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# STUDENT REVIEW

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## THEY SHALL NOT DIE!

ON March 25, 1931, nine young black workers were caught in the sheriff's net while riding in a freight train on their way to Memphis, where odd jobs were to be had.

Their people back home were starving. The sheriff did not care to hear about that. He locked them up as well as the two girl hoboes who were dressed like men. Then the local authorities thought of something—"Horse-swapping day just one week off; what a grand affair that would be, with lynching, brass band and barbecue! A swell chance to teach the damn niggers, too. They've been gettin' too damn smart around here!" And so they started the well-oiled wheels of racial propaganda rolling. The two white girls, of low repute, were easily bribed into telling dramatic tales of a heinous attack. Over night, the region was buzzing with the stories: "Nine black brutes ravish two young southern white virgins!"—"White womanhood must be protected!" The press fairly screamed with vile slander against the Negro race. The church thundered sermons of vengeance. Teachers expounded sacred doctrines of Nordic superiority. The whole countryside was up and expectant. Great things would be happening in Scottsboro on horse-swapping day! Who could afford to miss them?

And so they came. They cried for the lynching to begin.

The stage was already set. A special grand jury had already indicted the boys. Legal formalities had been dispensed with in order that the trial might be set for fair-day, April the tenth. When the psychological hour struck, jurors were picked from the men in the crowd. The nine terrified, helpless boys, chained, and bearing marks of brutal beatings, were dragged into the court-room. The oldest boy was twenty; the youngest just thirteen—all poor, illiterate, and absolutely at the mercy of the mob. Their "defense attorney" advised them to plead guilty. The court tried to bribe and threaten them, but they held out courageously. They did not commit the crime.

The trial went on. Victoria Price, one of the "victims," identified all the boys at a glance. Two of the oldest boys were tried and found guilty. Wild applause broke out in the court-room, followed by loud cheers of the mob outside.

The brass band struck up a lively tune—"There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." Then two more boys were tried and convicted amidst triumphant bursts of songs and cheers. By nightfall all were tried and convicted save one—Roy Wright, aged fourteen, a mere child in appearance. He was to await a new trial. The others were sentenced to be burnt on July 11th, set aside for another Roman holiday.

This holiday was never celebrated, for the International Labor Defense put a stop to the gruesome farce by having the sentence of thirteen-year-old Eugene Williams reversed, and forcing the court to stay the execution of the others whose cases the U. S. Supreme Court will review this coming October 10th. Mass-protest forced Chief Justice Anderson to admit that the whole trial was unfair. Mass-demonstrations have aroused the world against the barbarous injustice committed against nine innocent boys. American embassies have been picketed; demonstrations have been staged in Dresden, Hamburg and other cities. Gigantic mass meetings have been held in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna in defiance of the police.

As Sacco and Vanzetti became the symbols of the suppression of revolutionary workers the world over so have these nine Negroes become, the world over, the symbols of the oppression of a national minority. The Scottsboro issue is no longer the affair of the Alabama courts. It has become a class issue waged all over the world in behalf of the rights of the working class. Louis Engdahl and Mrs. Ada Wright, one of the Scottsboro mothers, are carrying the issue into every nook and corner of the world. The World Anti-War Congress has adopted the resolution to fight for the nine Negro boys. If we students, intellectual workers, fail to put up a strong fight for the liberation of these nine Scottsboro boys, we shall betray not only the cause of the Negro people whose desperate plight these boys symbolize, but the cause of the whole working class in the U. S. and all over the world. "Labor in the white skin cannot be liberated as long as labor in the black skin is enslaved."! We would also betray the cause of the intellectual, for our destiny is definitely linked with the destiny



of the workers, white and black. They alone can bring about changes which will free us from the power of the capitalists for whom the intellectuals are tools for exploitation. It is up to we students to take up the following challenge of Maxim Gorki's and carry it to all the schools and colleges of the U. S.

"It is time for you to decide on which side you are, 'masters of culture'! Are you for the elemental labour force of culture and for the creation of new forms of life, or are you against this force, and for the preservation of the caste of irresponsible plunderers, the caste which is decaying from its head down and is continuing its existence only by inertia?"

Fearlessly, en masse, we must break the barriers that surround the Jim-Crow schools of the South. We must reveal the whole capitalist scheme of enslavement to the Negro youth who are kept in ignorance of the fundamental causes that keep them separated from the rest of the students. Negro and white students must attack the whole rotten system that keeps millions of Negroes illiterate, and educates a select group of Negro lackeys to confuse and mislead them. The same educational system that keeps 3,000,000 Negro children out of schools entirely, sends millions of white boys and girls into the mines and factories at the age of twelve and fourteen. The system that boasts of having expended \$400,000 on the new Alabama State Teachers College for Negroes, spent \$3,000,000 on the Kilby penitentiary in which the illiterate nine Negro boys are kept, together with 1400 other unfortunates. This same system honors Darrow for protecting the Hawaiian lynchers and howls for the lynching of nine innocent Negro boys. It maintains men like Major Moton who is sent from college to college to teach the southern intelligentsia that the Negroes haven't the slightest desire for social equality, that the idea of racial equality is a myth. (The *Afro-American* July 30th and August 6, 1932, and Major Moton's many books and speeches.) Major Moton declares that the Negroes want only God.

The students must refute such lies! The Negro students should protest such leadership, and the leadership of men like Walter White and Dr. Dubois who teach the Negro students that the capitalists who built the Jim-Crow colleges

are the only friends the Negro people can trust.

Any student, especially in the South, who has sought summer or part-time employment, is acquainted with the force of racial division as a method of reducing wages and breaking strikes. All workers who are conscious of their position as members of the working class are aware of the potency of race prejudice as a weapon in breaking the back of working class struggle.

With thousands of students being forced to accept the status of workers, students can no longer keep aloof from working class issues and struggles. Many problems like race prejudice and minority suppression which are now becoming brutally clear were comparatively beclouded issues to many in the days of "prosperity." We now see to-day that race hatreds are freely encouraged in an effort to divert angry masses from the real issues at hand.

It is time that the student body should play a decisive part in the fight against race oppression. We must uproot it on the campus by fighting against Jim-Crow clubs and schools, fighting against all forms of race discrimination aimed at Negro and other minority students. We must organize student protest meetings against the Scottsboro verdict. It has been done on many European campuses where the Scottsboro issue has become of vital importance to the European student and worker.

In the Scottsboro case, the united voice of scientists, writers and students must and shall be raised with that of the workers of the world in a mighty, thunderous protest! The work begun by great intellectual leaders like Einstein, Thomas Mann, Theodore Dreiser and Romain Rolland, must be carried on and developed by members of the National Student League, by all students and student organizations.

Students and student organizations should flood the Supreme Court with protest telegrams and participate in the movement for the freedom of the Scottsboro Nine! As the Russian workers' demonstration in Petrograd, in 1917 saved Tom Mooney from the hangman, so will a determined fighting mass movement of students, scientists and intellectuals allied with the workers save the Scottsboro boys! The Scottsboro boys must not die! They shall not die!

## Cuba and America: Student Solidarity

IN Cuba, revolutionary students have been involved in a series of events which threaten their very existence. Profitable American business interests in sugar, utilities and land in Cuba are made secure by the militaristic Machado government which commits acts of murder, jailing, closing of schools and brutal and bloody suppression of student activities.

Since it is from "our" banking and business houses in the United States that these policies proceed, it is consequently to the American student body that the Cuban students appeal for protest and action.

Cuban students, very well aware of the stronghold American imperialism has on Cuba are beginning to recognize the necessity of joint struggle with the workers and peasants of Cuba and of the United States against the Machado regime and the American ambassadorial supporters. However, any manifestations of rebellious dissatisfaction on the part of workers, peasants and students offer Machado a chance to openly display his rule of brutality and terror.

As a revolutionary student group, opposed to American Imperialism and suppression of academic freedom, the National Student League has pledged solidarity and has taken the initial steps in carrying out a widespread and active op-

position to the policies of the governing and business interests of the United States in Cuba.

On August 31, students of the New York district of the National Student League held a demonstration at the office of the Consul General of Cuba. They demanded the release of the hundreds of imprisoned students and teachers of Cuba, the re-opening of Havana University on the demands of the Cuban students. They protested against the acts of violence directed against the revolutionary students. A resolution containing an analysis of the Cuban situation and the aforementioned demands was to be presented to the Consul. However, this august gentleman with fear and fury refused admittance to the committee presenting the resolution.

This blunt refusal is indicative of the hypocritical attitude of Cuban officials who, realizing the high handed methods employed by the Cuban government, assume an air of righteous indignation at any questioning or revelation of unjust acts.

It is extremely significant that already, after a small demonstration by a handful of students, messages of approval and appreciation of our activities have come to the National Student League from leading Cubans, exiled professors, students of Havana University, Cuban newspapermen and Cuban students in America.



## The Fees Fight Goes On

THE thesis that the student body as a social group is being forced more and more into the spheres of economic action is best illustrated by the problem of tuition increases in many of the free schools of the larger American cities. The financial crisis has carved big deficits in the budgets of most of the major cities. Continued graft, exorbitant expenditures for the tremendous trifles that bureaucracies entail, have left the budget figures in the red, with the prospects of increased taxation just as inadvisable as rigid economy. The city administrations functioning in the interests of the business men and real estate owners are increasingly resorting to reductions in expenditures for education and foisting the deficit on the shoulders of a weaker social group, the student body. That this thesis is being confirmed and may be considered the policy of city administrations in general, is proven by some cases of fee increases in the past year.

At Detroit City College, the Common Council raised fees by \$25 in 1931. In April, 1932, the resistance of the student body forced a reappropriation leaving the tuition rates at the figure for the previous year. In May, the students were again threatened with tuition rises and the faculty with a 33% wage cut.

At Toledo City College, where fee payments are divided into installments, students who had not paid up in full were not allowed to take examinations at the close of the last semester.

In the New York City Colleges, where fees of various kinds have prevailed for many years, the Board of Higher Education proposed on May 18th a series of fee increases and restrictions on registration that will raise the educa-

tional bills of the students and force many to drop out. In New York, too, the Board of Higher Education recommended the closing of the Maxwell Teacher's Training College. This was met by some student resistance, largely in channels controlled by local Tammany politicians. The National Student League pointed out to the Maxwell students the necessity of elective autonomous committees to free themselves from the control of local wardheelers whose party was responsible for restrictions in education on a city wide scale. This was unsuccessful, although the Maxwell College was continued for two years by a recent decision of the Board of Estimate. Undoubtedly this represents a deal between local and city officials of the Democratic Party, who, impressed by the resentment of the students, wished to avoid a real student-led fight against the closing of the college.

This semester we can expect these educational policies of the city administration to broaden out into wholesale fee increases, the closing of schools, omission of courses, and wage-cutting for the faculty.

In New York, Toledo, Buffalo, the problem of fighting fee increases is one of the most important items on the agenda of each National Student League district.

Newspaper clippings, official statements, authoritative speeches, all point to the continuation and extension of these restrictions and reductions at the expense of education.

The N.S.L. program has shown the way. The fight against fees must go on. The economic interests of the American student are at stake.

Determination and the pursuance of correct policies can insure victory all along the line!

## A Lesson in Democracy

At the closing exercises of the Olympics, in full view of the 100,000 spectators, a group of workers dashed across the field with banners reading "Free Tom Mooney." For this they suffered arrest under charges designed to keep them in jail as long as possible. Prof. Gallagher, already famous for his defense of the Imperial Valley workers and other similar activities, undertook to defend these prisoners under the auspices of the International Labor Defense. Immediately, Prof. McNitt, dean of the Law School of Southwestern University in Los Angeles, gave Prof. Gallagher a leave of absence "until he would change his ideas" and for good measure, added "We have no place on our staff for attorneys who defend the rights of political minorities."

The Better American Federation and other reactionary institutions had been demanding the head of Prof. Gallagher for some time. A previous attempt to remove him resulted in a mass student protest in which more than 90% of the law students supported Prof. Gallagher. To head off another such revolt, Prof. Schumacher, president of the University, stated that Prof. Gallagher had voluntarily resigned. However, Prof. Gallagher's own statements reads: "The Los Angeles newspapers carry the report that I voluntarily resigned from the Southwestern University Law

School. In reality, I was forced out of the School through the activity of the Better American Federation and other reactionary organizations."

In the face of such drastic persecution, the strict intolerance of class interest is undeniable—a fact which makes the bourgeois character of such institutions evident.

Recalling the heavy barrage of evidence which Upton Sinclair amasses in his "Goose-Step," it is clear that Prof. Gallagher's cause is in no way unique.

Nor should it be forgotten that such summary attacks on the liberty of the instructing staff are also attacks on the liberty of the student body.

The efficiency of massed student protest has been demonstrated in the Reed Harris case at Columbia and in the previously frustrated discharge of Prof. Gallagher. This type of defense should be made more effective by means of organized resistance, circulars, etc., and especially by co-operation under the leadership of the National Student League.

Individuals and groups interested in communicating their protest should write to J. J. Schumacher, President of Southwestern University, 1121 S. Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

On August 3, 1927, PRES. ABBOT LAWRENCE LOWELL of Harvard University, PRES. SAMUEL W. STRATTON of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, including Judge Robert Grant—"as an advisory committee in connection with the Governor's investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case"—aided in condemning to death Nicola SACCO and Bartolomeo VANZETTI, Two class-conscious innocent workers AUGUST 23, 1927.



## Hoover Pays the Bonus

**1917** —The great "liberal" in the White House, ex-president of Princeton University, scholar of history, scholar in the arts of diplomacy and democratic illusion and hypocrisy, elected to keep us out of the war, he obeys the commands of his masters and plunges 2 million men into a "War To End War," a "War For Democracy." Newspapers stuff yards of printed lies down the throats of boys from farms, shops, and factories, *Nothing is too good for our boys*. And then the trenches—slime, poison gas, syphilis, gangrene, horrible wounds and death. *Nothing is too good for our boys*.

1932—15 years later. On the mud flats on the outskirts of Washington 15,000 men are camped, (heroes returned from the wars). They are camped on the mud flats of Anacostia because they are hungry, because they have no homes, because they are ragged. They have come to ask for their back pay, their bonus. They need this money. They are starving and their wives and children are starving.

But the government does not want this hungry slice of the American working class perched on the front step of the White House. An order comes from the Capitol . . .

It was 1917 again with the veterans at the wrong end of the American bayonets. Clouds of suffocating gas swept over the camp. Cavalrymen with slashing sabres fell upon ex-servicemen and spectators with equal fury. For a time the veterans fought back but the superior arms and numbers of the Army caused them to beat a retreat. Torches were applied to the huts of the bonus army. Hundreds were hurt and two were killed.

This was the battle of Anacostia Flats. But of what particular significance is it to the American Student? In the Universities we are taught certain things in regard to the national government. We are taught from books written by men who are dedicated to the task of keeping life in the diseased body of our social system for as long a period as possible. We learn of the rights that a citizen has to petition the government. We learn of the power of the ballot. We are taught that ours is a government for, of and by the people. But now we have had a chance to see just how much these catch phrases amount to. The attack upon the bonus army was not the first time that the government has thrown its armed might against dissenting workers to protect the propertied classes. But it is the first time for most of the present student body that they have had a chance to witness, at first hand, such a manifestation of the ruthlessness of the capitalist state, of the purpose of the state for the protection of the ruling class and the suppression of the working class.

It is interesting to note who it was that led the Army against the B.E.F. The man chosen for the pleasing task was the estimable General MacArthur. Gen. MacArthur is at present traveling along the eastern borders of the Soviet Union, under the instigation, no doubt, of some secret military alliance. He is studying the military strength and defenses of Poland, Roumania, etc., fascist countries with open anti-Soviet sentiments. A few months ago he was guest speaker at the Commencement Exercises of the University of Pittsburgh. At that time he spoke on patriotism, the red menace, etc. (Excerpts may be found in the July issue of the *Student Review*). After his speech he was crowned with an honorary L.L.D. . . . Dr. MacArthur, master slaughterer of starving men—imperialism's ambassador to the youth of America.

What interests me about the *Student Review* is the good clear writing I find in it. I think this is due to the fact that these young men and women are talking and thinking of realities.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON.

## International Perspective

**F**ROM its very inception, the National Student League has realized the necessity of adopting an international perspective. The multitudinous forms of activity conducted by the organization invariably involved connections with the work of the student movement in other countries. With the revolutionary students of Latin America working under conditions of absolute illegality, with constant arrests and persecution of students in countries oppressed by American finance capital, it becomes increasingly imperative for the National Student League to support those students in their struggle for freedom. American students must understand the full gravity and meaning of the duty which they owe to the Latin American students. It is our own American empire which has established Latin America as a hinterland for economic penetration and it is our own imperialist rulers which either directly or by means of puppet rulers brutally suppress every movement for independence. And it is particularly the oppression of revolutionary students, the closing of universities in Cuba, the imprisonment of students, which demands a fitting answer from American students. International connections are obviously necessary in the movement of solidarity with the oppressed students and peoples.

No one can fail to see that the struggle against war is one which supercedes national boundaries. Here both the World Anti-War Congress and the International Student conference at Amsterdam demonstrated the possibility of instituting world-wide unified action against the outbreak of predatory war. In event of the actual outbreak of war this international unity is indispensable in the fight to end war and to abolish root causes of war in modern times.

The strongest impetus to the establishment of international co-ordination in the work of the revolutionary student movement was the convocation and accomplishments of the Amsterdam conference of students. This conference finally facilitated the emancipation of the N.S.L. from its purely national confines. The National Student League is now part of one student movement throughout the world. An International Bureau, with a secretariat in Berlin, was set up to aid the movement of militant students of all countries. All energy is now being devoted to the calling of a second international congress which will set up an International Union of Revolutionary Students.

It is interesting to note that many campaigns which appear on the surface to be purely American in nature are in reality international in scope. Czechoslovakian, Japanese and German students are waging a campaign against tuition fees. In fact almost every revolutionary organization is faced with a fight against retrenchment and the general cutting of expenditures for educational purposes. The world economic crisis leads irrevocably to the curtailment of cultural and educational development under capitalism. The experiences of the foreign students organizations who have learned much more than we have because of older and more widespread organization, are invaluable to the students of America. Here the discussions of the International Conference, (printed in this issue) and the articles in the Bulletin to be issued regularly by the International Bureau warrant the most serious study by American students. We are proud to say now: "We are international!"



# Education Under the Soviets

FOR the past year or more there has been a growing realization within the ranks of American students that our educational system is devoid of vitality; that fails in its most important task—to orientate and prepare the student to take his place in society; that there is complete dichotomy between the ideals of our educators and the actual classroom practice. The more venturesome and radical students have gone so far as to realize that no harmonious, satisfactory educational system can exist in a class society; that no orientation can take place in a society where the class struggle is a daily experience. Our six weeks stay in the Soviet Union has convinced us of this truth. The educational system which we found there, the spirit of the students, the complete harmony between education and society, between theory and practice, between students and teachers, all this has made us feel that only in a proletarian country can such conditions exist, that only in a society devoid of class-struggle and contradictions can the most advanced theories of education be put into practice; and that the beautiful theories advanced by our foremost American educators will come to naught in our capitalist society.

We left for the U.S.S.R. on May 25, 1932 to make a thorough study of the Soviet Educational system and to establish a basis for contact between Soviet and American students. Our delegation consisted of 3 students, two from Columbia and one from Hunter, all members of the National Student League. After a preliminary sightseeing tour in and around Leningrad, we arrived in Moscow on June 12. There we went to Dvoretz Truda (Palace of Labor) where the Headquarters of the Soviet Proletarian Student organization is situated. We introduced ourselves to them as members of the National Student League, showed them our letters of introduction, and told them something about our organization and about our mission to the U.S.S.R. We were received very enthusiastically and promised every aid. Since we desired to travel through the Ukraine, we were given a letter to the various school and student authorities, asking them to give us food and shelter and to do everything that would facilitate our investigation of the educational system. We should like to state here that we were given the heartiest reception by the authorities and students of the cities we visited, that we received the best of everything and no efforts were spared to show us everything we wished to see relating to the educational system and to the student life.

For three and a half weeks we travelled in the Ukraine and visited Lugansk, Dniepropetrovsk, Dnieperstroy and Kiev. In all of these places most of our time was given to visiting schools of all kinds, student dormitories, restaurants, Yassli (kindergartens), hospitals; addressing student meetings; attending graduations, and speaking to individual as well as groups of students. (One member of the delegation speaks Russian). The rest of the time we spent in Moscow where we lived in student dormitories and where we also attended student meetings, graduations etc.

We visited many laboratories in the different schools and found them equipped with the most modern and most delicate instruments. We visited an engineering institute in Dniepropetrovsk where worker inventors bring their ideas and are allowed all theoretical and laboratory facilities to carry them out. We were told that theirs was not the only institute which serves such a purpose. Very important is the fact that every student, no matter what profession he is pursuing, spends at least 20 percent of his school time in courses on Marxism, Leninism, dialectical materialism, political economy and history.

The impression we got from our study of Soviet Education is that their system is complex and varied in form. This, however, is only to be expected, for besides the task of educating the youth, the government, faced with a tsarist legacy of millions of illiterates and with a lack of greatly needed skilled and technical workers, was forced to institute a most comprehensive and necessarily multiform system of adult education. One of the things that struck us most on this tour through the U.S.S.R. was that almost everyone we met and everyone we spoke to was a student. Men and women, old and young—all are studying. One need not even talk to people, but need only to look at the kind of literature sold at the newspaper stands to realize how wide-spread is the demand for technical and political information. In the obscurest bookshops and on the smallest newspaper stands, one finds pamphlets and books on higher mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, politics and economics; and these are not popular digests or "Relativity Made Easy in 10 Lessons" stuff, but really rigorous text books. Another indication of the wide-spread demand for education is the growth of new schools in the different cities we visited. For example, Lugansk, a small factory town of about 60,000 inhabitants, which in the old pre-revolutionary days could boast only of 2 High schools and a few Public schools, now has 16 technicums, 7 rabfacs (workers faculties) and 6 institutes of higher learning.

In the socialist city of Dniepropetrovsk where there previously existed one university, we found now an entire student city on the outskirts of the town, with 22 institutes, numerous dormitories, Yassli, a well-equipped student hospital, student restaurants and student club-houses. Besides these institutes, there are many technicums and rabfacs spread all over the city. But the most interesting example of all is Kiev. This city was formerly a seat of religious learning and superstition. It has a famous monastery to which thousands of peasants flocked yearly to pray and fill the coffers of the monks. Some of them walked for thousands of miles (walking to this monastery was a form of penitance) the journey lasting for more than a year. This town is now the seat of Ukrainian higher learning. It has 65,000 students in the higher schools alone. It has 46 institutes, 51 technicums, 46 fabzauchi and numerous rabfacs. There too we found a city built for the students—dormitories, Yassli, etc. In all these places, besides the schools already completed, we found a feverish building of new schools and dormitories. The students never wait until the building is completed. It is put to use as soon as the first story is inhabitable. We found such cases in both Dniepropetrovsk and Kiev. All these, however, take care only of a fraction of the student body of the U.S.S.R. There are still the evening schools, the combinats and the home study courses to be considered, but of these we shall speak later.

What makes it possible for so many to attend the various schools is the fact that the government provides them with a stipend ranging from 35 to 190 roubles per month, according to the year of study they are in.\* This stipend is enough to give them three meals per day during the month, to pay the nominal sum of 5 roubles for their lodging in the dormitories, their laundry etc. The food is generally taken care of through a collective which the students form in their dormitories. This collective functions in the following manner:

\* July 10, 1932. A new decree was issued concerning the stipends. Henceforth the stipend, ranging from 55 to 190 roubles per month in the institutes and from 35 to 135 roubles per month in the technicums, will be paid, not according to the year the student is in, but according to the quality of his work.



ner. The students pay a lump sum of money (generally 32 roubles) at the beginning of the month, and are then provided with 3 meals a day for the entire month. This allows for a greater variety and better quality of food, as the buying is done on a large scale. If they do not belong to a collective, they receive student food cards and may buy their food in the student restaurants very cheaply, the cost of the dinner meal generally not amounting to more than 47 kopeks. Since there is a shortage of foodstuffs in the Soviet Union, there is not too much variety in what the student eats, but we found the meals substantial. There is always a buffet in the student restaurant, where they may purchase additional food. Students also get food supplies from some co-operative (workers' co-operative) to which they belong.

We found rooms in the student dormitories to be quite large and airy, particularly so in the newer buildings. Generally 4 or 5 students stay in one room together, but we often found as many as 7 or 8 in a room due to the shortage of room facilities. The grouping of 4 or 5 students in one room is not entirely an emergency measure. It has a sociological and educational implication. In the first place, the government wishes to teach these students to live together co-operatively and harmoniously. Secondly, these 5 students constitute a study "brigade" of which we shall speak later. Dormitory buildings are divided into 3 sections, one for boys, one for girls, and one for married couples. To each dormitory is attached a Yassli or nursery, where trained nurses take care of the children of married students.

Not only do 80 to 85% of the students receive stipends, but many of them, particularly shock-brigaders, are sent away to a summer resort or rest home for 2 months during the year at government expense. Other students may go to these resorts on payment of a very small fee. Student living expenses are further cut down by the reduction of rates they receive on railroad, trolley, theatre and cinema tickets.

In addition to the government aid enumerated above, the students receive full workers pay, workers insurance, sick benefit and so on when they work in shops, factories, mines or schools, during their practice period. It must be borne in mind that Soviet students never study theory alone, but always combine their theory with practice. Whether they be students of engineering, mining, physics or pedagogy, they always spend as much time working in their respective fields, as they do in acquiring theory. Students usually study two and a half months of every semester in school and they work two and a half months either as common laborers or as engineers, according to the year they are in and the amount of theoretical knowledge they possess. Their practice is not a haphazard affair, but follows closely their theoretical studies. It is so arranged that the work they do during the two and a half months of practice is as far as possible an application of the theory they acquired during the two and a half months period of study. We found that even pedagogical students, in addition to their practice in schools, are also sent to a factory for a month every semester so that they may become acquainted with manual labor. This knitting together of theory and practice is not an accident. It is a direct outgrowth of Marxian teaching that theory and practice are not opposed to each other, but are complementary. The full implications of this we shall not go into, but one thing is certain, the Soviet student is not a creature apart from society (workers' society), but an integral part of it. He does not and cannot feel superior to his fellow workers for he himself is a worker. Moreover, the practical benefits to society of such a system are:

1. The factories and shops are supplied with cadres (personnel).

2. After finishing school, the student is well equipped to follow his profession efficiently, having a thorough practical and theoretical foundation in his field. It is needless to add that every student is assured of a job after graduation. We

might also add that we found no discrimination against women in the schools. They study in all faculties and professions (even in the schools connected with the heavy industries, we found from 10-30% were women) and like the men, they too go to the mines, factories and shops for their practice. We were very much interested to find out from the Soviet students whether they did not rather prefer to study the whole school year instead of spending half of that time in shops, factories and mines doing hard labor. The answer in every case was that they preferred to work. The reasons given were that working in shops and factories was much easier than studying (and anyone acquainted with the seriousness and the time the student spends on his studies will realize this truth); that they get more money when they work; and above all, they feel that they are really doing something concrete towards the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan.

An outstanding feature of Soviet education is the method used in teaching and learning, the Brigade-Laboratory method, which we found employed in all schools. The students of a given class are divided into groups of 4 or 5. At the head of each group is a brigadier, usually the best student in the group. This brigadier is given, every ten days or so, a plan of study containing the material to be covered within this time, and the group works over this material co-operatively both in the classroom and at home. The brigade as a whole is held responsible for the quality of the work of the individual members. At the completion of the ten day task, the brigade is given both an oral and written examination by the professor, each student receive a different question to answer. There are no final examinations. It generally works out that good students group themselves together, but this is not enforced. Every student can choose his own brigade. However, good brigades are expected to help out the poorer ones. They also do not receive as much attention from the instructor as the poorer ones do. The duty of the instructor is only to clarify certain difficult problems and to be at hand whenever the brigade needs help. In order to keep the brigade as closely together as possible, its members (as we mentioned above) are usually given the same room in the dormitories. Those students not living in the student dormitories are formed into brigades according to the section of the city in which they live.

We were naturally interested in the question of discipline. We learned that discipline was mainly in the hands of the students themselves. Our question as to whether any cases of insubordination arose was received by the students with surprise. Discipline is a matter of course. It is inherent in the fact that students know what they are doing and what they want. This of course does not mean that there is no organized supervision. In most of the institutes we found the following organizations functioning for this purpose: Each faculty is divided into *groups* according to year (first, second etc.). Each group is divided into *sections* of 25 to 30. A director is chosen by the section as its head. He is responsible for the work of the section. Each section is divided into *brigades*. Each section (of 25) has a Y.C.L. organizer if there are any Comsomols in the section. If any members of the section belong to a union, then they have a union organizer, and if there are any party members, they have a party organizer too. (In all the schools we visited, we found that from 30 to 60% of the student body were either party members or Comsomols.) All these organizers, plus the director, manage and direct the group, are responsible for the discipline, the political education of the students, and for the fulfillment of the study plans. If a student breaks the discipline, the heads of all these organizations attempt to find out what is troubling him and try to correct him. If that fails, he is brought to trial in front of the assembled student body, and it is decided by

(Continued on page 21)



# The Challenge of American Life

WE are in a curious, an absorbing time in American life. It is a disturbing time, and the disturbance, we all feel, is not due entirely to the industrial depression. Something else has happened to us in America. There is everywhere among the American people now a spiritual depression—a spiritual uncertainty.

This new feeling in America began, I believe, after the World War. The tone of our literature suddenly changed. In literature we got suddenly the so-called hard-boiled writers. The wisecracker bloomed and is still blooming. There was a new cynicism about life. It still goes on. It concerns every phase of our life. Too many of the old heroes of American life have torn down, and there are no new ones to take their places.

Now we Americans are still a young people. America is a vast place. When I begin to try to speak of such a vast assembly of people I feel a little silly. However, I believe to think intelligently about America at all you must think of youth.

A nation is like a man, having a childhood, an adolescence, a maturity and an old age. We Americans are, as a people, probably as yet in our adolescence.

Recently I have been thinking almost constantly of American young men and women—young men and women, I must say, rather of the intellectual type—the young American man or woman who is half poet, half dreamer (we have more of that kind in America than most people imagine)

—I have been thinking of such men and women recently because I have just finished writing a novel about an American youth, half dreamer, half man-of-action, and of what happened to him.

Now, I believe, that the position of the novelist, the storyteller changes with any change in the tone of a civilization. We are poor enough novelists if we do not reflect our civilization, and who can doubt that our American civilization has changed rather terrifically within the last few generations?

I believe the answer is—the machine.

The machine has made a new world for all of us, as different in its tone from the world of our grandfathers, from the world of an American, let us say, like Abraham Lincoln, as his world was different from the world of Erasmus. In no other nation in the world has this change been so marked as in America.

We have come into this new world of speed, of great machines, of huge organizations of industry—huge merchandizing organizations—of great cities—and for a long time, I think, most of our American writers have been burning up time and energy fighting against this change—against this new world of which I am speaking here. We have been afraid of it. We have been afraid of the separation it has brought between peoples and between ourselves and nature.

I know that I, myself, have fought long and bitterly against this new world the machine has made. I have hated it, but recently I have changed my mind and my feelings have changed. I have quit fighting the machine—I begin to accept. I think we will all have to do that. "What can be done with this new machine world?" We begin to ask ourselves that.

Now I think that most of our writers rather fancy them-

selves really in the role of guests in life. We say to ourselves—"I will stand to one side. I will watch, look and listen". What we mean by that is really that we will take no responsibility for what happens to our fellowmen.

And the position of the writer is confusing. Often I say to myself—"Hands off!" I am, myself, often in that mood.

It seems a bit atrocious for us to try to think politically, for example, or to try to think ourselves into the modern economic puzzle.

But you see a man cannot be quite so free as this position of guest in life implies.

"Go tell the story of what you see," we say to ourselves, but we also get involved. There are always a man's friends and the people a man loves who are being terribly hurt by life. There is a kind of gigantic egotism in all of this ivory tower business too. Suppose I saw a man being drowned. Would I stand on the bank merely watching in order that later, in some story, I might be able to more accurately describe a drowning?

That is already too much the attitude of too many of us Americans today. There is too much insistence on individuality, too many of us are trying to save ourselves, no matter what happens to the other fellow.

In any great organization the individual who is a part of that organization gets more or less lost. But isn't all society rapidly becoming one great organization?

Even nations can no longer remain isolated each state thinking of its own welfare. The nation that does it in the modern world is but destroying itself. If nations cannot do it, how can individuals go on doing it?

I think that just now a good many young writers in the country are thinking along just the lines I am trying to indicate here. From time to time a good many young men and women have come to me and told me so. I have walked about and talked to these young men and women. I like doing it. Recently I have suggested to a good many of these young men and women an idea. You all know that when some of us older Americans were young we were always being told that it was our duty to try to be something grand and important in life. Well lately I have been saying just the opposite to the younger Americans to whom I have had a chance to talk.

"Why not try to be little instead of big?" I have been saying. "Do not try to be any big or outstanding individual."

I have been saying the same thing to myself. As a writer I have had some success, and any success I have had has always hurt me. I believe I am better, healthier, happier, I assure you, when no one pays any special attention to me.

To be willing to lose yourself in the mass. It does not sound exciting but often it is. There is where the real people are—among the nameless ones. They do not feel self-important. They are nice. They are interesting. Oddly enough they are always the best material for the writer.

I think that we writers should go more and more to the American workers, live with them, be a part of their lives too. The great mass of our American workers are inexpressive. These great bodies of workers, on whose shoulders we all sit, the small farmers, the inexpressive people in life, these people are dumb when it comes to telling their





own stories. They need men and women to speak for them—not from above, but up out of them.

Let me tell you a little story. A few years ago I wrote a very successful novel. It brought me in a good deal of money and I decided to spend the money trying to be a country gentleman. It did not work for me. In the end I found out that I was neither a countryman nor a gentleman.

But I did find out something. I spent my money building a huge stone house in the Virginian mountains and one day a poor old mountain woman came along the road. We stood by a fence and talked. She told me something. I began to brag about my grand house, and she said to me—"But, Mr. Anderson, we were all poor together before you came."

As you can imagine, what was said made me a little sick of my house. In trying to set myself up I had only succeeded after all in separating myself from my neighbors.

In America, I think, we writers in general are treated both too well and not well enough. The American still thinks of the writer as a man rather outside life. He wants the writer to be an entertainer. Well, that is all right. If I wrote a novel it should be entertaining.

But nowadays I think it should also be something else. We American writers should be able to make every reader of one of our books acquainted with other Americans they did not know before.

It is true that the writer should lead a free life. He should be left free. As an American writer I should consort with all kinds of people. With gamblers, with thieves, with men in prison, with respectable people, with the rich, with the poor, with conservatives, with radicals. I should be constantly extending my knowledge of life. I should put myself above no man but should go everywhere always with a question in my mind. "Who are you? What are you? What has made you what you are?"

America is a huge place. I have been myself a passionate traveller all my life, now living in the city, now in the country, now in a small town. I have lived in lumber camps, in coal mining towns, in industrial towns. Here and there I go peering into houses, stopping to talk to all sorts and conditions of men and women, trying always to find out, to find out, to find out.

I find out little enough. Life is too short.

However I cannot stand aside from life. The day of the ivory tower for the American writer is to my mind gone. There is too much suffering in the world now, too many people are being hurt by life. How can a man find out if he is not himself hurt—if he does not suffer with the others?

Most of all I think that what we Americans need is understanding of one another. In spite of all our mechanical progress in America, our swift easy-going from place to place, we Americans are essentially a lonely people. We need in some way to enter more fully in one another's lives, in imagination, in fact.

That is the writer's challenge—to make Americans better known to Americans. That is what we need. The need for it is so great, and the new complications and difficulties of life, brought into life by the machine, are so present always that it does not seem to me any writer nowadays with any feeling in him can dodge the challenge. The time for the American writer to be merely an entertainer is, I believe, gone. His position is too easy. We have to participate in life more, get into the hurly-burly of it, stay in it. The American writer can no longer dodge the challenge of American life by running off to Europe. To do so now becomes something very like cowardice.

The real job of the American writer is, I believe, the thing I have said above—the job of making Americans better understood by Americans. It is a job none of us writers dare avoid. If we try to avoid it we wake up finding we have also run away from life—from the very thing that may make us significant as writers.

## MAKING MORE REDS

BENT upon making a sociological and economic survey of conditions in the southern Illinois coal fields, in emulation of and inspired by the National College Committee, a group of professors and 150 students from Midwestern universities and colleges organized the Middle West Committee for Investigating Miners' Relief in Illinois. The project was initiated by the National Student League. On July 14 a meeting of its University of Chicago members, was held in Mandell Hall, Professor Frederick L. Schumann, of the political science department, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, of the English department, and Professor Louis Gottschalk, of the history department, were some of the faculty members on the committee present.

On July 14 a caravan of students and professors set off for the Illinois coal belt. Hardly had the delegation penetrated the belt, when it was met by Sheriff Browning Robinson of Franklin County. Sheriff Robinson had little use for the usual amenities between strangers. His face was set. His hand gripped a menacing shotgun. He was determined to keep the committee out of the coal belt. He took on all the charming characteristics of "I'm the Law" Smith of Bell County, Ky. "No agitation is needed in Franklin County just now." This he said and this he meant. He lifted his shotgun to emphasize the importance of the words. He was standing on the territory of Mount Vernon, Ill., which was several miles from his bailiwick, as he said these words. The Committee wasn't even amused by Sheriff Robinson's little skit. Several of its leaders gave him to understand that they were going through with their trip—whether Sheriff Robinson liked it or not. Needless to say, Sheriff Robinson didn't like it. So he told the committee that if it continued its trip its members would be arrested and thrown into jail. Immediate departure was the option he gave.

Exactly what happened after this is not quite clear as this article is being written in N. Y. C. Apparently five students didn't heed Sheriff Robinson at all, and managed to sneak through the county lines. They were arrested at West Frankfort while being escorted about by a miner and his wife. Those arrested were Joseph Hamburger, and Henry Forblade of Commonwealth College and Fred Glatzer, A. O. Carlson, and Beatrice Carlson of the University of Chicago, Victor Sivert was thrown into jail at Mount Vernon. The rest of the committee was released and driven from the coal belt. The National Executive Committee sent the following telegram to Governor Emerson:

"We demand that the Governor of Illinois immediately take steps to insure that the constitutional rights of the students, investigating conditions of miners in Southern Illinois, who have been illegally jailed, be respected. We appeal to the liberal forces and workers throughout the Mid-West to see that a second "Kentucky dictatorship" is not allowed to exist in Illinois."

\* \* \*

Seven members of the National Student League making a survey in the Ohio coal fields were rounded up on June 10 by deputy sheriffs and "escorted" to Pennsylvania. The Cambridge authorities took all precautions to keep the students from communicating with the miners. During the short while they were in Ohio. The fact that one of the students was carrying National Student League literature which advocated "abolition of all forms of compulsory religious services in College", was used by the authorities to justify their action against the delegation.

M. B. S.



# WE ARE INTERNATIONAL!

ON August 29th, during and after the closing sessions of the World Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam, there was held the first international conference of revolutionary students. The deliberations and accomplishments of this conference mark a turning point in the student movement throughout the world. All socially conscious students must acquaint themselves very thoroughly with the work of the congress and must utilize it as a starting point for new and greatly intensified activity.

The initiative in calling the conference was taken by the "German League of Free Socialist Students," the revolutionary student organization of that country. The conference was opened by Hartz, a representative of the organization.

He pointed out that the conference had two main purposes. One, to rally the students for a struggle against war on the basis of the specific methods which are used to prepare students for war, secondly, to discuss problems of the international revolutionary student movement in order to lay the foundations for an international union of such student groups.

The conference was then opened for the reports of the 47 delegates from the sixteen countries represented.

The delegate of the German students was first to report. There are in Germany 130,000 high school and university students. Of these about 3% are of proletarian origin, 25% petty bourgeois and the remainder from the upper classes. The Union of Free Socialist Students has a membership of 1600.

The all important question facing the students of Germany today is the problem of fascism. Not only is the state power rapidly evolving along fascist lines, but the fascist movement has won a mass base for itself and exercises a very great influence over the students. 35% of the students are active members of the fascist organization.

The position of the German students at the present time is an impossible one. Opportunities for employment upon graduation, are non-existent. With the rapid ruin and disintegration of the middle classes, the crisis in which the students find themselves becomes accentuated.

The rapid spread of fascism among students is partly explained by the social composition of the German students and the middle class nature of the Nazi (National Socialist) movement. The anti-semitic appeal of the fascist strikes root because of the promise that the Nazis will give the German students those jobs now held by Jews. Nazi propaganda is of an outright demagogic character. The Nazi tell the students that they are fighting for real socialism while "Marxist" socialism has shown its bankruptcy in the rule of the German Social Democracy (As if the Social Democratic Party can be identified with socialism). Jobs and prosperity are promised the students under the Nazi, "Dritte Reich."

The duel with fascism is being waged on two fronts. In the first place it takes the form of physical defense against fascist attacks. Secondly, and most important of all, is the ideological struggle against fascism and the fight to convince and win the students for socialism. Large mass meetings, debates and discussions have been successfully organized among Fascist and Social Democratic students. This was done in Königsberg, Berlin and Heidelberg.

The international nature of the fight against tuition fees, and retrenchment in education generally, is shown in the fact that one of the most important activities of the Union

of Free Socialist Students has been the fight against fees with the slogan of 'Tuition Strikes'. In this fight, waged in the interests of the economically poorer students, it was continually pointed out that the abolition of poverty is possible only with the abolition of the capitalist mode of production.

Fascism is militarizing German youth and the students particularly. Thus the fight against fascism is also a struggle against war.

Frank Jackson of the London School of Economics reported for the British delegation. No national organization of revolutionary students is yet in existence. But there are groups in the leadership of clubs. They are working within the Labor Party and other student clubs at the universities.

Approximately 3% of the students in England are of upper class derivation. Students have for the most part been disinterested in politics.

War preparations go on in the schools in three specific ways, one by military training, two by jingo propaganda and three by the utilization of laboratories for military research purposes.

This report was supplemented by Frank Meyer, of Oxford University, who spoke of the activities of the "October Club" at Oxford. It is under left-wing leadership and has a membership of 250. He said that in the general strike of 1926 many students scabbed on the workers. With the outbreak of textile strikes, and other strikes brewing, it was imperative that the repetition of such a shameful deed on the part of students be prevented.

An exceptionally brilliant analysis of the Czechoslovakian student movement was made by the student\* who reported for that delegation of students. He declared that France is utilizing Czecho-Slovakia for her imperialist war aims and particularly for an attack upon the Soviet Union.

The Versailles treaty produced a Czecho-Slovakia where the principle of self-determination was thrown into the discard and the new state was the epitome of national oppression. This national problem is reflected in the student movement. It is among the oppressed peoples of Czecho-Slovakia, such as the Germans and Hungarians that fascism makes demagogic use of the struggle against Czech and French imperialism and declares for a union with a Nazi state in Germany. The Marxist Student League (whom the speaker represented) makes the struggle for national freedom on the basis of a free union of socialist states the keynote of its movement. It has succeeded in stemming the fascist tide to a certain extent.

A determined fight is being waged in defense of the foreign students (Jews, etc. who are forced to study abroad) from the countries of the white-terror (Poland, Jugo Slavia, etc). These students are a special object of attack by Fascist students who believe that their chances of securing employment will be improved with the elimination of the foreign students.

A particularly successful undertaking was the sending to the Soviet Union of a student delegation which brought back a very enthusiastic report. When a meeting was held at the Prague University to report their findings, the police attempted to dissolve the assemblage. This provocation was answered by a protest demonstration of 1400 students.

\* Names of most of the official delegates have been omitted because of the possible persecution these students may undergo in their respective countries.



In the fight against fascism a united front of all students, political and non-political, was set up.

Particularly strong in Czecho-Slovakia is the movement among secondary school students. Anti-militarist activity in these schools has led to the arrest and imprisonment of students.

In Czecho-Slovakia there is also a strong anti-tuition fees fight. Partial victories on this issue have been won under the leadership of the Marxist Student League.

The speaker for the Dutch students pointed out that no national organization exists as yet. United front student committees have been set up in support of the anti-war congress. There is a strong organization of Indonesian students in Holland.

It was indeed fitting that a representative of the Indonesian students deliver his report immediately after. Indonesia has been under Dutch rule for more than 300 years. Although the population is 70,000,000, there are only 3 universities. Students are subject to the most cruel cultural oppression. Books in their native tongue are forbidden. The Indonesian student finished with an appeal to the Dutch students to support the Indonesian struggle for emancipation.

## **Manifesto**

# **To the Students of All Countries**

You, the students of all countries, have for the most part been striving to become members of the learned professions, doctors, lawyers, teachers, scientists. You have been attempting to escape the toil, insecurity, want, and exploitation which have been the common lot of your fathers. Toiling in shops, in small businesses, in factories, your fathers are now suffering from the effects of the world economic crisis—an event inherent in the system of capitalism which is crumbling away. You cannot help being affected by this general break-down of capitalism. The very professions for which you strive are becoming increasingly overcrowded. They are no longer offering the rewards which in the more vigorous days of capitalism were offered to the sons of the petit bourgeoisie and the laboring classes.

In the capitalist countries of the world, this crisis is causing you to swing to the left—to ally yourself with the forces which will create a new social order. These forces are comprised of workers of hand and brain. Their efforts are meeting with the opposition of the economically dominant classes who wish to maintain the present order in which their interests lie. These powerful interests are marshalling all their forces of terror, demagoguery, and prejudice to combat, to sidetrack and smother these growing forces of opposition. Their university authorities threaten with dismissal students fighting the R.O.T.C. They are mustering the forces of racial prejudice, Anti-semitism and Jim Crowism, to prevent you from seeing your true interests. "Socialism," Liberalism, Fascism, Catholicism, are the forces of demagoguery and illusion, which they use to safeguard their interests.

The contradictions which the present crisis brings forth are rapidly approaching a climax. War is nearing. As a way out of their economic entanglements, the friction between an increasingly narrow world market and an increasing oversupply of goods, the capitalist rulers of the world are preparing for war. They must have new lands to exploit. They must silence the forces of discontent.

Challenging the disruptive forces of capitalism are the creative forces of the Soviet Union. Far from facing a conflicting economy, it is the most progressive economic and social order on earth. It cannot find hands and brains

The Swiss delegation reported that Marxist Student League groups exist in Basle, Zurich and Geneva. In Zurich, they issue a magazine "Der Rote Student" which has a circulation of 300. (There are in all 3000 students in the city).

A broad movement for greater student self-government for increased stipends, for free speech, a free press, for a faculty in socialism and for the abolition of the Religious faculty has been conducted.

An impassioned appeal for international solidarity was made by the Flemish delegate who said that their movement was primarily one in support of the fight for national independence. Of the 1000 students in Ghent, 30 belong to the red student organization. The fight for amnesty for political prisoners has assumed important proportions.

Of particular importance is the anti-clerical movement because of the intimate bonds between fascism and clericalism in the country. International connections for the student movement are a crying necessity and especially do the Flemish students need the help of the French and Dutch students.

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enough to serve the demands of its swift growth, of its gigantic economic and cultural program. It is rich in resources and wide expanses of territory which are the envy of their imperialist countries. Behind their futile, cynical disarmament conferences and solemn peace pacts, the imperialists are concealing their preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

The vested interests are rapidly militarizing the youth of the world. In Germany, for example, although compulsory military training does not exist, it is being replaced by compulsory labor service for the unemployed workers. Unemployed students are being exploited in the same way for clerical and intellectual work. The vested interests are using the universities for their war preparations and their war dementia. They are using their laboratories as experimental stations for the manufacture of munitions. The chemical faculties are used for poison gas research. In America the government subsidizes and in every way encourages military training in the colleges, the so-called R.O.T.C. units. In Germany the universities are virtual recruiting stations for the forces of reaction. Culture has become an instrument of reaction. It triumphs in the laboratory and the lecture room.

Students! You must decide on which side you will stand. Events are too compelling. You can hesitate no longer. Will you side with the exploiting class, the force of decadence and destruction, or will you side with the working class whose historic function is to construct a new social order, a new and higher culture?

Fight with the Revolutionary students of the world against imperialist war, against the cultural reaction, against military training, against compulsory labor service, against national oppression and class oppression.

For the defense of the Soviet Union, for cultural progress, for national, colonial and social liberation.

**Against Capitalism! On to Socialism!**

... The Revolutionary students assembled at the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress representing Germany, the United States of America, England, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Poland, Indonesia, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria, China, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, Switzerland . . .



## WAR AGAINST WAR

THE walls and pavements were voluble. Bright and early Saturday morning, we were greeted by innumerable slogans painted in large white letters on all the important thoroughfares of Amsterdam. The very streets were proclaiming:

"Against Imperialist War"

"Guerre a la Guerre Imperialiste"

"Gegen den Krieg, der Burgerkrieg"

In the immense Hall of the Automobile Industry, there were 2,194 delegates from countries assembled for the World anti-War Congress, convoked on the initiative of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. Workers at the Congress totalled, 1865; 249 were intellectuals and students and peasant delegates numbered 82; 315 delegates belonged to the Social-Democratic Parties, 830 belonged to the Communist Parties and 1,090 were without political affiliation.

In his opening address, Henri Barbusse expressed the sharpest condemnation of the Dutch government for refusing admittance of the Russian delegation, headed by Maxim Gorki, to Holland. In spite of the bitter opposition which the Congress met, in spite of the conspiracy of silence with which the press of the world surrounded the Congress, it was the first of its size and kind ever known to history. Barbusse declared that the congress must unite all the elements here represented in an all powerful struggle against war. Barbusse appealed to the intellectuals to conform to the needs of the laboring masses and realize the leadership and key position held by the workers in the fight against war.

The message of Romain Rolland to the congress was read by Madame Duchéne. Rolland appealed particularly for the preservation of the United Front shown in the composition of the Congress. He flayed those intellectuals who create a sharp cleavage between thought and action and refuse to participate in the social struggle. "Action is the object of thought . . . We are the servants of thought and we must produce action."

Countless speakers addressed the congress, pacifists, socialists, communists and many without political affiliation. A message of support from Professor Albert Einstein was read. Writers such as Barbusse, Anderson-Nexo, and Sherwood Anderson, spoke together with workers from metal and munitions factories and transport and marine workers. The mayor of a small town in Czecho-Slovakia spoke. Patel, president of the Indian Legislative Assembly spoke, as well as Len Wincott, leader of the Invergordin mutiny of the British fleet. A sailor in the full uniform of the Italian navy, made a passionate plea to the congress for intellectual and working class unity against war.

An outstanding moment at the congress was the address of Willi Munzenberg, former leader of the Socialist Youth International, and a founder of the Young Communist International. Munzenberg said that the question of *how* to fight imperialist war had been answered by the Russian workers in 1917, who not only ended the war for their people, but began the construction of socialism which eliminates the fundamental roots of war. Munzenberg spoke and declared that the communists were willing to unite with all workers and intellectuals in a fight against imperialist war. His appeal for the United Front was greeted with a tremendous demonstration.

After the election of an International Committee to continue the work of the Congress to carry into effect the proposals for stopping of munition transport, the setting up of anti-war committees, the setting up of vigilance committees on dangerous borderlines of Europe, the Manifesto was adopted with almost complete unanimity.

The world congress against imperialist war ended. The work of the congress had begun. JOSEPH COHEN.

## OUR FIGHT BEGINS

(Statement of the National Executive Committee of the National Student League)

RECOGNIZING the importance of the part played by students in war and the widespread efforts being made to prepare students for war throughout the world, one of the first acts of the World Congress Against War was an appeal to the students of America to take action! On the 29th of August, the World Congress cabled the National Student League and called on it to organize a nation-wide conference of American students to carry on a fight against war. This appeal was signed by Henri Barbusse, Chairman of the International Committee of the World Congress, and Sherwood Anderson, noted American writer and critic.

This call has not gone unanswered by the National Student League; it must not go unanswered by the hundreds of thousands of students throughout the country.

Aware of the existence of widespread sincere anti-war sentiment among the students throughout the country, and realizing that large numbers of these students are not yet able and willing to accept the leadership of the National Student League in all of its program, the League has assisted in the formation of an independent national committee of students and teachers.

Acting immediately, the National Student League appealed to over two hundred student leaders and teachers to form a national committee to call and to organize this student Congress. This Committee has issued a call to all students sincerely interested in the formulation of a militant program for student action.

On the basis of the program of the National Student League, we urge all members of the League and all students to support this Committee and this Congress.

At the same time, all members of the National Student League must continue their present anti-war activities among the students. The local R.O.T.C. fights already going on, the work against jingoistic classroom teachings and teachers, the fight against militaristic administrations should be continued with doubled intensity. The class character of the present preparations for war, the dangers of intervention to the Soviet Union, and the imperialist character of wars must continue to be carefully shown to the students. Thru these present activities, carried out on the basis of the program of the National Student League, wider numbers of students can be aroused and educated to the necessity of even broader student action. The National Executive Committee points out to all League members and sympathizers that, in large measure, the success of the Student Congress will depend on how well we carry out the program of the National Student League.

National Executive Committee  
National Student League

*The Manifesto of the World Congress Against War is at present in its draft form. The revised and complete Manifesto will be published in the November issue.—Editors*

When I was Vice-President of the League for Industrial Democracy, there used to be some sweet organizations which felt it their duty to warn our capitalist colleges that the L.I.D. was in reality controlled by naughty socialists. It is amusing to find the L.I.D. itself to-day feeling obliged to protect the colleges by warning them that their may be some naughty communists behind the N.S.L. This makes it quite clear that the L.I.D. is now assuming the role of defender of Capitalism.

Prof. H. W. L. DANA.



# The Students Must Act!

**I**N the ringing words of Romain Rolland "War is coming! From all sides war is coming, menacing all peoples. It can burst out tomorrow. If it sets fire to one corner of the world it cannot be localized. The whole of civilization, the whole world, is in danger."

Voicing the will of the World Congress Against War, Henri Barbusse and Sherwood Anderson have appealed to the students of America to take action, to organize a nationwide Congress against war and the preparations for war, to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers and intellectuals throughout the world against this impending destruction for the benefit of a few.

The students of America and throughout the world cannot remain unconcerned and untouched by this danger. Students in China are being murdered and crushed by the war movements already taking place; students in Germany are being armed by Fascism for their own destruction; students in the Latin-Americas are suffering the full force of American and English imperialism whenever the puppet governments are menaced; throughout the world, students are being "educated" by text book, by administrations, by military authorities to become willing leaders in crushing resistance to war, in leading regiments to save profits. The intellectual and physical equipment of university laboratories and research departments are put to the service of developing war materials more destructive and more effective in killing than already exist.

In America, student bodies are being prepared mentally and physically. Already, increased militarization of the student body by campus R.O.T.C. units, by summer training camps, by special rifle corps, by jingoistic class room teachings have turned out thousands of students willing to "save the world for democracy." Graduation Day sees hundreds of leading colleges and universities conferring honorary degrees on blatant militarists and broadcasting their speeches. Each year sees larger numbers of universities opening their doors to these war forces; each year sees faculties more subservient to this "education."

We cannot depend on the guidance and leadership of our educators, our teachers, and our educational administrations. In 1917 . . . educational institutions prepared us, and educators led us. Betrayed themselves by forces they respected, and still continue to respect, they in turn betrayed us. Today, hundreds of college administrations are actively aiding militaristic preparations; thousands of teachers are supinely drifting with the war currents and preaching the sanctity of profits and property; and hundreds of thousands of students are being "educated."

The students themselves must determine the students' fate!

The workers, the peasants, the intellectuals throughout the world are taking action. The World Congress Against War was a magnificent demonstration of who will lead in this fight, and who will suffer if it is lost. Over two thousand delegates, representing millions of workers, have spoken so clearly that the newspapers of America were forced to stuff up their ears and to close their columns. This Congress has appealed to the students to declare themselves and to join in this struggle.

The students of the world must act! The wordy barriers of the classroom and the textbook must be broken down. We urge the students all over the United States

to send delegations to the Student Congress Against War to be held in Chicago during the Christmas vacations. We urge the masses of students in the country to come in such numbers that the militarists and the imperialists will pause before the ringing protest of our Congress.

In co-operation with the workers and intellectuals throughout the world, we will build a realistic and uncompromising movement against war. We must act!

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDENT CONGRESS AGAINST WAR

Edmund Stevens, Chairman  
Columbia University

Dora Zucker, Secretary  
College of the City of New York

Margaret Bailey, Treasurer  
New York University

Sherwood Anderson

Henri Barbusse

Professor George S. Counts  
Teachers College, Columbia University

H. W. L. Dana

Prof. L. Gallagher

Reed Harris

Donald Henderson  
Columbia University

Corliss Lamont

Professor H. J. Muller  
University of Texas

Scott Nearing

Professor Thomas Woody  
University of Pennsylvania

Joseph Cohen  
Brooklyn College

Harry Magdoff  
College of the City of New York

George Perazick  
University of California

Eugene Schafarman  
University of Michigan

Norman Spitzer  
Cornell University

The Committee is securing members from all sections of the country to make itself truly national in scope.

For further information on the Student Congress Against War, all students and student organizations should write to Dora Zucker, 972 Kelley St., Bronx, N. Y.

The basis of representation to the Congress has been made as broad as possible. (1) Any group of 15 students may send 1 delegate; (2) All student organizations and clubs may send 1 delegate for every fifteen members.



# On the Elections

Fellow Students:—

The fact that this fall will find a large mass of the student body throughout the country faced with a presidential election campaign makes some definite action on the part of the students of America necessary. The National Student League, though not in itself a political party organization and not affiliated with any political party, must face the fact that students are directly and indirectly affected by this political campaign, that students will take positions with reference to the various parties and their platforms, and will actively participate in party activity. The major effort of the N.S.L. members should be that of bringing before the student body the issues and the policies of the various parties, the way in which these policies affect the student body and the revolutionary movement.

We who are members of the National Student League should examine the party platforms from the standpoint of our program. As students we oppose attempts to economize at the expense of education. Realizing that our interests are identical with those of the working class we support its struggles and demands. As future workers we advocate unemployment insurance. We are against race discrimination. We are unalterably opposed to imperialist war. We favor the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union.

What are the positions of the two major parties on these questions? During their periods of tenure both parties have consistently protected privilege. Their legislative record is a chronicle of successive attacks upon the living standards of the workers and attempts to extricate themselves from the crisis at the expense of the working class. This has been especially true in education, where city administrations of both parties have tried to economize at the expense of students. Both parties advocate intensive war preparations and the spreading of the R.O.T.C. on the campus. They sponsor the most vicious propaganda against the Soviet Union. While pretending in their platforms to befriend the Negro it is their own leaders who support and legalize race oppression.

The Socialist Party, while declaring itself opposed to capitalism looks to the present form of government as a means of attaining its end. In so doing it fails to recognize that this very form of government was established and continues to exist for the sole purpose of maintaining the ruling class in power. In the face of the reign of terror against the working class which is instituted by this government whenever they attempt to organize (as witnessed by recent events in Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Florida and elsewhere) the Socialist Party still looks to the ballot as a panacea.

Once the class character of the state is ignored, they emphasize personalities rather than issues, as in the avowedly capitalist parties. This is clearly seen in the character of Vote for Thomas Clubs, organized by the L.I.D. on the campus. They propose slogans as "Vote for the best man." Thus the fact that Thomas is an ex-minister and a Scotch Presbyterian is often used to endear him to certain elements and hence to capture their votes. At other times the plea of personal honesty is introduced, the sewer system of Milwaukee is eulogized, and Thomas becomes, for the benefit of the reformers, a knight in shining armor, champion of the city beautiful and clean municipal government. The fact that graft is a product not of the corruption of individuals but of the present system is overlooked. Our troubles are more and more attributed to the election to office of unscrupulous politicians who are not nice Christian gentlemen.

While favoring recognition of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Party calls for "restoration of civil liberties." In Russia today this means freedom of action for white tsarist elements to carry on counter-revolutionary activities. At the same time no mention is made of the danger of war against the Soviet Union.

Although the Socialist Party comes out with revolutionary phrases it does not support these by activity. The party which combines sound revolutionary theory with day-to-day struggle in the interests of the workers is the Communist Party. In the present crisis, not only was it the first party to frame an unemployment insurance bill, but it organized and led huge demonstrations of unemployed workers all over the country forcing the authorities to offer some measure of relief. It builds its membership and conducts its campaigns not on a basis of vote-snatching but along the lines of working class solidarity. It fights against retrenchment in education and advocates the establishment of free schools and colleges. It stands four-square in favor of complete social, political, and economic equality for the Negro. It is uncompromisingly opposed to imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. It not only talks against war preparations but actually organizes and leads the fight against impending imperialist war.

In view of these considerations the National Executive Committee suggests to the members of the league and to all students that immediate steps be taken to secure the widest possible discussion on the platforms and policies of the various parties. The relationship of these policies to the program of the National Student League and to student issues and problems should be given major consideration.

In view of this situation the N.E.C. recommends the following activities for its members:

- 1.—The N.S.L. should send communications to all the parties and their candidates to determine their stand on various student conditions and problems
  - a—R.O.T.C., C.M.T.C.
  - b—Student Unemployment Insurance
  - c—Tuition conditions; retrenchment at the expense of education
  - d—Free city colleges.
  - c—Academic freedom, etc.
- 2.—Establishment of forums
  - a—Broad committees of students should invite representatives of the various parties to present their platforms and stand on these and other issues.
  - b—Wherever possible the Student Council should run these.
  - c—Social problems clubs should arrange these also in conjunction with other student groups.
  - d—N.S.L. members should prepare questions for these speakers, to be sent to them before they speak, so they can state their stand on *student issues*.
  - c—Straw votes should be taken at these forums.

I am sympathetic to every effort now being made in the country to awaken the students to the realities of modern life, and especially to the most significant of all realities, the class struggle.

UPTON SINCLAIR.



# A COMMUNICATION

*The National Executive Committee wrote to the National Campaign Committees of the four major parties to secure their stand on the major student issues and problems. We print here the only answer received. No further comment is necessary.*

September 6, 1932.

Dear Friends:

In answer to your request that we state the position of the Communist Party U. S. A. on the program and demands of the National Student League, we wish to make the following statement:

The Communist Party has given in the past, and will continue to give, leadership and support to those students and student organizations which ally themselves with the revolutionary working class in its struggle against the attempt of the capitalist class to place the burden of the economic crisis on the shoulders of the workers and which support the Communist Party in its fight against the whole capitalist system.

The six points in the platform of immediate demands put out in this election campaign by the Communist Party demonstrate our support of the immediate demands of the National Student League. Our first demand is for "unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employer." This includes support of your demand for "unemployment insurance for all students graduating from or leaving college, who are not placed in positions."

Your demand for "full social and political equality for Negroes" in the colleges and universities and your stand against discrimination and Jim-Crowism in educational institutions, receives our support based on our demand for "Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt."

Our fifth demand "Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers" insures support of your demand "... that there be no interference in extra-curricular activity by university authorities" and support of your stand for academic freedom.

## WE ARE INTERNATIONAL!

*(Continued from page 12)*

"Trotz Alledem!" In spite of everything, the revolutionary students in those countries do whirlwind activity in conditions of strict illegality.

The illegal Polish organization has a membership of 2000. These are students of many nationalities. They participate side by side with the workers in strikes, demonstrations and all phases of the class struggle. Support by the students of other countries for those of the white terror is an immediate necessity.

In Yugo-Slavia the fight against fascist terror resulted in the formation of the "Union of Revolutionary Students." So active have they been in the University of Belgrade that the authorities closed the university in fear of the movement.

With similar if not worse conditions prevailing in Bulgaria, the illegal revolutionary student organization has 800 members. How powerful this movement is and what influence they have, was seen in a demonstration of 5000 students against a certain professor whose vicious fascist teachings aroused the antipathy of the students. The students succeeded in driving that professor out of the university.

One wonders with what emotions the student delegates from the colonial and Balkan countries heard the report of our National Student League delegate and realized the possibilities which exist for our movement in America. In no

Our stand "Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Soviet Union" puts to the fore our fight on this issue. We should like to point out to the National Student League that the Communist Party alone has actively and aggressively fought on this issue.

Your proposal "... to participate in the struggles of the working class ..." and the support which the National Student League has rendered to working class organizations on certain occasions in the past in strikes, demonstrations, etc., is in line with our demands "Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy" and for "Emergency relief for the impoverished farmers without restriction by the government and banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of rents or debts."

The Communist Party calls for support of its Workers' Ticket not on the basis of demagogic demands and false promises but on its record of every day struggle for the realization of its demands and its unending fight against the capitalist order. We have and will continue to give leadership to the fight against all attempts to balance budgets and to retrench at the expense of education. The closing of schools in Chicago and other parts of the country, the raising of tuition fees and attempts to charge higher fees at the city colleges (New York, Detroit, Toledo, Buffalo, etc.), the curbing of student opinion and organization, all coupled with increased expenditures for R.O.T.C., C.M.T.C. and other forms of military preparedness in the schools illustrate the role which education plays as a handmaiden of the employing class, and are part of the attempt to solve the economic crisis at the expense of the masses of people.

The Communist Party calls upon the students of the United States to support the Workers Ticket in the presidential election this fall in every way possible.

Fraternally yours,

*For the Central Committee, C. P., U. S. A.*

WM. Z. FOSTER, Candidate for President  
JAMES W. FORD, Candidate for Vice-President

other country is there such a tremendous number of college and secondary school students and in no country can the destruction of the base for a fascist student movement be better accomplished than in the United States.

The Belgian reporter for the Marxist Student League stated that their main fight was against the compulsory two years of military service. A united front has been set up on this issue.

The Federal Union of French Students has suffered a considerable decline in membership, receding from 2500 to 700 members. This loss was due to the exclusion of reformist elements, sabotage by some students and the unsuccessful termination of a student strike. However, the speaker promises that in a very short period of time, they will again regain their former strength.

Anti-militarist activity, the fight against compulsory military service is becoming more and more widespread. Large anti-war demonstrations under the leadership of the Federal Union have been held in the universities.

In his summation, Hartz, the representative of the German students, proposed the formation of an International Bureau, comprising one representative from each country. This Bureau is to co-ordinate the activities of the organizations throughout the world. It is to publish an international bulletin and is to facilitate the interchange of student litera-

*(Continued on page 23)*



# University Disease

TODAY, two classes of men are playing football. The larger class is formed from men who attend college not for education, but to display their own particular brand of football. All, or almost all, of the men in this group receive payment for their services, in one form or another. Only one in a hundred such men holds any interest in intellectual progress except in so far as football eligibility depends somewhat on passing a certain few points of work each semester.

The second division of football-playing collegians is made up of men who enjoy the game enough to submit to the tyranny of coaches, the brutality of trainers and the rigid rules of living imposed upon them during the season. This division forms a small minority of the gridiron stars of today. For them, intellectual interest may be a part of their make-up. But what chance has that interest of having any adequate expression?

The average man playing football today finds it almost impossible to receive any real benefit from his college course. He must have eight or nine hours of sleep. He must pass hours in learning plays and signals for those plays. Three hours or more a day he must devote to the grueling work on the field. He must appear at certain stated hours for meals and eat prescribed food. Attendance at classes occupies most of the rest of his day, leaving only a short period following supper in which to study. Study, therefore, he can only indulge in as an occasional luxury. Coaches and trainers advise him to "live football" during the entire fall season. He has little choice, for, after an afternoon of hard football, one's mind is usually in a state of lethargy out of which it is almost impossible to climb in order to indulge in any mental activity, let alone that specialized concentration which is study.

\* \* \*

Soviet Russia, a young nation, searching the world over for the best ideas, has recently begun stimulation of a program of competitive sport. Realizing that the war spirit is developed by bodily contact games, and wishing sports for exercise rather than injury, Russia has barred football from her new athletic program, even though she has imported American baseball with enthusiasm. The official who made the announcement concerning the exclusion of football said that Russia saw no reason for killing off a number of her best young men each season in the pursuit of a sport which appeals in the first place to the least desirable emotions. Similar reasons have been advanced for barring the sports at a few American colleges; however, all of these institutions are comparatively obscure.

## *Sports Outside the Gridiron*

Inasmuch as students themselves are the persons most intimately concerned with the development of athletics, student organizations should lead the movement to make the college athletic programs beneficial to all. In doing so, they will be making an important contribution to the general progress of American education. I recommend the subject for further study and action by organizations such as the National Student Federation and the *National Student League*, as well as to the various college newspaper organizations in America.

## *Student Publications*

Everywhere students are showing an entirely new outlook, and this in spite of reactionary administrations. College

publications in the Spring of 1932 gave editorial attention to problems as new to the student periodical as unemployment insurance, pseudo-liberalism in college presidents, R.O.T.C. extravagance, American Legion fanaticism, the mediocrity of Hoover, the Mooney-Billings case, low wages paid university workers, and a number of other topics formerly reserved to professional journalism.

The conservatism of the college presidents and deans, however, has made itself felt during the past year in the number of expulsions, suspensions, dismissals from editorship and other disciplinary actions. The expulsion which caused the greatest commotion, deserves special attention.

\* \* \*

The *Columbia Spectator* supported comparatively unpopular causes, and the result was more hostility from the opposing ranks. Our criticism of the R.O.T.C. (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) and the C.M.T.C. (Citizens' Military Training Camps, our comments on the Mooney-Billings case, our support of the student trip to Kentucky to investigate the condition of the striking miners, and other "radical" editorializing, kept our opponents constantly glowing with righteous indignation.

\* \* \*

Suppression of free speech, as evidenced by disciplining of college editors, reached an unfortunate high in the academic year 1931-1932. Eight men were dismissed from editorships or dismissed from college because of their activities in writing. Twelve other college editors left their posts under conditions which suggest administrative pressure. Not one editor was removed at the request of the student body for which he spoke.

\* \* \*

## *University Fear—A Disease*

One of my friends on the Columbia faculty is, like my Princeton friend, a Communist. Association with officers of administration in the University, and positions on important committees, however, have made him, outwardly at least, a rigid conformist. But there is tragedy in his eyes these days. He believes one thing and teaches another, writes as an upholder of the status quo and desires very definite changes in things as they are. He remembers the fate of others who disagreed—and remains silent. In his case the tragedy is double, for most of the students with whom he has had contact admire him. His resolute disagreement with things as they are would find wholehearted support in the student body and among some of the younger faculty members. His emotional and intellectual struggle is so great today, however, that he must soon take a definite stand or suffer physically from the effects of his inner revolt.

\* \* \*

Teachers everywhere—grammar-school, high-school and college—have it in their power to throw off this yoke, the weight of which not only strangles them but is one of the forces which may spell death to our present system of education. Not through reactionary organizations like the National Education Association, but through organizations moving with the principles of the American Civil Liberties Union—free press, free speech, and free assemblage—will be changes accomplished. *Among the students, the militant forwardlooking policies of the National Student League will bring new hope to the young people who must study in these fear centers.* (Our emphasis—Editors).



# The Southern Student Stirs

WE left New York in a twenty dollar car of a species now extinct. This alone gave us a claim to a kindly interest and was an invaluable topic of conversation with all and sundry whom we met on the road. On the hottest days we averaged two flats a day.

Only one of us had ever been in the south before and except for a list of a few scattered contacts we had only the vaguest plans of how to go about our job of penetrating the southern universities. The predictions and suggestions which we received from numerous sources before leaving were not encouraging. "The white students," we were told, will refuse to listen to you and the Negro students will be afraid to; you will be run off the campuses."

In the face of all this, we received our first pleasant surprise at Howard University in Washington. Here the Negro students were both friendly and willing to listen to us and were for the most part interested in the National Student League. While in Washington we succeeded in holding a joint meeting of students from George Washington and from Howard which formed an organization and made plans for the coming year.

In Washington we also learned something of the part played by the various interracial groups. Through their ineffectiveness they serve to thwart and embitter the Negro and thus make the approach on the basis of real equality all the more difficult. This they accomplish by bringing the Negro into contact with "sympathetic" white people who feel sorry for the Negro, or else with those who, their imagination fired by Van Vechten, are anxious to discover among the Negro material for a novel. In talking to Negro students we have approached the racial problem through the other parts of our program. We have pointed out that equality is implicit in every activity of our organization, in which Negroes and whites participate not as members of different races, (as the very term interracial implies) but as students. We have shown that our organization is not an interracial alliance but a league of students and that equality is so axiomatic with us that we no longer need to waste time in sterile arguments as to whether Negroes and whites should eat together (as most interracial groups do, and then end by eating at separate tables).

To go into the story of our experiences from place to place would be needlessly lengthy and repetitious. Suffice it to say that we went as far as Austin, Texas and visited over thirty colleges. In general we found the Negro students readier to accept our program than the whites altho even among the latter we almost always found someone sympathetic to us. As a member of an oppressed race the Negro has felt most keenly the injustices of our society. What the white student is just beginning to find out, the Negro has known all along. At the same time the Negro is quick to see the necessity for unified action between members of the two races. The white student, his mind befogged by the poison of race hatred sees this more slowly.

Everywhere we found the Negro student intellectually alert, anxious to learn and thinking for himself. Everywhere we discovered the Negro of his own accord repudiating the sham ideals and casuistry whereby a spurious educational system seeks to reconcile him to an inferior status.

The spirit of revolt was especially strong in the industrial schools. The very existence of these schools are based on

slavish acceptance of the thesis of race inferiority. Here the Negro, deemed incapable of imbibing a higher education, is taught a manual trade. Thus equipped he will go out into the world a faithful servant who will never aspire to those occupations which are the prerogative of the white race.

These institutions were founded by white philanthropy and continue to exist because of the same white "generosity." So fearful are they of giving offense that for years at Tuskegee the windows along the highway were kept heavily curtained, lest the sight of a Negro studying or pounding a typewriter offend the sensibilities of some superior but perhaps less literate white who chanced to be passing.

This attitude long fostered by the white benefactors of Negro education and ably seconded by many prominent Negroes cuts little ice with the present generation of Negro college students. At both Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes there is a strong tradition of resentment which is cloaked from the casual observer. At Hampton, which has a white president, a strike occurred four years ago which culminated in the expulsion of twenty leaders, who were also the best students. Although the exact causes of the strike are somewhat cloudy it was a definite expression of race consciousness. Both at Hampton and Tuskegee the students live under the irksome yoke of military discipline: room inspection, parading to meals, compulsory chapel, compulsory R.O.T.C.

Distinguished from the industrial schools are the Negro colleges of liberal arts. These institutions began their careers as theological seminaries, since preaching was the only profession open to the Negro. With time these have gradually extended their curriculum to include cultural courses of a purely secular nature though theology has usually continued to occupy the dominant position. These schools compared to the industrial schools are seats of liberalism and enlightenment. Here as a rule the students are allowed a measure of self-government and freedom of expression, debating and political discussion are countenanced. These institutions are for the most part small. Those of their graduates who are not preparing for the ministry expect to teach; those who can raise the money will go north for post-graduate work, one or two are hoping to go thru medical school.

The students at these colleges represent the efforts to found a Negro bourgeoisie. For the most part they never get the professional jobs they aspire to. The demand for their services is so small that with scarcely seventy-five thousand Negro college graduates in the country the field is far overstocked. The students are aware of this hopelessness and hence ready to accept a revolutionary program. They have utmost contempt for the craven and servile attitude which the industrial schools try to foster.

Such things as the Scottsboro Case and the Camp Hill riots have served to orient the Negro students toward the revolutionary movement. Everywhere these topics were discussed. They were glad to hear of the activities of the N.S.L. in connection with the Scottsboro case and many plans were made for campus meetings on the case this fall. From the Negro students we heard stories of race hatred and race discrimination in comparison with which the Scottsboro case seemed mild and innocent: lynchings of whole villages in the Mississippi swamps, burnings at the stake. Many students had relatives who had perished in this way.



At Fiske University, in Nashville, the dean of women had died from injuries received in an auto accident simply because a white hospital had refused to admit her.

Even in the white colleges we met with a measure of success. At a few we found the Student League already under way. At others we found pre-existing groups ready to accept our program. Our success was far better than we had anticipated. We thoroughly enjoyed our stay at Commonwealth College, at Mena Arkansas, where a group had

been formed and was publishing a wall newspaper. At Texas University we found that past mistakes were being rectified and that matters were in extremely capable hands. We returned last by way of New Orleans where we made contacts with students at Tulane, and then to Atlanta. Here our car broke down and as it wasn't worth repairing we consigned it to the junk heap. Despite the historic nature of our trip, to date the Smithsonian Institute has made no effort to acquire the vehicle.

## Gabriel Caritt

# "I'm Utterly Debunked"

**T**RAVELLING through the South for one month is no justification for writing about it. I merely report certain things that impressed me hitching from Arkansas to New York. All the Southerners I met were extremely hospitable. I began to rely on their gentility to the extent of trying them out on all the risky topics. There were interesting results. On three topics, Reds, Labor Union, and Negro rights, I learned to expect the pleasant man who was driving me and standing me to lunch to stiffen visibly. The easy manners of the people made it hard to believe that they are as ruthless or more so than their fellow capitalists in the north. But I was convinced after meeting a steel-mill worker from Birmingham Alabama and a textile worker from North Carolina that strikes are no child's play in the South.

On the question of houses, I'm utterly debunked. I have spent months with the peasants on the west coast of Ireland, and the turf huts they live in are only equalled by what I saw in Northern Spain. But the erections of board and tin dumped in the cotton plantations where the Negroes live, the rickety shacks on the Kentucky hillsides are things I had believed were boardings for hens in the U. S. A.

The southern children likewise reminded me of Irish children. They have serious expressions; more often they are doing a job than playing, and the tiniest wear overalls as if dressed for the part. Several of the men with whom I rode, themselves Southerners of means, spoke of these miserable sheds as a curiosity, almost a distinction of the South, and pointed them out with certain amusement. They go on to describe the filthiness of the Negroes and give this as a proof of inferiority, as if these living conditions were of the Negroes own choice. As far as I saw, those sheds in the fields looked to be swept bare. There really didn't appear much to be 'filthy'. In the towns, streets in Negro quarters were filthy.

Another 'fact' I was told was that in certain agricultural parts of the country 45% of the Negroes can't read or write. The same men who tell me this have the naiveté to condemn the Negroes for being "naturally" superstitious and gullible. Another man gave a high figure for white illiteracy in Kentucky and Tennessee. Whose fault is it that Negroes and white laborers and tenant farmers, illiterate and poor, are consequently stupid and dirty?

In Kentucky I had three 'lifts'. One with a student who had worked in the W. Virginia coal mines at three different times. This boy had a working class life behind him. But his father was a servant of the operators, and his son had inherited all the prejudices of the Southern ruling class. He thought miners were reckless and got all they deserved, and if they could not save cash so as not to trade script at

the company store, he did not blame the Company for making the prices exceedingly high. He believed the only solution of the race question was to sterilize Negro men and women. He hadn't got beyond his knowledge, and didn't seem to be able to go further. He really believed it would be the way out of a "growing menace" as he put it. "The niggers," he said, "are our curse, they work for low wages and live on nothing." He damned them for this, as if they willingly undertook to sweat their life out for a negligible wage to spite the whites. He himself though aware of the bitter injustice of undersold labor to both parties, has lately employed Negroes in his tourist camp at 50 cents a day.

Like most Southerners with 'upper class' ideology he believed women should be 'kept' and not allowed to work beside men. He hadn't thought much about women in the textile mills and cotton fields.

The second time, I was 'picked up' by some portly white ladies, whose habit it was to always stop for students. When they learned I was from Columbia and had been on the delegation to Kentucky it didn't seem such a good joke. They laughed it off and we talked of the big country homes we were passing.

On the third trip I rode with two farmers. I became immediately popular with them because I had a newspaper. The eviction of the bonus marchers and the murder of one vet was headlined. The farmers were angered and said they hoped the vets would raise hell in the capital.

Everywhere one heard opinions critical of current events. A soldier I met had been at Hawaii during the Massie trial. He was disgusted with the injustice done, saying the white society women were always 'playing' with the beach boys and then getting them into trouble. One who impressed me above all was a steel worker from Alabama. He was what they call a 100% pure-blood from true American stock, and he was good to look at, standing over 6 feet high. We talked on the sidewalk in Huntingdon, West Virginia, for two hours. He said 'as soon as we in the South get unions the better for us, if all the world had unions run by the men who work it would be a better place'. He said he was greatly ashamed of 'bumming' and that he couldn't get any kind of work. He was returning home disgusted and 'educated'.

During the eight days I hitch-hiked North, I never got a lift from a Negro, though I signalled them. The separation of the races is absolutely forced on one.

I have an idea Southerners take pride in having a backward country because it suits them economically to keep labor backward, but the working class, as I saw it, is thinking in a fearless way about all the class conflicts which arise from day to day in their own districts and in the northern states.



# A Demagogue at Large

JOHN B. CHAPPLE began as an honest young man and circumstances i.e. the Stalwart Republicans in Wisconsin and the realization, probably, that the radical movement does not tolerate those in its ranks who intend using it as a stepping stone to a career, made him what Glenn Frank chooses to call "a Wisconsin Witch-Burner." He returned from the Soviet Union, about 1927, a convinced (so he let the public know) 'Red'. He did everything but join the Communist Party. Wherever he went, he loudly voiced the achievements of the Soviet Union and his articles were printed in all the newspapers. He was on the way to becoming one of the state's foremost 'radicals'.

The Republican politicians pulled the strings and Chapple, Sr. had to do the dirty work. Young John has never made public the story of his conversion from the clutching talons of the red vulture to the exemplifiers of respect for law, order and privileges. Papa Chapple held a postmaster's job, so the story runs, and little Johnny was told that unless he sheared his black wool, papa would have to look elsewhere for a livelihood. Didn't Johnny know well enough that the reds hadn't a red cent to their name? Picture the conflict in the poor lad's soul. Johnny simply chose to become the Stalwart Republican expert on red machinations.

For some time no one heard of John B. Chapple. He was letting the red iron cool. Then he took a job as the editor of the Ashland Press and began red baiting. He emerged again as a state-wide figure when, upon reading in the *Daily Cardinal*, the student newspaper, a letter written by Schofield, a freshman, which charged that the university was a haven of Moscow and that practically everybody on the campus was a red agent, John came down to Madison and organized the writer and a few other weak minds into a "League For The Defense of American Principles." The League, meeting around a dinner table set for four, decided to feature Chapple as speaker at a meeting guaranteed to take the wind out of the professors whose pockets were filled with Moscow gold.

The next episode in the farce is "The Route of Chapple." The meeting was held and Chapple couldn't complain about the attendance. He "exposed" professor after professor (with constant interruptions from the audience) and even President Glenn Frank received Chapple's condemnation as a terrible red. Proof? Chapple claimed that Frank belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union. The audience enjoyed the meeting very much and razed Chapple out of Madison in true collegiate fashion. On all sides Chapple was thwarted.

The next episode is called "Preparing for the Comeback." Chapple went East and gave such red-blooded organizations as the D.A.R. the inside dope on the reds. The old ladies and big-winded patriots treated him well and before returning to the lakes of Wisconsin, Johnny lunched with Herbert Hoover. After the luncheon, Johnny opened his political career by announcing that he would be a candidate for the Senate if the Stalwarts would have him.

Those who had come to jeer at our hero stood to gasp. Ambitious Johnny organized a circus and started to tour the Wisconsin cities. Young Schofield, who had flunked out of school by this time, spoke about the reds on the campus. A Mr. and Mrs. Waters, who claimed to have been cheated by the Soviet "dictators," spoke on the horrible bolshevik oppression in Russia. A reputed former member of the Communist Party spoke about the insidious propaganda of Moscow in Wisconsin. Chapple polished off the

evening with a bit of bunkum of his own. It now included an unsigned letter to the *Daily Cardinal* in which a co-ed claimed that she had entered into close sexual relationships with men although she was unmarried. Wherever it went the circus was given a gay reception by the alumni but the back state farmers took Chapple's doggerel seriously.

Soon the whole state was Chapple minded one way or another. The *Daily Cardinal* began a series of exposés in the course of which it was discovered that the G.O.P. was financing the circus and that the Stalwart convention was fixed to nominate Chapple to run against John J. Blaine. Blaine is not very popular with the leaders of the Progressives and it is said that the elder LaFollette was ready to fire him before he died. However, the Progressives are supporting Blaine heart and soul in this campaign.

Glenn Frank thought it wise to answer Chapple's attacks. In a flowery speech, broadcast over the state, stirring delivered and well flowered with metaphors, similes, alliterations and original names for Chapple, he made nought of that demagogue's accusations. He continued his denunciations of Chapple at subsequent banquets and meetings at which the alumni or citizenry were present. President Frank also let the editors of the *Cardinal* know that he considered it "bad taste" to print letters on sex.

But neither verbal holocausts nor daring exposés could stop Chapple. He even had the temerity to return to Madison and hold another meeting with his circus. At Madison, Schofield deserted and revealed all. He spoke about Chapple's bad temper, how Chapple had written his (Schofield's) speech and how much each of the troupe members were being paid. The members of the circus were described as a gang of nit-wits who needed money. St. George fired the circus and fared forth alone. Schofield hung around Madison till his money ran out. Then he left town without paying his landlady.

The *Daily Cardinal* ran a different exposé of Chapple every other day and Chapple brayed louder about immorality, atheism and radicalism on the campus. Finally, he returned to Madison and was again routed by the students who took over the platform when Young John got through speaking. A student minister, by the name of Jones, defended the atheist, Professor Otto. A few more speakers defended the other faculty members who had been attacked. One girl vouched for the morals of her classmates. Chapple disappeared in true Chappelian fashion and was nominated for the Senate with due ceremony at the Stalwart convention held in the university gym a few weeks later.

As the elections draw near the situation is more tense and Chapple's calamity howling grows louder. Glenn Frank is thinking of stumping the state, and he speaks much better than Chapple does. Big Business in Wisconsin doesn't like the Progressives. They talk too much about taxing the rich (not that their actions suit their talk). Besides the Stalwarts have been kept out of the graft and they don't like that. Johnny is the hope of the party and he may not fail them. He's raising the red scare at the university and too many people believe him. Not that Chapple will ever do anything about it. The professors who are being attacked are popular with the students and ousting them would invite a crisis on the campus.

And so with all the mud slinging and red baiting you can forget about the crisis in these parts. This is no time to ask the Republicans about relief for the workers and farmers. The reds are loose on the U. of W. campus!



## Education Under the Soviets

(Continued from page 8)

vote whether he should or should not be expelled. The final decision lies in the hands of the director of the school, but he rarely disagrees, as he is constantly in close touch with the students and student organizations. When we learned this, our thoughts collectively wandered back to the time when we formed part of another delegation, during the strike at Columbia University, and were finally, after much fuss, ushered into the gorgeous study of President Nicholas Murray Butler!

Various forms of social and administrative pressure are used to stimulate the "Tails", those who lag behind in their studies. If a student fails, he does not receive a raised stipend, as he would otherwise have received, or his stipend may even be lowered. The students themselves place caricatures of these "tails" on the walls of their dining-rooms. Special mention is made of them in the school paper and on the wall paper. (These wall papers play a very important role in the schools.) In every school there hangs a large placard on which, side by side, one finds pictures of an aeroplane, a locomotive, a car, a horse and so on down the scale until one finds the pictures of a tortoise or a lobster. Under each picture are written the names of various brigades of students, according to the speed and thoroughness with which they have accomplished their plan of study. We asked many students whether such seemingly naive measures were taken seriously. The answer in every case was that they took them with great seriousness, and they always added that they personally would do their utmost not to be placed under a lobster or tortoise. These measures, coupled with the general attitude of the Soviet student, have reduced "tails" to a minimum. In a school, where we were told that formerly 20% of the student body were tails, there exist now only 5 or 6.

Another feature of Soviet education is the widespread practice of social competition. We found brigades competing with each other as to the amount and quality of work to be accomplished within a scheduled time. This kind of competition exists also between institutes. In Dniepropetrovsk we attended a meeting where the results of a competition between their Metallurgical institute and the Leningrad Metallurgical Institute were being discussed by the students. Three major problems had been set in this competition: 1. Academic, 2. Mass culture, 3. Social work among the students. The report, which was shown to us, was arranged to cover: First—the work to be accomplished in these fields, Second—what the students had already accomplished, Third—discussion, criticism and plans for future work. Each of these topics was thoroughly analyzed down to the minutest detail, and the students took an active part in the criticisms and suggestions.

Both in Dniepropetrovsk and Kiev, we attended student meetings where flags were awarded to a particular institute for winning such a competition. These occasions were celebrated in high spirits. This competition also takes the form of one student challenging another (the challenge is generally placed on the wall paper) to accomplish a certain number of tasks within a given time and in the best possible way. These competitions, taken very seriously by the students, furnish them with a greater incentive to better work. One of us, in conversation with a student about social competition, happened to use the word competition without modifying it, and was immediately corrected. "We don't compete", he said. "Competition exists only in a capitalist country. Ours is social competition, which is directed towards the improvement of the quality of work for the benefit of all and not for the few."

(The second installment will appear in the November issue of the Student Review).

## AN APPEAL

We have been immensely heartened by the recent appearance of a new student spirit on the campus. Critics of the American undergraduate who have deplored his herd-mindedness, his conservatism, his pre-occupation with parties, athletics and career-hunting, his unresponsiveness to new educational resources and techniques, his indifference to public affairs, have witnessed with pleasant surprise the emergence of large numbers of students interesting themselves actively, intelligently, practically, passionately in the political, social and economic problems of these critical days.

The most dramatic expressions of the new student spirit have been the student Kentucky expedition and the Columbia Free-speech strike.

The expedition was, as you know, forcibly ejected from Kentucky, but it was rich in results. It brought the plight of the miners before the public eye; it gave great impetus to the demand for a federal investigation; it gave the students close contact with the industrial scene, and sent them back to their class rooms with first hand knowledge of new realistic insight into contemporary America.

The Columbia strike grew out of the expulsion of the editor of the college newspaper. The editor had pursued outspoken policy of attack against many evils on and off the campus. The students felt his expulsion an invasion of their right to a free student press. More than three thousand students participated in the strike, which was the strongest factor in the reinstatement of the editor.

Less spectacular but no less impressive is the day to day activity, discussion, study and investigation carried on in this new spirit by increasingly large numbers of students on many campuses. Symposia, lectures and debates are held on vital contemporary problems. Numbers of new socially minded student magazines have sprung up.

The new student movement has crystallized around the alert organization known as the National Student League. The League has affiliations now on more than one hundred campuses. It has shown infectious vitality; it has galvanized many inactive liberal clubs into new life and drawn them into its ranks. The League organized the Kentucky expedition; its Columbia branch led the free speech strike. The National Student League was represented at the International Student Conference and the World Congress Against War which took place at Amsterdam, Holland. The League publishes an excellent monthly magazine, the Student Review.

So far the League has been supported by the students themselves. But student purses are slim, and the rapid growth of the league and the manifold activities it has to carry on, have overwhelmed its resources. At the moment it needs money badly if it is to consolidate the position it has won and realize its extraordinary promise.

Because we believe that this is a vital new force in American life, both in achievement and in hope for the future, we have ourselves contributed to its support. We now call on all liberal minded men and women to do likewise. Please be generous. At this stage every contribution will be a real impetus to this young movement.

So far the students have done all we older men and women off the campus could have expected . . . and more. Let us now do our part.

Sincerely,

Newton Arvin	John Dos Passos	Oakley Johnson
Sherwood Anderson	Theodore Dreiser	Corliss Lamont
Roger Baldwin	Max Eastman	
Malcolm Cowley	Waldo Frank	Scott Nearing
H. W. L. Dana	Michael Gold	Mark Van Doren

NOTE: Contributions should be addressed to Nathan Solomon, Treas., National Student League, 13 W. 17th St., New York City.



# The Political Spectrum

THE distinctive flavors of the Socialist and Communist Parties are well expressed by the titles which the respective presidential candidates give their books. While Mr. Thomas studies the contemporary state of affairs with a view toward mitigation and adjustment, and vacillates from "America's Way Out" to "As I See It," Foster already has attained a decisive position; for him the way is sure—"Toward Soviet America."

Largely, the source of these differences may be found in the technical approach of each. Both Thomas and Foster accept the basic contradictions of capitalism as irresolvable:—the anarchic, high-pressure production for profit through means whose possession is concentrated, leading to regular glut and crisis, and the division of society into an expanding expropriated proletariat and a diminishing group of owners.

To this situation, Foster applies the Marxian dialectical method and in its terms, suggests a suitable tactic. Thomas, on the other hand, rejects Marxism "... The attempt to derive the Socialist answer solely from Marxism ... is only to waste time ..." and proceeds to propound his own ethico-reformism, a method which makes his analysis peculiarly moral and theological.

Under such a prepossession, Mr. Thomas finds, for example, that Marxism "... approaches a kind of religion of liberty, equality, and fraternity ... the appeal of such a philosophy is wholly ethical ..." Likewise Communism is "... a militant atheism held with all the fervor of a religion." Even his own particular brand of Socialism finds its divine terminology. "What is it that Socialism offers? ... Not a detailed program, important as it is, but a new faith ..."

Mr. Thomas therefore refuses to consider class struggle as absolute or unmitigable; he even flirts with the consumer's co-operative. And thinking of social alignments in static terms, he is misled by the distractions of nationalism and racialism into concluding that universal class conflict is "not an exact statement of fact." At best, again under the moral obsession, he commits himself to the view that "... actually the idea of a class solidarity of workers ... is an ethical idea ..." Foster, however, envisions the deepening disaffection in an ever augmented mass whose interest can point to only one allegiance. The masses awakening to this condition will create the revolutionary working class, motivated by necessity not by any moral imperative.

Mr. Thomas, in rejecting the class war also abandons the belief that the State is an implement for the protection of class interests. He consequently finds it feasible to urge a policy of graduated amelioration within the shell of the existing political structure. And so involved does he become in this program of reconciliation that he finally strives not toward the liberation of any particular class, although he recognizes, as one apart, that the workers comprise the "class on which we must depend," but to the evolution of a planned control in the consumer's interest. He even ends by defining socialism as "a philosophy of co-operation for the common good."

As Prime Minister MacDonald, whose theory resembles Thomas', declares in a report in the *New York Times* of Sept. 15, 1932, "It (the tradition of British Socialism) is

inspired by neither class nor revolution. Its subject is society 'in the process of evolution.'"

Mr. Thomas forgets Prof. Laski's harsh warning that impartiality is impossible in any State. "Law is not the embodiment of justice or the voice of reason ... What the courts do day by day is to apply rules, the object of which is to protect the interests of the existing order ..." Mr. Thomas, in this, also differs from Foster, for whom the state simply continues class vigilance not only over property but even over cultural and social institutions.

Mr. Thomas cannot, therefore, readily appreciate Communist tactics which he condemns as "violence." The organization of alternative workers' activities, trade union, social and political, implied in the rejection of the bourgeois state, seems to him an act of arrogant defiance.

Mr. Thomas would plot his Socialism so that it automatically grows out of capitalism, although history has sufficiently demonstrated that an advance, under such auspices, is always rearward, as in Germany, Italy, England, Poland, Hungary and now Chile.

What Mr. Thomas does not ponder sufficiently is the inadequacy of the worker's occasional exercise of his electoral privilege on issues wholly bourgeois such as tariffs, or irrelevant, such as prohibition, and the permanent institutional problem of capitalism.

On the question of planning, Mr. Thomas upbraids the American Federation of Labor, approves of Swope and Butler, hesitates because "most talk of planning in our capitalist world leaves me a bit cold and skeptical," yet succumbs to democracy, socialism and planning.

Mr. Thomas himself suggests a five billion dollar loan "such as the Socialists proposed long before William Randolph Hearst." To aid the worker, he wants to "solve the problem of money, banking and credit,"—all obvious workers' difficulties.

Such a scheme is repudiated by Foster. More active government participation leads to trustification and Fascism. It enlists the government on the side of Capital. But planning is defeated by the impossibility of unloading products on a glutted market by the competitive character of capitalist enterprise. At best no systematic control is possible, only crude regulation. "Only when the industries are socialized, when exploitation has ceased, when production and the markets freed of the profit motive automatically balance each other,—that is under socialism,—is a genuine planned economy possible."

Planning under capitalism can only deepen the contradictions festering within ... "the collisions increase in severity between trusts and untrustified industry, between the trusts themselves, between industries as such, between the various imperialist nations, between the producers and exploiters, between the decaying capitalist system and the advancing Soviet Union."

So fearful is Mr. Thomas of the annihilation of capitalism that this book bristles with shudders ... "we are losing still more of the fast diminishing opportunities to arrest the drift to catastrophe ... if we are to avoid catastrophe there is no time to lose ... The catastrophe we fear will not be a brief prelude to something relatively orderly ..." etc. Foster seems to be quite just in claiming that Socialists "fear the revolution ... more acutely than even the capitalists themselves."

Mr. Thomas' fear of vigorous action also extends to his distinction between Communism and Socialism. "... The

\* AS I SEE IT, by Norman Thomas. Macmillan Pub. \$2.00.  
TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA, by William Z. Foster. International Pub. \$1.50.



Socialist ideal as distinguished from the Communist, is social salvation without catastrophe and with a minimum of confusion and disorder." Such a statement explains for example, why, when the capitalists become rather ungente-ly in Kentucky or Tennessee, Mr. Thomas suspends his duties of salvation lest this "minimum of confusion and disorder" be exceeded.

Mr. Thomas errs badly at one point—he accuses the Communists of ignoring the worker's daily struggle and waiting idly for the revolution. Yet a casual reference to the Communist Manifesto would inform him that, "Com-munists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present moment, they are also defending the future of that movement."

United in the belief that imperialist competition is an ineradicable cause of war, both Thomas and Foster again separate on the specific remedy to be used.

Thomas reverts to humanitarian faith in "education in the deadliness and self-defeating nature of modern war," and would urge adherence to the new peace "machinery." "Bad as is the outlook, Geneva is not yet a lost cause . . ." (Evidently a faith which, once set in print, the development of events later makes ironically inept).

In the event of an imperialist war, Foster advocates that the workers and farmers turn the imperialist war into a civil war and establish a workers and farmers government modeled after the Soviet system. Foster also warns against "peace machinery" as constituting so much illusion to dis-guise the covert antagonisms of national ends as in Man-churia, South America, or the campaign against the Soviet Union.

Mr. Thomas has the magnificent irony and indignation of the high minded, yet he reveals himself as all to remote from the class destined to form the future society. For a vision of the new life, one must turn to Foster, and especial-ly his chapter on Soviet America.

## CONTRIBUTORS' NOTES

A. GIRSCHICK, G. D. HERRON, MARY KNEBEL were the N.S.L. Delegates to the Soviet Union. The article published herein, was written before the new reforms were instituted. Beginning with this issue A. Girschick will be our regular Soviet correspondent. An article explaining the new reforms, and their importance in the Soviet Union, will appear in a future issue.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON is the author of *Winesburg, Ohio*. His new novel, "Beyond Desire," will be pub-lished soon by Liveright. Thanks is due to Liveright Inc. for permission to use the drawing reproduced here.

JOSEPH COHEN was the N.S.L. delegate to the World Anti-War Congress and the International Student Conference held at Amsterdam.

REED HARRIS, is the former editor of the *Columbia Spectator*. Thanks is due to the Vanguard Press for permission to publish the extracts from Reed Harris' recently issued book "King Football."

EDMUND STEVENS writes from Columbia U. He was a member of the student delegation to Kentucky.

GABRIEL CARRITT is a graduate from Oxford U., Eng-land. He took post-graduate courses at Columbia U. He has recently returned to England where his father, Prof. Caritt, is a lecturer in philosophy at Oxford.

LEONARD GANS writes from Wisconsin U.

JAMES LIFFY writes from Columbia U.

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## We Are International

(Continued from page 16)

ture. Most important of all, is its task of preparing the second international congress which will finally crystalize an International Union of Revolutionary Students. This organization it is proposed, is to be broad, without political affiliation, but with an unequivocal revolutionary program applicable to student conditions.

These recommendations were unanimously adopted.

A Manifesto was then adopted calling to the students of all countries to unite against military preparations and against imperialist war. This Manifesto must secure the widest possible circulation. Most important of all is the actual work done in the anti-war fight. Here our National Student League has understood the necessity of the move-ment and has taken the initiative in calling a national anti-war congress of American students.



# A WEAPON FOR STUDENTS

**T**HE new academic year is here. The War Department is already sounding its trumpets. It is calling for more cadets, for more R.O.T.C. units. Hoover whose saber-swinging cavalry routed 7,000 bewildered veterans must have more soldiers, more tear bombs.

## WHY?

**BECAUSE** this winter the wrath of starving men is bound to assert itself. And the rulers are afraid.

**BECAUSE** imperialist conflicts are approaching a boiling point. Germany is demanding more arms. Japan, not satisfied with the destruction of Chapei, with the seizure of Manchuria, is demanding more land for sources of raw materials.

**BECAUSE**, amidst failing peace conferences and rejected arms cuts the imperialist countries are making concerted plans for war. They are forming a ring of menacing steel threatening the Soviet Union, the country building the new society and culture of the future. The interests of American capital are welded in that ring!

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