

S T U D E N T R E V I E W

FEBRUARY, 1933



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Editor: HARRY MAGDOFF

Managing Editor: HERSCHEL PRAVDAN

Assistant Managing Editor: NATHAN SCHNEIDER

Literary Editor: MURIEL RUKEYSER

Circulation Manager: RALPH GLICK

Advertising Manager: MIRIAM WHITER

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:—Sherwood Anderson, Joseph Budish (City College), Gabriel Carritt (Oxford U.), Elliot Cohen, H. W. L. Dana, John Dos Passos, Theodore Draper (Brooklyn College), Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Leonard Gans (Wisconsin U.), Carl Geiser (Penn and Nash Junior Colleges), A. Girschick (U.S.S.R. correspondent), Michael Gold, Donald Henderson, Arthur S. Johnson (Wisconsin U.), Rema Lappousse (Boston U.), Felix Morrow, Scott Nearing, Herbert Solow, Herbert Spence (Harvard U.), Edmund Stevens (Columbia U.), George Perazick (U. of California), Louise Preece (U. of Texas), James Rorty, Stanley Ryerson (Canadian correspondent).

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Editorials

CCLIMAXING a semester of arbitrary suspension, arrest and imprisonment of protesting students, the New York City Board of Higher Education has suspended nineteen of the students who participated in the mass trial of the City College authorities on October 30, last. The Board had threatened beforehand to discipline all participants in the trial despite the fact that it was to be held off the college grounds and the authorities were invited to defend themselves, personally or through designated representatives. At the trial, attended by about fifteen hundred students, the audience as jury issued a verdict of "guilty of misconduct in office," and demanded the removal of President Robinson and Director Linehan.

The suspension goes into effect at the beginning of the Spring term and bars the students from classes for thirty days. It indicates the genius of viciousness which animates the City College administration. It is a repetition, on a large scale, of what is happening every day in colleges where students struggle for academic freedom, abolition of the R. O. T. C., lower tuition fees. For this reason, the suspension is a challenge to the revolutionary student movement which leads these activities.

We have shown definitely in the Reed Harris case that by timely and bold mass action we can win a significant victory for the revolutionary student movement—the retention of freedom of speech. We must get liberal and radical individuals and organizations to send wires of protest to the Hon. Charles Tuttle, Board of Higher Education, 59th St., and Park Avenue, New York City. Aided by public pressure from the whole country, the students of C. C. N. Y. can force the authorities to lift the sentence of suspension immediately.

CONVINCING proof that academic freedom is becoming more and more an academic abstraction is contained in a report made at the convention of the American Association of University Professors. Sixty-six new cases of "political and religious interference" were reported in 1932, compared with seventeen in 1929. Leo Gallagher and Oakley Johnson, then, are not the only faculty victims of repressive administrations; they are better known, however, because militant student protest has brought their case to the attention of the whole country.

Most of the cases are reported from the smaller colleges, especially in the South; the most flagrant case was the wholesale removal of eighteen professors from the Texas Technological College, where the intimidation was so strong that none of the remaining instructors cared to serve

on a committee of investigation. Reaction and suppression are particularly virulent in the South because the conservative college administrations there have undertaken the task of stamping out any faculty heresy that might conceivably lead to an intelligent analysis of the economic basis of the Negro question, and eventually to activity directed toward its solution.

Violation of the right of academic freedom will be ended in America only when faculty and students, Negro and white, unite in the struggle against suppression and discrimination.

TWO years ago the University of Havana was closed by President Machado, the Cuban representative of the National City and Chase National Banks, in an attempt to stifle the growing protests of students and professors against his reactionary administration. But this only served to increase their militancy. Now the government resorts to mass arrests and even open murder of the most active students in a vain attempt to curb the growing protests against the domination and exploitation of Cuba and its workers by American capitalists. Not a day passes without an account of the death or mysterious disappearance of an arrested student. The official report of such a death invariably states: "shot while trying to escape."

What conditions are like may be gleaned from the report read to the Student Congress against War in the name of

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the Cuban delegation, which was not allowed to leave the island:

"The jails are found overflowing with workers, peasants, and students; deportations and assassinations of foreign revolutionary workers are daily occurrences, and the entire country is found under the edge of the sword of the police and military commanders. This terror closes particularly over the head of the student. Dozens of students have been assassinated in the streets, parks, and in the jails, among them, Trejo, Alpizar, Floro Perez, the three Alvarez brothers, Puig Jordan and many others; the jail regime is brutal and there have occurred veritable massacres of the students in the Castille del Principe."

What remains of our promise to fight "the imperialism of our own country," if we do not rally to the support of fellow students who are being imprisoned and murdered in order that American bankers might continue their profitable control of Cuba? We must react with cablegrams of protest to the Cuban consulate and government. We must demonstrate our solidarity with the Cuban students before "their" consulate and before the offices of the responsible banking firms. We must utilize every means of arousing public opinion and applying public pressure against the Cuban administration and the forces behind it, in order to bring this ruthless suppression to an end.

A LETTER in this issue, discussing the activities of Columbia students in exposing the conditions of campus workers and aiding them in their struggles against the wage-cutting policies of that "liberal" school, places before the members of the National Student League a concrete opportunity to affirm their support of the working class. Deep budget cuts have made in most colleges through slashing the pay of workers, student-workers, and instructors; working conditions are steadily growing harsher. N. S. L. members can be of genuine assistance to the workers in their struggle by investigating and publicising the condition of the workers on their campus and bringing student opinion to bear on the administration.

WE have always attacked the thesis that the university is an isolated "cradle of culture." The denial of academic freedom, the presence of the R.O.T.C. on the campus, the use of textbooks and class rooms for the defense of the capitalist system—these are only a few indications of the ruling class character of the university as administered today. But this characteristic of the administration is not confined within the walls of the university.

Last month at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, we saw how abjectly academic authorities serve the interests of the ruling class outside the university. Two Negro sharecroppers, Clifford James and Milo Bentley, seriously wounded while defending their homes from an armed mob of deputies sent to evict James, were turned over to the sheriff by the Tuskegee authorities when they applied for medical aid.

The issue was a clear one: rich landlords versus destitute sharecroppers. The law had carried into effect by armed force the will of the landowners. In this case, the school authorities not only turned the two sharecroppers over to the law for persecution, but even denied them imperative medical aid. Both men died subsequently of their neglected wounds.

There is another important lesson to be learned from this recent historical event. A widespread belief exists that the salvation of the Negro masses will come through the Negro intellectual and business man, whose more intimate contact with white intellectuals and business men is expected to pave the way for the eventual abolition of racial discrimination and oppression. We find, however, in the Tuskegee case a

repudiation of this doctrine. Here these reformist intellectuals helped, not their suffering people, but the white business leaders on whom they had grown to depend for favors and patronage.

But, sincere Negro students and intellectuals can help in the salvation of their people—and themselves—by joining hands with the only section of the whites which is genuinely striving for political, social, and economic equality for the Negro—the revolutionary workers, students, and intellectuals.

TEXARKANA, Texas, Jan. 14.—(AP).—A junior college student who believes he cannot work his way through college and still get full value out of his studies today placed himself on the auction block, offering five years of his services in after-college life for the \$3,000 he needs to pay his expenses through the University of Texas.

He makes the offer through the initials, M. J. He is 21, an honor student at Texarkana Junior College, member of the student council and a football player.

He has legal ambitions and the idea to sell himself has been carefully thought out.

IN this brief news item is portrayed in highly dramatic fashion the plight of the poor student. While few offer themselves for sale as literally as this Texas student, thousands are compelled to sell their birthright of education for the sake of an immediate livelihood. The pressure becomes increasingly severe as successive budget cuts by the cities and states narrow educational opportunities; and the students are forced to unite to protect themselves in their quest for knowledge from the "economies" of the politicians.

HOWARD SCOTT, high priest of technocracy has now been expelled from the engineering laboratories of Columbia University, following his modest suggestion that only his own statements be accepted as the official dogma of the new faith. This ends a very brilliant career which began when Scott amassed several degrees from foreign institutions the existence of which has been subsequently questioned, continued with a period of patient proselytizing in Greenwich Village, and ended when the faithful waged a two months' holy war against the price-system, with the aid of the mysterious weapon of "energy determinants" (which, by the way, has not yet been explained to anyone's satisfaction).

Mr. Scott's rediscovery of technological unemployment must have caused a feeling of surprise in the minds of sixteen million jobless workers; his dismissal of Marx as about as relevant to present problems as Plato's "Republic", was but another example of his modesty in giving credit to those of his predecessors whose ideas he is at the moment misinterpreting. How convenient it must have been to the business men to find Scott preaching this brand new world where everyone would be wealthy, without advocating that the class which now controls the means of wealth be first expropriated!

The analysis Technocracy (read Scott) made of the present economic system was so patently superficial that an intelligent conclusion was hardly to be expected. Now that Technocracy has been excommunicated from Columbia, the engineers and draftsmen there will probably continue their survey of the natural resources of North America. When the engineers learn that they need the working class even more than the latter need them, and that all their dreams of a rational system of production and distribution will remain dreams until the working class is ready to overturn the capitalist system and establish a new order, they will assume a rightfully important place in society.

Another Step Forward!

HELD immediately after the Student Congress Against War on the 30th and 31st of December in Chicago, the National Student League Convention marks a further step forward in the work of building a militant mass student movement in the United States. The keynote of the Convention was contained in the report of the Resident Bureau, given by Donald Henderson. "During the past year the actual conditions facing the students—economic, political, cultural—have been the conditions of economic crisis and capitalist decay . . . It is these conditions that have made a revolutionary student movement possible and necessary, and it is to these problems facing the students that the leaders of the student movement must give their special attention and understanding."

Over one hundred and fifty delegates from one hundred colleges and high schools located in fourteen different states clearly showed the growth of the N.S.L. These delegates represented approximately fourteen hundred members. Five delegates from Canada and three from Latin American countries (Colombia, Venezuela, and Cuba) indicated the continental relations of the N.S.L. The composition of the Convention also revealed some of the major weaknesses in our past work. With the exception of Tennessee no delegates were present from Southern colleges. The small number of Negro student delegates present reflected the past failure of the N.S.L. to organize activities in support of Negro students.

In the work confronting it, there was a very significant difference between this Convention and the First National Convention of last March. Whereas the first Convention was concerned primarily with questions of an organizational nature, at Chicago five crowded sessions were devoted to the discussion of *activities*. Students' rights, Negro student

problems, struggles on economic issues facing the students, the problems of cultural decay under capitalism, anti-war activities and support of the Student Congress program, the significance of the Soviet Union to the American student, and the relation of the revolutionary working class to the student were the major activities and problems which the Convention worked on. Following Earl Browder's speech, in which he stressed the importance of cultural decay as a radicalizing factor among students and intellectuals, the necessary activities to make this clear received particular attention from the delegates. The failure of the N.S.L. in the past to deal adequately with the cultural decay going on under capitalism and to develop cultural activities as part of our movement was criticized widely.

The major accomplishment of the Convention, and a direct result of the discussion of the delegates, was the revision of the program.* Composed of ten sections, the program takes up the major problems and activities facing students. While retaining a revolutionary analysis, the revised program definitely shifts the emphasis to concrete activity, devoting a separate section to each major problem. These are as follows:

1. Position of the Students in Modern Society.
2. Economic Conditions and the Student.
3. War and the Student.
4. Student Rights.
5. Negro Student Conditions and Racial Discrimination.
6. Sports and the Student.
7. Cultural Decay and Capitalism.
8. The American Student and the Soviet Union.
9. The International Revolutionary Student Movement.
10. The Working Class and the Student.

In addition to programmatic changes, the Convention directed its attention to the question of organization. In both cases, the basic problem which the Convention endeavored to solve was the tendency of the N.S.L. to become a small group of "professional radicals," isolated in activity and influence from the student body as a whole. The major change in policy, organizationally, occurred when the Convention decided that formal N.S.L. Chapters should be set up with official recognition as such wherever possible. This should not be understood to mean that N.S.L. members do not continue to work in all other clubs and student organizations.

During one of the sessions of the Convention all high school delegates present met separately and discussed their own problems, at the same time laying the basis for a national organization of high school students forming the *High School Section of the National Student League*. Plans were made for the publication of a High School newspaper.

With regard to former students an *Alumni Section of the National Student League* was formally established by adopting a plank in the Constitution, which states: "Former students or alumni may join the Alumni Section of the National Student League." The Alumni Section will devote itself to specific problems facing this group—unemployment, free graduate study, insurance, and so forth.

With the formal inauguration of these two new sections and under the broadened scope of our new program, the National Student League will continue to draw ever wider sections of the American student body into a realistic revolutionary student movement.

NATHAN SOLOMON.

* The new program is too long for publication in "Student Review." It will be available soon in pamphlet form.

New High School Paper

THE first issue of a national fortnightly for high school students (its name has not yet been chosen) will make its appearance on March 15, 1933. Like the High School Section of the National Student League, this paper will fill a long-felt need. Suppressed academically to a far greater extent than any other section of the American student body, and feeling more keenly than any other student group the effects of the crisis, the high school students must organize themselves on a national basis to resist this double pressure. And in order to work together more effectively, they must have a national medium through which to expose their condition, voice their protests, and plan for effective action. The new paper will be such an organ; it will weld high school students together for unified action and will be a guide in their local struggles. With articles by high school students about themselves, it will be distinctly a *high school publication*—on a national scale.

High school students who have something of interest to say, should write for their new national paper. Material for the first issue must be in before March 1.

In order to appear on time and circulate on a national scale, the paper must have financial support. Contributions for the support of the new paper should be sent in immediately to the High School Section of the National Student League, 13 West 17 Street, New York City. Checks and money orders should be made payable to Nathan Solomon.

Heywood Broun: an Analysis

I.

"A few years ago," Heywood Broun writes, "as I was leaving a hall where I had debated with a communist, a sympathizer of my opponent screamed at me, 'Everything you said tonight gave the lie to what you wrote about Sacco and Vanzetti.'"

"And on very many occasions," Broun admits, "scrawled postcards and notes have repeated that same charge. 'What has become of the fire you had just once? Why don't you write any more columns like those about Sacco and Vanzetti? You're getting old; you're getting fat; you're getting soft. You don't care about anything any more because you've got a good job and a good living.'"

This self-revealing column is of November 23rd, 1932. Lawrence Lowell had just resigned from the Presidency of Harvard University, and Heywood Broun burrowed in old newspaper files, and tried to remember what he had said in August of 1927 about Lowell, Thayer, and Fuller. "I did so with definite purpose of refreshing my spirit and my memory and striking out once more against an old man who did a great wrong."

"But I decided not to. The fact that Mr. Lowell nears the age of 76 has nothing to do with it. I have aged at least as rapidly during the years between. And it would be quite impossible for me to capture once again the mood in which I wrote phrases which served as slogans on dancing banners in Union Square."

Mr. Broun admits that he has not been always able to sweep these accusations of softness, of the cowardice which springs from prosperity, from his mind. And therefore he decides to write another flaming and bitter arraignment of "Hangmen's House", in order, let us assume, less to convince his former admirers that he still retains some of his clarity, his courage, and his capacity for anger against injustice, than to persuade himself that their accusations of apostasy are undeserved. But with that customary candor which excuses so many of Broun's actions, he is able to admit "I am older and fatter now, I am much more soft", and he writes a column which is in effect an apology for the really memorable, eloquent and courageous action of his life.

II.

TO do our subject justice, we must go back to August 1927. Then a small group of intellectuals detached themselves from their class to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers on Boston Commons, to demand through newspaper columns, poems, and speeches, that Sacco and Vanzetti must not die. Though in its main lines, this case was but a random page torn from the history of American class injustice, due to the world-wide area over which the battle for the lives of these men was being fought, due to the clear alignment of class forces, due finally to the shallowness of those legalistic and ethical sophistries which generally succeed in masking class murder—it achieved a tremendous symbolic significance. A minority of the intellectuals saw this symbolism correctly as that of the class war. A majority viewed the case as a sort of crucial test of the justice of society. In their anguish, in their inner disbelief that such things could occur in a world of thinking people, this group betrayed the closeness of its affiliation and allegiance to the existing order. But Broun belonged to neither camp. Newspaper man and realist, he wrote with eloquence, and yet did not forget that this affair was not set apart from other cases.

He did not write poems about the nightmares Thayer, Fuller and Lowell would have after the execution, because he knew this class and realized that these men would continue to sleep soundly. Probably he understood that Webster Thayer would be toasted by Dartmouth men as a saviour of law, government, and civilization after his two victims had been burned.

In an essay magnificent in its irony and animated by a burning and eloquent anger, Broun declared:

"Governor Alvan T. Fuller called old men from high places to stand behind his chair so that he might seem to speak with all the authority of a high priest or a Pilate.

"What more can these immigrants from Italy expect? It is not every prisoner who has the President of Harvard University throw on the switch for him . . . If this is a lynching, at least the fish peddler and his friend, the factory hand, may take unction to their souls that they will die at the hands of men in dinner coats or academic gowns, according to the conventionalities required by the hours of execution."

And then finally, "I have never believed that the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti was one set apart from many by reason of the prejudice which encrusted all the benches. Scratch through the varnish of any judgment seat and what will you strike but hate thick-clotted from centuries of angry judgments?"

With all his clarity, the article ends, nevertheless, with a lame and anarchistic conclusion. The class issues which stood so clearly behind the judgments of the case are forgotten, and Broun is superficial enough to ask: "Did any man ever find power within his hand except to use it as a whip?"

III.

THREE years after the appearance of this column, Broun decided to join the Socialist Party. In a passage which is about as frank a confession of intellectual bankruptcy as one can find in these days, he announced that he would acquire a philosophy and proceed to promulgate it. "All we may ask," he states in March, 1928, "is that each man born into the world acquire in time a point of view about affairs in general. If there are not roots at all to his opinions, he is not worth our attention.

"And this is said by one whose philosophy is still extremely vague. The best I can do is to promise that I will try my best to find a message and promulgate it."

The Socialist Party immediately placed Broun in a position where he became one of its leaders. In a year of mounting unemployment and widespread misery among the working class, Broun was shoved into the forefront of the campaign where he became an accredited and powerful spokesman of his party. Subsequently, Broun has been featured by the S. P. on nation-wide radio addresses, as one of the four spokesmen of the National Convention, as a campaigner who must appear at the important rallies. Thus one would expect that Broun would have acquired in these two years a grasp of socialist principles, and an understanding of the class conflict. The contrary has been the case. Broun has steadily retrogressed from the position he took in 1927; intimate contact with the S.P., instead of radicalizing him, has made more apparent his lack of any revolutionary viewpoint. This fact, and the further one that Broun is still

accepted as a leading spokesman for the Socialist Party casts an oblique reference on that group which is far from flattering.

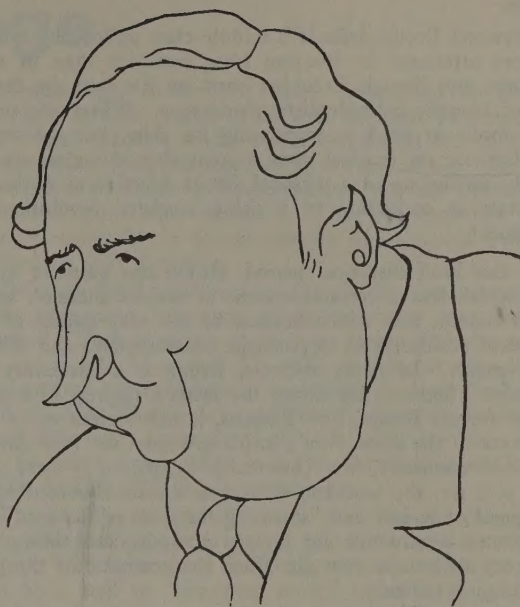
IV.

THE class conflict is a conception evidently totally alien to Broun's makeup. Once he was at a dinner party where Max Eastman, dilettante communist, and Judge Gary, upholder of the twelve hour day, managed to carry on a superficially amicable conversation. This fact makes its impress on Broun's mind, and from it he draws the profound philosophic conclusion that barricades would be unnecessary if people would meet more around the dinner table and talk things over.

Broun uses the wanton killing of socialist and communist workers by the Geneva soldiery as a subject for a moral lesson. This lesson is that the workers must not use force against their rulers. "I say in sincerity and after watching a lot of politics, that important economic changes will come in America just as soon as they are presented with a religious fervor—I mean the revival of that fine word 'brotherhood' which has come to be sneered at as namby-pamby and feebly utopian." "We will never build the brotherhood of man on aimless and murderous anger," he writes when an unarmed workers' demonstration receives a fusillade from the Swiss soldiers. "Because the economic rulers of the world are rough, tough men, they must be met on their own ground. That, I think, is giving away half the struggle. I have heard it said that Socialism in America has become too evangelical a movement. People want it more practical. And this is said in a nation which watched the extraordinary economic change of prohibition brought about to the accompaniment of hymn tunes." The philistinism of Broun even extends to comparing the social revolution with the charlatanism of prohibition! And then, two days later, Broun declares himself "all for rational and scientific planning for the new world, but I don't think it will do a bit of harm if the machinery is oiled and lubricated with a liberal amount of a very old fashioned virtue. You can laugh your head off if you choose, but I mean very literally that the wise men need not only all their wisdom but also the fellowship of love."

In October, Heywood Broun can still speak of "my complete conversion to socialism." In November, with mounting unemployment, tragically inadequate relief, the fear of unemployed riots expressed in every city council, Broun oozes with the gospel of Christian love, and casts himself in the inappropriate role of evangelical preacher. If this appears a strange role for a "socialist", remember that the histrionic talents of the social-democracy in wartime have been already demonstrated. When Broun preaches to the workers to abjure hate with a fervor which is in direct proportion to the oppression under which they suffer, he serves a definite purpose—exactly the same function which the Salvation Army fills.

Broun once was daring enough to state that the Socialist Party's "real reason for existence is to offer a haven for those who wish to express well-considered disbelief in the present economic system." But he hastily corrected himself and admitted that "Perhaps that's being a shade too dogmatic." Right after the election, Broun showed his discouragement with the returns by asking: "Well, why shouldn't we be Utopian? The trouble with so-called practical things is that most of them are such a long way off. Even pie in the sky is closer than a chicken in every pot. . . . There is no point in saying any more: 'Give me a slightly different world.' The cry should be for one brand new."



Drawn for Student Review, by Florence Sachnoff

Broun sees history as a fairy godmother which will give you anything you want, if you only yell loud enough for it. We will get this brand new world but the workers must give up the barbaric idea of fighting for it. The objective effect of this separation of revolutionary ends from revolutionary practice is to separate the working class movement from the possibility of achieving socialism.

Lenin has this to say about the bourgeois revolutionist:

"Our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, on the contrary, have fully shown and proven their actual role as an instrument for the deception of the masses (the 'majority') by the bourgeoisie, as conductors and abettors of such deception. No matter how sincere individual S-R's and Mensheviks may be, their fundamental political ideas—as though it is possible to get out of an imperialist war and arrive at a 'peace without annexations and indemnities' without a dictatorship of the proletariat and a victory of Socialism, as though it is possible to have the land pass to the people without compensation and to have 'control' over production in the interests of the people without the above condition—these fundamental political (and of course also economic) ideas of the S-R's and Mensheviks represent, objectively, nothing but a petty-bourgeois self-deception, or, what is the same, a deception of the masses (the 'majority') by the bourgeoisie." (v. 21 p. 67 "Collected Works").

Because Broun is unable to see the class struggle as an integral part of socialism, and thus divorces socialist ends from the possibility of attaining them, that is, separates socialist theory from revolutionary practice, he succeeds only in emasculating socialism by recruiting non-socialists into the ranks of the nominally Socialist Party. On the other hand, he leads honest workers into a morass of futility, parliamentary masquerade, and utopian sterility. Heywood Broun's socialism is a mixture of ethical and pragmatic considerations to be imposed by the gentle force of reason. He does not,

and cannot, visualize society as a battleground of opposing classes.

Heywood Broun defends a middle class philosophy which is more interested in freedom from restraint than in real freedom, and though Brooklyn born, he fits into the tradition of frontier individualistic democracy. There are economic forces at work expropriating his class, but the situation has not yet reached such a point that this class stands for the setting up of a mystical fascist doctrine of duties to the state in opposition to a rising workers' revolutionary movement.

In this brief historical period, Broun can gain an audience which sees a certain amount of serious common sense in his humor, and which because of the very nature of its equivocal position tries to reconcile contradictions and obtain compromise. In many respects, Broun is a caricature of Norman Thomas. He shows the latter's failings in a grotesque form. Broun, like Thomas, is never clear as to the reference of the term, "we", in his speeches: we (the American Government), we (humanity in general)—very seldom is it we, the workers, viewed as a force divorced from the goods of society and "storming the gates of heaven." He substitutes catchwords for serious analysis, and shows the tendency to lean in two directions characteristic of the petty-bourgeois radical.

As Lenin says:

"And, of course, this deception can only be understood . . . when we make clear its class roots and its class meaning. This is not a personal deception, not (speaking bluntly) a 'swindle'; it is a deceptive idea flowing from the economic condition of a class. The petty bourgeois finds himself in such an economic situation, the conditions of his life are such, that he cannot help deceiving himself, that he must inevitably and against his will gravitate alternately towards the bourgeoisie and towards the proletariat. It is *economically impossible* for him to have an independent 'line'.

"His past draws him towards the bourgeoisie, his future towards the proletariat."

But the petty-bourgeois, to be a unit in the proletarian movement, must cease to be a petty-bourgeois; the characteristics and psychological approach which distinguish his class must first be eliminated. A flirting with the proletarian movement, as in the case of Broun, is not a symptom of irrevocable choice, but a manifestation of exactly the vacillation Lenin refers to. The dominance of petty-bourgeois elements and ideology in the Socialist movement, means that that movement takes on an illusory and unrealistic attitude and shows itself as a serious "deception of the masses."

NATHANIEL WEYL.

More Student Action

Campus activities for the past month have necessarily been limited because of the Christmas vacation period and mid-year examinations; hence the temporary suspension of *Student Action Speaks*. With the beginning of the new term, militant student action will again assert itself. Send clippings and other material concerning campus activities to *Student Review*. Help us build a permanent, public record of student activities. Address: Editorial Board, *Student Review*, 13 West 17 Street, New York City.

Campus Contemporaries

Duke University

"The college youth of America, supposedly safe from the influence of undesirable thinkers, has come into contact with a force so embracing in its national sweep that, while not succumbing completely to the novelty and bizarre effect of the movement, he has allowed his mind to become polluted with the ravings of radical advocates—mental fanatics seeking to tear down that which is upheld by sane society and to put in motion that which may lead to decay and utter ruin. He has imagined in this new exploited doctrine a salvation for the oppressed, a haven of refuge for the laboring weary, and a light that will guide the ignorant from their abyss of darkness into the brilliance of a new beginning and an everlasting peace . . . He has overlooked the insanity of the scheme, the impossibility of control by a distinct minority-in-sympathy, the objection to a change in power held by the more conservative social order, and a steady and complete understanding of the theories which his eager sponsors are seeking to instill in him. He has not thought carefully of these factors, because he has become an embryonic disciple of the cause, advocating liberalism in speech and thought, whether or not such action be for the welfare of the social whole. . . .

There are many universities which have succeeded admirably in forbidding the adoption or the practice of radical views, and it is on these institutions that exponents of radicalism are concentrating their power in an effort to gain a substantial foothold. . . .

This grave danger, men who have been entrusted with the guidance of collegiate publications must guard against. Minds must be kept clear to develop intelligent thought, and careful consideration must be paid articles for publication which would tend to influence detrimentally the thought of the readers, in order that such expression may be given no outlet. . . . It should be an essential duty of a collegiate publication to so bar and forbid the appearance of radical material in its pages that it will prove a source of pride to the administration and an organ of respect among its student-body."

November, 1932.

The Archive.

Princeton University

When a university determines to exclude certain men from admission because they are financially unable to support themselves during their undergraduate years, it is usually accused of snobbery. When Yale and Harvard first contemplated making that decision they were so accused. Such action, however, is not snobbery; it is merely the result of the university's realization that, beyond a certain number, men seeking employment from the institution they attend are a drag upon their associates and themselves . . .

If, instead of advising applicants to whom it can offer no work not to come to Princeton, the Department of Personnel and the Board of Admissions cooperated in refusing to enroll these men unless they could prove that their finances had become adequate, the unfortunate alternatives would be eliminated. The individuals excluded would probably find a career at some less expensive institution more satisfactory, and the strain on the University would unquestionably be lessened.

December 12, 1932.

Daily Princetonian.

The Negro in College

IF the reaction of the crisis has been a terrific blow to the general student body, how much more of a blow has it been to the Negro student! Under normal conditions his lot is little better than it is today for the white students, under what may be called, for the sake of brevity, abnormal conditions. The sharpening of the crisis has brought with it greatly increased hardships and struggles for the Negro student—like havoc brought with war.

No section of the student body of the United States today secures its education under more difficult conditions than does the Negro student; no group today suffers as widespread a system of discrimination as does the Negro student; no group of students is as definitely educated to be servile lackeys as is the Negro student.

Even a cursory examination of a few recent incidents will serve to show the struggles, the problems of the Negro student. These are more than mere incidents; they still vitally concern the Negro student.

The situation at Howard University, Washington, D. C., one of the foremost Negro schools, is coming to a point where the students may revolt against the insufferable conditions. The administration is scrimping expenses in every possible way. Wages of student workers have been cut to a minimum; housing facilities are very poor. According to Congressman Oscar De Priest himself, "The University is liable to shut down." (*Omaha Guide*, December 31, 1932). The heat, light, and power facilities of Howard University are negligible. The present heating plant is so antiquated and obsolete that only a modicum of heat is possible—and frequently doubtful. Since there are no emergency facilities, if the plant breaks down the university will be without any heat whatsoever. Meanwhile, conditions continue to get worse in many other respects.

The *Iowa Bystander* of December 16, 1932, contained a dispatch from Casper, Wyoming, reporting that a southern army captain had made orderlies of all Negro boys in military training in the local high school. Here is an example of the repulsive results of military training which must be fought by the permanent committee of the National Student Congress Against War.

The June, 1932 issue of *Frontiers*, published by the Social Problems Club of the College of the City of New York, told of a somewhat similar case which exposed the R.O.T.C. as an active agent in the whole system of suppression of the Negro. M. A. Quanders, a Negro cadet at that college who wished to attend the Plattsburg C.M.T.C. camp, was ordered, instead, to attend the Jim Crow camp at Fort Hunt, Virginia. The reason for this maneuver was set forth by F. Trubee Davison, then Acting Secretary of War, in a letter to Representative Joseph A. Cavanagh. Davison gave as reason for Quander's segregation the fact that "race prejudice could not be eliminated at mixed camps." Furthermore Davison bluntly declared Quander's removal to a Jim Crow camp would save him "personal discomfort and embarrassment." Later Davison said: "The camp at Fort Hunt is under the supervision of white officers of the regular army." Such is the baldness of racial segregation in the army!

The strike of the Commonwealth students, led by the National Student League, in behalf of the right of Negroes to enter the college and for self-government met quick approval in the Negro press. The incident was heralded by Negro students everywhere as the most sincere move to halt Jim Crowism in the South. Several papers quoted local students and teachers praising the striking students.

When the Texas State Teachers' Association (white)

condescendingly invited the State Association of Colored Teachers to take charge of its entertainment program, several Negro teachers boldly refused to accept the invitation. They wanted complete relationship or none at all. The State Association of Colored Teachers, however, did provide entertainment for the "whites." The fact that the white teachers controlled a certain amount of patronage probably influenced their decision.

"We are tired of educating our children and permitting them to remain economic slaves and enter into lives of shame." Thus cries out an excerpt of the platform of the *Omaha Guide*, December 31, 1932, striking at one of most fundamental contradictions of capitalism for Negro and white student alike. Thousands of students are being graduated into bread lines every semester; there is no place for them under the present system; there is an overproduction of B.A.'s, B.S.'s, M.D.'s, Ph. D.'s—everything!

The problem is naturally more acute for the Negro student, who has to undergo a great deal more hardship to go to college. To little avail is all his education when he finds that he is still an "economic slave," roped in by prejudice and hatred. If by some miracle he manages to get into a professional school he finds on graduating that, keen as competition is for the white student, it is far keener for himself. Education has given him nothing but a maddening insight of his tragic role under a system which sees in his education a means of making him servile.

Until last year there were no Negro student activities to speak of. This was due, for the most part, to the domination of Negro schools and colleges by reactionary members of the clergy and white business men—who were quick to nip in the bud any evidence of revolt or class consciousness among the students. The inferiority complex inculcated during his school years tended to keep the Negro student in yoke. The recent manifestations of self-assertion among Negro students aroused the wrath of Dr. N. B. Young, educator and representative of the conservative National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. According to a report in the *Chattanooga Defender*, Jan. 6, 1933, Dr. Young denounced the intellectual students as "frequently a liability instead of an asset" to the Negro people.

The Socialist-controlled League for Industrial Democracy, which was the only "radical" student organization until last year, avoids the Negro student for virtually the same reason the Socialist Party today "lays off" the entire Negro question. That reason is made beautifully clear by a statement of J. D. Sayers, an organizer of the Socialist Party in the South, in the *New Leader*, December 3, 1932. "Lay off of the TNT mine in the South for the present," wrote Sayers. "I mean the race question. That is a problem that must be left to evolution, just as our forefathers had to wait for riddance of their tails."

Isolated in the Jim Crow Rosenwald-Rockefeller schools and segregated state schools, the Negro students were until last year out of contact with the student movement. There were, of course, sporadic attempts on the part of Negro students to organize themselves, but the attempts were futile. The outstanding reason for the failure of these attempts was the absence of support of a substantial student body, especially of the white students. Nor can the present activities of the National Student League be successful in any substantial way without the full participation in these struggles by the Negro students. Negro and white, the students have a common cause; they must fight for it together.

M. B. SCHNAPPER

Laying Red Ghosts

In Wisconsin

THE Anti-Communist League got under way at the University of Wisconsin on the evening of November 21, 1932. Its opening gun came in the form of a Mr. J. E. Waters, famous explorer, traveler, and agricultural expert, who let go a rapid-fire charge of "true stories" concerning Red Russia. An audience of some thirty individuals attended, most of whom were communist sympathizers who enlivened the meeting with heckles, titters, and open guffaws. The leader of the meeting, Moses Ermend, student and notorious Red-baiter, undaunted by the small size of the audience and its gay heckling, promised in his organizational speech big things for the future.

Horrible living conditions in the land of the Soviets were revealed by Mr. Waters, erstwhile agricultural engineer in the Caucasus during the period 1929-1931. The masses of the people lived on starvation rations; their usual diet consisting of sour black bread and sour cabbage soup "eaten 365 days out of the year", this supplemented at rare intervals with horse and dog meat, and, more rarely, with an awful tasting dessert. Workers had to dress in rags and tatters, seldom wearing shoes, and forced to tie up their feet with dirty rags. As for housing, the workers lived in squalor, large families being obliged to occupy one room. The nation's food stores were "all owned by the Government, all owned by the Communist Party." Communist Party men lived on the fat of the land—well fed, clothed, and housed. Good food that might otherwise sustain undernourished babies, children, and adult workers, was exported, and for nefarious reasons: chiefly to provide gold in payment of revolutionary propaganda spread over the world; and to pay for machinery that was wrecked or wasted, both deliberately and negligently.

Labor under the Communists is subjected to frightful exploitation. Russian toilers, overworked and underfed, oppose the Five Year Plan; hence, its failure. Nevertheless these workers are kept in line by the G. P. U., relentless agents of Communist oppression. The fear of being branded with the stigma "counter-revolutionary", and of swift punishment, keeps the laborer from registering any sort of complaint. Women, far from being emancipated as is claimed by propagandists, are taken out of the home and compelled to waste themselves at hard labor.

Communist Russia persecutes and destroys religion. "Religion teaches brotherly love and charity; Communism teaches hatred and violation of rights!" In Russia churches are shut down by means of a so-called democratic vote of the membership, a vote that is forced; the clergy thereupon are exiled or shot. "It is a criminal offense for anyone to teach religion to a child." The home is purposely broken up by anti-religious propaganda, by the forced labor of women, and by such social devices as communal restaurants, club-rooms, and movies.

Red Russia spreads propaganda of the most vicious sort throughout the world. In this way it aims to foment revolution everywhere and to cover up the horrible conditions at home. "160,000,000 are held in slavery, while the world is told all is well!" Today Communism is extending over the whole United States of America; one reads news of Communism in all newspapers, whereas a few years ago nothing of the kind was printed. Hosts of propagandists paid with Moscow gold are scattering poison over the country. Their names and activities are known.

At the conclusion of the meeting a dear old lady from Virginia came up to Mr. Waters and thanked him fervently

for telling the truth about Russia. "It is so good to hear a man like you" . . . The great explorer beamed with complacent satisfaction.

ARTHUR S. JOHNSON

In Texas

IS Texas University "red"? Asks Maco Stewart, wealthy Texas lawyer.

Communism, according to this upholder of national doctrine, has penetrated into the faculty and into the student body. He is surprised that the University of Texas permitted a meeting of the "Texas Free Speech Committee" in the Y. M. C. A. He also stated in the newspapers, which carried glaring headlines about the "Red Menace", that University of Texas students are publishing a paper called *The Spark*, whose purposes, according to him, are the spreading of communism and advocating racial equality.

The whole matter of the most recent scandal started over a meeting of the Texas Free Speech Committee, which is non-partisan, along with other liberal and labor organizations for the purpose of protesting against the consideration of a criminal syndicalism bill in this state. It was a lawful assemblage, and the meeting was conducted in an orderly manner. The next day the newspapers carried regular reports of the conference, which had about 60 delegates present, and published the set of resolutions which had been adopted.

But Maco Stewart appeared on the scene the day following the conference. The D. A. R. met here at a state convention, and Mr. Stewart was one of its chief speakers. From this time on, the Texas Free Speech Committee became notorious, and what started out to be an organized protest against the criminal syndicalism bill became a "red scare."

At the time of the appearance of *The Spark*, Mr. Stewart was attempting to segregate the Negroes of Galveston on to flood land in that city. In a public meeting called for the purpose of deciding the proposed segregation, Mr. Stewart, according to reports, waved a copy of *The Spark* before the audience, and pointing to the clause of the National Student League platform dealing with Negro equality, he shouted, "Shall we send our boys and girls to the University of Texas to be taught Communism by Communist professors?" It is said that he then proceeded to show that the Negroes should be segregated in order to keep down the spread of communism and its struggle for racial equality. Two youths, one a member of the National Student League, were in the audience. They jumped to the stage, and one of them began to read what the constitution of the United States had to say in regard to equal rights. The meeting broke up, and the Negroes have not yet been segregated.

H. G. Wells, whose books are used in the advanced English courses in the University, was soundly scored by Mr. Stewart, who seems to be assisting the D. A. R. in its "educational campaign" against communism. This author, he said, is "a dangerous man" who "has broadcast the doctrines of anti-patriotism and the doctrines of communism." Einstein would not get such a warm reception in this country if the people had the same outlook as Maco Stewart, who declared the former is being "press agented by Stalin money to preach the overthrow of every capitalist government, including the United States." In case a criminal syndicalism bill is passed here, it will be advisable for both these gentlemen to remain out of Texas, else they might find themselves seeking the sun from behind the bars of a penitentiary.

The D. A. R. and Maco Stewart are urging the passage of a criminal syndicalism bill in this state so that the "abuse of liberty" shall "not be tolerated." LOUISE PREECE

On Strike at Commonwealth

IT did not take us long to find out that Commonwealth was not what it advertised itself to be—a workers' democracy. The Association which owns the land and autocratically lays down the rules had found a place of security there—a privilege so rare under capitalism that they were unwilling to do anything which would endanger their position. Consequently we found an anomaly, a radical-speaking, apparently class-conscious Association running a school having a timid and conservative program.

Immediately a series of student issues arose. Because Commonwealth is an isolated community, seventy people living twelve miles from the nearest town, unique problems had to be faced. Sometimes comparatively minor conflicts, such as opposition to the rule of visiting between the boys' dorm and the girls' dorm after 10 P. M. (a rule enforced, incidentally, with a penalty of ten hours overtime work for girls and thirty hours for boys) developed in the Commonwealth situation into something vital.

Far more important was the Jim-Crow question. Commonwealth had been founded in a county that the administration claimed was lily-white (i.e., Negroes may not stay within its bounds overnight). Despite the fact that figures from the Arkansas Department of Agriculture indicated that there were a few Negroes in the county the Association held to the policy that if Negro students were admitted the school would be burnt down by the neighbors. The students, through a committee appointed to investigate the problem, suggested a lengthy program of education for the neighbors and gradual steps leading up to the admission of Negroes. This program was accepted with this significant addition—it was to be instituted in September, 1933. By that time there would be a completely new student body and there was every opportunity for the whole thing to be postponed indefinitely.

It was seen that the only way to solve these problems was to have student representation on the Association. Here the Commonwealth National Student League members played the correct role and rallied the majority of the students to its program. At the student meeting where this was discussed, the Socialist party on the campus presented a mild program of reform, including student voice, but no vote on the Association. The N. S. L. members demanded full student representation including vote, with the proviso (to indicate that we were not out to capture the school, as certain members of the Association feared) that this representation should not exceed fifty per cent. The majority of the students, including Socialist Party members, voted for this program.

The most vociferous students at the meeting were Jack Copenhaver and Henry Forblade, both of whom had been at Commonwealth the previous quarter and who were familiar with the attitude and policies of the Association.

On Friday, December 3, these two students were expelled on charges of "disruptive criticism" and "uncommunal behavior." The letters of expulsion were received at 8 A. M. Immediately an N. S. L. meeting was called, but before any action could be taken, the 8:15 class bell for labor orientation, a compulsory class, rang. In place of the usual class lecture, Dave Engelstein, acting director, spoke on the policies of Commonwealth, announced the expulsion of the two students, and called for discussion. The only student to respond was Abe Horan, president of the student body and a National Student League member, who announced the student meeting to follow immediately.

At this meeting, the students, with but six opposing votes,

sent a protest to the Association and threatened overt action unless the expulsion was reconsidered. A strike committee, consisting of Flora Watson, Hugo Fischer, and Howard Boldt, N. S. L. members, and George Wilson and Sam Romer, Socialists, was elected. It was made clear to the Association that a student discipline committee (which included the entire strike committee with the exception of Hugo Fischer) had been given at least paper power by the Association in dealing with all questions of student conduct.

The Association, running true to form, declined to reconsider the matter. They proposed instead to give us student representation if we let the expulsions go unchallenged. The next student meeting was called Friday night. Because of the activities of the Association in picking out individual students and threatening them with expulsion if they went on strike, there were fourteen votes out of fifty-five against the strike, at this meeting; however, the general sentiment of the meeting was, that a strike should be called immediately. At the eleventh hour, a note from the acting director was brought in, suspending action until the student discipline committee had met to consider the case. Forblade resigned from the student discipline committee and Hugo Fischer was elected in his place. This committee and the strike committee were now identical.

On Saturday morning, the student discipline committee considered the case. The committee adopted the middle ground of censure and reinstatement as a compromise position.

The Association refused to consider this position.

At 7 P. M. Saturday night, another student meeting was called. Fourteen students who had jobs or had relatives on the Association left the room. A deadline had been set for 8 o'clock for the Association to return a definite answer. At 8:10, no answer forthcoming, the strike was called, the strike committee given absolute executive and disciplinary powers.

A night watch, to prevent sabotage that might be blamed on the strikers, was established, the distributor on the school truck removed, and the telephone wires cut. The Association had now no communication with the outside world. Publicity was prepared under the supervision of Samuel Romer had shown to the Association. As they still refused to reconsider and accept our demands: 1) reinstatement of Henry and Jack; 2) assurance of the readmission next quarter; 3) no discrimination against strikers; and 4) student representation on the Association, the publicity went out to all press associations, as well as individual papers. Telegrams were also sent to the National Student League and the League for Industrial Democracy.

On Sunday morning we took over the school. We had keys to all buildings, control of kitchen work. We picketed the library, permitting only strikers to use it. A gate picket was also established.

We held complete control all day, kept our own publicity flowing out, and established a feeling of solidarity and discipline in the group that had never been equalled in the experience of any of us.

We realized that Monday would be the day of real test, because the Association would attempt to carry on classes and industrial work. Our pickets prevented library and class work all morning. All day the strike committee appealed to the Association to show a willingness to accept our demands and adopt a reasonable attitude toward the Student Association conflict.

At noon, the acting director delivered an ultimatum: "Al

keys to all buildings, control of kitchen work. We picketed strikers must report for work at 1 o'clock; or all stand expelled. Henry, Jack, and Norman Geshwind are expelled and must leave by 5 o'clock." A dramatic moment occurred when Sam Romer jumped to his feet and cried, "Students! What is your answer?" With one voice, the thirty-four strikers replied, "NO!" Immediately after dinner, the strike committee visited the Association and said that picketing had been our method of enforcing our demands, and since they had delivered an ultimatum, they could carry it out. Our pickets were recalled, and the strikers went to their dormitories. In twenty-five minutes, a sheriff and two deputized taxi-drivers arrived from Mena, twelve miles away, and presented a warrant for the arrest of Forblade, Copenhaver, Geshwind, Fischer, Boldt, and Romer, on charges of trespass and other property offenses.

At last we had a definite answer—a supposedly radical school had called in capitalist law to defend private property.

After the Student Congress?

THE major achievement of the Student Congress Against War, held in Chicago during the latter part of December, was the attainment of unity through an effective program. The problem was: on what basis could Communists, Socialists, members of the National Student League, pacifists, and unorganized students representing all other shades of opinion, be brought together on such a burning question as effective student opposition to war? On what minimum program could these various groups unite?

The most divergent positions were those of the Communists and the pacifists. The other positions varied between these two extremes. The Communists, on the basis of an analysis of present day society, divide modern wars into three types. Capitalist powers, when no longer able to dispose of their commodities profitably at home or in their territories, must seek markets abroad; and in their seeking, inevitably clash with other imperialist nations. Too, during economic crises, war becomes a convenient, albeit bloody, way of bringing back temporary "prosperity." Such wars are imperialist wars. Against these wars, the Communists wage a constant militant struggle. They believe that the only way to abolish imperialist wars is to destroy the capitalist system which breeds them.

The second type of war is the struggle of colonial peoples for their liberation from the yoke of imperialist oppression. Since the liberation of colonial peoples, by weakening the ruling class of the mother country, is a step toward the destruction of capitalism, the Communists support such wars.

The third type of war is civil war—the ultimate form of the class struggle, when the workers rise against the capitalist owners of the means of production and overthrow the system, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the present time, there is danger of a new type of war. Serving as a model to the proletariat of all other countries, the Soviet Union stands as a threat to the very existence of capitalism. As a means of warding off social revolutions in their own country, and colonial uprisings for independence, the imperialist nations are united in their determination to destroy the Soviet Union.

The Pacifists, on the other hand, are opposed to *all* wars. They are strenuously opposed to class war as to imperialist war. Whereas the Communists believe that war is inevitable under capitalism, the Pacifists hold that all international disputes can be settled by peaceful means. War may be permanently abolished by passive resistance, education, and po-

The justice of the peace in Mena decided that Henry and Jack must leave and have the remainder of their tuition refunded, and that the others should go back and be good boys. A strike meeting was immediately called. All of us felt that the school had been sufficiently exposed as a place of security for liberals and "tired radicals"—a place where, in the words of one teacher the class struggle was "out there."

We left Commonwealth together the next day—Tuesday; and two autos and one freight car carried us to Chicago. There we became both famous and notorious—famous among radicals and liberals, notorious among conservative tenants in apartments neighboring the ones we had. After the Student Congress and the National Student League Convention, we broke up, having formed a permanent organization to keep in touch with each other. As far as the future of Commonwealth is concerned, it will probably continue as a liberal school but it will never have a radical student body again.

GEORGE WRIGHT

litical control. Between the two well-defined extremes, there range a series of compromises.

How, then, can these groups be united on a minimum program? The World Congress Against War, at whose invitation the Student Congress was called, set the example. Despite the divergent opinions, all students could be united at least in the struggle against imperialist war. Thus the struggle against imperialist war was adopted as the basis for a united front program at the Student Congress against War. In this struggle the students recognize that they are part of a movement greater than their own, the struggle of the working class against imperialist war. Therefore, they pledged support of the revolutionary working class in their common cause.

It is essential to point out that this minimum program, as adopted at the Chicago Congress approximates to a great extent the National Student League's program on war, a non-partisan student program for the fight against imperialist war.

"We propose to struggle resolutely against imperialist war, against preparations for such wars, and against the attempt to utilize the schools and colleges for war, whether this takes the form of outright military training or the more subtle forms of jingoistic propaganda." (Program of the National Student League.)

The program was not prepared with ease. Prolonged discussion was necessary before many sections were adopted. One important point of dispute was the role of peace instruments, like the League of Nations and World Court. Pacifists and Socialists claimed that these institutions were beneficial in the cause of peace. One Socialist argued in favor of the League of Nations, on the ground that in no other way could Maxim Litvinoff present his proposals for disarmament to the entire world. The confusion concerning this vital question points to the necessity of immediate wide distribution of relevant material by the National Executive Committee elected by the Congress.

One of the highlights of the Congress was the speech made by a delegate from Colombia, a country on the verge of war with Peru. He explained how these countries were carrying out the imperialist designs of the United States and Great Britain.

In relation to Latin America, a resolution was passed to support the Montevideo Congress Against War to be held February 28th, 1933 and send a delegate to this Congress

on the basis of resolutions passed at this Student Congress Against War. This Congress is to be similar to the World Congress Against War, but dealing specifically with the struggle against war in the Americas. Carl Geiser of Fenn College, Cleveland, was elected as the delegate.

After the program was finally adopted and the Congress took up the task of electing the New York Resident Bureau of the National Executive Committee, certain leading Socialist delegates declined the nomination. Their reason was the "insult" given the Socialist Party when the Congress adopted the section pointing out the role of the Second International in the last war.

Student delegates proved, however, that this section was a historical fact which could in no way be interpreted as an insult. This group of leaders then shifted to a technicality. They pointed to the pledge to support the American Committee for the Struggle Against War, a committee set up to carry out the program of the World Congress Against War in the United States. They claimed that this meant the support by the Student Congress of the entire manifesto adopted at the World Congress, which included a criticism of the leaders of the Second Socialist International. (This manifesto was printed in the November issue of *Student Review*—Ed.). In the morning a special resolution had been passed which stated that "this Congress approves and supports the pledge of the World Congress Against War and urges all student and youth groups to support that pledge in principle as the basis for the formulation of their own program and action; and, Be It Resolved, that this Congress pledges itself to cooperate fully with the American Committee for the Struggle Against War in their work of carrying out that pledge." The reason the pledge alone was considered was precisely for the sake of unity, even though the Communists felt there were very sound reasons for criticizing the leaders of the Second International. The objection these leading Socialists made against including support of the American Committee towards the end of the program, as a point of summary, seemed meaningless; yet it nearly served as the point for a split. For the sake of unity, this point, which was merely a repetition, was rescinded. The Socialist leaders then cooperated, but only after much insistence and pressure from the student delegates. Thereupon, the Resident Bureau of the National Executive Committee, representative of the various viewpoints at the Congress, was elected.

We have taken a giant's stride in making this Congress a success. But Congresses are useful only insofar as they serve for the purposes of clarification and as a basis of activity.

The proposals for immediate activity adopted by the Congress are excellent for carrying out through mass action the resolutions. They follow:

1. We propose that delegates on returning to their respective colleges and high schools call mass meetings to report on the deliberations and decisions of the Student Congress Against War.

2. The mass meetings should elect anti-war committees to carry on the work of the Student Congress. These committees should be enlarged by elected representatives from all possible student clubs and organizations.

3. We propose that the Committees in each of the colleges collect and disseminate information as to the actions of their own colleges during the last war. This material should be sent to the main committee for publication.

4. We propose mass struggle and agitation for the abolition of the R.O.T.C. by means of distribution of leaflets, mass meetings, signature collections and strikes. Where military science is compulsory we propose that the struggle be for the abolition of R.O.T.C. rather than a struggle against the compulsory feature alone. Where it is optional we shall also struggle for its abolition.

Carry on the Work!

THE Student Congress Against War held in Chicago on December 28 and 29 was the first major accomplishment of American students in the fight against war. The Congress secured the support of both organized and unorganized students representing diverse opinions. The program adopted established a basis for the united action of all the students and groups represented at the Congress, (Socialists, Communists, pacifists, Green International, League for Industrial Democracy, National Student League, Y. M. C. A. etc.)

The National Student League approach to the problem of war served as a basis for the minimum program adopted. The fundamental source of modern war was recognized as the capitalist system, and the struggle in the immediate future will be directed against imperialist war. The Congress realized, too, that the students can make their fight effective only by acting together with the working class.

The Congress demonstrated that the policy of the National Student League in setting up the united front was a correct one, and made evident the necessity for carrying on along those lines. The establishment of an independent committee which was not affiliated with any organization, which set no restrictions on student participation in the Congress, and which allowed the Congress itself to formulate its program, was instrumental in making the Congress a success. The N. S. L. will offer all possible support to the work of carrying out the decisions of the Congress, and calls upon all its members and chapters to initiate an intensive campaign to accomplish that task in cooperation with the Student Committee for the Struggle Against War and with the local committees in the colleges and high schools throughout the country. Our task is to give significance to the decisions of the Congress by direct action. Our work begins now.

RESIDENT BUREAU OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

5. We propose anti-war demonstrations on all military holidays and against all military displays and militant speakers, at Commencement exercises, Charter Day exercises, etc.

6. We propose constant agitation in classrooms, in student organizations, in dormitories, etc. against militarist propaganda, and use of college facilities for war purposes.

7. We propose a constant national campaign against the Morrel Land Grant Act and against all Federal appropriations for R.O.T.C.

8. We propose to carry on propaganda against the use of scientific and technical training facilities in the schools and universities for the purposes of the war department. For this purpose conferences of engineering, science, and mathematics clubs of all students in the science departments be called in order to initiate such activity.

9. We demand the abolition of all pledges calling for the unconditional support of the national government by any student whether such a pledge bind the pledgee to support the policies of the government in war or in peace. This demand should be enforced by mass refusal to sign such pledges

On the basis of the proposals cited above, members of the N. S. L. will take an active part in the anti-war activities on each campus.

HOWARD STONE.

Student Forum on War

A Pacifist Speaks

I wish to express my sincere appreciation of your kindness in inviting me to voice, in the pages of *Student Review*, my reactions to your article, "Our Program on War", which appeared in your December issue. You must bear clearly in mind that the opinions expounded herein are only those of myself—as an individual. They can carry no special strength by virtue of any position I may occupy in my college.

In paragraph two of the aforementioned article the writer states: "The struggle against war is a part of this general struggle against present-day capitalistic society." I do not think that this is strictly true. Warfare has existed even since the time of primitive tribes who lived in a decidedly non-capitalistic era. The present Sino-Japanese incident—a war if ever there was one—is due more to the ever-growing pressure of Japanese population rather than to the machinations of the House of Mitsui or of any of the other great capitalistic groups of the nation. Is it not true that Baron Takima Dan, chairman of the board of the Mitsui Corporation was assassinated last year by a militarist because the corporation had opposed the Manchurian adventure? I think you will find that most of the recorded wars of the world have been due either to the struggles of a population for existence, or to the follies of military jingoists who feel that their nation should be armed. Once having secured what they consider the necessary weapons these gentlemen then concoct a war for the sake of gratifying their ambitions and proving their own indispensability. There have been, of course, wars due to causes other than those listed above, but I think that such struggles are the exception rather than the rule.

I cannot agree that "Wars today are unlike wars of past periods." Save in methods of attack and defense, I do not think there has been any appreciable changes in the causes and results of major wars since the dawn of history. I will grant that the religious war is no longer in evidence, but there is but little reason for supposing that it is gone forever.

In your fourth paragraph you denounce what you call "imperialistic" wars. I wonder if you have ever stopped to consider that the imperialist war is merely one means of forcing backward nations to contribute their share to the progress of the world. I agree that a war for such ends is intolerable, but at the same time I cannot but think that the Chinese peasant—by his ignorance—has no right to prevent the world from enjoying the benefits of the Manchurian mineral deposits. This is not as capitalistic as it might at first sound because it is merely an application of the idea of World Communism—in this case: "from every nation according to its resources . . ." Do not interpret this as a piece of bloody-shirt-waving on my part; it is merely an attempt to indicate that general denunciations of imperialism are not always correct. As a matter of fact, if you can find an excuse for a war for liberation by an exploited people you can surely find an equally good—or bad—excuse for an imperialist war which forces backward nations to share with the world valuable resources which would otherwise not be available to civilization.

It is an integral part of your whole anti-war program that to oppose war effectively one must support the U.S.S.R. The necessity, from an anti-war point of view, of such support is not quite clear. You would have me, and others like me, pledge my efforts to the furtherance of an economic

scheme which is, to say the least, far from a proven success—in order that we may be rid of an institution which does not depend to a very great extent on Capitalism at all (ask the relatives of Baron Dan for proof of this point). It remains to be demonstrated, moreover, just what factor would act to prevent a war between rival Soviet states in quest of raw materials or markets.

The paragraph describing the Soviet treatment of national minorities is more like a favorable review of an Amkino picture than an impartial survey of fact. The Ukraine episode should be distinctly discouraging to the ambitions of "colonial and exploited peoples throughout the world."

The mention of general capitalistic war against the U. S. S. R. is, in my opinion, without any sound foundation. We don't shoot good customers.

I join with you heartily in condemning the R. O. T. C. movement, but not for quite the same reasons. You persist in your belief that some wars are "progressive", and to this I cannot subscribe. You denounce the R.O.T.C. because it will expedite a "capitalist" war; I disapprove because it encourages war of any sort.

The protest "against the use of the chemical and engineering laboratories for preparing new war materials" evokes a smile. Surely the N. S. L. is not placing itself on a par with the State of Tennessee when it prohibited the teaching of the theory of evolution in its schools. History contains countless records of the efforts of groups of men to stop the march of science—men who might just as well have sat on the beach with King Canute and ordered the tide to retreat. All the pacifists and workers in the world could not have prevented Alfred Nobel from inventing dynamite when that gentleman decided to do so.

I suppose that I fall into the group tagged by Edmund Stevens with the contemptuous label, "pacifist", but I fail to see anything disgraceful in that classification. When all is said and done, you have still to prove that war is purely a capitalistic activity and that rival Soviet states will never come to blows. This latter hypothesis is quite as Utopian as any produced by the lowly pacifists.

Permit me to express once more my appreciation of your kindness in granting me this opportunity to voice what must be disagreeable views in your publication. Permit me to remind you again that said views are but those of an individual, and not those of my college, its student body, nor its newspaper.

J. F. SKELLY

A Note of Criticism

AS a member of the League for Industrial Democracy, as well as a member of the national executive committee, elected by the Student Congress Against War, I wish to call to the attention of National Student League the line taken by some of its members and sympathizers in regard to the Congress. As stated by Oakley Johnson, and agreed to by Adler of the Columbia N. S. L. and others, it is this: the L. I. D. and Socialists came to Chicago only to sabotage, and are interested in splitting the fight against war. Most of the N. S. L. members, who received the co-operation of the L. I. D. upon their campus need no long argument to perceive the falsity of this statement. For those who were not at Chicago I wish to point out the following facts:

1. Nathaniel Weyl joined the National Committee which called the Conference with the knowledge and

consent of Paul Porter, the Field Secretary of the L. I. D.

2. Members of the L. I. D. were instrumental in securing delegates to the Congress, although the matter was left to their own choice.

3. We came to the Congress sincerely interested in securing a united front, and upon three separate occasions prevented a rupture between Pacifists and Communists; namely, on Wednesday afternoon, Thursday afternoon and Thursday evening. Upon each occasion we were asked if we were willing to withdraw from the Congress and we answered "No".

4. We are willing to organize students upon the basis of the United Front program achieved at Chicago. Is the N. S. L. willing to stick to such a program?

5. Although the Thursday morning resolution called for support of the American Committee Against War on the basis of the Chicago program, an attempt was made in the draft resolution to put through a rider acceptance of the complete Amsterdam Manifesto. Because of the section referring to the Labor and Socialist International, we as Socialists, could obviously not accept this. Yet this was passed, which constituted a deliberate attempt to break up the United Front by the N. S. L. Even in this juncture the Socialists refused to call for a general walk-out, and preferred once more to attempt to form the United Front, which was finally achieved.

If the N. S. L. sincerely believes that the L. I. D. "is a major obstacle to the development of a revolutionary student movement," as stated in its program, and is determined to use this United Front as a basis for "showing-up" the L. I. D., then obviously no real movement against war is here possible. Unless the N. S. L. leadership can show a willingness to co-operate not only on making a program, but on carrying out that program, the fight against war will split, and only prove another Socialist-Communist squabble. I appeal to the N. S. L. to forget their "holier-than-thou" tactics, to disavow the charge of sabotage by the Socialists made by their members, and to really attempt to make this a permanent United Front. Only by such action can the fight against war succeed.

HAROLD LUXEMBERG

The Answer

Dear Mr. Luxemburg:

It seems rather ironic that you should be the one to castigate the National Student League and extol the cooperative measures taken by the League for Industrial Democracy in regard to the National Student Congress, when it is recalled that you denounced the Student Congress Against War at an open meeting of the Resolutions Committee of the United Youth Conference Against War. When the resolution of support was discussed on the floor at the United Youth Conference you sharply attacked the Student Congress.

In the preparation and carrying out of the Congress a sharp distinction between the leaders of the L.I.D. and its student members was evinced. Many instances indicate sabotage on the part of L.I.D. leaders.

1. Messrs. Porter and Blanshard publicly refused to cooperate unless the National Committee organized to call the Congress were disbanded and a new one formed composed only of N.S.L. and L.I.D. representatives. This after the committee had been functioning for over a month!

2. The following notice appeared in the L.I.D. *News Bulletin* of November 16; "Some of you have

perhaps been invited to a Congress in Chicago during late December under the sponsorship of a committee created by the Communist dominated National Student League. We make no recommendations . . ." As a result, leaders of the L.I.D. in the University of California withdrew from the united front committee against war. At Chicago, Mr. Booth of the L.I.D. withdrew from the committee making preparations for the Congress.

3. The L.I.D. leaders did not take one step to help make the Student Congress a success. Instead, after the failure of Porter and Blanshard to make a new national committee, the L.I.D. leaders initiated a rival anti-war conference to be held before the Student Congress. This was done long after the call for the Congress had been issued.

4. At this United Youth Conference, Gus Tyler, Bill Gomberg and you (all three of you occupying leading positions in the L.I.D. and Young People's Socialist League) delivered vigorous orations denouncing the Student Congress.

In all these actions, the L.I.D. leaders took a position that was hostile and disruptive, certainly not cooperative.

On the other hand, we noticed sincere interest and activity on the part of L.I.D. members in sending delegates to the Congress. We do not believe that the L.I.D. and Socialist Party members who were delegates to the Congress came to split or sabotage. But the actions of L.I.D. leaders before and during the Congress led many delegates to believe just that.

It must be remembered that forming a United Front does not mean submerging differences of opinion and denying the right of criticism. As students, we are getting together to fight one common enemy. In this struggle we are united. But we do not lose our identity. Should anyone disrupt the struggle, or carry it out half-heartedly and hurt the movement, he must be exposed and criticized.

The National Student League does believe that the L.I.D. "is a major obstacle to the development of a revolutionary student movement." That is, the N.S.L. believes that the program and tactics of the L.I.D. mislead active, militant students, and we do our best to prove it to such students, in and out of the L.I.D. But we are not entering the United Front for the purpose of "showing up" the L.I.D. The N.S.L. was urged by the World Congress Against War to call the Student Congress. In order to facilitate a real United Front congress, a broad committee of students was set up to rally the vast majority of students to join in forming a common program for the struggle against war. Certainly this was no move for the purpose of "showing up" the L.I.D.

When you refer to the passage of the draft resolution "to put through a rider acceptance of the complete Amsterdam Manifesto" as a "deliberate attempt to break up the United Front by the N.S.L.," you are putting yourself in a very precarious position. It was explained on the floor of the Congress by Donald Henderson and others that this section was simply a summary for the draft program of an earlier resolution. I might remind you that it was I who made the motion to rescind this section. I do not think it was a very wise motion but it was the product of disgust and anger with the tactics of the L.I.D. leaders in attempting to withdraw from the United Front on a minor technicality.

The strongest test of the sincerity of the N.S.L. in the United Front will be its every day activity in carrying out the united program in the colleges.

HARRY MAGDOFF.

The Tsar Suppresses Students

THE newspapers of January 11 published the official announcement of the Ministry of Education concerning the drafting into the army of 183 students of the Kiev University as a punishment for "riotous assembly." The Provisional Regulations of July 29, 1899—this menace to the student world and to society—are being put into execution less than eighteen months after their promulgation. And it seems as if the government hastens to excuse itself for applying this measure of unexampled severity by publishing an indictment in which the misdeeds of the students are painted in the blackest possible colors.

These misdeeds are worse than awful! A general students' congress was convened in the summer in Odessa to discuss a plan to organize all Russian students for the purpose of protesting against the state of affairs in academic, public and political life. As a punishment for these criminal political designs all the student delegates were arrested and deprived of their documents. But the unrest does not subside—it grows and persists in breaking out in many higher educational institutions. The students desire to discuss and conduct their common affairs freely and independently. Their authorities—with the soulless formalism with which Russian officials have always distinguished themselves—retaliate by petty pin-pricks, and rouse the discontent of the students to the highest pitch, and automatically stimulate the thoughts of the youths who have not yet become submerged in the morass of bourgeois stagnation, to protest against the whole system of police and official tyranny.

The Kiev students demand the dismissal of a professor who took the place vacated by his colleague. The authorities resist, provoke students to convene "assemblies and demonstrations" and—give way. The students call a meeting to discuss the despicable conduct of two undergraduates—scions of wealthy families—who (so rumor has it) together had outraged a young girl. The officials sentence the principal "culprits"—for convening a meeting—to solitary confinement in the students' detention room. These refuse to submit. They are expelled. A crowd of students demonstratively accompany the expelled students to the railway station. A new meeting is called. The students remain until the evening and refuse to disperse until the rector arrives. The Vice-Governor and the chief of the gendarmerie come on the scene at the head of a detachment of troops, who surround the university and occupy the main hall. The rector is called. The students demand—a constitution perhaps? No. They demand the abolition of the punishment of solitary confinement, and the reinstatement of the expelled students. The names of the participators in the meeting are taken and then they are allowed to go home.

Ponder over this astonishing lack of proportion between the modesty and innocuousness of the demands put forward by the students and the panicky dismay of the government, which behaves as if the axe had already been laid to the pillars of the monarchy. Nothing so much exposes our "omnipotent" government as this display of consternation. By this it proves more convincingly than does any "criminal manifesto" to all those who have eyes to see and ears to hear that it realizes the complete instability of its position, and that it relies only on the bayonet and the knout to save it from the indignation of the people. Decades of experience has taught the government that it is surrounded by inflammable material and that a mere spark, a mere protest against solitary confinement, is sufficient to start a conflagration. That being the case, it is clear that the government had to make an example of the students; draft hundreds of stu-

dents into the army! "Put the drill sergeant in place of Voltaire."* This formula has not become obsolete; on the contrary, the twentieth century is destined to see its complete application.

This new punitive measure, new in its attempt to revive the long-obsolete past, provokes many thoughts and comparisons. Three generations ago, in the reign of Nicholas I, drafting into the army was a natural punishment entirely in keeping with the whole system of Russian serf society. Aristocrats were sent to the army so as to be compelled to serve and win their officers' spurs and in order to curb the liberties of the nobility. The peasants were drafted into the army as a form of punishment; it was a long term



of servitude, where "Green Street"*** and other forms of inhuman treatment awaited them. It is now more than a quarter of a century since "universal" military service was introduced, which at the time was acclaimed as a great democratic reform. As a matter of fact, we have not and never had universal military service, because the privileges enjoyed by birth and wealth create innumerable exceptions. As a matter of fact, we have not and never had anything resembling equality of citizens in military service. On the contrary, the barracks are completely saturated with the spirit of most revolting tyranny. . . . Some will break down under the heavy burden, will fall in combat with the military authorities; others—the feeble and flabby—will be cowed into silence by the barracks. But there will be those whom it will harden, whose outlook will be broadened, who will be compelled to ponder over and test their aspirations towards liberty. They will experience the whole weight of tyranny and oppression on their own backs when their human dignity will be placed in the hands of a drill sergeant, who very frequently takes deliberate delight in tormenting the "educated". They will see with their own eyes what the position of the common people is, their hearts will be rent by the seings of tyranny and violence that they will be compelled to witness every day, and they will understand that the injustices and petty tyranny from which students suffer are mere flea-bites compared with the oppression which the people are compelled to suffer. Those who will understand this will, on leaving military service, take the vow of Hannibal to fight with the vanguard of the people, the working class, for the emancipation of the whole people from despotism. . . .

The working class has already commenced the struggle

* This is a quotation from one of the best-known comedies in the Russian language, *The Misfortune of Being Clever*, by Griboyedov.—Ed.

*** Running the gauntlet.—Ed

for its emancipation. It must remember that this great struggle imposes a great duty upon it; that it cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the whole people from despotism; that it is its duty first and foremost to respond to every political protest, and render it every support. The best representatives of our educated classes have proved—and sealed the proof with the blood of thousands of revolutionaries, tortured to death by the government—their ability and readiness to shake from their feet the dust of bourgeois society,

and march in the ranks of the Socialists. The worker who can look on indifferently while the government sends troops against the student youth is not worthy of the name of Socialist. The students came to the assistance of the workers—the workers must come to the aid of the students. . . .

The people must not let the government's announcement of its punishment of the students remain unanswered!

Iskra, Number 2, February 1901.

V. I. LENIN.

Night Piece in a Gondola

I awake suddenly and listen to the rolling of steel on steel beneath my head. The box-car rocks me gently onward as I recall my present status as a student hobo en route from Louisville by Evansville to St. Louis. I lift myself on my elbow from my bed of scanty newspaper that does not adequately shield my body from the dusty, corn-strewn floor and search for my shoes under the jacket that serves for a pillow. Putting them on, I lurch to the door and look out. The swaying box-car, the undulating dark-gray earth that rushes by, varied by a few red or green switch-lights, give the impression of a sea-scape. A roadside light drives through the half-opened door, slants across the interior—crumpled bodies of sleepers are revealed momentarily—and leaves darkness. I stare into the face of another shadowy figure by the door but do not recognize him. Then my buddy Ben shouts out of the gloom, "Wake up, Jimmy, we're getting into Evansville Yards!" I gather my jacket as Ben narrates excitedly, "You missed seeing it, Jimmy! Where we crossed the Ohio at Henderson they're building a bridge. You could see it all lighted up, big steel piers over the water. And a man tried to jump on there and he missed an' I don't know what happened to him." By now the train slackens speed, and the other watcher by the door yells, "Get ready!" We rouse our two South Carolina buddies, but they mumble and search for a cap, and we leap to the cinders alone.

Six of us plod together up the yards, the dark man in denims, the old hook-nosed fellow, the two from Carter County, Kentucky, Ben, and myself. Solicitude is expressed for our friends. Denims points to a lighted overhead bridge. "Them boys oughta join us this side that bridge. If they get out past there a bull'll blackjack 'em." But the South Carolinians never reappear. Sleepily, numbly I drag myself with them; but for all I'm dead on my feet, I'm thoroughly enjoying this forced march some four hours after mid-night. I had sooner be here than home, I tell myself. Railroad yards at night all look alike; they are miles in length, vast black areas marked by dark lines of box-cars and low switch-lights of red and green or orange, interspersed by twin gray gleams of rails.

After endless automatic trudging, Denims guides us to another crossing, and I am completely turned around, on discovering that our train will go to the left. The L. & N. in touching at Evansville travels north and east from Henderson, because of the configuration of the bends of the Ohio. Ben and Denims proceed back towards the Yards, and Poor-White discovers the tall grass is dry, and I doze away. Then the two scouts return at a trot, and we shift to another crossing. I have just chanced on a faucet, and am smelling the odor of a garden and about to hunt a tomato-patch, when a freight roars out high-balling. There is no time to seek a pleasant box-car, I grasp a fleeting stirrup of a gondola and hoist myself into a load of spring-like metal scraps. A bulky Negro confronts me at the other corner.

I yell, "Howdy!" and he returns the conventional hobo greeting of "Gotta match?" (which I haven't.)

A street-light shines above, and he warns, "Hide yo'self!" and I lower my head and subside among the scrap-iron, reflecting that the life of a hobo is like a soldier's. You're always on the march into unknown dangers; you eat irregularly; you collapse to sleep in the queerest places; and the "bulls" correspond to the enemy, ready to wound or kill or imprison whenever the chance comes. The Negro has tied a white cloth around his head and hunches down, ready to sleep. I nod awhile, then adventure over the swaying cargo to find what has become of my buddy and fellow-travellers, extricating long steel springs from my trousers-seat. In an open space at the rear of the gondola they crouch on pieces of old steel pipe, backs to the engine and collars over their heads to protect against the storm of cinders that tangle in my barehead and make my eyes smart. They are bundles of sooty old clothes swaying uncouthly. To shelter myself from the grime, I crawl into a rusty valve large enough for me, but cannot sleep. Rust penetrates beneath my eyelids. If I doff my jacket to serve again as a pillow, I will freeze, but I need something to save my brains from being beaten out against the old iron. Anyhow, I am nervously remembering and exulting over my first experience of my first night of hobo life. And that is everything I can remember to this day of the state of Indiana. I did view the Wabash, but being a poor judge of distance on railroads, believed it the Illinois, and sighed for the cleanliness of its cool waters, by now feeling condemned forever to this foul black hearse-like transport hurtling at a break-neck speed across the clear green earth.

When I leave my den once more, we're all awake, bleary-eyed. My hair is curled by the slip-stream, cinder-matted, and my face is a dark-red. Winking the hot, biting cinders from my eyes, I watch the sun rising. We are running north now, before making our westing for St. Louis, into the heart of the Illinois corn lands. There is a reddish glow and then a gigantic ball above the unbroken plain of corn. The earth is perfectly flat, and north and south and east and west over it, extending to all the horizons without a break, is that light-green dew-suffused color of the ripening crop. The hook-nosed old foreigner, who is roaming to Boulder Dam in quest of work, screams above the volleying rails, "This is a free country! What'll you order for breakfast?" I ought to eat heartily, I think, and request a honey-dew melon, and ham and eggs and biscuits and marmalade. It is just as well that Tex and Ben, grinning unknowingly at the far side of the gondola, cannot hear me. The old fellow laughs and shrills, "This is a free country, eat every thing you want!" My brain filled with that painful clarity that results from lack of sleep, my body dirty, and my stomach vacant, I still perch on a pipe and try to sing, happy to be galloping westward.

HARGIS WESTERFIELD

Hunger Fighters in Washington

NEWS that the Hunger Marchers were pressing on toward Washington despite every effort to "discourage" them on the route seemed to give the Capital authorities and press a severe case of the "jitters," which became more pronounced as the eight columns converged on their goal. On Sunday, when the Marchers were due, almost every policeman on the force was mobilized to receive them, and we were left with firemen to direct traffic and walk beats. It was a splendid opportunity for some enterprising bank robber.

Armed with a press pass which enabled me to enter the police lines, I went Monday morning to New York Avenue, the improvised prison-camp into which the Marchers had been ingeniously maneuvered by the police. I wanted to find out just who these Marchers were and what they were doing. I learned more than I had come for.

Elaborate preparations had been made by the authorities, giving the impression of an armed camp ready for battle. Hundreds of police were massed across the road which led to the Capital. A gas squad, armed with tear gas bombs, and other weapons containing a new nauseating gas, carefully deployed with the wind blowing toward camp, stood menacingly on the high bluff which overlooked the camp. Other police were being held in readiness, and, so the citizens of Washington were assured, 4000 National Guardsmen could be brought to the spot in twenty minutes. The cry of "Wolf!" had been raised, and the police were ready to produce one, even if it required inciting a riot.

I stood near a truck from Worcester, Massachusetts, which was at the head of the Eastern Column, and nearest the police line. It was late in the afternoon, but groups of marchers were lying here and there, resting on the concrete roadway, trying to sleep. It had been cold Sunday night, and the stretch of road where the columns were halted offered no shelter from the wind. Some of the men and women had marched back and forth all night in a vain attempt to keep warm. As I watched, one of these moving groups neared the police lines. A warmly-clad officer clenched his baton and cursed them:

"Come on, you yellow bastards. Try and break through." There were catcalls and jeers from the police. Insulting remarks were made about the women in the group, and one cop used a rubber toy to blow a derisive cheer.

I walked along the row of trucks and cars; they were parked in a double line. The Eastern columns faced down the road toward the Capital; the Western groups, which had entered the District at another point, had been led by police to the improvised camp in such a way that their cars headed away from the city. It was difficult to estimate the number of marchers, for many were sleeping in the trucks, and meetings were being held in the larger ones. Almost every one wore the red armband which signified a regularly elected delegate.

The marchers were of no single type. There were old men, tired, and many of them ill; there were many women, perhaps six hundred in the entire group, Negro and white, young and old; there were plenty of middle-aged men and women, but youth, and the spirit of youth was dominant. There were students in the group, too. I met one from Columbus, Ohio, and several from Chicago. Some were just boys and girls in their late teens. They sang, shouted, marched, and danced to the fragile music of the harmonica. But beneath it all one could sense a grim seriousness, the seriousness of those who realize who they are and what they want.

I stopped at the truck "Chicago—Number Fourteen."

There were many young marchers in the group, some reading, some sleeping, but most of them talking in twos and threes. I inquired about Walter Quinn, a school friend from Chicago; I identified myself and was welcomed.

Almost everyone had a cold. They had been on the road more than a week, had slept in the open, had received little food, but all felt that the first victory had been won.

"We got here, didn't we? They tried to stop us. They refused us food, or gave us slop, but our friends and comrades in the cities helped us. We had trouble in Winchester, in Virginia, and they tried to scare us in Cumberland, but we're here. That's something. It isn't going to end all our troubles, when we get the fifty dollars relief, but it will help us live through the winter. We're parading tomorrow and presenting our petitions to Congress."

Late Monday afternoon, news came that the two legal appeals to circumvent the police interference had been unsuccessful. Hearings on an injunction against the police, so that a parade might be held *Tuesday*, and on a writ of *habeas corpus* for Anna Burlak, one of the march leaders, (which would have permitted all the marchers to go about the city freely) were both postponed until *Wednesday*.

"It's an old trick, comrades," the truck captain of the Chicago group was speaking. "The courts stand side by side with the cops, against us. But we'll march tomorrow!"

About eleven o'clock taxicabs came to take out a number of sick and exhausted marchers for whom lodgings had been provided in the homes of Washington residents. As the cabs rolled through the police lines, the occupants were roundly cursed, and many tires were punctured with ice-picks and knives. Each cab was accompanied by a motorcycle cop, presumably to see to it that the sick marchers were rushed to bed immediately, and not permitted to endanger their health any further by traipsing around the streets of Washington.

One cab came back with its escort who reported that the address to which the cab had gone was a vacant house. He had not permitted the marchers to alight or taken the trouble to find out whether they had permission to use the vacant home. In a moment the cab was surrounded by policemen. In it were eight men, three of them Negroes, all of them sick.

"Come out of there, you lousy white trash!" shouted a cop. "Travelling around with niggers, are you? Trying to get out, you bastards? Get back where you belong." The men were dragged out of the car, searched, and thrown back into the camp.

I saw no actual drinking Monday, although the police actions are difficult to explain, except as those of drunkards, or deliberate *provocateurs*, or perhaps, both. I was assured by the Marchers that liquor flowed freely among the police on the cold Sunday night when the first columns arrived. (A Senator made the same charges before Congress later in the week).

Food was brought to the camp in a large truck from New York. On its sides were large signs demanding unemployment insurance and relief. As the truck passed, large gashes were made in the sign cloth by police batons, and the driver was cursed and abused.

I watched the distribution of food Monday night. Stations were established under street lights, one for each column. Each marcher had only a tin cup which had to be used for everything, stew, coffee, and drinking water. Washing was out of the question in a prison-camp which lacked any sort of sanitary facilities, so that water had to be carted into camp in empty gasoline tins. Long lines gathered quick-

ly, and the marchers were served in rapid but orderly fashion, in striking contrast to the police who milled and crowded around a well-supplied commissary. The food supply of Column Six was exhausted before the end of the line was reached. There were few protests and the hungry men and women walked slowly back to their trucks. One fellow, however, came up to the man who had been ladling out the food and complained.

"Ain't there anything left? I'm hungry."

"Comrade," came the slow answer, "I haven't eaten today myself."

I was at the camp early Tuesday morning and learned that the police had issued a permit to parade. There was little doubt from the rising temper of the group the night before that an attempt would be made to break through the line if no permit were issued. It was this unwavering resolution on the part of the marchers which must have decided the police officials. The marchers were exultant. Another victory!

The parade itself was uneventful, and grimly impressive. There were many newsreel cameras and hundreds of photographers. The pictures of the parade have been shown in theatres, everywhere, and despite the newsreel distortions, further description is unnecessary. Certainly there was at least one uniformed policeman for every three marchers, and god knows how many plainclothesmen in the ranks of the marchers. Delegations presented petitions to Garner and Curtis; unemployed marine workers presented their demands to the Shipping Board.

Tuesday night, the Eastern Columns broke camp and headed for Baltimore. Wednesday noon, the Southern and Western Columns were gone. Wednesday night, traffic flowed along New York Avenue as usual, and, except for those in hospitals, the Second National Hunger Marchers were gone. But the rumbling trucks left echoes that all the debates in Congress will be unable to drown out.

STANLEY WARNER.

Communications

To the Editor:

Please find my check for one dollar enclosed herewith, for which put me down for a year's subscription to *Student Review* to include the October and November numbers, if you have them on hand. While I am not, technically, a student, but rather a teacher—Yale '90—a somewhat "seasoned" youth, I have not thus far seen a magazine (outside the Soviet publications) of such clarity, intelligence, or stimulating power as *Student Review*. I am in touch with N.S.L. branches in California—thru them I have but recently discovered your magazine. Having a sociology class in Menlo Junior College, I hope to interest its members in the N.S.L. and the magazine.

Menlo Park, California. WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN.

To the Editor:

Exposing the conditions under which they are compelled to work, and calling for the organization of a union, a group of workers and student-workers at Columbia University have been issuing a bulletin called the *Campus Worker*.

At this campus where over one thousand students are employed, as electricians, carpenters, office-workers, librarians, painters, foodworkers, and chambermaids, a wage-cut drive, ranging from 8% to 50%, has been made.

Since 1929, the administration has carried out a policy of wage reduction towards starvation levels. Facts speak for themselves:

FOR WORKERS	NOVEMBER, 1932 — 15%
SUMMER, 1931 — Regular	to 20% wage cut.
Summer wages stopped. Six	
weeks vacation with one	
week's pay.	FOR HIGH OFFICIALS
DECEMBER, 1931-1932—	\$12,500—Public Ceremonies
Christmas holidays. No pay.	20,000—President's Fund.
JANUARY, 1932—5% to	2,668—President's House
10% wage cut.	furnishings.
SUMMER, 1932—6 weeks	36,533—President's Reserve
vacation, with four to eight	Fund.
days pay.	5,000—Special Convocation.

When the Food Workers Industrial Union issued a leaflet to the student-workers, exposing the wage reduction, and

calling on them to organize, the authorities became worried. They issued statements to the metropolitan press and to *Spectator*, the school paper, to the effect that "no wage cut was contemplated." They told the workers not to listen to "outsiders," declared that the union "does not know what it is talking about . . . The union is lying . . ." Exactly one month later, a 15% to 20% wage cut was put through.

Recently the authorities announced that Furnald Hall, a student dormitory, was to be closed; the workers were to be thrown into the street. As a result of the immediate action of the Social Problems Club in making the situation clear to the student body, this decision was changed; Furnald Hall remains open for the rest of the year.

Jim-crowism also plays its role at Columbia University. In dining halls where Negro workers are employed, they are compelled to eat in the locker-room, although white workers are permitted to eat in the dining room. In attempting to intimidate the workers, stool-pigeons have been placed in many departments to spy on the organized workers.

Under the guidance of Leo Wolman, Professor of Economics at Columbia University, the Gibson Committee has been set up on the campus to find efficient ways to get "voluntary" contributions from workers. As a result of the exposure of this committee by the *Campus Worker*, the committee has not dared to ask for funds from those places where wage cuts have already taken place. But in the John Jay dining halls, where no wage cuts have been made yet, the Gibson Committee has forced contributions from the workers.

Most students think that working conditions in educational institutions are of the best. Here is an opportunity for concrete activity by the National Student League. Working conditions should be investigated and exposed by N.S.L. groups in their respective colleges. It is up to the students to support the struggles of the workers on each campus.

New York City

SYLVIA BROOKS.

To the Editor:

The reason you haven't been seeing the *China Forum* around is not because of financial matters (it is obviously more important and useful that the National Student League get the *Forum* than it is for me to get a couple of dollars) but because the *Forum* has been suspended since

the end of August. The failure of our communications is only a compliment to the efficiency with which the postal censors are supervising my mail.

They finally managed to quash the *Forum* not by any legal means but by illegally arresting and intimidating printers. By a lot of buttonholing I managed to scrape together enough to buy a small press and a few hundred pounds of type and I will shortly resume printing. The paper will necessarily be smaller and somewhat different but at any rate it will be back in the swim again for better or for worse. It should appear before the end of this month and will henceforth contain far more student material than in the past which I hope will be of use and interest to you. I shall also be only too willing to effect any contacts possible between yourselves and our Chinese student organizations . . . altho you must understand that this may take a bit of time, as these things necessarily do in China under present circumstances.

As I hope to outline for you in a comprehensive article a bit later on, the actual left student organizations, such as they are, are organizationally weak. The chief problem is the strengthening and consolidation of the left wing within existing student associations. Along this path, our Chinese students have yet far to go. The student movement of 1931 with its sporadic revivals during the past year very clearly reflected this condition. Within the student organizations—and often dominating them, are various groupings of Kuomintang students, so-called “Fascists” (i.e. followers of the military dictatorship who like to call themselves Fascists without understanding what the term means) and then the more dangerous to the left, “Reorganizationists” (left wing Ktg-Wang Ching-wei followers, so-called or would be Social Democrats, Trotskyists, and “Third Party”—another Kuomintang offshoot). Against this maze of conflicting cliques and reactionary ideology, the clear revolutionary students, Communists, comparatively few in number, have yet to wage a tremendous struggle. They will undoubtedly profit from contact with you and I will try to get your publication to the places where it will do most good.

When the *Forum* resumes, there will be difficulties with the post, since it is officially banned and the bastards have eagle eyes . . . however, it will get out one way or another.

The best of luck and greetings to your organization . . . it will be good to hear from you in America.

Shanghai, China.

HAROLD R. ISAACS

EDITOR'S NOTE: Readers who wish to communicate with Isaacs may do so by addressing him care of the National Office, 13 West 17 St., N. Y. C. A five-cent stamp must be enclosed for forwarding the letter to China.

Dear Comrades:

First of all, allow us to send you our fiery proletarian greetings from the country of Soviets. We wish to have regular correspondence with you, so as to make you acquainted with our work, with the great socialist construction, with our life in general, and to find out in our turn, how you live in America.

We are all students of the Nizhny-Novgorod Pedagogic Institute, members of the Young Communist League. Before 1917 the universities were not for us. Only privileged classes were admitted there. At present, however, the doors of the universities and higher schools are wide open for the workers and peasants.

Seventy percent of workers and peasants from the collective farms have been admitted to our institute this year. They are all receiving stipends amounting to 70 roubles per

Letters need not be in accord with editorial policy to be published. *Student Review* welcomes criticism of its articles and editorials. Communications must be to the point and should be less than 300 words.

month, and living quarters as well. School-books are given gratis by our cabinets.

Simultaneously with the theoretic courses in the University, we work in factories and mills one to two months every year, where we become acquainted with the working processes, learn organization of production and how to apply our theoretical knowledge to practical work.

An automobile factory is being constructed 8 versts from Nizhny-Novgorod, about which you have probably read in your newspapers. Its annual output will be 150 thousand freight and passenger cars. Taking this into consideration our Institute organized two *Subbotniks** to assist the automobile factory to carry out its construction program in good time. About 1,000 students have taken part in the *subbotniks*.

Our work is closely bound up with the industrial work in general. We conduct cultural-educational work at the factories. We also help the factory organizations to fulfill their industrial-financial plan in the set time.

Our Institute is divided into groups, each of which has signed an agreement for socialist competition. This stimulates us to raise the quality of our work, fulfill our program in due time and to increase our discipline. More advanced students assist their comrades who are somewhat behind the program. Very few students remain for a second year in the same class.

We live in dormitories and have our meals collectively. For this purpose we have organized an industrial-students commune, to which we pay 25 roubles monthly.

We visit theatres and moving pictures collectively. Everyone of us subscribes for newspapers and reads them thoroughly.

Well, dear comrades, good-bye.

Write us about your life and your work. We await your reply.

(Signed) Kuprianov, Karakhanov, Romanov, Panfilov, Trostov, Guryanov, Bochkov, Ovchinnikov.

To the Editor:

The Film Forum is a society organized to show its membership unusual, experimental, and important motion pictures that are now neglected because they discuss war, satirical pictures, and newsreels. Its programs will include pictures of keen social and cinematographic importance—pictures that are now neglected because they discuss war, satirize religion or comment on social problems.

Typical feature films will be *Kuhle Wampe* (Hooverville) a German story of an unemployed and evicted family; *Ivan* an epic of the construction at Dneprostroy, directed by Dovshenko; *Festival of St. Jorgen*, a Russian farce satirizing religious superstition.

The Film Forum offers students a special membership at three dollars and fifty cents, which carries with it all the privileges accorded the five-dollar membership. Student members are entitled to attend six programs this winter, on Sunday afternoons, in the auditorium of the New School for Social Research. The first screening will be held on

* Subbotnik is a day (deriving its name from the word subotta—Saturday) set aside for manual labor done gratis in order to assist some Government institution or organization in its daily task.

January 22. Late subscribers who miss the first film will be able to attend a special seventh showing.

The Film Forum hopes to encourage projects for making similar pictures in this country, and dedicates all proceeds above expenses to such enterprises, notably to workers' news-reel organizations.

Students interested in the plan may obtain more information from The Film Forum, 125 West 45 Street, Bryant 9-3023, or from the office of the National Student League.

MARGARET LARKIN.

To the Editor:

The political and social thinking of American students has undergone extreme changes in recent years. Perhaps the most significant change is the fact that students are thinking and acting at all.

Despite the political clarification which has resulted from this upsurge of social consciousness, there still remains among students, as among other bodies of intellectuals, endless confusion concerning the role of art in society and the nature of social expression in art.

Too many students and other intellectuals who protagonize the political concepts of Karl Marx still cling to the artistic credos of Samuel Rothafel, known to his less intimate friends as "Roxy." Too many students are impressed simultaneously by the correctness of the law of surplus value and by the wedding-cake architecture of Radio City.

In other words, while they have freed themselves from academic, apologist notions in sociology they have not yet become critical of the concomitant ideas in art and in the whole body of culture.

For this reason, it seems to me, students should be especially interested in the exhibition of painting, drawing and sculpture which will be current in the John Reed Club gallery, 450 Sixth Avenue, from January 26 to February 16. The exhibition, under the general title of "The Social Viewpoint

in Art" is arranged by the Artists' Group of the Club. It should help clarify the confusion of which I speak.

Widely divergent social viewpoints and modes of expression will be represented in the show. Among those whose work will be on display are Jose Clemente Orozco, the Mexican muralist, Thomas Benton, William Zorach, Adolf Wolf, one of the earliest American cubists, "Pop" Hart, Edward Lanning, Boardman Robinson, and John Stewart Curry. The strictly revolutionary viewpoint in art will be represented by many artist members of the John Reed Club including Jacob Burck, Hugo Gellert, William Seigel, Anton Refrigier, William Gropper, Sarah Berman, David Dorenz, and Maurice Becker.

The opening night, the only one on which there will be an admission charge, will be devoted to a discussion of "The Social Viewpoint in Art" led by Thomas Craven, well-known liberal art critic.

New York City.

WALTER QUIRT, secretary,
Artists' Group, John Reed Club.

To the Editor:

Bishop Brown has asked me to say that he greatly appreciates the honor conferred upon him by the National Student League in making him an honorary member of the organization and to add that he regards it as one of the most important movements looking towards a better world.

The Bishop wants me to find out from you how he and Mrs. Brown can help most with their books. They are able and willing to send full sets of them to the libraries of the several organizations. If you will send me the list of these societies we will send the sets direct or if you desire we will send them to you and you can forward them. The literature will be free, carriage prepaid.

With every good wish for you and all the students connected with the League from Bishop and Mrs. Brown, I am,

Very cordially yours,

CLARA B. MANZER, Secretary.

Brownella Cottage,
Galion, Ohio.

To the Editor:

In perusing your extremely interesting organ of opinion, I have been enlightened and occasionally surprised by this evidence of left-wing student activity.

However, I have a few practical suggestions to make. If these suggestions are not adopted, I should at least like to see them treated and discussed in a serious manner. The suggestions are: First, that a profit and loss statement and a balance sheet be issued at least once a year through the medium of the *Student Review*; Second, that a list of high schools and colleges (classified on geographic, economic, and social bases) in which there are National Student League branches also be published annually in *Student Review*.

The first suggestion has obvious advantages, the second is advantageous in that it will possibly point out areas in which the N. S. L. branches are strong and others in which they are very weak or non-existent. These latter can be studied and analyzed more intensively when such statistics are available.

Of course, students of the labor movement in this country could probably point out areas where the N. S. L. would be strong and others where it would be weak, on the basis of existing knowledge of social strains and stresses. Nevertheless, the figures themselves are invaluable since accurate knowledge is better than a guess, no matter how good the guess is. . . .

Buffalo, N. Y.

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Books on Review

LIBERALISM IN THE SOUTH, by *Virginus Dabney*. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

THE ERA OF THE MUCKRAKERS, by *C. C. Regier*. University of North Carolina Press. \$2.50.

The pathetic state of the liberal in modern civilization is no new phenomenon. The liberal has always been, and, if an analysis of his role in American history proves anything at all, will always be in a mighty pathetic state. In all probability he will arouse increasing commiseration with the years. His position in society is becoming more awkward and embarrassing each day. By those who are struggling for a new social order he is denounced as an "agent provocateur of capitalism," while conservatives treat him as a "Bolshevik masquerading in a rented dress suit."

These two new volumes alone, *Liberalism in the South* and the *Era of the Muckrakers*, contain ample proof that the American liberal's pathetic case is an old story. Between and in the lines of these books is splendid testimony of the utter futility, the absolute failure of the liberal. With all his good intentions and sometimes admirable sincerity, the liberal, perhaps more than any other single factor in this country, has tended to encourage the growth of reactionary policies and measures; he has even justified the trend toward fascism. His well-meaning sweetness has blinded him to the direction of the very forces which he was seeking to improve. He has been critical of things as they were, as Harold Stearns points out, only until it became uncomfortable to be so. He has not been able to stand the gaff. He has jumped on the bandwagon every time it came by. When asked for a clear and determined answer to the American tragedy, he has shied off, blubbery rhetoric that muddled not only himself, but, unfortunately, others as well. He has pleaded for improvement, for amelioration—that was all he desired. What fights he did engage in, if fights they could be called, were in behalf of the petty bourgeoisie. He was, of course, able to gain certain concessions which contented him for a time—the Federal Reserve System, pure food legislation, direct election of Senators. The roots of his convictions have never been deep in the soil of fundamental change.

Dabney's study of *Liberalism in the South* contains a great deal of valuable material which is not on the surface, but which an observant reader can easily detect. It is not what the author actually says, but what he forgets that is most revealing. He tries to make a convincing case for liberalism in the South and so, of course, takes care not to mention what is reactionary. He examines the liberal movement in the fields of politics, education, religion, race relations, industry, literature, journalism, and women's rights over a period of more than a century and a half. The most convincing, or rather the least unconvincing study, is in the field of feminism. Dabney is right proud of the glory and respect which women have enjoyed in the South—at least in the upper social strata.

Encouraging signs of liberalism in the Southern colleges are observed by the author. This despite the fact that their backgrounds would hardly warrant such a statement. There is probably less liberalism in the Southern colleges than anywhere else in the country. In their travels throughout the South last summer, Edmund Stevens of Columbia University, and Gabriel Carritt, an Oxford graduate, found little liberalism in the college administrations. They found students living under the yoke of military discipline, room inspection, parading to meals, compulsory chapel, compulsory R.O.T.C.; they found the Negro student held down under revolting conditions. The painful incidents of "trucking to mass pre-

judices in the discipline of faculty members who have uttered displeasing opinions" as admitted in *Liberalism in the South* still go on.

The genesis of *The Era of the Muckrakers* casts a compromising light on the truckling of the University of North Carolina Press to commercialism, and on the fate of dissertations even as important as this book. Originally written as a thesis in 1922, it was relegated to academic ignominy. But when interests in the muckraking era was awakened last year by Lincoln Steffens' autobiography, the Press saw an opportunity to publish a book that might be financially profitable. The book was rewritten, pepped up; a timely chapter was inserted; and it was brought forth with much ado.

The futility of the popular liberal notion that all that is needed to correct the evils of the social order is to expose them, is unconsciously made quite obvious in the final chapter of *The Era of the Muckrakers*, when the author makes a plea for more exposure. In admiring phrases, he notes that muckraking led to certain reforms, even led the Rockefellers to memorize the Golden Rule. On this basis, he thinks that more muckraking would bring about some nice reforms, even bring back prosperity. He does not seem to realize that the very reforms which came as a result of Steffens', Baker's, and Tarbell's sensational exposures not only have been of little value but are today at the very root of the rottenness of capitalism, which he "deplores."

There is plenty of muckraking of one sort or another going on today. But to what end? The Seabury investigation, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and the *World-Telegram* expose Tammany Hall. But Tammany Hall has just been reelected to office. *Washington Merry-Go-Round* and the *American Mercury* print enough evidence to press criminal charges against our government officials, yet the same gang under a different name is given a chance to go on. Norman Thomas mouths a lot of radical phrases, calls the capitalists naughty names, and then collaborates with Gifford and Morgan to fight the depression. M. B. SCHNAPPER.

●
A PICTURE OF AMERICA, by *Charles Cross*. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1932. \$1.50.

In "A Picture of America," Charles Cross has given us a graphic record of the capitalist system, without bias. It is a textbook of economics for the average reader, similar to Ilin's "Primer of Modern Russia," with less humor, and more facts. It is a story told with many interesting charts and many more photos. Starting with pictures of contrast, huge farms and breadlines, labor-saving devices and men looking for work, Cross analyzes the processes whereby food, clothing, and shelter, man's basic needs, are supplied. We see raw materials grown, then the making of goods in factories and mills, then the passage of goods from factory to buyer and finally to the consumer.

His form of analysis is extremely effective because it is simple, logical and never technical. Besides, the double illustrations, through statistics and photographs, add reality. It is significant that he never blames the capitalists, nor even mentions them by name. By avoidance of the points of friction between capital and labor, he succeeds, no doubt, in winning the sympathy of readers who might otherwise sniff suspiciously at his economic views.

In the latter half of the book, Cross describes America as it might become by the creation of a new economic machine, the balance between the consuming and producing forces in America planned by economists and sociologists. There is the existing order, Capitalism, which he has repudiated be-

cause it is based on profit. Fascism he casts aside, because it only entails misery; and Communism he discards as the end of Fascism, "armed and bloody dictatorship of the people. Who is not for the people is against them." Such a ludicrous statement is a contradiction in itself, let alone the fact that in the last paragraph of his book he says, "We may turn our thoughts toward that true government of people, for the people, by the people, that state created by socialism. . . ." He praises the Five-Year Plan as the most significant experiment in human history, but objects to the fact that it arises "out of bloodshed and violence." As soon as the majority of the people want Socialism, Cross believes it will come "peacefully, as a matter of course." Until then, he is content to sit and wait, hopefully.

As an economist, Cross is a good teacher, as a political economist he is a visionary, as a photographer, he is a good news-cameraman. A Socialist, his blind spot is in his failure to see the impossibility of establishing the Socialist State through legislation under a capitalist government. But the book is an extremely valuable record and explanation of capitalism, and one which will do much to persuade the average reader of the waste and permanent insecurity inherent in that system.

NANCY NAUMBERG.

●
GEORGIA NIGGER, by John L. Spivak. Brewer, Warren and Putnam, New York. \$2.50.

Georgia Nigger is the story of the unending torture and terrorism that support the system of peonage and enforced labor among southern negroes now. The book has been praised as a powerful record; its appeal demands attention. Cruelties are repeated until one would imagine the sadism of any planter who needed pickers satisfied by horror. Mr. Spivak explains that he has incorporated his facts in fiction because the sociological and penological studies of Southern cropper and chain-gang conditions are so little known; that Georgia need not have been singled out among the Southern states for condemnation; and he has backed up the incidents in his novel by copies of convicts' letters and death certificates and by pictures of brutalities whose existence brings one section of our civilization to the level of medieval inquisitorial persecution.

A Negro lad, David, is pushed into the chain-gang for a petty misdemeanor, is released after he has done his time building State roads, and returns to the home of his cropper parents. His freedom is only technical; for the richest white planter in the county has a habit of making forays on the town during the picking season, and arranging with the sheriff that the strongest of the Negro cotton-pickers be arrested. After that, it is an easy step to bail them out as an advance on their first month's pay on his plantation, and run up bills and interest. Working under these terms means life conscription under an armed guard for any Negro who welcomes the appearance of a benevolent planter offering to put up bail. But even such peonage is preferable to the tor-

tures the Negro knows are awaiting him on the chain-gang.

The tortures are fantastic, bone and muscle-breaking affairs of loaded-down ankles, stocks in which the prisoner hangs for hours by wrists and ankles, suspended above the ground; racks that stretch the shoulders and hips to dislocation; and these for being "impudent", for giving the guard "a wicked look." These, however, are irregular miseries; the daily life, with its heat, infections, and filth, is a background of perpetual anguish. And escape from a gang or a plantation would mean death in the swamps, on the road, repetition of cruelty in another county, or being hauled back, as one of Spivak's characters is, to be shot down by the infuriated planter.

The Maillefert case in Florida has pointed the argument of Spivak's book. But it does not need one more case to augment its force, the grinding cruelty that crushes the dependent Negro worker and prisoner and the savagery of a mock freedom. The only hint that these oppressed have the power to do something about their condition is expressed in the thought of the planter who helps David:

" . . . A nigger (Spivak uses the white corruption of the word) in the hands of the whites, the black South needed for the planting and the reaping, and these whites were driving him away. Those two black hands planted the fields and garnered the harvest, built the roads and the mills, raised Georgia from a wilderness. Upon that back the South had built its civilization. There was strength in that nigger, strength to destroy what he carried on his back and these money-grubbing, nigger-trapping whites were too short-sighted to see where they were driving him.

" 'That nigra doesn't know his own strength,' he thought."

The facts in *Georgia Nigger* are not drawn to a conclusion in the book; readers should understand the forces which have led the planters to terrorize Negroes to slave for them in virtual peonage. Thinking readers will see the economic implications extending beyond regional and occupational boundaries, and repudiate the false "Emancipation" of the Negro worker.

M. R.

About Our Contributors

NATHANIEL WEYL, formerly of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Socialist Party, is now a member of the National Student League. He is a graduate student in philosophy at Columbia University.

GEORGE WRIGHT was one of the leaders of the strike at Commonwealth. He is now in New York.

MORRIS B. SCHNAPPER, of the Columbia School of Journalism, is a frequent contributor to Student Review and other radical publications.

J. F. SKELLY is editor of the Pioneer, student newspaper of Cooper Union.

STANLEY WARNER is a graduate student in a Washington, D. C. university.

NATHAN SOLOMON, until recently Organizational Secretary of the National Student League, is now Secretary of the High School Section.

HOWARD STONE is the pseudonym of a delegate to the Student Congress from the University of Chicago.

HARGIS WESTERFIELD is a student at the University of Cincinnati. He was the only native Kentuckian on the student trip to Harlan.

HAROLD LUXEMBERG, a prominent L. I. D. member at Columbia, is on the Resident Bureau of the Student Committee for the Struggle Against War.

FLORENCE SACHNOFF is now studying at the Art Students League.

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Class Struggles.