, partly due to the role we played in the war (i.e., as money lender and merchant), partly due to our opportunity for internal expansion, and partly due to our strategic position for foreign trade and for imperial conquest in Latin-America, we were able to achieve a much exaggerated but substantial prosperity. Thus we managed to evade for a while the fate which had overtaken the rest of the world. Now, of course, those forces have manifested the essentially transient character of our "prosperity," and the nemesis of our economic system, the protracted crisis, dominates the situation. It is obvious that no more shall we be allowed to consider our system as exempt from the historical characteristics and frailties of capitalism.

A peculiar significance of this depression, however, is that for the first time, the mental-technical industry, formerly the chief dependence of the college youth, is seriously affected. Heretofore, engineers, doctors, lawyers, technicians, etc., have always been certain of positions; there has always been a scarcity of them.*

At this writing, competition for positions has increased faster even than the number of jobs has diminished, as a result of forces which will be working with an added malignancy in the future. I do not think that it requires a very penetrating mind to realize that the material basis for this complacency of the students will be washed away.

We rest our hopes on a student movement, however, not alone on his depressed economic status and prospects. It is a fundamental axiom of Marxism that there must necessarily be material bases for action, an *objective situation* conducive to a left movement. But the objective conditions must be translated into the subjective psychology or will of the group, before they exert any effects. It is to this task that revolutionary parties address themselves, and it must be one of the first tasks of a revolutionary student movement.

The students are not, of course, a race apart. Under definite historical conditions they will react symptomatically. I do not think there has been enough recognition of the inevitability of the student's political apathy, as arising naturally and logically from the cultural and economic facts of his world. These facts are not only the basis upon which the whole ideological structure is reared, directing its general content and bias, but are also its specific framework. And conversely the ideological structure reacts to perpetuate the basic economic system. Unemployment in the mental-technical industry, arising from the failure of the economic framework, will disclose the weakness of the ideological structure. One may reasonably expect that this will have

*In our opinion, Comrade Gottlieb is in error here, unless he is speaking of a much longer-term trend than is indicated. Since the early part of the past decade, there has been a surplus of doctors, lawyers, educators and engineers, particularly in Eastern cities, although the same phenomenon has been noticeable in the South for the past five years.

This is confirmed in the measures adopted by colleges and professional schools to restrict the number of candidates, a policy which began early in the 1920's. Jewish and Negro students have been excluded or their numbers restricted. Educational requirements have been raised, some times to require an A.B. before admittance to schools of law or medicine. However desirable this requirement may be, it indicated, nevertheless, an increasing competition within the professions of law and medicine.

While a period of internship in hospitals has been required of physicians and surgeons for a number of years, it was more recent that, as in New York state, the rules regulating admission to the bar required six months' service as clerk in a law office. The legal profession, incidentally, has been most active in attempts to restrict competition within the profession. In the majority of states (perhaps in all) committees must pass on the "character and fitness" of candidates. In Florida and Alabama, where Jewish students from the East have gone to seek an education in the past decade, such questions as to "character and fitness" frequently revolve, unofficially, around the race, religion and patriotism of the applicant.

A timely note is the announcement in the New York Times of December 30, that only 1,031 candidates for admission to the bar were passed out of the 2,409 who stood for the examination. Which means, succinctly, that 1,378 former law students are added officially to the army of unemployed.—Editor's Note.

a marked effect on the attitude and psychology of the student.

Even with this situation obtaining, one might have grave doubts as to the materialization of a revolutionary student movement, except for the entry of a new and powerful force into the environment. Not only has our old system betrayed its weakness, but the new system is becoming before our eyes a powerful reality. Each year, despite limitations and handicaps, the productive forces of Soviet Russia are expanding; each year we expect a rise in the standard of living. Socialist culture, now in a rudimentary state, each year takes deeper root and develops higher and more fertile forms.

In contrast to this, as if to emphasize the merits of the socialist system, each year will the productive forces and the standard of living under capitalism be retarded and checked. As unemployment increases and even bare existence becomes more precarious, capitalism will become more visibly criminal in its inordinate waste and cruelty. Each year its ethical sanctions and its ideological supports will grow more hollow, spurious and bankrupt; meanwhile it will grasp at one palliative after another in a futile effort to remedy its disease and adjust its contradictions.

It is not necessary for Russia to construct a fully developed socialist society in order to contrast favorably with the capitalist world. If the Soviet Union only demonstrates clearly the superiority of socialist forms, principles and methods, if she only suggests what a socialist society will be, that is sufficient. I think she can and is doing that, with an ever increasing intensity.

It is upon the force of this contrast that I am relying to overcome the inertia of the cultural backwardness of the American student. This, combined with the restriction of opportunity to insufferable limits, the enforced idleness of thousands of mental-technical workers; when this dreary prospect dominates the student's mind, there is possible the rise of a fairly widespread student movement. It is not guaranteed in the sense that we may sit and wait fatalistically for its coming. It is simply that the objective possibilities are there, and if the vanguard of the students are farsighted, capable, energetic, if they have initiative, courage, and self-sacrifice, then the objective situation will realize its revolutionary potentialities.

It is because the formation of your paper is one of the indications of the awakening of the vanguard that significance it attached to it. Let us hope—and while we hope, diligently struggle—that it augurs “not the dusk but the dawn” of a revolutionary student movement.

Comradely yours,

M. GOTTLIEB.

High School Notes

MANY students were of the opinion that we had exaggerated when we stated in the last issue, that “. . . the suppression of the most elementary rights of free speech, press and association is a customary procedure in all high schools.” However, during the past month, the authorities have done their utmost to bear out our statement.

Mr. Bogart principal of M.H.S., persists in his refusal to readmit Rose Tekulsky. As we have already noted, Miss Tekulsky was expelled from school for her communist affiliations and her attempt to organize the students of Morris High in order to secure better conditions in the school.

In the Morris Evening High School, the Social Prob-

lems Club was disbanded by an irate faculty advisor who refused to permit a member of the club to report what took place at the conference of delegates from 15 high schools who formed the Interscholastic Students Rights League. An open air meeting held in front of the school to protest this high handed action, was dispersed by the police, who, like the American Legion, are also becoming interested in our educational system.

The Board of Education did whatever it could to prevent the organization of the International Students Rights League. The President and vice President of the Social Problems Club of Brooklyn Technical High School were forced to resign and banned from business meetings of the club because they had sent out the calls for the conference. This was done after “59th St.” (Board of Education) had punctually telephoned the principal of Brooklyn Tech.

The young journalist who edited the weekly paper of the Morris Students, the “Piper” received a forceful lesson in the benefits of a free press, and journalistic ethics. He had met a stone wall in attempting to print facts in the case of Rose Tekulsky. Finally, he was removed as editor because he refused to write an editorial on “Patriotism.” Surely the influences at Morris are conducive to the development of untrammelled thought.

The Soviet Union is anathema to those entrusted with the education of our future citizens. In Brooklyn Tech a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union was not permitted to deliver a lecture, accompanied with lantern slides, on the Soviet Union. Perhaps pictures were too convincing.

Bright and popular students who belong to the various Students Rights Clubs are thorns in the skins of the authorities. Thus one Morris student had his two service pins and his post as lieutenant on the lunch room squad taken away from him because he belongs to the Morris Students Rights Club.

From all evidence at hand it seems that our high schools will continue to accompany their theoretical teachings of *democracy*, with practical demonstrations of its working . . .

A most flagrant case of discrimination against Negro students is that of the Wadleigh High School. In that school, most of the students are colored. Consequently the authorities have never permitted a senior prom. But this term there will be a prom, and the colored girls will not be permitted to attend. Colored and white students should immediately show their protest and disgust with such contemptible policies of jim-crowism, by forcing the authorities to permit the Negro girls to attend the prom.

The Social Problems Club of Textile High in Brooklyn was disbanded because the club announced a discussion of the Scottsboro case. Club officers at Brooklyn Technical High were disciplined for similar activity. At DeWitt Clinton High, the Social Problems Club was not only disbanded but the members were threatened with expulsion.

The “sin” of the Clinton boys consisted in distributing a leaflet demanding an investigation of lunch room profits with a view of reducing prices to students. Other demands listed on the leaflet were for freedom of speech and press. The club also announced its support of candidates for student offices who recognized student rights as an issue. A. M. Clark, principal of the school, called the members into his office, it is reported, and said: “This school is not a democracy and I am the benevolent despot . . . Another blurb from your club, and there will be trouble. Those boys over 17 will be expelled, those under 17 will get no diploma and shall never be allowed to enter any college in the United States . . . Now get out!”

J. C.

How to Stop a Student Movement

In *The Changing Fabric of Japan* (Constable & Co., London, 1930) Captain M. D. Kennedy of the British Army discusses the Japanese student movement and offers a few suggestions as to how it may be vitiated:

It is among the Japanese student class, rather than in the ranks of labor, that advanced radical theories have made the most headway, and it is of the danger from this quarter that the authorities are particularly apprehensive. While, however, these fears are undoubtedly justified to some extent, it is open to question whether some of the steps taken to counter the danger have not been calculated to increase rather than diminish it. On the occasion of the country-wide round-up of communistic elements in the Spring of 1928, for example, the social study groups in universities and other educational institutions, thirty-two in all, were disbanded by order of the government, several university professors suspected of radical views were forced to resign and 147 students were either arrested or expelled. Somewhat similar steps had been taken three years previously, in 1925, the year that saw the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law. This same repressive policy was continued down to the end of 1929 and resulted in further arrests and expulsion of students—girl students included—and the enforced retirement of several more radically inclined professors.

No doubt the authorities hoped by this means to intimidate them to such an extent that students would be frightened off indulging their curiosity for the study of this forbidden science. To some extent they may have succeeded; but "forbidden fruits" are always sweetest. The main effect of the prohibition was, therefore, to urge the bolder spirits to do in secret what formerly could be done openly, while the drastic punishment, meted out to those detected, only served to arouse sympathy for the delinquents and to increase the desire of greater numbers to find out for themselves what there was in this forbidden science to make it so delectable.

It is not without significance that the many hundreds of alleged communists, rounded up in the past two or three years, have included a large number of university and college students. It is, moreover, a matter of no small alarm to the authorities that, whereas formerly the radically-minded students were mainly from the lesser seats of learning and were of rather inferior type, increasingly large numbers are now being found in the Imperial universities and other government institutions, and are youths of high educational and social standing.

While, however, the policy of drastic repression seems to have done more harm than good, the root of the trouble appears to lie, as it did in pre-Revolutionary Russia, in the educational system, which turns out far more men from the higher seats of learning, the universities and colleges, than can be absorbed into positions requiring men of their standard of learning. In part, the industrialists and big commercial firms and banking institutions must be held responsible for this, as they are obsessed with the diploma craze. No matter how able an applicant for a position may be, it is almost impossible for him to get himself accepted unless he can produce a certificate of graduation. The result is that there is a wild scramble amongst parents to send their sons to university or college. Thus the seats of learning are cluttered up with youths of mediocre ability, who act as a drag on those of real talent and have little prospect of finding employment after graduation.

What makes the matter still worse is that a very large proportion of these students—some authorities put it as high as two-thirds—come from the poorer classes. To enable them to receive this higher education, their parents are frequently forced to borrow money at high rates of interest and to mortgage such property as they may possess. In order to redeem these debts, it is essential, therefore, for the sons to find employment as soon as they have graduated; but in all too many instances employment is unobtainable. The increasingly large body of disgruntled unemployed "intellectuals" thus formed has brought about a serious social problem, for men of this type are a far greater menace to the existing order of society than the ordinary unemployed

laborer of the working class. After many years of study and the expenditure, in many instances, of all they possess in paying for a college or university education, they feel a grievance against society and their fellow men in general for failing to provide them with positions. In this frame of mind they are easily worked on by radical propagandists and others. These are the men, if trouble ever comes, who, owing to their superior education, become the leaders and organizers of a revolutionary movement.

In many respects they are a greater potential danger to the state than are those students who surreptitiously indulge in the study of social science. The latter may be temporarily imbued with radical theories but, provided they are not taken too seriously and are not subjected to unmerciful persecution by the authorities, their youthful enthusiasm for such theories is likely to die a natural death after a few years of experience with the stern practical realities of life. The unemployed "intellectual" on the other hand, is a man with a definite grievance against society, a grievance that rankles more and more the longer he is out of work.

Unless a fundamental reform is carried out in the present system of education, the problem of the unemployed "intellectual" is likely to get worse rather than better. The recent instructions, on the subject warning parents against "aimless higher education" for their children, may be regarded, therefore, as a move in the right direction. So too is the decision of the same government department to establish closer relations between university and college authorities and students' parents, and to set up employment offices with a view to checking the present growth of unemployment amongst youthful "intellectuals."

In taking such steps as these, the educational authorities have shown a breadth of vision that has, in the past, been all too often lacking. Even more are they to be commended for the decision announced at the same time, in January 1930, to drop the repressive policy of the past few years. Henceforth, instead of banning the study of radical theories, there are to be lectures on social problems, and courses are to be held for a thorough study of Marxian and similar radical doctrines. Students are to be encouraged to carry out "healthy research" in such matters and to bring a critical attitude of mind to bear on them. For the control of radically-inclined students, arrangements are to be made for their supervision and correction, instead of expelling them, and a special group of professors is to be formed to associate closely with them under wholesome conditions.

The success of this scheme will, of course, depend largely on the way it is carried out and on the type of professor employed. Marxism is a dull and heavy subject, and much of the incentive to study and imbibe it will be gone when, instead of being forbidden fruit, it becomes a compulsory subject! On the other hand, if the students become suspicious as to the honesty of the criticisms which their instructors attempt to apply, they are likely to seek information from less desirable sources and the authorities will defeat their own aims. Nevertheless, the scheme itself is a sound one provided it is not abused, and the authorities have done well to substitute it for the former policy of drastic repression, which was tending to create a situation fraught with dangerous possibilities for the future.

That it will eliminate student unrest entirely is too much to expect, but it is a step in the right direction, for the whole question of student unrest in Japan bears a close resemblance to its counterpart in pre-revolutionary Russia, and therefore, requires careful handling, if it is to be prevented from developing further in the same direction. Not only, as already noted, is there the same wild rush for higher education and insufficient jobs for those who have received it. Nor is it only that the same phenomenon of universities and colleges overcrowded with poverty-stricken students is observable. There is also the same spectacle of students forced by poverty to wear old and dishevelled clothes, and to live in very second-rate boarding establishments in the unhealthy, squalid surroundings on an insufficient diet of food of the poorest quality. There is, too, the same tendency towards insubordination, discontent, frequent resort to strikes, and refusal to attend lectures. Unpopular teachers and professors are

often intimidated, and in all too many cases unruly students are given their own way, whether or not their grievances are justified.

What with unduly severe official repression on the one hand and insufficient attempts to enforce discipline on the other, the problem of student unrest seems to be taking on an increasingly grave aspect. There is one bright spot however, in this otherwise gloomy picture. This is the growing popularity of healthy competitive games and outdoor sport and recreation of all kinds. The pre-Revolutionary student in Russia had little or no opportunities for working off his superfluous energies in healthy amusements. He was, in most cases, afforded no facilities for indulging in athletics, and he took no interest in such forms of diversion from his scholastic studies. The conditions under which he lived made him discontented, and his spare time was spent largely in brooding over his grievances, both real and imaginary, and nurturing them by participating in political debates inveighing against the existing social system, which was considered to be at the bottom of all his troubles. Both physically and mentally, therefore, he lived in an unhealthy atmosphere, which inevitably bred a spirit of revolution and revolt against society. Had it been possible to divert his thought and activities to healthy competitions in athletic sports, the world might have been spared the worst horrors of the Bolshevik Revolution; but it was not to be. It is a welcome sign that, in spite of so many resemblances between present day student unrest in Japan and similar unrest in pre-War Russia, there is this one great difference; the Japanese student is taking rapidly and readily to outdoor sport and recreation.

Student Breadlines

CLIPPED FROM THE DAILY PRESS

The former International Y.M.C.A. quarters were opened yesterday as a "white collar" hotel with accommodations for about 100 destitute men.

Applications were received yesterday directly at the building and some were also forwarded from Y.M.C.A. branches. Among the applicants were said to be honor men with Phi Beta Kappa keys, junior accountants, architects and engineers.

At the headquarters of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, it was said that about 10 per cent of those occupying dormitories were out of work.

Walter N. Polakov, an engineer, of 25 Fifth Avenue, in a letter yesterday to A. H. Kidder, chairman of the finance committee of the Professional Engineers Committee on Unemployment, suggested a "moratorium" on the training of engineers and technical men for a year or two in view of the unemployment.—*New York Times*.

* * *

URBANA, Ill., Dec. 19 (AP).—Free meals for needy students were voted today by the University of Illinois Senate Unemployment Relief Committee. Meal tickets will be given to students unable to find sufficient employment to support themselves or whose funds were tied up in the recent closing of a bank. These will be honored by the campus restaurant and redeemed by the relief committee.

New York Times, Dec. 20.

HE APPRECIATES HOOVER...

STANFORD UNIV., Cal.—"Hoover prosperity" is helping some one besides Hoover, according to Alphonse Deleyon, 80, cobbler for Stanford University students. Deleyon soled shoes for Hoover when he attended Stanford, and now claims that his business is improved because students have their shoes repaired instead of buying new ones. He appreciates Hoover.

War Symposium

APPROXIMATELY 800 students attended the war symposium staged by the Student League on December 5 at the New School for Social Research in New York City. The meeting was lively and enthusiastic and was marked by much discussion from the floor.

Enrique Zanetti, professor of chemistry at Columbia University opened the afternoon session with a discussion of chemical warfare. Professor Charles Hodges of the department of Political Science of New York University spoke on the subject: *Is War Inevitable?*, from the negative point of view, expressing the belief that war may be eliminated by the infiltration of "peace psychology" into the minds of the people. William F. Dunne, editor of the *Daily Worker*, opposed Professor Hodges and declared that not only is war inevitable under Capitalism, but at that moment, a war was in progress in Manchuria as the result of imperialist contradictions.

In the evening session, Joseph W. Cashman, speaking as a representative of the National Security League, rebuked anti-war expressions as unpatriotic and un-American. August Claessens of the Rand School and former Socialist assemblyman, spoke from the socialist and pacifist point of view. Dr. Abraham Markoff, director of the Workers School, gave a Marxist analysis of the world situation.

Corliss Lamont of the Columbia philosophy department, and Addison T. Cutler of the Columbia economics department, presided at the afternoon and evening sessions, respectively.

In protest against the massacre of Chinese students by Kuomintang police and soldiery, the National Student League held a mass meeting on December 22 at Washington Square college of NY.U. Speakers were Chang Fu Chang, a student of Chinese affairs; Joshua Kunitz, author who has recently returned from central Asia, and Max Weiss, student leader.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Be it resolved at this meeting to the National Student League, here assembled:

"We protest the massacre of Chinese students in Nanking by the Chinese government and demand the cessation of persecution of revolutionary Chinese students and writers.

"We protest the aggression of Japan against the Chinese masses in Manchuria with the tacit assent of the League of Nations and the government of the United States.

"We declare unequivocally our solidarity with the 80,000 Chinese students who demonstrated against the war-lord government of China which is supported by extensive credit from American business interests."

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The Metaphysics of Proletarian Science

A Proletarian revolution is a radical revolution. It uproots the whole social structure and builds on a new economic foundation a new set of social and intellectual principles. One may gather from "Science at the Cross Roads"* some notion of these new intellectual and social concepts and their relationship to the basic economic organization.

Western scientists will resent much of this book. Such phrases as "bourgeois science" and the "crisis of bourgeois science" will have an antagonistic effect. But what the Soviet scientists attack is not the scientific method or the fruits of this method. The very fact that an enormous amount of scientific research is now in progress in Soviet laboratories is proof of this. Moreover the first steps toward the liquidation of the capitalist state and the construction of a socialist society, arising as they must from the proletarian class struggle, are nevertheless fortified by knowledge gained from the storehouses of bourgeois natural sciences. Scientific knowledge is thus the most useful heritage which the proletariat acquires from capitalist society.

What the Soviet scientists are attacking then, is "bourgeois science" in the sense of the use of science and scientific discoveries by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois apologists.

Their main theses are:

1. There exists in capitalist countries an unjustifiable distinction between "pure" science and applied science.
2. Science in the hands of the bourgeoisie is used not to ameliorate the lot of the masses but for the exploitation of the masses.
3. In a country like the Soviet Union, science opens for itself new vistas and is bound to advance with unprecedented acceleration.

The paper of Bukharin, "Theory and Practice from the Standpoint of Dialectical Materialism" which prefaces the book, will be treated here briefly as probably the most important of all the essays contained in the work. The other essays will be treated in subsequent issues.

Bukharin touches upon a few vital philosophical problems. The impressiveness of his arguments is due not so much to the evidence which he brings to bear on the problems, as to the spirit with which he approaches them. The spirit is that of one who lives at the threshold of a new social order—a social order in which socially useful activity is the very basis of its structure. It is one in which the surrounding world is looked upon with a realism such as can be attained only in a healthy social atmosphere. It is one where hope and desire to live, to build, and to create, take the place of melancholy brooding over the evils of this world, of pessimism, of idealism, of religion and of naive optimism (which in the long run is only an apology for a decaying bourgeois society.)

Bukharin discusses the old epistemological question of how knowledge is possible and how we can be said to know the external world. Anyone familiar with philosophy will know that this problem has led the Western philosophers into all sorts and shades of idealism and mystical metaphysics. Perhaps he will also be familiar with the attempts made by the more realistic philosophers to refute them. But only in the hands of Bukharin do the arguments advanced for the refutation of idealism acquire force and conviction. The reason for this is not far to seek. Idealism cannot be

refuted logically, but a healthy outlook upon the world coupled with realization that action, and not passive contemplation, gives us knowledge of the external world (the acquisition of which is a social function) makes idealism a far-fetched and irrelevant doctrine. The very conception of a living society which moulds nature to its own ends, which looks upon individuals as active participants in social activities beneficial to the whole society, leaves no room for such a highly individualistic philosophy as idealism.

The "irrefutable axiom," as Bukharin points out, 'I have been 'given' only 'my own sensation' is untenable. It would perhaps be irrefutable for an "epistemological Robinson Crusoe" but an animal who reacts to a social and physical environment cannot honestly accept it. "Any empirical subject," says Bukharin, "always goes beyond the bounds of 'pure' sensual 'raw material'; his experience, representing the result of the influence of the external on the knowing subject in the process of his practice, stands on the shoulders of other people. In his 'I' there is *always* contained 'we'. In the pores of his sensations there already sit the products of *transmitted* knowledge ("the external expression of this speech, language and conceptions adequate to words"), or to use Bukharin's quotation from Marx, "The doctrinaire professor represents the relation of man and nature from the very outset not as practical relations—i.e. those founded on action, but as *theoretical* . . . But people never begin under any circumstances with standing in theoretical relationship with *objects outside the world*. Like other animals, they begin by *eating, drinking, etc.*—i.e. they do not 'stand' in any relationship, but *function actively* and with the help of their actions take possession of certain objects of the outside world and in this way satisfy their requirements."

The very fact that man must act, forces him to posit an external world. This has been voiced by many a philosopher, but it is only in a proletarian state that the significance of this statement can be fully realized and understood. Another point is that man does not *behave* as though the external world was unreal; hence Bukharin's statement that "in practical life there are no seekers after solipsism, there are no agnostics, no subjective idealists," is most important.

It is worthwhile to note, as Bukharin points out, that idealism assumes its enormous significance from the fact that in a class society, action acquires an invidious connotation while contemplation is exalted and glorified. In this relation, Bukharin declares that the distinction between theory and practice is entirely artificial. Thinking, theorising and producing are all human, social activities. Not only is it that they are not opposed to each other but that they are, in fact, complementary. "Great practices require great theories."

"If we examine theory not as petrified systems, and practice not as finished products—not, that is, 'dead' labor petrified in things but in *action*—we shall have before us two forms of labor activity, the bifurcation of labor into intellectual and physical labor, 'mental and material,' theoretical cognition and practical cognition. Theory is accumulated and condensed practice."

That this distinction between theory and practice is an outgrowth of the very nature of capitalist production can be seen from the fact that in a rationally planned social and economic system, the distinction automatically disappears.

"In the economic life of socialism the distribution of resources (means of production and labor power) takes place as the constructive task of a plan. But the plan does not

* Science at the Cross Roads, Kniga, London; (in America, Amtorg or the Workers' Bookshop). \$2.50.

fall from the sky; it is itself the expression of recognized necessity. Consequently, here

- a. the tasks of cognition expand to a colossal degree;
- b. this cognition must embrace a huge quantity of problems, and must express itself in the work of all branches of science;
- c. this cognition must become synthetic, because a plan is a synthesis;
- d. this cognition is directly bound up with practice; it relies on practice, it serves it, it passes into it, for the plan is active: it is at one and the same time a product of scientific thought, and an instrument of action.

But the plan of Socialist construction is not only a plan of *economy*: the process of the *rationalization of life*, beginning with the suppression of irrationality in the economic sphere, wins away from it one position after another: the principle of planning invades the sphere of mental production, the sphere of science, the sphere of *theory*."

"... One can feel with one's hands, as it were, how the requirements of the rapid and intensive growth of the U.S.S.R. imperiously dictate the solution of a number of technical problems, how the solution of these problems, in its turn, dictates the posing of the greatest theoretical problems, including the general problems of physics and chemistry."

Against the cultural decay of the capitalist system, against the supernatural philosophies that are springing up daily in bourgeois countries, Bukharin offers the following hopeful realistic note in his concluding paragraph—

"In complete opposition to this comprehensible development, young Socialism is arising—its economic principle, the maximum of technical economic power, planfulness, development of all human capacities and requirements: its cultural-historical approach determined by the Marxist outlook: against religious metaphysics, advancing dialectical materialism: against enfeebled intuitive contemplation, cognitive and practical activism: against flight into non-existent metaphysical heavens, the sociological self-cognition of all ideologies: against the ideology of pessimism, despair, 'fate', *fatum*, the revolutionary optimism which overturns the whole world: against the complete disruption of theory and practice, their greatest synthesis: against the crystallization of an 'elite', the uniting of the millions.

It is not only a new economic system which has been born. A new culture has been born. A new science has been born. A new style of life. This is the greatest antithesis in human history, which both theoretically and practically will be overcome by forces of the proletariat—the last class aspiring to power, in order, in the long run, to put an end to all power whatsoever."

M. A. G.

College As It Might Be

The Student Speaks Out. A symposium from twenty-two colleges. The New Republic, \$1.00.

The students speak out. From twenty-two colleges in the United States they speak out in disillusionment and in hope. Their disillusionment is well founded; their hope not so firm.

All the contributors agree that our culture as transmitted to us in the American college and university is meaningless and without social relevance. "The present liberal-arts college endeavors to transform us into scholars and gentlemen." "The colleges persist in ramming a single traditional diet down . . ." The function of the college and the university is vague; our philosophy of education fosters injurious individualism; the philosophy of cooperation of Dewey remains unapplied.

What do we need? How can life within the college walls take on meaning when placed in juxtaposition with life outside the college walls? What is the source of the evil? How can it be cured? The confusion in the answers to these questions reflects the social confusion of which these students complain. They agree that the problems are fundamental, that the solution must be basic. And without exception they suggest unsatisfactory superficial remedies.

George A. Graham of Monmouth College in his essay, "Tommyrot Taught Backward" would have the college teach "life"—the phenomena of "poverty, unemployment, war, marital troubles, trade rivalries, strikes." The answer of every college administration to this demand would be, "Why, we do teach that. We have courses in labor problems, in history, in law." Mr. Graham could answer to that, "Then you teach us life as you wish us to see it, not as it is." And Mr. Graham could deduce from his own answer the fundamental unsoundness of this remedy. He wishes the interests of the students to be made the interests of the administration in a system where the interests of the

administration must be made the interests of the students. In another book in this New Republic Series, "The American College and Its Rulers" by J. E. Kirkpatrick, the influence of financial and business interests on college policy is explained—is seen to be fundamental, inevitable and universal in its application. It is this policy of American business that Mr. Graham is attempting to change—through the agency of American business.

Colleges and universities like other social institutions have, as Kirkpatrick says, their "rulers," have therefore a given class alignment, a given class philosophy. But the majority of the students today, especially in the state colleges, cannot orientate themselves in the class whose standards they took over as their own. An economic process has been shifting classes, narrowing or reshaping them. Our educational system has not kept pace with this revolutionary process.

It would train the sons and daughters of businessmen in the thought patterns of an outgrown aristocracy. It would train in the more proletarian city colleges the children of the workers to be respectably middle-class—although economic forces are gradually making it more and more difficult to attain success in the professional field. It is sending hundreds of thousands of men and women into a bankrupt world where these graduates cannot find themselves.

The student speaks out, but he must speak with less illusions and more logic. He must see that the shortcomings of modern culture and the modern educational system are not superficial shortcomings, but are symptoms of the deeplying evils of the whole economic and social structure. The solution to the educational problems cannot be found until this major problem is solved, until, in short, society and its economic institutions are integrated in a classless, socialist order.

C. S.