

The Student Review

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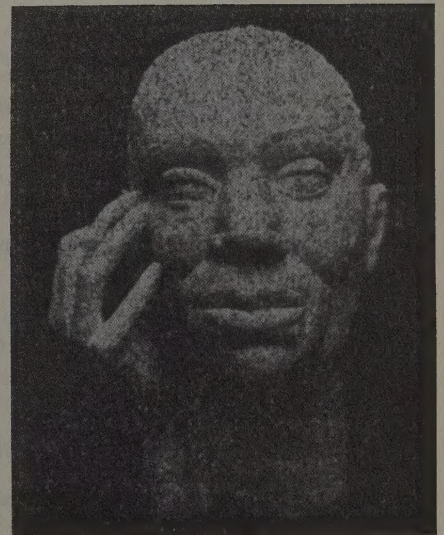
To Seventeen Chinese Students

An Open Letter

KARL RADEK: An Answer to Stuart Chase

The Negro Student

by Everett L. Beane



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The Student Review is 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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The STUDENT REVIEW

Organ of the National Student League

VOLUME I.

MARCH, 1932

NUMBER 3

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Editorials

THE federal government has not one cent for the unemployed, but billions of dollars for the banking system. In response to the frantic wails of the bankers, the government has let the whole camel of inflation into the tent of the American money system. The camel's head and shoulders poked into the tent when the National Credit Corporation was set up last fall. The hump got in with the hurried passage of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation this January. And now the rump and tail are being pushed in with the "Glass-Steagall" bill which sweeps away the last safeguards of the Federal Reserve System. This bill, like the others, was first concocted between Hoover and the bankers, then blessed by the ringmasters of the Congressional circus who breakfasted with Hoover at the presidential mansion on February 10, and then placed on the steam-roller for immediate passage.

The three measures may be described as follows:

(1) The National Credit Corporation. This device was grandly announced as a plan for "thawing out frozen assets" held by the banks. The banks of the country were to set up a National Credit Corporation and subscribe capital to it. The new corporation was to lend money to banks in trouble and for that purpose was empowered to issue debentures up to a billion dollars. Indirect governmental support was provided by a grant of authority for the substitution of the debentures of the new corporation for govern-

ment bonds now held as security for Treasury deposits in depository banks. However, the terms upon which loans were to be made by the new Corporation were so stiff, that the banks most in need of "relief" couldn't get it. Hence a bigger and better bank-relief scheme was needed. The National Credit Corporation was largely window-dressing,—an elaborate machinery of bank relief which was supposed to look good enough to stop people from drawing money out of banks.

(2) The Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This is inflation on a larger scale. The federal government has subscribed \$500,000,000 to the new corporation and the latter is authorized to issue its own bonds to the tune of another billion and a half. These bonds have the absolute guarantee of the federal government. The total resources of the Corporation are to be used for lending money to the banks and other financial organizations at the discretion of Charlie Dawes and his confreres in charge. In other words the government backs up the swapping of new bonds for old frozen assets. The government might as well print paper money. In the next scheme it arranges for that, too.

(3) The Glass-Steagall bill. Here, the "safety" provisions of the Federal Reserve System which have been so much touted ever since the system was established in 1914 are largely swept away. The Federal Reserve Banks are empowered to lend to member banks not only on the basis of "self-liquidating" commercial paper, as heretofore, but also on the basis of any other collateral the Federal Reserve Banks see fit to receive. This means that frozen railroad bonds, real estate mortgages and even industrial stocks will probably be discounted at the Federal Reserve. Furthermore the requirements for the issue of Federal Reserve Notes are "liberalized" so that government bonds can be substituted for commercial paper in the backing of the notes. (The 40% gold coverage is still required.) Since about \$9,000,000,000 of government bonds are now held by the banks, the possibility of new note issues is considerable.

So it seems that one inflation scheme is hardly under way before another and bigger one arrives on its heels. This is always the way of inflation. A few ingenious elements of sophisticated complexity have been added in the present case.

As for the result—prices will go up, the government will pay its debts with depreciated money, the speculators will have their plunges made good (in depreciated money) and the cost of living for the masses will go sky-rocketing. This is how inflation started in Europe. We know from past experience that once started on the road to inflation it is difficult to stop. This appears to suit the fat boys of finance very well. The only flies in the ointment, from their point of view, are that the dollar may crack wide open in the process (that is, go the way of the German mark in 1923) and that the workers may not stand for the new burdens.

All the "progressives", reformers, rationalizers, "Socialists" etc., should take comfort from these financial schemes. Their fondest dreams of closer rapprochement between government and business are in a process of realization. That their slogans of "social control of business" will

mean in this case, as they have actually meant in the past, not government regulation of business but government as the faithful servant of business, does not apparently, bother them. What must bother them, if they are not so obtuse as to escape its implications, is that the United States government is holding the bag on some very shaky speculations.

If the business system is as unsound as these attempts to bolster it indicate, then a further depression cannot be averted by this bit of legerdemain. New lows in production and new highs in unemployment are inevitable, and as usual, the worker and the small farmer must bear the brunt of the government's unsuccessful speculation.

Workers and students will not be deceived by these measures. The government remains a businessman's government until the workers make it theirs.

CARDOZO AND THE TIMES

WHILE the applause rises on all sides at the appointment of the "liberal", Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo, to the position on the Supreme Court recently vacated by Oliver Wendell Holmes, a somewhat dissonant but realistic note is injected by the *New York Times*. Agrarian, farm-labor, liberal and other petty bourgeois elements have in particular hailed the appointment of Cardozo as a step toward "liberalizing" the law of the land in the direction of more consideration for the oppressed elements in the population. The *Times* in an editorial on the appointment seeks to reassure whatever qualms its Wall Street friends may entertain at Mr. Hoover's sudden liberalism, and at the same time to gloat over the deluded Senators who speak for the agrarian and petty-bourgeois constituencies.

"They (the Senators) do not know Judge Cardozo as well as they think they do," says the *Times*. "From the large body of judicial decisions it may, indeed, be deduced that he often applies his luminous mind to the discovery of ways in which old principles of justice may be lifted to new conditions. But it also may be deduced that he has profound respect for the ancient ways, and will not allow his feet to stray from them except for valid reasons shown. He also has rigid ideas about the obligation of a judge to interpret and apply the law as it stands, not necessarily as he thinks it ought to be. Doubtless he will be found, on occasion, as Mr. Justice Holmes was frequently found, siding with the 'conservative' judges of the Supreme Court, in a way to cause some of the loose-minded 'liberals' to stumble."

The *Times* is usually realistic where the interests of the property-owning class are involved. If the editor of the *Times* has no objections to the appointment of Justice Cardozo, the workers can be sure that his appointment is not to their interest.

STUDENTS ABROAD

CHINESE students rioted in Harbin on January 4—(United Press). King Alexander learned what students thought of his regime when on January 15 he drove past the university in Belgrade and saw the students in a fight with police as a result of their demonstration against his dictatorship—(*New York Times*) At a meeting preliminary to student elections, Nazi, Socialist and Communist students fought a pitched battle in a large hall of the Berlin University on January 22. Seven students were held by the police.—(*Times*) The reopening of the university in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, reopened student protests on January 24. The students complained of intolerable treatment of the whole populace and protested against a Parliament "created by force and fraud with the police constituting a power unto themselves." The dissatisfaction of the students was attributed "to the depressions, and the ex-

traordinary political conditions."—(*Times*) Mexican students refused on January 22 to participate in the Pan-American student congress except on the basis of condemnation, by American students, of imperialism.—(*Associated Press*) On January 27, Slovene students suppressed their Belgrade and Zagreb colleagues in a demonstration against Premier Zhivkovitch. Student meetings were punctuated with cries of "Down with the bloody dictatorship."—(*Times*) In London the Prince of Wales made "a striking appeal for service" to 10,000 boys and girls at a meeting in Albert Hall. "The enemy today," said the Prince, "is depression and apathy."—(*Times*) Seventeen Chinese students at Columbia, sent a cablegram to the Chinese government requesting permission to return to China to engage in active service against Japan.—(*Times*) On February 10, 800 Japanese students of the Imperial University staged a demonstration against the Shanghai and Manchurian expedition of the Japanese government. Red flags were unfurled. Sixty policemen arrested 25 students.—(*Times*) The Cuban House of Representatives and Senate passed on February 16 a bill providing for military court action on persons charged with bombing or terroristic activities. The 150 students in jail who are, according to the dispatch, "the administration's most uncompromising enemies," were to be tried immediately. The death penalty was provided for in the bill.—(*Times*) After a Communist demonstration in Havana, on February 21, the secret police asserted that the real nucleus of the group was the left wing of the student body of Havana University, most of whom were already in jail awaiting trial in the military courts.—(*Times*).

AT HOME

A dispatch from Berkeley, California, states that 60 students are working their way through college by the sale of their blood for transfusions The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department estimates that more than 3,000,000 children from seven to seventeen years of age, who would have ordinarily remained in school, are out to work, although many have not found employment The National Education Association says that 5,000 schools have closed because the school districts or counties have no funds Organizations report that overworked teachers whose pay has been cut, or even stopped, have fed and clothed needy pupils out of their own pockets Although New York school officials disclaimed making any attempts to compel teachers to contribute five percent of their salaries for unemployment relief, there was posted on February 11 on the time clock of DeWitt Clinton High (of which A. Mortimer Clark is principal) the notice: "February contributions to the relief fund are now due. New rates are effective." On February 16, fifteen young women, ranging in age from 18 to 23, were expelled by police from the New York emergency work bureau when they refused to leave after they had been told they could not be registered as applicants for work A questionnaire circulated among sophomores at Columbia College showed that half of the class are engaged in work to help pay their way through college. . . . To 339 girls graduating from Hunter at mid-year, Dr. James M. Kieran, president, said "I congratulate the students on starting their careers in times like these. The material things of the world are scarcer now, and we can appreciate them more when we get them."

LEARN FROM HARRY SIMMS

A nineteen-year-old youth trudged along the railroad track which connected one small mining town, Pineville, with Barbourville, another. There were five miles to

be covered before noon and the February air was chilly.

He was a worker's kid, and a worker himself. Born in a New England textile town, he had learned early what it means to earn one's subsistence by labor. He knew what it means to punch a time clock and follow a machine through a back-breaking monotony, day after day. He knew what it means to stand in line for a slim pay envelope that doesn't contain enough to buy the sort of food and clothes that would keep a fellow warm and healthy. He didn't like it and when he was sixteen, he learned that he could do something about it. He joined the Young Communist League.

That was why he was here, in Kentucky, tramping along a railroad track toward Barbourville. As a member of the League, he had made common cause with the miners who were also fighting the conditions that sit so heavy on a workman. Now he was on his way to arrange relief for miners and their families on strike with the National Miners union. So many of the leaders of the Union had been jailed that, young as he was, a large burden of the work was falling on his youthful shoulders.

The employers knew this, and their agents, the deputies, knew it. What transpired that February morning was only a grim sequel to that fact.

Harry Simms was the youth. Green Lawson, a district organizer for the Union, accompanied him. They had walked but a short distance when a "hand-car" see-sawed up behind them. When they stepped to the path beside the rails, it rolled ahead of them. But the hand-car stopped and, reversed its direction, rolled toward the pair.

Seated on the car were Red Davis and Arlen Miller, who were, and no doubt still are, deputies on the payroll of the Rockefeller coal subsidiary. As befits the representatives of Mr. Rockefeller and the directors of his interests, they were armed. The gentleman known as Miller drew his gun and fired, and Harry Simms fell to the cinder roadbed. Blood poured from a wound in his stomach, splashed on the shiny steel rail and dripped onto the hard-oak ties.

Six or seven hours later in a hospital at Barbourville, Harry Simms died. But not until after he had lain bleeding for several hours beside the railroad track at Barbourville while the deputies were questioning Green Lawson. And not until after the district attorney of Knox county had, in the interests of his sort of justice, subjected the dying boy to a tortuous inquisition about his organization, his friends, and his activity.

At a huge mass meeting called by the Young Communist League in New York, thousands honored the memory of young Harry Simms and thousands protested his murder. But more important, for these thousands was the fact that this incident had revealed again, and definitely, the character of the economic and social system under which we live. The event recounted here is only a modicum of the toll which the capitalist system is exacting day by day from the workingclass. Unemployment increases and every day scores are evicted homeless onto the streets. The worker still on the job has his wages cut and his tasks increased and speeded up. And when he organizes to seek improvement of these conditions, he is visited with the same wrath and vengeance which fell upon Harry Simms and snuffed out his life before he had left his teens.

This is the lesson which the Young Communists read in this short page of workingclass history, and it is a lesson which our readers, the college students, must learn. The majority of us cannot step from campus walks and academic halls to positions of wealth and power. And if we are not to feel the heavy burdens of an economic tyranny, we too must take up the fight which Harry Simms fought so well—against capitalism and toward a socialist society.

SOCIALIST IMPERIALISTS

TH O for many students the political role of the Socialist Party is quite clear, it requires a political crisis to make its treacherous purpose more evident. This is what has taken place with respect to present crisis in the Far East in which the Socialist Party is following its regular anti-workingclass policy. They do this by attempting to make a significant distinction between Japan and the other imperialist powers; by, on the basis of this supposed difference, calling on the rest of the capitalist governments to intervene against Japan and establish in China "Pax Americana", or "Pax Francia"—as the case may be—depending upon which country the particular Socialists happen to live. These ideas the Socialists hope to peddle amongst the students. The officialdom of the Socialist controlled League for Industrial Democracy has already begun to agitate, calling upon the students to demand that the American government act on the Far East crisis by declaring a boycott of Japanese goods.

Does the American government oppose the Japanese government? We quote from the *World-Telegram* of Feb. 2: "Wall Street today remained definitely sympathetic towards the Japanese adventure in China, regarding it as basically a bit of international policing which would benefit business all over the world. This attitude centered attention on the suppression of bandits (i.e. Communists) . . . the firing on Shanghai was regarded with patience." Would the Wall Street government (which terminology the L. I. D. also uses) "regard with patience" all these military operations if it had no hand in them? An international banker said: "China has no responsible government, as the investor sees it. Japan's action . . . will give security to foreign investments and open up territory for orderly business." It would appear then that fundamentally the action of the Japanese has the sanction of the American ruling class. Imperialists fear the rapid spread of Chinese Soviets, following the example of successful upbuilding of Socialist Republics in the Soviet Union, and are driven to a united action because of the very antagonisms amongst them. The need for world markets increased tremendously because of impoverishment in the home markets. Thus in the bitter imperialist struggle for a colonial outlet of their vast surpluses the capitalists wish to make of the disintegrating China "a responsible government as the investor sees it"—instead having it go Soviet, its only other possibility at present. Where then, is this alleged conflict? The only conflict that exists between the capitalist governments is the quarrel of robbers dividing the booty, the quarrel as to who shall get the major portion of China. They are all equally opposed to Chinese peasants and workers, and revolutionary students. And, American intervention, called for by Socialist Party, or intervention of the League of Nation leaders, will strengthen the claim of these powers to a greater portion of China.

What are the Socialists trying to do? The Socialist Party is the best defender of each national bourgeoisie against the spread of revolutionary discontent. They call for "diplomatic" action against the wicked Japanese by the "well-meaning" American government; the League for Industrial Democracy wants a boycott of Japanese products. What could please the American ruling class any better than that? At one shot they become Robin Hoods and their trade is given great opportunity for expansion. So too does the Japanese Socialist Party do its duty by its ruling class. "War in Manchuria is not carried on in the interest of capitalism, is not a capitalist war"—this, by a leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, not by the Japanese military.

In terms of ulterior motives, there is capitalist cooperation in the Far Eastern developments. Writes the *New York*

Post correspondent from Geneva: . . . (the League of Nations) "wants Japan installed on the Asiatic mainland, a dependable sector of a protective ring around Soviet Russia." Why? Because the Communist movement is going thru a period of rapid growth thruout the entire Far East. In the *New York Times* of Jan. 31st we read: "It would be no surprise to anyone familiar with China to see the whole Yangtze Valley from Kiukiang to Szechuan in the hands of the Chinese Communists by June." Is this an advantage to Great Britain, to Japan, to France, to the United States? The foreigner on the whole is pleased with the (present) work of the Japanese. On that very question as to whose advantage it would be if the Yangtze Valley went Communist, we shall let another article in the same issue of the *New York Times* give the answer: "The Communists are making rapid progress in organizing village, town and county Soviets as rapidly as they overrun new territory . . . Foreign missionaries writing from these zones report that the peasants and common people are giving a hearty welcome to the returning Communists. They say that after comparing their status . . . they enjoyed greater liberty and a greater degree of prosperity under the Reds than under Nanking." Could there be much further doubt? Foreign intervention by the League of Nations and the U. S. A.—which is being called for by the Socialist Parties—is clear-cut out-and-out suppression of the revolutionary movements—unless the Socialists expect the imperialists to set up Soviets in China.

In a plea before the League Council, Mr. Sato from Japan, set forth the reasons for going into Manchuria: "We have been chased out of South and Central China and have lost all our commerce; other countries are closed to us . . . we have been forced to think of ourselves". Upon which, Mr. Streit, *New York Times* correspondent, comments: "This plea drew far more sympathy than anything Japan has said at the League Council thus far. It had a ring of truth and reality." Mr. Sato eloquently continued: "We wish only in Manchuria only an outlet for the Japanese people (as the Socialists themselves maintain) . . . We shall welcome foreign labor and capital for Japanese capital will never alone suffice for the exploitation of this vast rich land." Remarks such as these offer a fine base for the sympathy of the world bourgeoisie with the aims of Japanese imperialism in Manchuria. They too exploit land, and the chattels thereon.

As American revolutionary students we cannot accept the misleading slogans of Socialist-lead League for Industrial Democracy. They pretend to be revolutionary with their deceptive "conferences" on 'Guiding the Revolution' and then call upon the imperialist League of Nations to establish "peace" in China—as if capitalists can ever establish peace! Revolutionary students fight not only Japanese imperialism but demand complete withdrawal of all foreign troops and imperialist concessions in all of China—and this under the banner of the National Student League.

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK

THE Socialist controlled League for Industrial Democracy has told its student members to support the strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. If any of the "left-wingers" in the L.I.D. do support this "strike" of a racketeering union, where the bosses in the shops force the workers into the I.L.G.W.U., they will have to do some tall reconciling of their radical phraseology with the "theory" behind this "strike". Quoth Mr. B. Schlesinger, pres-

ident of that union, in the *New York Times* of Feb. 11: "The strike will put new life into the dress industry and all legitimate factors will benefit by the healthy cleaning up process."

Strikes, we had been taught, were among other things, instruments used by the workers to improve their own conditions, to increase their earnings. Here we find the I.L.G.W.U. engaging in an enterprise to "put new life" into the industry. On this basis we ought to expect the employers to be very active in picketing their own shops and support the union. Instead of forcing the capitalists to yield their profits, this union is out to make more profits for them. What are the "legitimate factors" which "will benefit by the healthy cleaning up process"? The most "legitimate factor" which the I.L.G.W.U. have always aided has been the manufacturers. They do this by their well-known (to garment workers) "cleaning up process" in which they promise the factory owners an obedient union which will never make demands on the profits of the bosses in return for which the owners themselves will promise to help the union officials keep discontented workers in line. All workers not willing to pay tribute to the I.L.G.W.U. are not permitted to work in the shops. The employers see to this. Left-wing workers wanting to cut in on the profits of employers fight under the banner of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union which is at present conducting a real strike and which strike the National Student League is actively supporting.

With the High Schools

IN their attempts to prevent the high school students from learning the truth about recent occurrences in the high schools of New York City, the distributors of a leaflet, "High School Principals on Trial", were driven from school grounds, intimidated, and arrested.

As an answer to the expulsions and suspensions of members of "social problems" and "students' rights" clubs, to the disbanding of social problems clubs, and to the continued persecution of the high school students a protest meeting and "trial" of the Board of Education authorities was held on February 20th. Although a small number, about 100, attended, there was compensation in sincerity and indignation with which students from Morris, Clinton, New Utrecht, Textile, Brooklyn Tech, and Wadleigh recounted case after case of the violation of free speech, press, and assembly. In fact the restriction of freedom extends to the right of the students to read a bulletin issued by the largest club of New Utrecht High School, because it criticizes lunchroom conditions and lists other grievances in the school.

Three Clinton students were arrested for distributing the leaflets calling for the protest meeting, at the instigation of the same Mr. Clark who disbanded the Social Problems Club of the same school for putting forth an independent student platform (lower lunch room prices, free press, etc.) in the school elections.

At the mass meeting an instructor of Columbia University explained that the high school teachers too are subjected to the same restrictions on their rights as the students. Fear of losing their jobs compels the teachers to carry out the will of the administration. He showed how the recent persecutions in the schools reflect the sharpening class antagonisms in the United States at the present time.

—R. L.

An Open Letter to Seventeen Chinese Students

Seventeen Chinese students at Columbia sent a cablegram two days ago to the Chinese government requesting permission to return to China to engage in active service against Japan . . . The students are all members of the Chinese Nationalists party and are studying at Columbia on scholarships of the Chinese government.—*New York Times*, February 4.

To Seventeen Chinese Students:

Fellow Students:

When this item appeared in the newspapers, there was not, as you perhaps expected, a unanimous rejoicing on the part of your American fellow students. That group which is organized as the National Student League did not admire your fervor. As much as they share your hatred of imperialism, they regretted your inability to see farther than the nationalist catchwords and slogans by which your own Chinese ruling class and your own Chinese war lords have misled you.

The students of the National Student League, representing the student contingent in the revolutionary movement in this country, are not ignorant of the role of nationalism and the struggle for self-determination in the historical development of the world revolution. They recognize the fight of the Chinese masses to throw off the imperialist yoke of Japan, Great Britain and the United States; they recognize and applaud. They have expressed solidarity with the revolutionary Chinese students who have fought toward this end, and it was just last month that the League held a mass meeting to protest the massacre of Chinese students at Nanking.

If the most you and your fellow students in China could hope for, however, were a nationalist triumph, what would you have? You would have, perhaps, a more closely knit China, a China which could by its own force immediately expel such marauders as the Japanese imperialist army. You could expel the foreign devils, the English, French and Americans, and deny them those concessions which mean, in the final analysis the privilege of exploiting the workers and peasants of China. You would have a rapidly developing industrial machine which of itself would utilize the tremendous wealth of your raw materials and produce the goods which now must be purchased from the white powers.

This is a glorious sight, of course, particularly to students who have seen their country ground down beneath first, war lords and monarchs, and then beneath the heel of foreign imperialists. You see, of course, that the old feudal system must be routed and the fruits of the Industrial Revolution enjoyed by the people of China.

But is it true in all of those countries which have experienced the Industrial Revolution that the "fruits" are unmixed blessings? You are at present residing in America, in New York, its great financial and industrial capital. Have you never seen the breadlines there? Have you never seen the hundreds of thousands who walk the streets hungry, poorly-clad, starving because their productiveness, under this system has exceeded their collective incomes? Have you not seen the needle-workers, now on strike, going home from long hours of arduous, under-paid toil, to bleak, pauper lodgings? Have you not heard of the oppression of Negro and white tenant farmers on the slave-estates of the South and West? Have you not heard of the Scottsboro

case in which the powers of this system are making of their racial oppression a Roman holiday? Have you never heard of Mooney and Billings who rot in a California jail because they have worked in the interests of an oppressed class? Have you heard of Sacco and Vanzetti, of the Harlan miners, of the Coal-and-Iron Police, of suppression and class-courts?

You have, no doubt, ideals. You wish to build in your country a nation with great industries, of rising sky-scrapers, a nation of peace and plenty. You believe that this may be done under the banner of nationalism, and that these terrible crimes against the workingclass will be absent, because you and your fellow students would not tolerate such things.

Think back carefully, fellow-students! Is it possible to build the industrial nation you want and avoid, at the same time, the evils of oppression, unemployment and mass starvation? Certainly, it is. But of all the nations in the world who have built an industrial system, there is only one which is free of these evils. That one is Soviet Russia. In all other nations the concomitant of this industrialism is capitalism, nationalism, and misery.

Your ideals may be commendable, but they will betray you. By its very nature, the capitalist nationalism which you shall set up carries within it the oppression, the misery and the evils which in your heart you hate. Your nationalist industrialism cannot escape it. If you sincerely stand against these evils, you must fight not only the imperialist marauders from Japan and the West, but your own bourgeois capitalists and landlords.

But is a nationalist triumph all that you can hope for? Can you not, as in Soviet Russia, build a socialist society which will be free from class oppression, and yet be mobilized for a vast productiveness, for peace and plenty? The answer is yes, and the solution lies with the red army of Chinese peasants and workers who have already captured Nanchang and the Kiangsi Province. Hallet Abend in the *New York Times* of February 17 notes that the Chinese Communists are drawing their net closer and closer about Hankow and Wuchang. In the *Times* of December 30, a dispatch stated that "The Communists are making rapid progress in organizing village, town and county soviets . . . Foreign missionaries writing from the zones recently overrun again by the Reds report that the peasants and common people are giving a hearty welcome to the returning Communists. . . ." Chu Teh leads an army which the *Times* correspondent sets at 48,000, well armed and intent on victory. That these Communists are not "brigands" as Nathaniel Pfeffer and other upper-class writers maintain, is evidenced by the formation of efficient working-class governments in Red territory.

You must throw your strength, then, not with Chang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang, but with the revolutionary workers and peasants who will build socialism, and industrialism free from oppression and wage-slavery.

You must know by now that the foreign powers will give you and your countrymen no assistance in ridding Shanghai and Manchuria of the Japanese marauders. The League of Nations has words, hundreds and thousands of words, but the partitioning of China, obviously, goes remorselessly on.

You have far better friends in those 800 Japanese stud-

ents who protested their government's course in China, than you have in your own nationalist war lords. On February 9, if you remember, these 800 students left the gates of the Imperial University in Tokyo and paraded with slogans of "Stop Imperialist War" and "Down with Empire Day and the Students Patriotic Association."

These students are fighting your fight and our fight, their protest and not your patriotic telegram to the Kuomintang represents solidarity with the Chinese peasants and workers. Only by solidarity with the workers and peasants, not only in China and Japan, but throughout the world, lies the hope of peace and plenty.

There are students in China who realize this. There are students in Cuba, in many Latin-American countries, and in Europe who have organized against imperialism by align-

ing themselves with the revolutionary workingclass. In the United States, the National Student League is mobilizing each day the student body of this country, not only to oppose the imperialist exploitation of your country by foreigners, but in support of those progressive elements in China who see farther than nationalism, and who fight not only the foreign enemy but the landlord and capitalist enemy at home.

Only in this way can the student body of the world serve to end wars. Only in this way can the student bring to his country the generous productivity of industrialism without saddling a harsh and oppressive slavery on his fellows.

Your place, 17 students, is not with the nationalist government of China, but with the revolutionary students of the world!

—THE EDITORS

The Negro Student

JULY 10th was the day set for the legal murder of the eight Scottsboro boys. Mass meetings of Negro and white workers in America and abroad had been protesting the lynch verdict for three months. Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorky and H. G. Wells had joined hands with the workers in this protest. The case had become of international significance. In the midst of the indignant wave of protest that was flowing into Alabama, one voice was lacking—the voice of the Negro student.

During May and June the authorities had prevented participation in the mass defense movement realizing the class importance of the case and firmly convinced that the *Negro* student should not take part in any struggles of the workingclass. Consequently when student opinion forced them to act, they still tried to sidetrack the movement by inviting speakers, either from the "Nicest Association for the Advancement of Certain Colored People" or the Inter-racial Ministers Alliance.

The Negro student because of the peculiar position of the Negro masses in America has been out of contact with the student movement in America and abroad. The American student movement as such is only now beginning to make that contact. Only now is the current branching off towards the revolutionary stream.

For years the Negro student has been isolated in the Jim-crow Rosenwald-Rockefeller schools and various segregated state schools through-out the South. The use of preachers and ex-preachers as the heads of these institutions has been a conscious maneuver on the part of the American ruling class. These elements were safe. The avenues through which the other members of the faculty were selected were such as to allow the infiltration of only those who could be "depended upon". The result of which is a very conservative body of "educators" leading the mass of the Negro students along the lines which the bourgeoisie finds it most easy to exploit.

The same forces that brought about the world wide crisis of capitalism and the intensification of terror against the Negro masses (which culminated in the Scottsboro frame-

up), is also destroying the isolation of the students. Particularly is this true of the Negro students, 90 percent of whom depend upon employment during the summer to pay their next year's tuition. The constantly deepening economic crisis has brought unemployment among the Negroes to an even greater proportion than among the white workers. The unprecedented misery among the Negro workers has been increasing day by day. At the same time widespread bankruptcy among Negro petty shop keepers and small business men has been aggravated to an extreme degree by the dependence of the Negro merchants upon the diminishing retail buying capacity of the segregated Negro working-class population.

In June 1931 when over 90,000 Negro college students left school to look for work, they found 12,000,000 unemployed walking the streets with them.² The illusions of a "liberal" and professional education rapidly began to break down. Heretofore they had been told that education would solve the "great problem". Work hard, sacrifice, above all get an education. After that everything would be easy. An easy civil service job or the professions. Here also, the act of not informing the students beforehand that the only professions that would be open to them were the "ghetto" professions has been a conscious act of Negro "educators". The "ghetto" professionals, the negro lawyers, doctors, dentists, etc. taking advantage of the segregation of the Negro masses, exploit them to an unimaginable degree. The qualifications here are not knowledge and technical experience but the ability to extract money from the already poverty-stricken client and patient. However, since 1925, even these professions were becoming overcrowded. The situation in Journalism is now just as bad. There are more than 100 "independent" Negro papers in the United States. Yet these papers are not able to absorb the hordes of students being graduated from the colleges each year. In the field of education alone, there are more than 20,000 licensed unemployed colored teachers in the

1) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People established in 1909 by a group of middle-class liberals, including two or three Negro intellectuals. The association has since existed as an organization to employ legal measures against certain atrocities perpetrated upon Negroes. Its activities have almost exclusively been confined to the court where individual Negroes were persecuted in direct violation of the law, etc. The policy of the organization in general tends more towards getting comfortable jobs for Negro intellectuals and large donations from white philanthropists, than defending the rights of the Negroes.

2) Negro students are chiefly employed in "vacation work" during the summer. The depression hit there severely. Hotels were going out of business at a rate of 14 per day during the summer of 1930 and 24 during the summer of 1931. The Mississippi River Steamship Company was laying men off every day through out both summers. The same situation existed on the big lines of the east. In Grand Central station, they were laying off Red Caps at a rate of about 15 per day in 1931. The Pennsylvania Railroad was discharging men at the rate of 3500 per month throughout the summer. Even jobs running elevators were at a premium.

South. The civil service has never been opened on an extensive scale to Negroes.

The summer of 1930 was a hard one for the Negro student. As a result of the sharpening economic condition a more class-conscious student body went back to school. Having found themselves faced with the problem of immediate employment and future income, they had begun to realize that the problems of the working-class student are the same as those of the workingman. If you haven't anything to sell but your labor power, you are at the mercy of the employing class.

One of the first manifestations of the "proletarianization" of the Negro student was the appearance of various workingclass political clubs in a number of the Southern universities,* several months after the Scottsboro frame-up. These started out with a liberal "line" but later a Marxian analysis began to take definite form. As a result of the clarification of the Negro question, as being a National question, "in which the basic policy of the oppressing bourgeoisie is directed towards the arbitrary arresting of the economic and cultural development of the subject people, as the essential condition for the least hampered exploitation" these clubs should soon be able to give excellent workingclass guidance to the students of their colleges.

Tuskegee and Howard are the logical places for the student movement to make greatest headway. Of course it will make great headway elsewhere. But Tuskegee lies at the roots of nationalism. There you will find the contradictions between American imperialism and revolutionary Negro nationalism sharpest. The contradictions are also particularly sharp at Howard. The fact that the government itself maintains a Jim-crow school is an excellent point of agitation.

Yet there are many pitfalls into which the student movement may fall. Not the least important of these is the influence of bourgeois ideology especially perpetuated by the race leaders. There are many sociologists and race leaders who try to dampen the radicalization of the Negro student body by pointing to the fact that Negroes who have followed the bourgeois scheme of things, own so many millions in property, control so many banks and insurance companies, fill the ranks of so many professions and are educated on an extensive scale and in an admirable manner. Then one looks about and sees that there is in process of formation a Negro bourgeoisie, in customs and manners manifestly very similar to those of the white bourgeoisie. In it he finds so many rickety heads and foolish fashions that he may be sure, that at least it is no better than the bourgeoisie it copies.

The statement of the sociologist and race leaders merits workingclass analysis. A few Negroes do own millions of dollars of segregated property.* Invariably the race leaders represent the property-owning class. The market of the

Negro business men and intellectuals is almost exclusively based upon the masses in the Jim-Crow districts in the cities. The Negro bourgeoisie because of the terrific terror against the Negro masses was late in forming. Even now it is only a weak property-owning bourgeoisie. As this bourgeoisie could never stand up against the white bourgeoisie, its very existence depends upon the perpetuation of segregated districts. The myths of commercial wealth can likewise be exploded. A few banks and insurance companies are chartered in the name of Negroes, but here too in cases where the board of directors are not puppets in the hands of the white ruling class, their interest runs counter to that of the Negro masses.

The political awakening of the Negro students is just in the stage of formation. The period since the post war crisis has been marked by the definite emergence of the Negro proletariat upon the political and economic arena as a united class force with the white workers. The age long particularism and isolation is breaking down in the crucible of the sharpening class struggle.* This has been given added momentum by the present world wide crisis and the growth of the revolutionary student movement.

In this situation the Negro reformist educators find their leadership over the Negro student body no longer undisputed. The growth of this new driving force is a direct threat to the hegemony of the Negro bourgeoisie. It is clear that the representatives of the latter cannot continue to betray the student masses in the old way. They must find new methods and utilize more demagoguery. Already, at the beginning of the crisis, they had begun to initiate inter-racial conferences of themselves with the Southern hangmen to give the impression that the workers' problems were being solved.*

To guard against the betrayal and demagoguery of the Negro misleaders, the Negro student must understand the class nature of the economic forces acting today. On one hand there is the decaying world of capitalism and on the other the flourishing world of socialism. A knowledge of working class economics is necessary to understand these forces.

One of the greatest achievements during the current labor year was the solidarity of Negro and white miners on the workingclass barricades in the coal fields of Harlan County and throughout Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio. Just as the Negro miners in the South are forming locals in their mines and uniting with the white workers to protect their class interest, so also must the Negro students in their various colleges form social problems clubs and affiliate with the revolutionary students movement under the leadership of the National Student League.

EVERETT L. BEANE

writer knows only of five bank failures and four insurance companies forced into receivership. However owing to the weakness of Negro business there must have been a larger number than that. Note how the statistics reveal the small aggregates from the segregated sections, invested in Negro business and real estate.

6) Since the Gastonia strike of 1928 a new period of workingclass solidarity has been ushered in. In the basic industries at least Negroes are no longer scabs, nor are they ironing the bed for white labor. In the great coal strike during the summer, of 40,000 miners who participated more than one-fifth were Negroes. And solidarity and equality extended beyond the picket lines.

7) Hangmen in the sense that they represent and perpetuate the system that precipitates lynching, segregation, etc.

3) The students of Reed College, Illinois, had sent a petition to Governor Miller of Alabama early in June. About the same time a strike had broken out at Fiske, the leadership of which sent a protest telegram. The students of South Carolina College for Negroes at Chapel Hill later participated in the Scottsboro Case.

4) The subject peoples are not limited to Negroes although the fact that the "oppressed nation in this case is distinguished from the oppressing by pronounced physical differences, (color, texture of hair, shape of skull, etc.), intensifies the struggle. In this same way the exploitation of the foreign born is carried on. But where the second generation of this class of workers already become the 100% Americans, the characteristics of the Negro prevent him from losing his identity." (Harry Heywood—The Communist Vol. 9, No. 8.)

5) Negroes owned \$2,600,000,000 worth of property according to the census of 1930. According to the Negro Year Book in 1930 there were 46 Negro real estate companies in the United States of which the 21 registered with the American Negro Business League, had a total insurance in force of \$260,174,467. Again by the Negro Year Book there were 51 Negro banks in the United States with a total capital of \$3,000,000, resources of \$20,000,000, and doing annual business to the total of \$75,000,000 per year. It was impossible to find out what percentage of Negro capital had been forced out of the market. The

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An Answer to Stuart Chase*

THE *Pravda* asked our trained workers, our builders of socialism, as well as foreign technicians and writers, to give their explanations to the success of the U. S. S. R. on the most difficult front:—economic construction.

The answer of our comrades express their deep understanding of our (economic) construction, and those ideals which move not only the workers whose historical mission in the building of socialism is to stand in the front ranks, but also those scientists who did not at first participate in the common struggle, who were perhaps antagonistic or skeptical as to the ability of the proletariat to build a new society. Nothing more need be said about those who participated in this great struggle.

Some of the foreign bourgeois scientists have refused to answer the editors of the *Pravda*, "on principle." These learned gentlemen know that there is nothing they can say in the defense of capitalism. We understand their position and consider their silence justified.

In the answers sent by friends of the U. S. S. R. who did not belong to the working class, we find a great many ideas which we think ought to be answered. We are convinced that an answer will stimulate a further exchange of ideas, which will be useful to our readers here as well as in western Europe. The invalid opinions which some writers express is due not to their inability to think logically but they are rather the result of their "liberal" position. No doubt this would be evident to them if they tried to clarify their outlook.

The German writer, Stephan Zweig, expresses a belief that we could not be so narrow and naive as to ascribe "the astonishing rise of economic development in the Soviet Union to the socialist system, and the terrible crisis of capitalism to the bankruptcy of the capitalist system."

We will have to disillusion Mr. Zweig. We certainly do explain our success by the fact that a rising socialist system is higher (more advanced) than a decaying capitalist system. His explanation to the effect that our success is due to the power of our faith in Socialism, and that the breakdown of capitalism is due to the loss of confidence in its power, explains nothing, but only relegates the problem a step further.

Yes, capitalism has lost confidence in its own future. This is a symptom of its approaching destruction. Yes, one of the secrets of our success lies in the iron conviction of millions that the success of socialism is inevitable. But whence arises this belief in capitalism? And whence this belief in socialism? It grows out of the facts of experience.

The capitalist system which once performed wonders, as Marx explained in his Communist Manifesto, shows itself to be a machine which no longer functions properly. Capitalism has run its course: it has destroyed the self sufficiency of nations; it has dragged almost the whole world into a whirl of trading economy. The fate of the Chinese peasants and of the Peruvian slaves working in the mines, no less than the fate of the workers of London, depend tremendously on the vicissitudes of the London and N. Y. stock exchange. The whole world has become a single organism. Railroads, cable lines and the wireless have encircled it, and the word "humanity" is no longer the idle fancy of a dreamer whose dreams are far ahead of the facts.

It is irrelevant to ask how this concept of humanity is to be materialised. It is already a fact, for the fate of one part of the world is closely bound to the fate of any other. But although an electric spark can encircle the whole world and can, in a few seconds, transmit human thought from one end of the earth to the other, capitalism not only is not able to stop the division of mankind into a hundred nations, but hurls these nations against each other.

To-day the overcoming of distance means the approaching and increasing danger of war. The world robbers are able to destroy the work of millions living thousands of miles away from them! Who can think now of the successes of chemistry, without imagining with horror whole cities being destroyed by squadrons of bomb-carriers. What else can this be but the bankruptcy of the capitalist system? What else, if not the contradiction which will inevitably destroy capitalist society!

The contemporary success of technical achievements, this triumph of man over nature, this child of capitalism will turn against him. For mankind, which was able to enslave the natural elements, to unravel their secrets, will inevitably grasp by the throat the host of world robbers, who would use these secrets to destroy it.

Present day science and technology can, without difficulty, clothe, feed and provide shelter to all mankind, while at the same time freeing it from grudging labor. But capitalism has even given birth in industrial countries to unemployment and hunger for tens of millions. What is this if not the bankruptcy of the system?

Let Mr. Zweig name one bourgeois economist, one capitalist engineer who can answer the question: wherein lies the solution to the present crises? There are no such people. The German Chancellor Bruening said recently to the Reichstadt that not one of the ministers of finance dare look ahead for more than one month. As if this were not the bankruptcy of capitalism! Not only the masses of the people, but even the leaders of the capitalist world, are losing faith in the system, for the first to suffer from this disaster are those who created capitalism with their labor. And leaders know that they have no means of stopping this catastrophe. This disbelief in Capitalism is not something that fell from heaven. It becomes ingrained in the masses through bitter experience, and it has been hammered into the stubborn brain of thinking capitalists through irrefutable facts.

It is the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which gives birth to the disbelief in capitalism. It is the tremendous success of the still young and immature socialist system that gives birth to the profound belief of the working class in the success of world socialism. The intellectuals, who until recently have kept themselves apart from the common life, who even today know little of Lenin and still less of Marx, even they are beginning to be convinced.

In our land we are faced with not a few difficulties which, however, we are surmounting successfully. Ours is the only country in the world in which the masses live better than before the war, a fact that is witnessed by the decrease in mortality.

We have just solved the grain problem, thus freeing the country from starvation. But we have not as yet solved the livestock problem. The small peasant holdings were

unable to supply the growing population of the cities with enough meat, fat and milk. The young collectives are not yet able to provide these in sufficient quantities. We haven't as yet been able to provide the whole population with enough living quarters, for that requires a tremendous outlay.

But why, in spite of all this, do the working masses harness such tremendous efforts—not only of muscle, but also of brain—in order to complete the first five-year plan and introduce the second? They do it because they see the fruits of their labor. They see the rise of gigantic factories. They see how rapidly the socialization of agriculture is taking place, utilizing modern technology and chemistry to solve its problems. They know very well that this road leads to success. This is evident to the working class, this is understood by the poor and middle peasant, even though, for them, this change from small farming to collectivization means the biggest possible break in their routine, outlook, and way of life. Every worker, including the poor and middle peasant, understands that all this is rendered possible only because the proletariat has freed the earth and its resources, the factories and the railroads, from the yoke of capitalism, so now he can put to use all the productive forces to build a new society.

We are just completing the foundation of socialist economy. We are building it with the help of millions who, under capitalism were kept on a low cultural level, denied education, and never taught to think in technological terms. The masses are forced now to storm both heaven and earth. The father is learning to read while the son is studying higher mathematics. The birth of socialism as an economic system is at the same time the birth of a cultural socialist commonwealth. The new commonwealth assimilates not only the best of what mankind has accumulated in the course of thousands of years, but also gives rise to new and hitherto unknown cultural values. Millions of people are hungrily searching after knowledge. This is what convinces many of the intellectuals of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Only a system which has awakened the minds of millions, makes it possible to solve problems such as were posed by Professor Noffe. And only a system which convinces the intellectuals that such problems can be solved, changes those men—who are products of capitalism—into fighters for socialism.

It is impossible both to acknowledge our success and doubt the bankruptcy of capitalism. For the U. S. S. R. was born, and is victorious, only because capitalism is falling to pieces. The one who does not realize this, cannot well fight capitalism at home. He remains in the ranks of the capitalists.

The American economist, Stuart Chase, rightly says that the success of the five-year plan is explained; 1) by the abolition of the privileged class; 2) by the enthusiasm which the fight for reconstruction has aroused; 3) by an "enlightened dictatorship"; 4) by intelligent planning. He is correct. Only with the destruction of the privileged classes, and only because the masses know that they are working for themselves, is enthusiasm aroused. And only after destroying privileged capitalist interests, could we undertake planning. All this became possible only by means of the Proletarian Dictatorship with the help of which we were able to overcome the resistance of the capitalists and the landlords. We defended the country against the attack of foreign imperialists, and infused into the wavering part of our masses the conviction that the Soviet rule will permit no one to swerve it from the path it has chosen to follow.

If this be so—and there can be no doubt about that—how can so wise a man as Stuart Chase write that "the American problem resolves itself into planning without a revolution"? How can he write that such a thing "is difficult but not impossible"? Capitalism and planning are a contradiction in terms. There are in America the most powerful trusts. The hirelings of the American ruling class, from University professors to President Hoover himself have told the whole world about the organizing and planning ability of these trusts. But how has it ended? It ended in a crash! The United States of America present now a scene of veritable chaos. Of what merit was the action of the American governor who, in order to stop the falling prices of oil, "planned" the industry by closing the oil fields of Oklahoma? Or of what merit was the proposal to destroy a large part of the cotton crop?

A planned economy is incompatible with capitalist modes of production. Planning, without first destroying the rule of the capitalist trusts, is a phantasy.

But let us for a moment assume that this phantasy has become a fact. What would Mr. Chase accomplish! Planned hunger? Planned unemployment! For without the overthrow of the privileged classes of society, every technological success will mean a further increase of unemployment. It will mean greater wealth for the ruling class and greater poverty for the masses.

It is very strange that it should be necessary to point all this out to Stuart Chase, who has himself so ably exposed the waste and rottenness of American capitalism, and who, even before the world crises, showed us who flourishes and who suffers under "American Prosperity."

Chase calls the proletarian dictatorship enlightened, but he fears its blessings in America. He would like to bite into the fruits of the proletarian dictatorship without first letting its mighty plow uproot the American soil. When forced to their logical conclusion, the thoughts of the middle class turn pale.

The land of advanced capitalism showed signs of decay even in the period of its highest development, which was after the War. Having risen above the weakened capitalist countries of Europe, American capitalism was flung headlong downwards.

It tried to escape the cries at the expense of other countries, at the expense of England and Germany, into which it poured millions of dollars. But having destroyed its competitors, and impaired the purchasing power of the masses, it now hastens the possibility of a revolution in Europe. And in this way it will show to its own workers that there is a way to a real prosperity. The problems which the crisis has laid before the American people are not of how to plan without revolution, but of how to bring about a revolution.

If people of the type of Stuart Chase—and there are thousands of such—will understand this and overcome their middle-class fear of the inevitable, if they will place their knowledge at the service of the struggle to bring about the conditions necessary for planning (so well enumerated by Stuart Chase with respect to the U. S. S. R.), they would hasten the success and lessen the number of victims which this struggle demands. Otherwise all their knowledge will be worthless and, instead of being creators of this new world, they will become in the future—and this is the most they can hope for—statisticians for the Soviet American State Planning Commission.

KARL RADEK

* Translated from the *PRAVDA* Nov. 7, 1931—the largest Russian daily.

HAYWOOD HOUSE

A New Co-operative Venture at Wisconsin

IT was Kerstetter who first got the idea—chiefly because his room was cold. Kerstetter is a senior. He lived with Brahms and Brody, two other Experimental College students, in a three-room flat. The flat was the lower floor of a two-story shack whose upper floor was inhabited by two elderly ladies. Whenever the ladies went in or out of their home, they had to pass through the boys' room on the first floor. The flat was cold. Its only heating apparatus was a pot-bellied stove with the heavy iron filligree adornments of stoves of the '90's. Its heat didn't go far—about two feet from the circumference of the stove.

The three occupants of the flat would shiver at their home-built desks, which had once been fruit boxes, and then would give up the attempt to keep warm elsewhere and would collect about the stove in the ugly, crowded kitchen. Then Brahms, always the most finicky of the three, took a notion. "I'm going back to the dormitories," he said. This place is lousy." And went. Brody and Kerstetter looked at each other. Brody twirled his little moustache with the motion which Narcissistic admiration had made almost habitual. Kerstetter rolled a cigarette and figured up the added expense to be divided between the two remaining occupants. They decided to wait until after the Christmas vacation before doing anything about it.

That Christmas Brahms left on a box car for New York. Word reached his former roommates that he had given up college and had shipped on a tramp steamer.

"Brahms was right about this place," Kerstetter. And then, he too, took a notion.

"Say, how about a cooperative house? Most of the members of the Social Problems Club are poor, and I think they'd welcome the idea."

The Social Problems Club was an organization of radical students. It was not officially recognized.

A Baptist preacher, one of the campus "liberals", had taken up a suggestion that relief funds be raised for the Kentucky strike. Former members of the defunct Wisconsin branch of the League for Industrial Democracy, met with the newcomers who had proposed the relief fund. They continued to meet. They occasionally made quite clever quips, and usually managed to look very sophisticated at their meetings. But the relief funds plan got nowhere. Fifty years ago these "liberals" might have knitted for the heathen in darkest Africa; now they collected funds for the miner in darkest America . . . and, incidentally, foregathered with eligible members of the opposite sex. (Yes, such organizations *do* serve a purpose!)

Finally the campus newcomers, who had originally proposed the plan, asked to whom the relief funds would be sent. "Er . . . uh . . . we don't know . . . I guess to Norman Thomas . . . but it must *not* go to the I. L. D or any other Communist organization," the others replied. The newcomer decided to use tact. He suggested that the funds be sent to the National Committee for Aid of Striking Miners. The suggestion was accepted by the relief fund committee.

The newcomers to the Wisconsin campus gathered several friends. They sat one evening in the Memorial Union lounge, discussing the need of a radical club which would act instead of making clever epigrams. One had a copy of the *New Masses*, the other, a copy of *Das Kapital*. They struck upon an idea: Carrying their burdens ostentatiously they walked through the lounge. Several students stopped to speak to them about the book and the magazine. "Come to the meeting tomorrow evening, and bring a friend," they said. The same thing happened in Lawrence's restaurant a campus hangout.

The next evening about fifteen students appeared at the meeting. They were told the purpose of the club and asked if they were sufficiently interested to work for that purpose instead of talking about it. They were. Several "liberals" were argued out of their desire to talk instead of work.

In the few months of its existence the club gathered some twenty members, held anti-R.O.T.C. meetings, secured indirectly a tag day for unemployed students, and published a newspaper to express its views and spread them. Kerstetter was one of the original members. From a wavering "liberal" frame of mind the club had changed him to a determined radical.

Now he worked frantically on his idea of a cooperative house. He looked up warehouses for second-hand furniture, inspected houses for rent, figured costs. He took Eddie Pollack, another club member, into his confidence, and the two planned and figured together. In Jenny's restaurant they proposed their plan to other members of the club whom they met there.

* * *

It was the first meeting of the Social Problems Club after the Christmas vacation. Brody was still in New York, on an extension of his vacation period.

Alex Goldfarb, his nasal voice alternately laying down dicta and pausing to listen, broached the plan. The eighteen members hesitated. Levin, "liberal," said, "Well . . . yes . . . I guess it's a good idea . . . but I can't join you." Finlay, who was nearly broke, said it would be a good idea if it would save any money . . . but he could not afford to spend more than twenty dollars a month for food, rent and laundry. Kerstetter, Pollack, Waletsky, all desired the co-operative for the same reasons: comfort, saving, a radical center. Leckterhand wanted it for the latter purpose. And so the vote went—unanimously in favor of the new co-operative, to be called Haywood House, in honor of "Big Bill" the well known labor militant.

The meeting broke up into two groups, both of which went out to look at houses which could be had for about sixty-five dollars a month. The houses were in the sorority-fraternal district. One pleased them, but it already had several occupants who could not be turned out; another was occupied by a man who would be evicted for non-payment of rent if there was a possibility of finding new tenants. That made them pause.

Kerstetter, who had done most of the work, went to Dean Scott H. Goodnight for permission to run the new house. Dean Goodnight had long nourished a vision of all student homes ringed about the campus, instead of scattered throughout Madison. He suggested that the club occupy a

* Ed. Note: This is the story of the founding of a new cooperative boarding and rooming house which is also a center for radical students. Haywood House was begun by the Social Problems Club of the University of Wisconsin, of which the author was a member until he left college. At this time thousands of students are on the verge of leaving college because of lack of funds. This story may give them an idea as to how to solve some of their difficulties and also provide a gathering place for students of radical opinion.

university-owned building, close to the campus; the rent would be thirty-five dollars.

"But who is this Mr. Haywood?" asked the Dean. Kerstetter explained.

"And is that kind of person your ideal?"

"Uh . . . we're interested, you see, in . . . uh . . . labor problems," dodged Kerstetter.

The Dean gave his permission.

The next meeting of the club saw Brody and two student artists present. The artists were commissioned to paint portraits of "Big Bill", Lenin and others. It was agreed to make a communal library by collecting books of the residents of the house. It was explained that residents of Haywood House would spend for food, lodging and laundry, one hundred and fifty dollars less than the minimum estimate of the university catalog. The residents would clean,

cook and do the housework on a rotating schedule. Kerstetter was elected steward and Pollack business manager.

The next day an old truck ran back and forth between Haywood House and various other spots on the campus; to the "Y" for beds, to the dormitories for second-hand desks and chairs; to this student's house or that, to help him move. Members of the club who were not moving into Haywood House helped those who were. Dirty, noisy, they cleaned and moved, and shook the frame building with their activity. Occupants of the house across the street watched from the windows the growth of the big sign: HAYWOOD HOUSE.

"You are making history," a university official rhetorically advised them. They were too busy making it to notice his little speech.

LEO GRULIOW
Commonwealth College
Mena, Arkansas

The Higher Learning at Pittsburgh

THE University of Pittsburgh is an outstanding example of the employment of capitalist institutions of "education" for the defense of capitalism. All American universities are dedicated to the attack on the proletariat, but in Pittsburgh the purpose is most open, as befits the home town of the United States Steel Corporation, the Mellons, the Barcoski murder, and the mass starvation and murder of the coal miners. Students are trained to be tools of capitalism. Tendencies toward radicalism are met by threats of disciplinary action or bribes of jobs, scholarships, and privileges. Instructors teach "right" or get out. Most students with workingclass sympathies are emasculated under the ether of liberalism, and good little eunuchs are sent out for the Mellon harem.

Dr. John G. Bowman was appointed Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh in 1921. He had resigned as president of the University of Iowa to protest the discharge of a professor without a hearing. He had been director of the American College of Surgeons. In 1917 his sensitive spirit had been expressed in a book of children's verse, "Happy All Day Through", of which the following is a sample:

*In the shade where it is cool,
Let us play we go to school.
Put the dollies in a row,
They should learn from us you know.
They should learn their A, B, C.
And to count their one, two three.*

In 1924 Dr. Bowman announced a new building for the University of Pittsburgh. It was to be an inspiring 52-story structure of steel and Indiana limestone, whose vertical lines would carry the eyes and thoughts of its occupants upward. It was to combine the beauties of Gothic with modern setback architecture.

This building was to be a monument to Pittsburgh and thousands were induced to contribute to it by a high-pressure sales campaign. School children were given embossed certificates for ten-cent donations.

In May, 1929 as Pittsburghers were watching the Cathedral of Learning arise slowly, (very slowly), to its eventual 40 stories, they were shocked by the explosion of a situation which had been coming to a head for some time. A meeting on Mooney and Billings regularly scheduled by the Liberal Club was banned. Harry Elmer Barnes was forced

to leave the campus to speak; two students and a graduate assistant were expelled, and the club dissolved.

More than three-fourths of the board of trustees are directors of large industrial and banking corporations like the Aluminum Company of America, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Mellon Bank, the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the Union National Bank, the Carnegie Steel Corporation (U. S. Steel), etc. R. B. Mellon is director of more than fifty corporations. Other luminaries are Andrew Mellon, E. V. Babcock and W. L. Mellon. Babcock made his first millions by exploiting convict labor in Georgia lumber camps, and continued to pile them up as mayor of Pittsburgh and county superintendent of Allegheny County.

When the Liberal Club attacked the Coal and Iron Police, it attacked an institution sponsored by corporations which had more than a dozen of their directors on the board of trustees of Pittsburgh. When it called for a mass meeting to help free Mooney and Billings, it was helping to expose a frameup engineered in part by Pittsburgh's Byllesby interests.

An Economics instructor, W. L. Nunn, and a Philosophy assistant, G. E. Woltman, wrote articles in the "Nation" and in the "American Mercury" on Pennsylvania's Cossack's. Nunn was warned that he was "unhappy" at Pittsburgh and left. Woltman was fired out of hand and the newspapers were told that he was an undergraduate and a member of the Liberal Club. These statements both were false. Colston E. Warne, now teaching at Amherst College, a leading authority on the coal situation, was forced to withdraw from writing a series of articles on threat of losing his assistant professorship. Instructors whose views were unpopular were persecuted in various ways. They were denied increases in salary or rank; they were assigned to classes other than their major field of interest and refused extension of their one-year contracts on any plausible excuse of radical teaching, liberal activity, sex dereliction, or unorthodox religion. The school's leading authority on taxation was forced to change a scheduled radio address on inheritance taxes (which he favored) to an address on Abraham Lincoln.

The Liberal Club had been making itself unpopular with the powers at Pittsburgh. Posters announcing an off-campus series of lectures by Scott Nearing were torn down

from school billboards. Announcements of a meeting on "Denial of Civil Liberties in Pennsylvania" were black-linked to real "Civil Liberties". An investigation of the employment bureau, which had sent nearly a hundred uninformed students to act as scabs in the plant of the local Scripps-Howard newspaper, was arousing angry protest from the administration.

So the Club was dissolved. As the Pittsburgh "Sun-Telegraph" put it, "Pitt explains weakly, but fires with power." Dr. Bowman issued a statement that he alone was responsible. The charter of the university provides for expulsion only on faculty charges and vote of the board of trustees, and an injunction was asked for on that ground. It developed that the board of trustees had voted on it. They held another meeting to clinch it. A student who had heard a rumor that the earlier meeting was to be held approached a trustee with a request for a hearing of the students involved. The trustee denied that a meeting was to be held and said that Dr. Bowman should be spoken to because "he is a liberal."

Later Dr. Bowman claimed that he had been hurt personally more than anyone could know by the "activities of the Liberal Club," and that the completion of the Cathedral of Learning had been set back for years because of these activities.

The attendant publicity was very unfavorable to Bowman and Pitt. The citizens of Pittsburgh had a disillusioning shock. Collections for the new building became much more difficult. It is known that Dr. Bowman had applied for the presidency of the University of Chicago, representing himself as a "educational evangelist." He was turned down.

In 1931 when a group of students applied for permission to form a new discussion club and received it, regularly, from the student council, Dr. Bowman said that he would not permit such a club to exist as long as any members of the old Liberal Club remained at the University*. Like the absent-minded idealist he is, he then denied making the statement to the reporter for one newspaper and admitted it to another.

Recently the trustees have shown signs of squirming under the publicity achieved by Dr. Bowman's activities, although his policy was theirs. W. E. Chalmers of the Department of Economics was scheduled to be dropped for support of a taxicab strike. On the first hint that the story had got to the newspapers, Chalmers was reinstated by the Board.

The trustees have shown signs of impatience with the Chancellor, but rather because of his clumsiness than for any fundamental disagreement. The present Dr. Bowman is a result of the University of Pittsburgh, and not vice versa.

The University of Pittsburgh has an excellent Dental School which is run for pecuniary profit of its Dean and the shareholders. Dental students have been forced to contribute \$150 per capita to the Cathedral, among other things, on tacit threat of failure. The School of Medicine has a quota for the admission of Jewish students. The building of the football stadium was financed by banks "downtown" who took it over when it failed to make a profit. Under the banks, the Dean of Men was promoted to Graduate Manager of Athletics and big-timers like Army

* Dr. Bowman in this statement seems to forget that the activities of left-wing students are not the result of a few individuals such as the former members of the Liberal Club, but on the contrary, result from the constant pressure of working class influence coupled with the economic pressure of the entire system upon the students. A clear example of this was the organization this year of the Student League of Western Pennsylvania. The leaders of this student league never had any connections with the old Liberal Club, being new elements recently drawn into the left wing movement. Despite the Bowmans, the Mellons and other ruling class representatives in the University Administration, the student movement is growing and will continue to grow as long as students find themselves hemmed in and limited by the existing social order.—Homer Barton—Student League of Western Penna.

and Notre Dame were scheduled in place of traditional rivals.

The heads of the School of Business administration and the zoology department have endeavored to eliminate women teachers from their fields. Discrimination hits various persons either intermittently or constantly for various reasons. But the school's outstanding apologist for the "new capitalism" has been regularly advanced in salary and distinction, although a poor scholar and an indifferent although popular teacher.

The trustees are hardly outstanding scholars themselves. Upton Sinclair tells of one meeting at which a former Chancellor was explaining how a Jewish enemy of his might be kept from becoming head of the Chemistry department, in spite of his ranking position. This man was not a Ph.D. One trustee work from a doze as this was explained and asked, "What the hell is a Ph.D.?"

Altogether the Chancellor has merely followed the policy of Pittsburgh's industrial barons to comply with Sinclair Lewis's description, "The Cathedral of Learning is to be a glasshouse for little Mellons."

But this does not sit well on the stomachs of all students. Overt protest has been quelled for the time. Underneath however there is a growing realization of the meaning of the capitalist crisis and the success of another system of living in the Soviet Union. How soon the student unrest in Pittsburgh will achieve unity with the masses in action we do not know. But that it will we do know.

MORGAN TAMAR

Communications

To the Editors:

Friends:

Permit me to offer a commentary on the article "A Judicial Dispensation" by Mr. Joel appearing on pages 13 and 14 of your issue for January-February, 1932.

Mr. Joel's account of what happened to him in connection with the arrests of himself and Mr. Dubitsky is an interesting story of a very vexatious case. I am writing merely to correct an inference, for which Mr. Joel had an apparently sound basis, in writing his last two paragraphs.

It is true that a letter written by the chairman of our New York City Committee would give the impression that the reason that the American Civil Liberties Union did not go forward with an appeal in behalf of these two defendants was merely financial. However, as was explained to Mr. Joel orally, there were other reasons which had much more weight with both the National Board of Directors and with the New York City Committee. In the minutes of the meeting of our Board of Directors on December 14th, item No. 11 reads as follows:

"Miss Kenyon reported that the cost of the minutes in the cases of Joel and Dubitsky would be \$25.00 and that both these men are about to leave for California for permanent residence. In view of the fact that the issues in these cases can be better met by some other method than by their appeal, the Board decided that it would be unwise and too expensive to carry them further."

The main consideration in abandoning the appeal was certainly not the expense, though the expense played a part. We hope you will print this explanation in order to make our position somewhat clearer before your public.

Sincerely yours,

FORREST BAILEY, Director
American Civil Liberties Union

MAJ. GEN. AMOS A. FRIES

Member, American Society Civil Engineers
Consulting Engineer

Washington, D. C., March 2, 1932.

Mr. K. Matthews, Chairman,
Anti-War Youth Conference,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

I have your letter of Monday, Feb. 29, asking if I want to take part in a debate on the subject "Resolved, that preparedness and imperialist wars are not in the interest of the working population." Emphatically I will not. I am unwilling to participate in any debate with an organization that, I think, un-American from start to finish.

I would have no hesitancy in saying that if certain things had come out in the beginning concerning the New History Society in New York, before I debated there, I should have refused to take part in it. The leaders in your organization are either poor dupes, or in the pay of the international organization that destroyed the peoples' Government of Russia under Kerensky in 1917.

All of this attack on preparedness in this country, which includes attack on military training in schools and colleges, and the teachings of the War Resisters who claim that they would take no part in any war, is directly in the interest of the communists, brazenly state that they will destroy this Government by force and violence, that is, by assassination and murder without regard to age, sex, or color.

None of these groups, of which you seem to be a part ever have single criticism to make of the murderous dictatorship that is imposed on the Russian people; the worst terrorist government known in a thousand years. That very fact alone shows an interest of some sort in the Communist Soviet Government by these groups, or else a soft-headedness that is unworthy to be classed among sensible men.

Your very subject, which includes imperialist wars, indicates that you belong with other groups of war resisters, and other anti-American people working with them, are claiming or would claim that American wars have been imperialist wars. That is, wars for the benefit of the government and some few in it.

Now I don't pretend for one instance that our Government is perfect; that our laws could not be better, and that the present depression is a disgrace to enlightened people, but your whole group which attacks the very essence of the government would lay us open to the destruction of our whole civilization by a reign of bloody massacre such as has been taking place in Russia since Nov. 1, 1917.

Our constitution gives us the power to correct every evil in our government whenever we are willing to take the time and the energy to find out how to correct those evils and the time to go to the polls and vote in men who will do what is proper and best. Those who adopt any other means than that convict themselves at once of being un-American, that they propose to coerce the majority of the people through the action of some minority. If that were not true then they would be trying thru proper constitutional means to change our laws or even our constitution, but none of them are preaching that.

Many are endeavoring to get out and even older people to take a traitorous oath that they would not support any war. Such a thing is in violation of the constitution and the laws, and shows an unwillingness in those people to do their part to preserve the nation. Without the nation under our constitution we would have nothing. We would be

slaves to a murderous dictatorship in all probability just as Russia is today.

Now, one more thought, somebody is financing your groups. Is the money coming from Russia direct, or is it coming indirect or is it coming from so called Americans who are secretly sympathizing with the Russian international communism?

Yours truly,

(signed) AMOS A. FRIES.

This letter, addressed to the chairman of the Anti-War Youth Conference, in which the National Students League participates was considered by the editorial board such a perfect expression of the militant anti-working class policies of the military representatives of the industrial and financial ruling class of this country, that any further comment seems superfluous.

A PROTEST

Governor Rolph
State of California

Provisional Executive Committee of the National Student League, protest the arrest and the holding for deportation of our fellow student and comrade Mr. Wei of the University of Southern California. The arrest and attempted deportation of Mr. Wei for the "heinous" crime of speaking at a meeting of the International Labor Defense, represents an inexcusable interference with the rights of students and workers. This case is a clear example of the sort of "justice" that is handed out by the ruling class whenever workers and students criticize or struggle against the "sacred" interests of the propertied class. Your state has a particularly long record of this sort of repression, the best known example of which is the continued imprisonment of Tom Mooney. The National Student League calls upon you to yield to the mass pressure of workers and students to secure the release of our fellow student, Mr. Wei.

Provisional Executive Committee of the
National Student League

Club Notes

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA—The John Reed Club of Chapel Hill, our North Carolina branch sends us news of their activities in the defense of nine Scottsboro boys. A large meeting was held at which considerable money was collected for the Scottsboro Defense Committee. Prof. Ericson gave a splendid analysis of the role of the Southern planters in the attempted legal lynching of these Negro boys. The N.A.A.C.P. was severely criticized for having represented themselves as the defenders, whereby they collected thousands of dollars, not a cent of which was turned over to the defense. Resolutions demanding the unconditional release of the Scottsboro defendants, copies of which were sent to the Governor of Alabama, and the local press.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS—The Chicago Students League sends us word that they have organized branches of the League in most of the colleges and universities of that city. They have already reached the stage where it has become possible to support a field organizer who is now touring in the middle western states in preparation for a regional conference to be held in Chicago about the middle of April.

THIS MONTH'S ACTIVITIES

A FACULTY-STUDENT INVESTIGATION OF CONDITIONS IN KENTUCKY

A large student-faculty delegation to the Kentucky Coal fields during the Easter vacation is being planned. The delegation will consist of students and faculty members of various parts of the country. The delegation leaves New York on Wednesday, March 23 at 12 noon.

Arrives at the Workers International Relief headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee at 7 A. M., Friday, March 25.

One group will return Saturday night or Sunday morning and will arrive in New York Monday, March 28.

A second group will remain in Kentucky a few days longer to continue their investigation.

A third group will go to Detroit after leaving Kentucky, to investigate the suppression of the Ford auto workers.

Tours to inspect the principal mining camps will be arranged. In addition, the delegation will attend meetings of the striking miners and assist in the distribution of food and clothing.

Students and faculty members who plan to go should communicate with the National College Committee to Investigate The Kentucky Coal Fields, at 799 Broadway, New York City, Room 339.

Sponsored by the National Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners and by the National Student League.

COME TO THE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

A Student Anti-War Conference, sponsored by the New York Student League has been called for Saturday afternoon, March 19, at 2 P. M. at 102 West 14 Street, New York City. The conference is being called for the purpose of organizing the students of all the schools of New York City in the struggle against war.

For many years China has been at the mercy of every imperialist nation and of Chinese warlords. They, paid and encouraged by the United States, England, pre-war Germany and Japan, have aided in the impoverishment, degradation, and unspeakable exploitation of Chinese workers and peasants. Now Japanese armies have boldly penetrated China itself. Besides all this, news dispatches actually sent from Tokio and Shanghai are predicting—even announcing—a Japanese offensive against the Soviet Union for the Spring.

These events in the Far East are of vital interest to students everywhere. Therefore the students of New York are called upon to participate in this conference. Every club may elect three delegates.

ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE NEW YORK STUDENT LEAGUE

STUDY GROUPS

NEW YORK—The Graduate Branch of the National Student League announces the following schedule of study groups to be held at 102 West 14 St. The members of the Social Problems Clubs of all colleges in the city are invited to join these classes. They include:

Marxian Group, meeting Sundays, 5 to 7 P. M.

Trade Union class meeting on Mondays, 7:30 P. M.

Critique of Contemporary Bourgeois Culture meets Tuesdays, 7:30 P. M.

Research Group meets Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.

Writers Group meets Wednesday 7:30 P. M.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

A call to a National Student Conference to be held on March 28, 29, 30, at the Student League Headquarters, New York City, is being sent out to all student clubs and students by the provisional executive-committee of the National Student League. At this conference a national program will be formulated and national officers elected.

In the preparation for the conference students and campus clubs are urged to study the suggested program as published in the January-February issue of the *Student Review*, so that at the conference there will be definite suggestions and proposals, out of which a program representative of student opinion nationally, may be adopted.

The tentative agenda of the conference follows:

Monday March 28—10 A. M.—Election of committees and executive report.

Monday, March 28—2 P. M.—“The Student in the Economic Crisis”, speaker: Wm. Weinstone. Discussion by delegates.

Tuesday, March 29—10 A. M.—Reports from the delegates.

Tuesday, March 29—2 P. M.—“War in the Far East”, speaker: Scott Nearing. Discussion by delegates.

Wednesday, March 30—2 P. M.—Reports of Committee. Adoption of program. Election of National Executive Committee.

Wednesday, March 30—8 P. M.—Informal Evening at Student League headquarters.

The basis of representation shall be three delegates from each college. Organizations planning to send delegates should communicate with the National Student League, 102 West 14 Street, New York City.

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