

STUDENT REVIEW

APRIL, 1934

TEN CENTS

EXPOSING MR. EASLEY

By JOSEPH COHEN

*An Answer by the Executive Secretary of the
National Student League to the Articles in
the Hearst Syndicate.*

"THE CONFUSION OF THE CHIEFS"

By THEODORE DRAPER

*A Reply to Jef Rens, Secretary of the Inter-
national Socialist Student Federation.*

FOR PHI SIGMA DELTA

By ROBERT GESSNER

STRIKE AGAINST WAR — APRIL 13

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CONTENTS:

Exposing Mr. Easley	Page 6
By Joseph Cohen	
For Phi Sigma Delta	Page 8
By Robert Gessner	
New England Against War	Page 9
By Madeline Brennan	
Tiger! Tiger!	Page 11
By Arthur French	
"The Confusion of the Chiefs"	Page 14
By Theodore Draper	
The Cuban Student Movement	Page 18
By Walter Relis	
"N.S.L. Seizes Control	Page 19
By Wilfred Mendelsohn	
Dollfuss in Oregon	Page 21
By Albert Friedman	

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Open Letter

STUDENT REVIEW has again skipped an issue. The fact speaks for itself. It wasn't for lack of material. An issue was fully prepared weeks ago. Not that there wasn't need for it. With Student Anti-War Week from April 6 to 13 fast approaching Student Review was needed more than ever. It was simply because we didn't have the money. The present situation is intolerable. There is no sense in having a publication that appears at irregular and distant intervals. The N. S. L. needs a monthly publication that will appear once a month. It can be done very easily if . . .

1. Every reader and friend of Student Review immediately subscribes to Student Review and gets his fellow students and professors to subscribe;

2. Every N. S. L. chapter pays up immediately for all back issues of Student Review;

3. Every N. S. L. chapter pays up for this issue and every other one after it within two weeks after receipt;

4. Every N. S. L. chapter within two weeks after receiving this issue arranges parties, dances and other affairs for the benefit of Student Review.

Above all do not do these things simply because we are asking you to do them. Do them because you need Student Review.

We want those readers of Student Review who help us to write in and make criticisms and suggestions. We want every chapter that arranges an affair for Student Review to conduct a discussion about the Review, to suggest changes and new features. We want letters, contributions, criticisms. If this emergency makes every reader of Student Review conscious of the fact that the Review is his magazine and that it needs help, then such an emergency need never arise again.

EPH COHEN, Executive Secretary, N.S.L.

M LAPIN, Editor, Student Review

Comment

FOR a brief moment it seemed as if the country would be swept by a series of strikes in the basic industries. The longshoremen on the west coast threatened to tie up practically the whole Oriental trade. At the height of the season, the automobile workers were ready to strike for union recognition and a living wage. The railroad workers were up in arms against an additional cut in an already pitiful wage scale. Then President Roosevelt stepped in with his bright smile and silken tongue. He sent the longshoremen a presidential telegram. He wearied the railroad men with interminable negotiations. He offered the auto workers a long and dignified document which gave them nothing, neither increase in wages nor recognition of the union. Instead, the company union in the field is given what amounts to official status. In the case of the auto workers, the American Federation of Labor correctly played the role of the "labor lieutenants of capital." It capitulated without a struggle before an agreement which made every conservative paper in the country feel that an indiscretion had been committed. The only strike that continued undismayed by the disapproval of the press and "public opinion" was the taxi strike in New York. This was the second taxi strike in a month. They have learned that workers must fight for an agreement first and a return to work later. Altogether, it seems unlikely that telegrams, speeches and stereotyped smiles can long halt the growing militant dissatisfaction with the National Run-Around and the New Drivel.

The New York students helped the striking taxi-workers considerably. There was picketing by Hunter girls of the Parmelee garages; there were extensive collections for the strike-fund in Columbia and New York University.

Students must continue doing what they can. There is the humble but not unimportant work of picketing, collecting relief, helping at meetings for strikes. These things we can do and do better and more frequently in the future than in the past.

Our solidarity with the American working class must not be of the slumming variety. Not an exciting excursion among the "depressed classes," but the straight forward, unassuming unity on the picket line and in the strike hall.

The student body in the prosecution of any of its own struggle faces the same bitter police club as the striking worker. And the same forces of reaction, war, and fascism that challenge the worker, confront the student, not only as student, but as a future productive member of society.

THE February Student Review ran a symposium on the National Conference of Students in Politics held in Washington this past Christmas. Undoubtedly, enough has been written and said on the lessons and experiences of the Conference proper. One other phase of its history is extremely interesting: the work of the Continuations Committee. The first Committee meeting was held in New York about two weeks after the Conference. Five organizations out of the original eleven participating, sent representatives: the Student League for Industrial Democracy, Young America, the Y.M.C.A., the National Student Federation and the National Student League.

The meeting was long and bitter due to the fact that none of the organizations except the N.S.L. thought that anything had been decided by the Conference.

The crucial point at this meeting was a motion by the National Student League that the program adopted in Washington, the preamble of which called for opposition to R.O.T.C., retrenchment in education and Negro discrimination, be the basis for the Committee's activity. The motion was defeated, 3-1. Only the N.S.L. supported the motion. The Student League for Industrial Democracy, in the person of Miss Ann Caples, took five minutes to decide and then decided to abstain. Also, it was at this meeting that Mr. Selden Rodman, that indigenous revolutionist from Young America, proposed that all deliberations and discussions of the Continuations Committee be kept a dead secret; he wanted a gentleman's agreement that no one be "attacked" for anything said or done at such meetings. Finally, all the participating organizations were instructed to deliberate on four alternative perspectives, one of which was dissolution, and then to vote at the Committee's very next meeting. Two weeks later, only four representatives showed up. They waited for an hour and left. Since then, there have been no more meetings and the Committee has expired.

Would it be impertinent to recall some remarks by Mr. Lash, writing for the Student L.I.D. in the symposium? We yield to the temptation. In regard to the insistence of the N.S.L. that the Conference affiliate to the American League Against War and Fascism, Mr. Lash wrote that "possibly it was a deliberate desire on the part of the N.S.L. to kill continuations work, because of the disbelief in its value." How does this square with the action of his own organization in abstaining from, and the action of the N.S.L. in supporting, the only motion which was ever offered for continuations work?

IN the *Nation* of March 28th, Oswald Garrison Villard, the old Bolshevik, says that "somebody ought to call President Roosevelt's attention to the dire distress of so many of our schools of higher learning." Well, we hereby call the President's attention to the dire distress of so many of the custodians of the higher learning too. We take our facts from the latest *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors. In a report by the Committee on the Economic Condition of the Profession, Sumner H. Slichter, chairman, it is revealed how severely the crisis has cut into the wage scales and employment of our university teachers. The fundamental fact is that the year 1933-34 was much worse than 1932-33. Ninety-six out of 136 institutions studied by the United States Office of Education cut the salary scale of 1933-34 below the scale of 1932-33.

"Unfortunately, a large proportion of the institutions not making cuts have avoided them by making staff reductions." Last year, more than one-third of the slashes were less than 10 per cent. This year only one-eighth are less than 10 per cent. Last year, more than one-half of the reductions were graduated so that men receiving higher salaries suffered proportionately more than their less affluent associates. This year only one-fifth of the institutions studied have cut on a graduated scale.

The University of North Dakota is cited as a particularly distressing case. Whereas in 1931-32, the President of the University received \$8,000 and house, today he must get along on \$2,500 and house. From instructors to deans, no one gets more than \$2,000; deans \$1,920 and instructors \$1,322. One-half of the men dropped—together 1196—were instructors or assistants. The reason is plain. The Association is itself one of the most callous and calculating vested interests in the country. The two most degrading sentences in the report read. "It is regrettable that organized relief by and for the academic profession has developed little during this crisis. Although architects and engineers have suffered more severely from the depression than the professors, they have made notable contributions to help their unemployed."

The economic screw will turn until the professors will see that capitalism can no longer even insure security to its most important ideological prop. They will live to see the day when the American Association of University Professors will wake up to the facts of life, and accept membership from the benighted instructors and assistants, or crack.

IT is almost three years now that the Scottsboro boys have been harrowed for a crime they never committed. For three years they have been in jail with the threat of death close at hand, with the actual machinery for their execution ready. Yet the State of Alabama has not dared to kill them. And it was such a simple matter to start with. Countless Negro boys have been put to death on similar charges and it was taken for granted by the press and "public opinion." If they were guilty it served them right, if they weren't it taught others a lesson. The situation is quite different now. When the Scottsboro boys are deprived of the candy and cigarettes which friends all over the country send them, workers everywhere are indignant at the petty cruelty. For millions of workers, students and intellectuals throughout the world, the Scottsboro case has become a symbol of the oppression of the Negro people. As never before it has revealed the power and effectiveness of mass protest. For three long years only mass anger and protest have saved the boys from certain death. Now they are again in danger, and two of them have been convicted to death for the third time. The State of Alabama will fight hard before it releases them. Their acquittal will mean that the highest officials of the State of Alabama plead guilty to a vicious frameup. It can be done. The high walls of Kilby prison can be smashed. If enough of us make up our minds and do something about it—THEY SHALL NOT DIE.

Free Angelo Herndon!

"YOU may indict me! You may send me to jail! But there will come thousands of other Angelo Herndons. If you really want to do something about the case you must go out and indict the social system. *this* you will not do for your role is to defend the s... under which the toiling masses are robbed and opp... l..."

—From the testimony of the Angelo Herndon Trial.
January 16, 1933.

He writes in the pamphlet about to be published by the International Labor Defense, "our first successful struggle centered around the case of an aged Negro working woman, with a family of eight who had been evicted from her hut for non-payment of rent. The women of that neighborhood were mobilized, the furniture put back, and a committee was sent to the welfare relief agency to demand the continuation of the meagre relief and enough money to pay rent, which was won."

Herndon continues, "The next case was of two white families which had been refused relief by the relief agencies of the city; a committee of 6 from their neighborhood was elected to go before the relief agencies to demand that they should not only be placed on the lists but given relief as well. . . The spokesman spoke up and told them that they were going to be heard or else some hell would be raised. . . Bright and early the next morning these two families were supplied with slips for groceries."

By the middle of June, 1932, the unemployment situation had reached a climax. "A demonstration was organized before the County Court house. Over a thousand Negro and white workers participated. . ."

There was a tremendous agitation in the town. The workers were beginning to appreciate the value of breaking down race lines. The Chamber of Commerce fumed, and the newspapers were egging the sheriffs to get the organizers of the Unemployed Council.

"On July 4, 1932, I was arrested at the Post Office where I went to get my mail. . . They threatened to electrocute me in a fake electric chair, if I didn't tell them who were the white men doing the work. . ."

"On July 13, the Grand Jury refused to return an indictment against me.

"On July 22, a writ of habeas corpus was filed to force the State to release me, or place definite charges against me. The writ was denied and the State ordered to draw up an indictment. The next day Solicitor Hudson charged me with 'attempting to incite insurrection.'"

Trial was set for September 21, but postponed.

Placed on the calendar for November 28, but postponed.

The trial was finally called on January 16, 1933. The International Labor Defense protested the unconstitutionality of the law on the grounds that, although Negroes constitute one-third of the taxpaying members of the county, no Negroes had ever been called for jury service.

"One of the prosecuting attorneys was the star witness for the State and continually referred to me as 'nigger' and 'darky' until the vigorous objections of the defense were sustained. The only thing he stated with reference to the case was that I admitted membership in the Communist Party."

The State summed up the case with the following speech: "His sole purpose was to foster a Communistic revolution and overthrow the constituted authority of the State of Georgia must not sit idly by while he is organizing his army to assassinate us. . . Gentlemen, stamp out this damnable thing by bringing in a verdict of guilty that will automatically carry with it a penalty of electrocution."

The lily white jury found the defendant guilty as charged, but recommended "mercy" and fixed the sentence from eighteen to twenty years in jail.

An appeal was made to the Supreme Court of Georgia in October, 1933. The Court refused to render a decision, and may do so up until October, 1934.

This is the story of Angelo Herndon, nearly two years in Fulton Tower, Atlanta, sleeping on the hard stone, living with corpses, and eating the most execrable food, all for the crime of having been one of those heroic pioneers who arose in the Deep South to organize white and black together for their immediate demands.

Angelo Herndon is twenty years old, the flower of that southern Negro youth that is waking the whole South with action toward a new social order.

Angelo Herndon, rotting in Fulton Tower, appeals to the white and black youth of America to help him break the grim tentacles of the dungeon, to aid him in the struggle for life and liberty.

Correspond with Herndon yourself, write about your particular neighborhood, your activities and interests. Discuss the problem of the Negro national minority, the role of the student body. Herndon will be glad to answer for contact with the outside world, and a knowledge that the revolutionary movement grows in the United States, is the hope that keeps him alive, even in the dungeon.

Send protests for his immediate release to Governor Eugene Talmadge, Atlanta, Ga., and for better prison treatment to State Prison Commissioner and the Warden of Fulton Tower, Atlanta, Ga.

Negro Students Act

IN two recent instances, Negro students in Washington have displayed outstanding courage, determination and dignity in really stirring attempts to make dramatic the discrimination and injustice to their race. Thirty Howard University students "invaded" the Congressional restaurant where the gentlemen who make our laws satisfy a very primitive urge. When they would not be persuaded to leave quietly, they were unceremoniously thrown out. Word of what happened went around the country and though the color line is no discovery in America, the Congressmen were certainly put on the spot. Representative Blanton from Texas went into action and we are pleased to reprint part of what may well be the most disgraceful exchange this year in the House.

Mr. BLANTON. We have stood with you generously in helping to build up Howard University.

Mr. De PRIEST. Yes; and I expect you to stay with me.

Mr. BLANTON. We have given it more than any white university in the United States.

Mr. De PRIEST. All that is true, and I expect you to keep on doing it, you, especially to help. And while we are talking about Howard University, I might say that personally I am very sorry that those boys came

down here from that university the other day as they did. If they had consulted me I would have told them to stay away from here. . . .

The game is obvious. Blanton gently intimates that Howard will get no more governmental grants if the boys don't cut the foolishness, and settle down to the business of taking it on the chin without resentment. Representative Oscar De Priest, the only Negro Congressman from Chicago, plays his part to the satisfaction of the gentleman from Texas. He knows what Negro discrimination means and what vicious forms it may take. He knows that formerly the House restaurant had a sign "Public Restaurants" and today the sign reads "For Members Only" and that the change was only a subterfuge to keep undeserving Negroes out. But Oscar De Priest does not believe in fighting issues out and though it was wrong for the students to have been ejected, he thinks it was also wrong for them to have forced the attendants to eject them.

The second incident took place at Fisk University. Ishmael Flory, a graduate student in sociology, was

"asked to withdraw" from the University. Flory had previously been active in organizing a protest against the lynching of Cordie Cheek. He was also instrumental in arousing sentiment against the appearance of Fiske students and faculty members in a singing engagement arranged by the administration at a Jim Crow theatre which colored people could enter only through an alley. President Thomas Alva Jones points out that Flory "was neither suspended nor expelled." He has only been "required to withdraw from the university without prejudice to his continuing study elsewhere."

The Flory incident reveals the attitude of Fisk University when its students begin to participate in concrete activities against discrimination and Jim Crow practices in the South.

Negro students have begun to rely more on the strength of their own action than on the diplomacy of such men as De Priest and Jones who have prestige and dignity but little courage and little appetite for struggle. They can count on the support of the National Student League.

Exposing Mr. Easley

THE Tories are in agony again. "National Civic Federation Exposes Startling Plot," "Communists Invading U.S. Schools Sowing Seeds of Revolt." These headlines have been on the first pages of the Hearst syndicate for the past several weeks. Ralph Easley decided to expose the National Student League.

Before the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, a New England divine declared that Jefferson and his partisans were spreading the atheistical, anarchical and in other respects immoral principles of the French Revolution. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, shrieked: "Shall our sons become disciples of Voltaire and the dragoons of Marat, our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati?"

Ralph Easley follows the tradition of American Tories, when he fulminates, "Faced by definitely treasonable Communist activities, the United States Government has not a single secret service agent who can be used, not a dollar which can be spent, on discovering the truth. Laws for our protection against revolutionary activity are inadequate."

"Educational executives are equally handicapped. Few know the extent or nature of the subversive activities within our schools."

Before examining the nature of the startling discoveries made by Mr. Easley it would be well to describe this rabid seeker after truth. From its inception the National Civic Federation has been an organization of the richest bankers and industrialists.

Directors of the U.S. Steel Corporation like Samuel Mather, Robert Bacon; men like Raynal C. Bolling, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers; Albert F. Bernis and John Hays Hammond of the

Executive Committee of the Lackawanna Steel Co., and other corporations have been and are directors of this organization of American plutocracy.

So dangerous a radical as former President Taft resigned from the National Civic Federation because Easley maligned every conceivable kind of peace society in America and abroad. Back in the year 1900, Easley saw a dire menace in the old age pension, socialism, pacifism and the youth movement. Few have escaped the lash of Easley's "startling expose." Included among those who have been attacked are H. G. Wells, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Henry C. McCracken, president of Vassar, Walter Lippmann, Jane Addams, Chas. A. Beard, Owen J. Lovejoy and countless other dangerous "Revolutionists." "Free speech is a nuisance," says Mr. Easley, who can no doubt show documents to demonstrate the link between the Quakers and the Moscow International.

Easley once wrote to Ivy Lee, publicity agent for Standard Oil, and told him he was sorry that under our form of government there can be no Mussolini "to shoot them (the strike leaders), at sight or beat them up as they might deserve or even feed them castor oil."

Ralph Easley has firm moral and ethical principles. One of the men who has co-operated with him in many of his ventures is none other than Gaston Means.

The *Herald Tribune* of September 18, 1917, tells us that Means was an agent of the German government in the United States, supplying Germany with "complete data as to the output, in product and quantity, of each of the plants under surveillance." In this "patriotic" work, Means was connected with Captain von Papen, military attache of the Germany Embassy at that time, who was subsequently dismissed for his spy and propaganda ac-

tivity—only to become Vice Chancellor under Hitler. But Means was at the time simply an employee of William J. Burns, whose detective agency organized espionage service in the United States for the benefit of the German Imperial Government. Burns had been prior to the war and subsequent to it, a co-worker with Ralph M. Easley. And it was on the suggestion of the Easley articles which had just appeared in the Hearst papers that the Burns Detective Agency asked the president of Smith College whether he wanted a man stationed at Smith in order to track down the N.S.L. chapter.

Gaston B. Means climaxed his career by participating in the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby. The New York *Times* stated in this connection: "This is the third time in Means' sensational career, which has been a jumble of suits, trials, adventures and misadventures, that he has been sentenced to prison."

John L. Spivak, then a reporter for a New York paper, disclosed the fact that Easley had supplied Grover Whalen with now thoroughly discredited forged documents, purporting to show that the Amtorg Trading Corporation was engaged in subversive propaganda.

Ralph Easley is still alive, although somewhat aged, and in 1933 he interprets the United States mails in order to secure an application blank of the National Student League, sent to the New York office by a student of Smith College. There is in our possession a letter, from the girl who had signed that application, stating that she had sent it and the twenty-cent registration fee to us. The card never arrived. It was reproduced in the New York *American* and the other Hearst papers as a damning indictment of the insidious designs of the National Student League.

Forged documents leave an unsavory odor in the wake of those who purvey them. Now Easley was going to be careful. He dispatched a flat-footed spy to the Third National Convention of the National Student League held at Howard University, Washington, D. C., during the Christmas vacation. He was seeking for the untarnished truth and incriminating documents. The articles in the Hearst papers described this convention, which was open to students from all over the country, as a secret gathering. For the purposes of lurid display, and in order to give the correct flavor to an organization which is fomenting revolt in American colleges, it suits the prevaricating pen of the arch patriot—to describe our convention as a clandestine gathering of scheming revolutionists.

After reading the *Student Review* and the *Year Book*, published by the National Student League, Mr. Easley states that we, "frequently take advantage of the most praiseworthy objectives, such as opposition to undue retrenchment in the schools to sow seeds of revolt." In other words, resentment against educational retrenchment, student action against the curtailment of education budgets, the closing of over five thousand schools in less than a year, the reduction of teachers' salaries—are a result of the fact that we take advantage of a critical situation. Who is responsible for the crisis in education? The bankers and industrialists who direct the National Civic Federation, and who have shut down their plants, dismissed their workers, cut the wages of those still at work—have done more to foment discontent and revolt than

a thousand organizations such as the National Student League. A government which proposes to spend one billion on naval construction (as provided for in the Vinson Bill alone) and which refuses to grant unemployment insurance and federal aid to education is truly guilty of sowing seeds of revolt in the United States. Yet Easley bemoans the fact that no money is being spent as yet for the establishment of a federal spy and police system to suppress radical activities. Of course, the N.S.L. takes advantage of praiseworthy objectives and that is praiseworthy. It is the organized expression of the needs and demands of the students.

Listing the issues on which "local chapters are ordered *sic* to fight" Ralph Easley discovers the united front. According to this master mind, "the phrase comes direct from Moscow." Harken students! When the National Student League proclaims its readiness to collaborate on an equal basis with all other organizations for joint struggle against war and fascism, against retrenchment and Negro discrimination, it bears the unmistakable trade mark of Moscow. Only a bed fellow of Burns and Means can produce such wonders of deductive reasoning!

Easley is most agonized by the anti-war activities of the N.S.L. We seek to render the U.S. defenseless. We declare undying opposition to military training, we favor the abolition of R.O.T.C. Surely the students of America must be called upon to serve the war preparations of the U.S. government as patriotically as does Ealen Hooker, member of the National Civic Federation, an associate of Easley. What matter that he is head of the Hooker Electrical Co. and manufacture poisonous gases for use in warfare? The National Student League realizes why Mr. Easley and the Hearst papers are most agonized over our fight against imperialist war. The epithet **HEARST** is synonymous with imperialism and war. "You supply the pictures and I'll furnish the war," was the laconic message sent to an impatient photographer by W. R. Hearst before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Plantations and million-dollar investments offer a firm foundation for patriotism and war mongering. The Easley articles appear in the Hearst press simultaneously with a energetic campaign for great military expenditures. With unconscious irony W.R.H. shows the mutilated bodies of men, women and children killed in the last war as a reason for greater preparations for the next war.

Again and again Mr. Easley tells us that the National Student League considers a solution of all problems possible only with the fundamental changes in the social and economic system. In this change the interests of the workers are to be considered paramount. Not only do we say these things but irrefutable evidence is offered in the support given by Yale students to a picket line of striking workers; Smith girls aiding "College Weavers" workers; Los Angeles Junior College N.S.L. picketing a garment workers' strike. From the University of Utah a commission enters the mine fields; Harvard N.S.Lers participate in a shoe strike, etc. Has the National Student League "fomented" the class struggle? Was Moscow involved in the strike of Journeymen Tailors here in the third decade of the last century? Were Communist agitators responsible for the great railroad strike of 1877?

(Continued on page 18)

For Phi Sigma Delta

Mr. Gessner, the author of "Upsurge," is an instructor at New York University. He was asked to contribute an article by his fraternity paper and the following would have been printed had he consented to omit the pointed references to the National Student League in the last two paragraphs. He thereupon submitted it to us.—The Editors.

WAY back when I was in college (1925-29) there was prosperity. We college gentlemen sat on the fraternity porches and kept a ticket on whatever stock that happened to play on our curb. Down on the campus the more mechanical minded engineers kept a scoreboard on the sidewalk and chalked up the co-eds as to their chassis, fenders and horsepower. Those were the good ol' days when the Economics Building was just another campus structure where vague discussions were held concerning Supply and Demand—two items which were in abundance along Sorority-Fraternity Row.

Such was our generation's inheritance from four years of prolonged infancy, and don't think we didn't love it—all the dating and drinking and campus politik. Those were the only things that really mattered, those adolescent adventures that were vastly more important than Mr. Hoover taking charge of the country for four years. We never read a metropolitan newspaper because it was not necessary for us to be concerned with any world other than that which gravitated around our campus. And that smug little campus was highly organized to prolong our blissful ignorance (and still is) with a curriculae of impractical courses on Greek mythology and English poetry, and with an extra-curriculae of wine, women and movies.

Our generation should have been the last to have been thus stunted in our intellectual growth, but the malnutrition goes on. The old prosperity ideology still persists. A student in one of my literature classes said to me recently that if he did not find a job after he had gotten his degrees, *it was his fault*.

It should be more difficult, however, for a college student today to live the cloistered life of ivy-towered libraries and canoe rides. Like it or not, there are problems of the depression which confront the college man, and if he refuses to face them now he is only temporarily postponing his day of reckoning. Soon he shall discover, like thousands of his brothers have, that the system of economics which runs this country has not room for him and is annoyed at his impertinence of thinking it had. He will discover that the fault lies in the fact that he had been born.

One of the most personal of these many problems for members, past or present, of a Jewish fraternity is the anti-Semitism accelerated by the depression. When evidence of anti-Semitism would arise in the prosperity era us college gentlemen dismissed them as unsophisticated barbarisms. Today, however, some of our best friends are anti-Semites. We can't play ostrich any more. A

Jewish student in an American university can no longer ignore the situation of his European cousin attending (or being excluded from) the schools of Germany, Poland, Austria and Rumania, because that is soon if not already his situation. Already Jews are being excluded from universities and discriminated against within the universities.

Anti-Semitism is more pronounced in educational centers and will be increasingly pronounced as the depression deepens than in any other social unity. This was proved in Germany. Why? Because anti-Semitism is an expression of economic competition and the gentile student will fight to limit the training of Jews or to eradicate them from college altogether. Just like his father back home he will boycott the Jewish merchant and riot at the Jewish bank. The Jew, being on the whole the more successful of the economic competitors, is attacked bodily and economically by the less successful gentile. Of course, Jews are competitors under this capitalistic system among themselves, which accounts for the more affluent becoming that strange hybrid of political hypocrisy; the Jewish Fascist. They exist in Germany, shouting that Hitler is saving the country from the Reds; and they exist in Wall Street. When political fascism with its parades and uniforms and lynchings comes to America, there will exist an auxilliary of the Khaki Shirts with a *mogen dovid* emblem and with a white-and-blue (Zionist colors) uniform. When will that be? When the middle class, liquidated from its security by a more violent inflation, will be compelled to choose between taking the profit-system in its own hands and nursing it along or declassing itself into the ranks of the proletariat with the determination that the new classless society will rise above the level of its former decapitation.

You active and Alumni members of Phi Sigma Delta, being of the middle class, will be compelled to make this choice. Being in addition Jews your choice is doubly important. There always has been anti-Semitism in any country wherein men are economic competitors. To choose fascism is to choose the profit-system and its contingent anti-Semitism. Russia, where individuals are not economic competitors, is the only country in the world which has laws punishing anti-Semites.

If you choose to make your choice now, instead of waiting for the lynch-committee, there are definite things you can do to fight fascism and stop anti-Semitism. Others before you have made the choice and they are organized. On your campus there should be a chapter of the National Student League, and if there isn't one it is up to you to organize it. If you are not on a campus, but are still a Jew, there is the American League Against War and Fascism, 12 East 19th Street, New York City.

What are you going to do about it? Are you going to postpone your decision until you get a personal call from the local lynch committee?

ROBERT GESSNER

New England Against War

IN 1917, Smith College together with eight other women's colleges sent this telegram to President Wilson: "Although we believe that the settlement of international difficulties by war is fundamentally wrong, we recognize that in a world crisis such as this, it may become our highest duty to defend by force the principles on which the Christian religion is founded. In this emergency, Mr. President, we wish to pledge you our wholehearted support in whatever measures you feel necessary to uphold these principles...." And in September, 1917, registration was doubled at Amherst—Amherst was advertised as the best place to get a military training. Trinity College became a training camp with bayonet drills. On August 12, 1917, the Springfield College paper declared "the college has become a sort of Spiritual Munitions Factory, and is working overtime these summer days on war orders. . . ." Now in 1934 the students of these Connecticut Valley colleges assembled to study the causes of war and to formulate a plan of action against war.

At the January 7, 1934, district meeting of the Amherst, Mt. Holyoke and Smith N.S.L. chapters, in accordance with the policy voted by the National Convention in Washington, it was decided to call a Connecticut Valley Student Conference Against War. An N.S.L. committee was chosen to organize a united front of interested campus clubs in the district. The N.S.L. was also to communicate with N.S.L. chapters and contacts in the Connecticut Valley who were in turn to organize united fronts on their campuses to send delegates to the Conference. It was agreed that Northampton was the most convenient and practical location, and the date was set for February 24 and 25. Immediately calls were sent to 16 colleges, lodgings for the delegates were arranged, and speakers were chosen with a purposeful catholicity of selection. The Pacifist, Socialist, Liberal and Communist points of view were to be represented.

The calls were enthusiastically received by the anti-war groups throughout the Connecticut Valley, mass meetings were held on their campuses, representatives elected, and we prepared to receive over 75 delegates. The National Office wrote that Joe Cohen and Walter Relis of the N.S.L. would come to speak to the conference. Larry Hill and Bill Gordon of Yale would come. Because of the stimulation of the conference preparation, a vital interest in current problems had been aroused at Dartmouth and at Massachusetts State College. And on Saturday morning, the 24th, the conference opened. The Credentials Committee reported that 175 delegates had assembled to confer upon a United Front Policy Against War. There were representatives from Amherst, the American International College, Dartmouth, Connecticut College for Women, Massachusetts State College, Mount Holyoke College, the University of New Hampshire, Smith, Yale, Springfield and Trinity. A telegram from the students of Western New York colleges who were

holding an anti-war conference in Elmira was read: "Let us unite against the stupidity and futility which would plunge our generation into another war. . . ." "Students must expose the plans of imperialists and war makers. . . . United forces of all opponents of war can delay imminent war threatening mankind. . . ." read a wire from the Boston Chapter of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The Conference was welcomed by Mr. Neilson, the president of Smith College. "There is a necessity for long and patient efforts over a long period of time. . . . we must put ourselves in the position of the present diplomats, and use our imaginations, else we shall be guilty of academic theoreticism," he said. "Peace," he added, "cannot be achieved by an act of Congress, you must sit at these conferences. You, and your children after you." Miss Mary E. Wooley, president of Mt. Holyoke College and delegate to the 1932 Disarmament Conference, later exemplified the educational method Mr. Neilson advocated. A delegate commented that the patience with which her address was received was encouraging evidence of the courtesy of the younger generation. The futility of this method, that of an appeal to the educated minority, was forcefully demonstrated by Dr. Harry W. L. Dana, and by Professor Colston Warne, who appealed to the Conference to uphold the anti-war program of the American League Against War and Fascism as the only organization to ally itself with the working classes in the fight against war. Mr. Warne outlined the futility the current accepted measures against war. Militarization as a peace measure simply speeds up the pace, he said, and Versailles and Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points had only strengthened militarism and a sense of injustice in Germany, France, and the submerged nationalities. He termed the church an agency whereby peoples' minds are urged to agreement with the existant economic forces. World Disarmament, he declared, is a method of scrapping unfit war equipment and a competition in assembling vital war equipment. He denied the value of education as a means of war prevention through knowledge as long as school histories are written with the purpose of establishing national myths. Capitalism is in a sorry shape, he continued, and this is not because of any single ailment, yet certainly the collapse is universal. The trouble is, Mr. Warne concluded, that one group owns the means of production, and that the other group is a slave group to production for profit. But despite the lucid eloquence of Mr. Warne, and of Herbert Benjamin, whom the Communist Party sent to replace Clarence Hathaway on the program, and Dr. Dana, whom the League Against War and Fascism sent for the same purpose, the convention was in large too naive to recognize the primary fundamental cause of war as economic.

Therefore when Miss Jessie Hughan had enunciated the method of the War Resisters' League, "to form a majority against war, by a small minority to block the mil-

lions, through money, spiritual support, and wires to the president," she was enthusiastically received.

The district members of the N.S.L., and the visiting N. S. Lers hungry, disheartened and alarmed by the report of the formation of a large dissenting faction, met for two-thirds of the period allotted for dinner to plan how the conference could be held together, how the necessity for United Front action could be best emphasized. If we could bring them to define the anti-war program they advocate, we decided, they would realize that N. S. L. and L.I.D. and Pacifists alike must co-operate on the same fundamental action-program, however divergent the fundamental political theories of the groups.

The evening session of the Conference opened with the address of a representative of the dissenting group which had lobbied in the smoking-room during the afternoon session. He explained to the conference this studied advice: "Fighting for peace is a paradox. We must support the present capitalistic organization of society, and work for peace through a capitalistic program. Further, we need tolerance; we should listen to the militarists, and recognize that it is foolish to pledge ourselves never to go to war. Besides, students should train themselves along thoughtful lines. So let us support the abolition of the R.O.T.C. as a militaristic enterprise." A spirited discussion followed this brilliant exposition of the "conservative" stand, during which the partisan elements furiously jockeyed for the key-positions for their program. At last an undogmatic, honest and manly note was struck by Thomas Boyd, novelist and ex-service man. "This dialogue bores me extremely," he cried, thumping the wooden back of his chair, "you must come to a decision—either capitalism at the cost of ten million lives, or peace and the working classes!"

The major report of the evening session established the necessity for student anti-war activity, and cited the major instances of student protests against militarism, stressing the anti-war activities of the Connecticut Valley Colleges. Joe Lash of the L.I.D. presented a specific program for students against war. We must abolish the R.O.T.C., he said, and he advocated that students and other youth groups ally themselves with the workers. "Even if the L.I.D. withdraws from the League, we advocate the activities of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism," he said. Mr. Lash then attempted to explain why the L.I.D. contemplated withdrawal from the League, in spite of the policy of the League to unite with the workers against war. "Our aim," he said, "is to build up the student section against war. We feel that this can be better done without the League." Monroe Sweetland, boy orator, ingenuously made the whole thing clear: "I have tried to avoid the split, but Communists insist upon their radicalism, instead of placing emphasis on union. We must build an effective anti-war movement without Communists."

The evening session adjourned with amazing expressions of the causes of war, and the conference as a whole seemed to have lost sight of the necessity for a minimum action basis. The N.S.L. was unable to negate the factionalism suggested by the Socialists organizers, who

were eager to define dogmatic subtleties to and draw the clouds of theory upon the heads of the group. The fog was thickened by such exclamations as: "The causes of war are not economic but emotional!" "Let us not discuss the causes of war but the cure of war, the causes and the cures are not interdependent!"

On Sunday afternoon the conference held its final session to vote on resolutions and appoint its Continuations Committee. The morning had been devoted to Round Table groups: The Soviet Union and War; International Relations and War; Fascism and War; Labor and War. Study had cleared the heads of the majority of the convention, and only two amendments were carried on the resolutions prepared by the Resolutions Committee. Since these resolutions were substantially those which the N.S.L. had agreed to support, their acceptance was a confirmation of the N.S.L. United Front program.

The preamble recognized the proximity of a second world war, the increasing militarization at home and abroad. It emphasized the necessity of understanding the fundamental causes of war in order to find a logical plan of opposition. "We consider these basic causes to be economic, rooted in the need of imperialist nations for foreign and colonial sources of raw materials and markets." It stresses the necessity for action against retrenchment in education, militarist propaganda in the schools, and such jingoistic organizations as the American Legion, the Reserve Officers Association, the D.A.R. and the Hearst Newspapers. "Students working by themselves are ineffective," it reads. "We recognize that it is the working class that is the decisive factor in the fight against war."

The highest importance of the Conference lay in the resolutions it passed. Whatever the tactical errors of which the N.S.L. was guilty, it must be realized that the slate of resolutions was a significant achievement. Outstanding among the resolutions were the following: we will support the government in no war that it undertakes; we demand the complete abolition of the R.O.T.C. and these funds are to be turned over to federal aid in education; we demand the complete freedom of school conditional reinstatement of the students who were expelled from their colleges and universities for action against the R.O.T.C. The Conference further pledged itself to support the working class in its struggle against war, and to set aside the week of April 6-13 to be used as a week of protest against war. It was recommended that on April 13, a one-hour strike of both students and faculty be held in every institution. The Conference went on record as condemning the fascist tendencies both in our own government and abroad, and pledged itself to support the peace policies of the Soviet Union for total and universal disarmament, or the peace policies of any other nation which will institute or co-operate with such measures.

In 1917 Smith and eight other women's colleges "respectfully offered . . . loyal services" to President Wilson upon the entrance of this country into the World War. In 1934 the students of the Connecticut Valley say, "We will support the government in no war that it undertakes."

Smith College

MADELINE BRENNAN

Tiger! Tiger!

PRICETON: Ritzy; swell football; Prof. Kemmerer in the *New York Times*; Einstein; heavy water. My God, what a mess!

When you live in it you find the mess is rather different. The people you eat with, sit next to in class, and tip slyly into the swimming pool, are in scarcely any sense jazzy. Most of them, perhaps 95 per cent come from really wealthy families and have led an exceptionally protected life from the day they were born. They have never been hungry because they hadn't sufficient money to buy a meal, nor thirsty because they could not raise the price of a drink, and have rarely missed seeing a movie they really wanted to see. They have lived in pleasant rooms, always; their beds haven't been bumpy, and there have always been other, somewhat lower, animals around whom it seemed quite natural to get to do their dirty work. Their High Schools were very superior places, too. They came to Princeton because Princeton is a very superior place, too. This is not a place for arduous study, that is not quite the idea. The average undergraduate will take away with him a certain superficial culture, having learned to talk in a pleasant way about the idle nothings of everyday life, possibly even to express a well-sounding criticism of Mr. Roosevelt, and, almost certainly, to drink without being disgusting. He will have mixed with a large number of other people of the upper middle class, with a few bankers' sons, and so on, and will have acquired the right sort of traditional outlook and mannerisms. He will be a nice boy. And if Princeton has made a good job of it his father will very likely find that he has some spare cash which will help to build, say, a new home for the library.

Princeton is patriotic; we have a large R.O.T.C. which is a very commendable thing to join, and playing a part in some form of sport is a matter of course. The football team is tremendously important; it is the one thing that arouses practically everyone's enthusiasm, and a Princeton victory produces more back-slapping amongst the alumni than the winning of the World War ever did. Everyone, from the deans down to the men who sweep up the cigarette butts, knows who is on the team, who has been injured, and will tell you what a grand guy the coach is.

We have Clubs, not fraternities, and ultimately anyone who is of any importance will belong to one of them; and will dine there most evenings. Each club represents to a large degree the younger generation of a definite social clique or substratum, and a surprising lot of their relatives will have been here too; there is quite a chance that eventually you will marry the sister of one of the men you meet here. If you have ever been to another University and found it too intellectual, or too many Jews there, come and try this. There are two clubs, Literary and Philosophical; each meets about three times a semester, so there is no great strain, you see, even if you attend them all; most likely you will not attend any of them and if you do you will not speak. There is at least one good purpose served by these organizations: people whose opinions are so irrefragable that they could not

elsewhere obtain an audience will find one here. A goodly number of the faculty will appear, some of whom will disagree with the speaker on a sufficient number of minor and insignificant points to produce a discussion rarely equalled for its unreality and its ephemeral influence, and some rash theological student may provide an opportunity for the speaker to squash him (ever so kindly, in that immense grand old philosopher manner) by some brilliant piece of eclecticism. Rumor has it, that there is also an International Relations Club here, and everyone loves the Triangle Club.

There is a campus paper, the *Princetonian*, which is the only paper that many of us ever see. Occasionally the literary standard is fairly high but the political level has never been known to rise above that of the High School, and even its liberal gestures over such matters as the cleaning up of the government or the lynching of white men are restrained.

As for contact with working-class activities, that is impossible; the town of Princeton is just a village parasitic on the University, and the nearest industrial town is Trenton, twelve miles away, chiefly famed for a sort of half-baked night life. There is not much chance that we shall emulate Yale on the picket line.

Half a mile from the campus is the Graduate College; there are no Negroes there either, but there appears to be a sprinkling of foreign whites, mostly Canadians and English. So far as you can see they are in a sense a race apart. Most of the people there taking higher degrees will ultimately try to obtain academic jobs, and they seem to be working like the very devil, probably because the closing down of colleges and the other retrenchments in education have made the competition severe even for the flower of the Princeton men. If you get them into a quiet corner they may be indiscreet enough to crack a joke about the R.O.T.C. or about formal athletics, or grouse because they cannot get beer on sale at the Graduate College but have to walk half a mile to get it. The College, like practically all the other buildings, is in Gothic—a good many of the graduate students have come from less patrician colleges and so find it amusing.

The faculty members are of course very mixed. There are some of the most brilliant brains in the world here, particularly in the sciences, but there is a pronounced tendency for departments to be in charge of people who had a bright idea in 1880 and have not yet gotten over the shock.

After all this it is hardly necessary to remark that the class sympathies of the people here are case-hardened capitalist and will probably remain so in the majority of cases. It would be mere idealistic nonsense to pretend that the greater part of the students here will ever be won over to our side, to the side of the working class; their training and environmental influence generally are almost certain to be too strong for us. The best we can hope for is that a small section of the better elements will come over, "those who have achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical movement as a whole." The prime duty of these more advanced sections will be to put up a fight against fascism, for fascism will find a readier home in Princeton than in any other University in the East.

ARTHUR FRENCH

STRIKE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

THE school is as vital a link in war preparations today as it was in 1917, when educational institutions supplied the army with half a million trained men. Many schools and colleges have military training on their curricula. In some of these institutions this training is compulsory. Elsewhere special inducements are offered to make students take it. Jingoism and propaganda for national defense are disseminated in the classroom, as well as in the R.O.T.C. courses. Expenditures for armaments grow daily in spite of peace pacts and disarmament conferences. More than a quarter of a billion for new ships. Hundreds of thousands of young men have been herded into reforestration camps, where the daily routine of military training prepares them for war-time activity.

Whatever the results of the impending imperialist war, a small group of bankers and manufacturers stand to profit while the great masses of people both on the battlefield and at home have nothing to gain but hardship and death. Students play an important role in war. Frequently they are the technicians and officers. It is for them to realize that their interests do not lie with the makers of war, the manufacturers and bankers. In the fight against war students must not put their faith in peace pacts and pledges not to fight. Experience has shown the futility of opposition to war which relies on moral suasion and is not prepared for organized mass resistance. Only by an alliance with the elements of the population that are opposed to war can the student wage an effective struggle. The N.S.L. realizes that the working class is the most powerful organized force opposed to war.

—From Our Program

THE American student is against war! Every test of one question—WHAT TO DO?

There is one answer, too. Organize all existing se articulate and effective. Give it direction. No student a hour strike against war coming Friday, April 13th, fro call for its suppression in the Hearst press. Let the pat when the students of the nation, the future technician, systematic slaughter, declare that they will support the l very anniversary of our entrance into the last imperialist

Only the National Student League brings along with spective and understanding necessary to make these action stop there. Take your stand against the whole war syste against capitalism, for a better world.

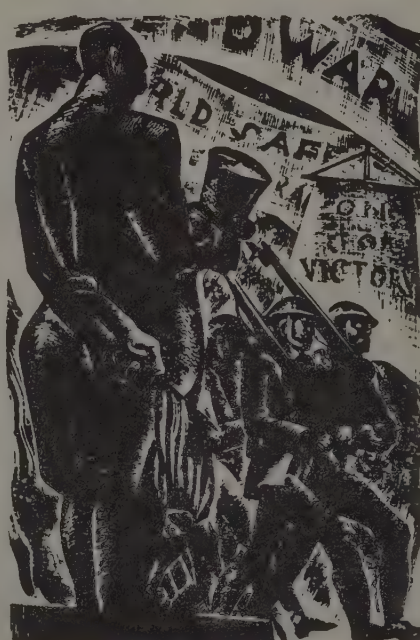
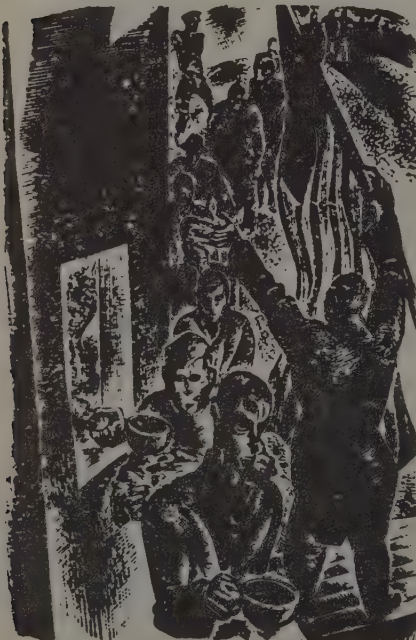
Let every class in every college be empty on April support the United States government in no more wars it glorious beginning of a relentless student struggle again

ABOLISH THE R.O.T.C.!

SCHOOLS—NOT BATTLESHIPS!

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

After Graduation



Illustrations from "FIGHT"

A Woodcut by LYND W.

R - APRIL 13

entiment has revealed the same result. There is but

against war preparations and propaganda. Make it
ore promising, forceful and dramatic than the one
to 12 noon. Let that senile war-dog, Ralph Easley,
pack yelp with anguish. It will be no little thing
cers, the masters of the fine art of scientific and
ates government in no war it may undertake on the

work for such strikes and demonstrations the per-
cent. Strike against war on April 13th but do not
makes wars for plunder inevitable. Take your stand

1 o'clock! Let us all solemnly pledge on that day to
lertake! Let us make of the one-hour strike the

IN conducting their campus struggles, students find themselves confronted by the dominant economic groups and their subservient political machinery. They find themselves opposed by the power of the state, when the police are used to break up student demonstrations and strikes. The press falsifies its account of militant student activities. All this follows from the fact that the demands of the students are in direct opposition to the educational program of the bankers and industrialists. Since their program of retrenchment tends towards the abolition of free higher education and their interest in war preparation toward the militarization of colleges, students find themselves engaged in increasing conflict with these groups.

In this clash the students have a powerful ally in the working class which is engaged in the constant struggle against the identical economic interests. Workers support student struggles because they also desire a free higher education for themselves and their children. They also oppose war and war preparations. For effective action against the administration and the forces that control it, the support of so large and powerful a group as the working class is essential.

Students must align themselves with the workers if they are to win their immediate demands, and they are drawn to the support of the working class by the larger need for a new social order, since the working class is the main force in bringing about this change.

—From Our Program



"The Confusion of the Chiefs"

The Student Review will welcome discussion and comment on the following article. We hope to present other views on the lessons of Austria in our next issue.—The Editors.

I.

FOR the moment the barricades of Europe are silent. This is the time for an accounting. The Austrian workers did not fight in vain if their experience will mean a re-examination of the bases of revolutionary policy. History makes corpses not only of men but of principles too. That is why Socialist workers and students have begun to deal afresh with fundamental problems after forty-five years of their International. For, when on that flaming twelfth of February the Austrian workers took the road of revolutionary struggle, though they proved too much weakened to withstand the fascist foe, they shattered the bonds of their own reformist past at the whine of the first bullet.

The students in the International Socialist Student Federation are stirring. A most hopeful and healthy sign is a recent article, "Storm Over Austria" by the secretary of the federation, Jef Rens, published in the March issue of the *Student Outlook*. The article is healthy because it announces a trend, a direction, whatever other shortcomings there be.

There is much that is downright superficial and dangerous in Rens' articles. He is constantly shifting his ground, now calling Dollfuss a fascist, now a victim of the fascists, a fascist in spite of himself. The Christian Social Party "allowed themselves to be led from the terrain of the sage politics of coalition. . ." In one place, he ingenuously remarks that "in 'wiping out' the working class, he (Dollfuss) has alienated a solid force he might have made use of in his struggle against the Nazis." Never does he clearly understand that there is more that links the Clerical fascists with the German fascists than with the workers. He does not understand that their differences are temporary, fluctuating, uncertain, whereas the conflict between the workers and both varieties of fascism are fundamental and ineradicable. What we are interested in, however, are the signs of life, of reconstruction, of stirring amongst the Socialist students. In what follows, it must not be assumed that the blight of reformism has at all gone.

Under the heading, "Some Tentative Conclusions," Rens says: "There is still undoubtedly much to be said about the attitude of the political and trade union leaders. I have already indicated above the confusion of the chiefs in the matter of directing the strike and of the operations of the *Schutzbund*." What was this "confusion of the chiefs?" Otto Bauer, too, writes in his latest pamphlet explaining the defeat: "We made mistakes. Of that there is no doubt." Well, the humility is novel anyhow.

1. Rens writes: "*Instead of placing themselves directly, after the stoppage of electricity, at the head of the strike movement, they (the Socialist leaders), instead of issuing precise commands, left the masses*

incapable of acting of themselves in doubt and uncertainty."

No overstatement, indeed. These "mistakes" and this "confusion," were they anything less than sheer capitulation? The party politicians bitterly opposed the calling of a strike even at the last, even after the fighting had started. The workers bitterly opposed the party. When the general strike finally did come, it was not called by the party leaders; hence, how could they place themselves at the head of the strike movement? John Gunther, in the *Nation*, March 21, relates: "It (the strike) was ordered by the *Aktions-Ausschuss* of the Socialist Party and the trade unions by a majority of one. This *Ausschuss* is a small committee of ten or twelve, independent of the political executive of the party. The order was never officially promulgated or communicated to the workers. . . The strike was a miserable failure. Everything that could possibly go wrong went wrong. The bungling—considering the fact that the Socialists had presumably been prepared for a general strike for fifteen years—was unbelievable." One more precious touch is necessary. In that by-now famous interview that Otto Bauer proffered the *N. Y. Times*' Austrian correspondent, G. E. R. Gedy, Bauer revealed that a message had been sent from the party headquarters to Linz instructing the Linz workers to submit to a search by the fascists as the party in Vienna had already done. "Unfortunately, the message arrived too late." Thus the fighting started in Linz. It is temperate, indeed, to say that the Socialist politicians had not placed themselves at the head of the strike movement. They barely averted successfully betraying even the last heroic stand.

2. Rens writes: "*Instead of openly proclaiming the general strike and of preparing, since there was no other outcome possible now, for the capture of power, the political leaders and unionists met, according to the assurance I received at Vienna—au Parlement!*"

A dignified understatement. The party leaders not only found Parliament most congenial under the circumstances but they prayed and worked for nothing more than mercy, Christian charity, from the fascists. First the Socialist politicians went to President Miklas, then to God's representative in Austria, Cardinal Innitzer, begging for intervention and consolation, and having found none, they actually turned to Dollfuss with an almost impossible horse-trade. They offered to back him as dictator for two more years on two silly conditions. They demanded a parliamentary committee limited to criticisms of the dictator's decrees wherein the Government would have a majority by arrangement. Secondly, they demanded judicial supervision of the decrees to safeguard the Constitution. It is enough to say that there are courts in Hitler's Germany, too. And to gild the lily, a dispatch to the *N. Y. Times*, dated March 21, reads: "Governor Reither of Upper Austria, a member of Chancellor Dollfuss's Clerical Party, in a speech has confirmed statements of refugee Socialist leaders concerning their countless efforts during the last twelve months to get in touch with Dr. Dollfuss

and to persuade him to form with them a united front against the Nazis." And Bauer, the ineffable, said that Dollfuss turned fascist almost a year ago last April (Interview, *N. Y. Times*, February 18). The rest of the dispatch reveals that on February 12, after the fighting had broken out, the party leaders made substantially the same plea, this time with Reither against Dollfuss!

3. Rens writes: "*A second serious error resulting from the lack of direction was committed when the workers who had stopped work remained in their factories instead of joining their Schutzbund battalions.*"

The workers of Austria had an armed guard because they were the strongest and most united working class in Europe. At least, they could force their leaders to go through the forms of armed resistance. But the Republican Schutzbund, controlled by the party politicians often was put to questionable use. When a reactionary judge practically ordered the acquittal of two fascist murderers in 1927, the Socialist workers came out in the streets, burned the Palace of Justice, and stormed Vienna for three days. G. E. R. Gedye, in his book *Heirs of the Hapsburgs* (1929), relates: "Too late the trade unions endeavored to calm their members; the workers spontaneously came out on strike, and marched in an orderly but angry protest demonstration to the Parliament building. Both the police and the Socialist anti-Fascist counter-army, the Republikanische Schutzbund, *which always helped the police to control such workers' demonstrations*, were caught napping. Dr. Deutsch, the commander of the Schutzbund, telephoned a warning to the police, but the latter were unable to collect their forces quickly owing to the spread of the strike to the telephone service." (p. 89—our italics). This happened in 1927. In 1934, the party leaders were ready to play their part again. Immediately after the fighting ended, Bauer complained indignantly that Dollfuss had not released Mayor Seitz and some other leaders so that they might have calmed the workers even as they had done in 1927. (Interview, *N. Y. Times*, February 18, 1934). They forgot that fascists don't kick only Socialists in the gutter; an outspoken, faithful servant of reaction, like Hugenberg has gotten no reward from Hitler. And no one hears of Bruening any more.

II.

FOR generations the Austrian proletariat was nourished on the theory that a Socialist society would one day emerge from the framework of capitalism, piecemeal, bit by bit, gradually. It was this theory, amongst others, that Otto Bauer, leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, shared with international social democracy. On this account, the scene of revolution is in parliamentary halls and committee rooms. How can it be otherwise if the transition is to be gradual and painless, with a majestic and quite imperceptible inevitableness? For a Communist, on the contrary, to fight means to seize power, and that is the first objective. The very meaning of revolution is the transference of the control of the state from the hands of one class to those of another and no class ever lets that machinery slip from its grasp without the most desperate, the wildest resistance. First, working class power; then, the push towards a new social order.

But the Socialists taught that the transition resembles a long series of slight and subtle changes within capitalist economy. These changes are not merely the portents, the necessary conditions of Socialism. They are the seeds of Socialism. Otto Bauer, himself, formulated this view with the greatest clarity in *The Austrian Revolution* (Eng. trans. by H. J. Stenning, 1925, Leonard Parsons, London).

"But if our revolution (of 1918) could not break the capitalistic domination of production, it has implanted the nuclei of the socialistic system of the future within the capitalistic mode of production, which need only to be developed in order gradually to undermine the domination of capital and even to abolish it." (p. 161.)

"Gradually to undermine the domination of capital!" The jest is ghastly. Where are the "nuclei" of socialism today? The "glorious apartment house experiment" of Vienna are workers' graves with gaping holes and shelled walls for inscriptions, the workers' co-operatives have been "co-ordinated," the labor banks looted, the social services, the insurance schemes swept out. Yet these were the seeds that today heralds and tomorrow would bring forth the classless society. Clearly, workers and students who follow such teaching must one day fall the dupes of impossible promises, victims of systematic illusions. That is the cost of reformism.

From the theory of gradualism inevitable flows a practice which forbids the realization of socialism. It is silly to talk of violence as though it were a matter of choice, an exercise of will. It is silly to say, we will fight *if we must*. If the qualification means that you are going to prepare armed resistance as systematically and on as great a scale as possible then you can be sure that as the economic crisis sharpens and grows tense the qualification *if we must* will change to *when we must* and later *when we can* and then it is a question of strategy, not principle. If the qualification means that you will make good your parliamentary policy by making no effort to prepare for a showdown, then you will be helpless no matter whether you must or not. In any event, it is plain that, granted the exploitation of the workers as fundamental to capitalism, then the qualification *if we must* cannot mean: we will fight only when we are attacked. The workers are ever on the defensive, ever in the position of fighting back, always attacked. The notion of the "left" socialists that they will fight when they are forced into battle means in practice that the workers will be armed only with a hollow mockery under fire.

We agree with Jef Rens when he writes: "The battle of the proletariat of Vienna, as heroic as it was, never at any moment assumed the general character of an offensive." It is true but if we stop short there without asking why, without drawing conclusions, we must be distressed at the turn of events and that is all.

There is one passage in Rens' article which points the way he is going. Notice, however, that everything is in the negative; any positive philosophy is lacking as yet.

"I am not in any sense reproaching them (the party leaders) with cowardice. On the contrary, some of them have given tokens of great courage, but they have shown themselves to be incapable of managing a civil war, and this can be explained by

the fact that they are men who throughout their lives have worked upon the parliamentary plan. Incapable of adapting themselves to new methods of struggle which are imposed upon them by fascism, they were unable to save the Austrian proletariat from a tragic end. Always imbued with the hope of re-establishing a normal parliamentary activity, they have put off the struggle from month to month and when the proletariat could hold out no longer, and resorted at length to arms, they were not ready to lead them into battle."

On, the contrary, the evidence says that they were ready to lead them *out of battle*. Where do we go from here, however? What conclusions shall we draw? What shall we substitute? On these points, Rens is silent and this is the heart of the matter.

In his *The Austrian Revolution*, Bauer gave the game away. Here is the theoretical presupposition for the reluctance of Socialist politicians to fight.

"Every revolution is obliged to defend its actions against the masses, which filled with revolutionary illusions and passions, try to force the pace beyond what can be attained and retained under given historic and social conditions." (p. 163.)

"Against the masses!" *Revolutionary illusions and passions!* Of course you must be against the masses if you are waiting for Socialist "nuclei" which "need only to be developed in order gradually to undermine the domination of capital and even to abolish it," while the masses, straining under the whips of exploitation, head for power. Of course, you will be caught unprepared by the spon-

aneous strikes and uprisings of the proletariat, in 1918, in 1927, in 1934. The "confusion of the chiefs" will be not so much confusion as capitulation. They will be caught in a deadly dilemma, just as the Austrian Socialist leaders are now caught. If it was hopeless to fight, if the workers could not win under any circumstances whether now or a year ago when Otto Bauer says "everything was in our favor," if the party leaders were right in restraining the workers from conflict, then it is nonsense to hail the struggle in Austria. When the conditions are not ripe, an uprising takes on the character of an adventurist uprising, a putsch. If, on the other hand, the situation was revolutionary, the quiescence, the shady maneuvers, the trades of the party leaders was treachery. Which alternative would the reformist gentlemen like to have?

It is not enough to say, as Rens says: "I have for my part a great and happy confidence in the future of Austrian Socialism." In the Socialism of the Austrian workers or in the Socialism of Otto Bauer and the party machinery? In the Socialism of reformism or revolution? If parliamentarianism is suicide, what is the alternative? If "the inevitability of gradualism" is poppycock, will the students represented by Jef Rens turn to the alternative of Communism?

The heritage of Socialism is a heritage of dismay and capitulation. The heritage of the workers of Austria is a heritage of hope, of strength, of heroic sacrifice and a fighting future. To gain that heritage, the workers had to rise up not only against the enemy that fought them at the front but the enemy that demoralized them in the rear.

THEODORE DRAPER.

The Cuban Student Movement

THE revolutionary movement in Cuba began in 1925 with the advent of Machado to power. In that year, Julio Antonio Mella, several workers and intellectuals, organized the first cells of the Communist Party of Cuba. Mella was already recognized as one of the leaders of the university students. He was outstanding in physical appearance. His more than six-foot lithe broad body enabled him to become the university's leading oarsman and basketball player. Already, although he was only in his early twenties, he had won renown as one of Cuba's outstanding orators, and in spite of his revolutionary convictions, the admiration of the Conservatives.

The success of Machado in the presidential elections and his accession to office in May, 1925, was in the greatest part due to his position as the general manager of the American and Foreign Power and Light Company (subsidiary in Cuba of the General Electric, controlled by Morgan), which had by this time obtained control over practically all Cuban public utilities. Machado immediately began a program of public "beautification." Elaborate public buildings and roadways were constructed at a tremendous cost, although public education was pitifully neglected. Student opposition to the regime was aroused when Machado arbitrarily prolonged his presidential term to six years by means of the Prorogue Law (1927), passed with little trouble by his obedient Congress. The

agitation against this measure by the Student Directory of 1927 did not succeed. Seventy students who were expelled were either sympathetic to or members of the Directory.

For three years there was no strong open manifestation of student opposition to the Machado dictatorship. Leadership is precious and necessary to a militant movement. Once it is removed, it is difficult to replace. In the fall of 1930, discontent among the university students reached a high level. It was decided to hold a demonstration against the oppressive government the day before school opened. On Sept. 29, 1930, 2,000 students, some of them from the secondary Havana schools, massed in protest. Police attacked immediately with pistol fire. One student, Trejofí was killed. Tremendous indignation rose among the students who had led the struggle, replaced the Directory of 1927.

Utilizing the election in November as an excuse, Machado postponed the opening of the university till Nov. 7. (General elections for members of the Congress, etc., took place at this time because the change in the electoral laws, effected by the previously mentioned Prorogue Law of 1927.) When Nov. 7, the day of the opening, arrived, it was announced that the opening of the university would be postponed until December. Meanwhile many of the exiled members of the 1927 Directory had re-

turned. The few years abroad had given them an opportunity to study the position of Cuba as a semi-colonial region under the domination of the United States. On their return they attempted to persuade the newly born Directorate that the struggle must be waged against "El Imperialismo Yanqui" as well as Machado. In no small part they succeeded, but the Directorate as a whole did not accept this position. There developed a split in the Directory itself. One group was called the "Ala Derecha" (Right Wing) and the other, which recognized the necessity for immediate struggle against imperialist subjugation, called itself the "Ala Izquierda" (left wing).

In December, Machado called the Directorate, which had now received the approval of an open assembly at the University, to the Palace. He accepted two demands of the students: To concede autonomy to the university, and legality to a federation of students. The Directory demanded in addition that he retire from office—this, Machado flatly refused to do.

During the same eventful month the "Ala Izquierda Estudiantil" was organized by those students who sympathized with and led the left wing. They believed that to lead the students along the line proposed by the Directorate would be incorrect, would tend to create illusions, which in the end would bring disaster to the student body, that in order to combat native and foreign oppression, students would have to rely on the leadership of the working class, since that class was all-decisive in such a terrific struggle.

The struggles of the students not only in the university but in the Institute and Normal School of Havana, prompted Machado to issue a military decree closing the three schools. Schools were opened at the end of each semester for examinations. Strikes were declared against taking the examinations, and the Directory came out for a general strike effective until Machado abdicated. Strikes in a number of schools were forced upon the students by acts of terror (planting bombs in the school buildings, etc.)

The "Ala Izquierda" proposed to struggle for the opening of the schools, declaring that strikes should be called only when they were the desire of the students, and that an unlimited strike would only play into the hands of Machado, because it would not allow the students to come together and organize its activities.

As a result of its illegal position and the effective spy system, it was necessary for the left wing, as for all revolutionary organizations and the bourgeois opposition groups, the A.B.C., to adopt a cellular form of organization. Each cell had approximately five members. Any more would make meetings almost impossible because of the vigilance of the secret police. Contact between a group of cells and the leading body was established by an individual who carried the decision of the central committee to the cells, and related back to the central committee the conditions and desires of the particular cells. Demonstrations were prepared and kept secret until the moment the demonstrators appeared on the street. On January 10, 1931, Mella Day (Commemoration of the day Mella was assassinated in Mexico City about forty members of the "Ala Izquierda" appeared suddenly in the San Juan De Dios Park, Havana, with revolvers in

hand. One student mounted a stone bench and spoke against Machado and Yankee Imperialism. In a few moments the police and Porristas (Machado's hired assassins) arrived and commenced to fire. The demonstrators retreated in orderly fashion answering shot for shot.

Between 1921 and 1932 most of the leaders of the Left Wing were in prison; and the leadership of the organization was practically taken over by one Villereal, who while he had power, perverted the entire program and purpose of the "Ala Izquierda." He made no attempt and indeed refused to permit the organization to lead the students in the struggle for their economic and academic demands, such as the opening of the schools. In addition he neglected to do organizational work among the students of the Institutos and other secondary schools. A committee was formed within the "Ala Izquierda" for reorganization and the removal of Villereal from the leadership.

By 1933 a revolutionary crisis was maturing in Cuba. The people were uniting in their hatred against Machado, and with the accentuation of this hatred, a strong anti-imperialist feeling began. Imperialism in the United States became fearful lest open mass revolt break out in Cuba. Even a strictly localized revolt was feared for such a rising might entail the destruction of many of its own properties.

Summer Welles was dispatched by President Roosevelt in order to mediate the difficulties of the bourgeois groups at least. These groups accepted the mediation invitation with the exception of the Directorate, which neither declined nor accepted. The revolutionary organizations (The National Confederation of Labor had 200,000 members) were not invited.

With the coming of Welles, terror subsided to an extent, and many revolutionary working class leaders were released from prison. While mediation was taking place a general strike under the leadership of the National Confederation of Labor was being prepared. At the beginning of August, the strike broke out and paralyzed the Island. Several sugar mills were taken over by the workers. Begun as an economic struggle, the strike became a political action against Machado. In the middle of August, Machado fled the island and left his terror system in collapse. Many of his notorious assassins and supporters were lynched on the streets and their houses destroyed.

For a period, and for the first time, several of the revolutionary organizations came partly in the open. On August 25 all the left wing student groups in Havana (at the time there were only a handful in the interior), met at the university and voted to expel Villereal. In addition they made plans to organize groups throughout the Interior of the Island and put forth slogans such as: "Matricula Gratis" (free tuition), for the immediate demands of the students. Cespedes, who succeeded Machado, did not stay in power long because of the growing discontent. A group of opportunists (Batista and several other petty officers from the Army and Navy), Grau San Martin, a professor in the university, Carbo, the newspaper editor, and several members of the Student Directory, utilized this discontent. Liberal doses of demagoguery helped to manipulate a successful coup d'etat against the already tottering Cespedes government. The

directorates immediately secured sinecures for themselves. One became police chief, another, head of the fire department, and various others took positions in the police force. In this way the Directory completely isolated itself from the student body. Its members became part of the oppressive Grau government, and aroused the animosity of their fellow-students. It was a member of the Directory, Labourdette, who sent police to fire and disrupt student demonstrations; arrests of students and workers continued under his direction.

The Grau government did not receive recognition from Washington because the United States Government considered it too weak to protect the interests of American capital. In fact it is well known that the A.B.C. received full support from Ambassador Welles in its attempt, on November 7, to overthrow the Grau government. Grau and Batiste made every effort, however, to convince American imperialism that they could very well guard its interests. On September 29, an enormous demonstration in Havana to receive the ashes of Mella from Mexico, was attacked by detachments of the Army which turned machine guns on the demonstrators. There were several deaths and many casualties. A company of twenty-five fully equipped soldiers was stationed in each sugar mill to prevent interference with its operations. In the early part of November, the "Ala Izquierda" held its first National Convention. By this time groups had been established in most of the large schools and its membership had increased from 400 to approximately 3,000 (in the short period of three months). Emphasis was placed at the convention on leading the struggles of the students for their economic demands. Villereal's expulsion was confirmed. The Conference voted to support and work for a Workers' and Peasants' Cuban government. The most difficult problem which faced the conference was that of "examined" and "non-examined" students. In many schools strikes had been declared by the students during Machado's regime. Some students had broken the strike by taking examinations at the end of each semester, and thus received credit which the strikers had not. These students were called "examined." At the time of the conference serious clashes were taking place between "examined" and "non-examined" students. The latter in some cases refused to permit the former to attend classes or attain credit for examinations taken under Machado. It was decided by the conference that in all schools where a strike had occurred under Machado, examinations taken in violation of the strike were to be considered void. However, the students who took them were to be permitted to attend classes. Wherever no strikes had been declared, all examinations were to receive full credit. All those who led attacks against "non-examined" students are to be summarily expelled from the student ranks by the students themselves. At a recent student demonstration (February 6) against the Mendieta-Batista government, as a result of which a worker and a student were killed and six others wounded by the police, student speakers were applauded when they mentioned solidarity with the working class and support of the General Strike. (It is interesting to note that most of the speakers were members of the "Ala Izquierda" and that no member of the Right dared show his face). In answer to the killings a general student strike was declared for forty-eight hours. In large letters painted on the university steps

were "Caffery Commanded It", "Martinez Saenz (leader of the A.B.C. and member of the Mendieta cabinet) is a traitor," "We demand the shooting of the assassins Mendieta and Batista." The following appeared on the sidewalks in front of the Institute of Havana; "Down with the Green Porra." (Green is the color of the flag of the A.B.C. The Porra was the assassin organization of Machado.)

Since the conference the "Ala Izquierda" has completely taken over the leadership of the Cuban students. In this period it has gained 2,000 additional members.

The "Ala Izquierda" has also drawn itself much closer to the working class. It has been active in the support of the Woolworth strikers in Havana, and has sent several of its members into the Interior to act as organizers and agitators for the revolutionary trade unions. It is now actively assisting the working class in preparing for a decisive struggle against Mendieta and his imperialist supporters for the establishment of the first Workers' and Peasants' government in the Western Hemisphere.

WALTER RELIS

Exposing Mr. Easley

(Continued from page 7)

Has Mr. Easley forgotten the American origin of revolutionary May Day. Was it not Samuel Gompers, later to become vice president of the National Civic Federation, who first proposed May First as a day of strikes and demonstrations for the eight-hour day?

The class struggle has not been "grafted upon" the American scene. Nor can it be exorcised out of existence, destroyed by the Burns Detective Agency, National Civic Federation and the most violent of suppressive measures. The existence of antagonistic economic classes has always been sufficient reason for a class struggle. If we are to seek for the roots of the class conflict we can find them in the exploitation of the vast majority of society, the 87 per cent of the population who own 10 per cent of the wealth by one per cent who own 59 per cent of the wealth. Economic crises are not acts of God nor are the wars which interested Mr. Hearst in the past and those which he prepares for the future, heaven-sent gifts. The origin is to be sought for in the existing social-economic system of capitalism. The crisis in education is but one indication of the disintegration of a social system which is no longer capable of supplying the wants and needs of society.

The National Student League proudly affirms its kinship with the working class and its readiness to support all its struggles for the betterment of its conditions. Well do we recognize the need for a new social order in which the increase of material production and the development of educational and cultural facilities, do not produce both misery and want, as well as cultural and educational decay.

Having "painted a true picture" of the National Student League, Mr. Easley concludes that: "It is the secret tool of the Third International, attempting to Communize the youth of American colleges and high schools." And throughout the articles the laborious attempt is made to link the N.S.L. with the Communist Party. At this point,

our sleuth is called upon to perform miracles in logic. Because the National Student League stands for all the things we have outlined above, it must necessarily be a "tool of Moscow."

Again we reiterate the fact that the National Student League is affiliated to no political party and is controlled by no group other than the membership of the N.S.L. Students of different political beliefs and affiliations adhere to the organization. Any student who seeks to struggle in behalf of student demands can become a member of the N.S.L. The leadership of the N.S.L. is elected by and responsible to its membership. Where Communists occupy leading positions in the organization, and many of them do, they hold those offices solely by virtue of their activities along the lines of the program of the National Student League. This program is not that of a political party and offers no bar to students who differ in their political creed. If our program of struggle for the immediate demands of the student body, and if our support

of the working class and our stand for a new social order based on the working class, constitutes treason, then our twentieth century tories can make the most of it!

The Fascist implications contained in the Hearst-Easley attack are obvious. Not only cannot this call of our suppression cause us to slacken our activities but it must accelerate them. And indeed we can already point to the counter offensive undertaken by the N.S.L. From all parts of the country students hitherto unknown to us have written in paying their registration fee and subscribing to the *Student Review*. At the same time the fight against war and fascism has been intensified, particularly our preparations for National Student Anti-War Week, April 6-13 and for the one-hour strike on April 13.

It was ordinary "common sense" which caused Tom Paine to call out:

"Oh! Ye that love mankind! Ye that dare to oppose not only tyranny, but tyrants, stand forth!"

JOSEPH COHEN.

"N. S. L. Seizes Control . . ."

NATIONAL Student League Seizes Control of Anti-War Congress in Chaotic Session"; thus reads the double-deck streamer of the City College *Campus*, March 26. This was the first shot out of the locker on the part of the school administration and the student politicians to discredit the resolutions and actions of the Congress. This "seizure" was made possible by the continued opposition of the faculty to a representative and successful Congress. By refusing the Arrangements Committee permission to publish a news bulletin, by excluding upper classmen from a freshman chapel anti-war rally, and by prohibiting the election of classroom delegates, the faculty succeeded in making their objections effective in limiting the attendance at the final voting session to 450.

However unrepresentative the individual members of the Congress were, the resolutions accepted were of the same general character as those adopted by the Columbia and New York University anti-war bodies. Demanding the reinstatement of the twenty expelled students disciplined for their anti-R.O.T.C. activities last May, the body centered its attack on the Reserve Officers Training Corps unit in the school and went on record for its abolition in all the colleges and high schools of the country, and "that the money now used for R.O.T.C. be expended for the aid of needy students."

In the seminars where reports were made by students and discussion took place, and where the resolutions were first brought up, heated arguments from pacifists, Socialists, and the military boys fought the resolution which pledged refusal "to support the United States in any war." In the "Labor and War" study group, which was packed by students from the Military Science Department, a motion calling for support of the preparedness policy of the Roosevelt administration was narrowly defeated. A counter motion in the form of the Oxford oath was then passed. In the other groups large majorities carried the oath. Charging "treason" and "traitor," the disgruntled militarists ran from seminar to seminar in vain endeavors to swing the Congress from its avowed purpose to plan

the most effective course of student opposition to the war threat.

The opposition to the affiliation of the Conference with the American League Against War and Fascism ranging in "united front" from the League of Industrial Democracy to the R.O.T.C. charged the American League, to which the Continuations Committees of both Columbia and N.Y.U. saw fit to annex themselves, with being a political organization, dominated by the Communist Party. Edwin Alexander and Charles Goodwin of the National Student League counter attacked and while decrying these false statements showed that the resolutions adopted on the floor of the session were in consonance with the program of the American League; there were no grounds upon which the Congress could fail to affiliate. Immediately followed a vote of 150 to 65 sustaining the motion offered by the N.S.L.

Preceding the Congress the N.S.L. had circulated and popularized its position in a series of leaflets. So effective was this in winning support for the organization that practically every seminar endorsed its stand. Other resolutions, finally voted, called for support of National Student Anti-War Week and participation in all activities being sponsored during the week, including the one-hour strike on April 13.

At the Congress the National Student League correctly pointed out that the sole reason for the lack of attendance could be directly laid at the door of the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs which all along the line sabotaged every attempt to broaden the base of representation and to draw the entire student body into contact with the militant anti-war movement. The National Student League acknowledged the fact that it had swept the Congress but denied that its proposals for action were incorrect or incongruent with the sentiment of the school.

The N.S.L. is in the forefront of the fight for a Second City College Congress Against War to be held before the end of the semester.

WILFRED MENDELSON

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Sir:

For some time, I have been watching the activities of the League. Until William "Bandbox" Hearst spouted on the peace hopes of the League, I was only mildly interested in your cause. Now, I should like to understand the League's point of view. I should appreciate any information you might send me about the National Student League.

Yes, W.R.H. is my pet aversion.

Sincerely,

Burlington Junior College THOMAS J. DAILEY.
Burlington, Iowa.

Gentlemen:

I think you can at least thank the Hearst newspapers for one thing. That is for the interest they have created in your League through their attacks.

I would like to know more about the National Student League and I know our class in International Relations at the college here would also. Please send me such literature as you can to enlighten us on the subject.

Wayne, Neb. FREDERICK S. THOMPSON

Dear Sir:

Knowing you will be interested in hearing how the various N.S.L. chapters met the red scare in the Hearst newspapers for Sunday, February 26, we send you enclosed a copy of the leaflet which we issued on the University of Washington campus in 1,000 copies the Monday morning immediately following.

A skeleton committee was hastily gathered Sunday afternoon to write and mimeograph the leaflet. Despite such errors as were made we believe we met squarely and without evasion the Communist charge, and turned some of the publicity to our own favor by discounting Hearst's motives and the inviolable justice of his writer.

As soon as the second installment will be published in the Sunday *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle), we will work on another leaflet, to be published with more coolness and more attention to the objectives of this sinister publicity.

Newsdealers all over town told of a tremendous demand for the *Student Review* the Sunday the Hearst article appeared. Our literature agent is authorized to double or triple her order. You will hear from her immediately.

Yours sincerely,

Seattle, Wash. RONALD LUND

To the Editor:

IT is unfortunate that the *Student Review* should have printed as its official report of the New York University Convention against War an article written by one whose connections with the Convention and its subsequent activities have been slight.

The article has evoked a storm of criticism at the University from both N. S. L.-ers and non-N. S. L.-ers. There are contained in it mis-statements, which give rise to misconceptions, and a tone and an approach which tend to alienate rather than enlist student sympathy and membership to the N. S. L. The superiority and sniffing

contempt in Mr. Starobin's literary style and his pretentious description and history of Greenwich Village were, to say the least, out of place in a report of an anti-war convention.

It is not true that "only one problem evoked real discussion." Vigorous and heated discussions characterized every one of the four study groups into which the Convention divided. The resolutions which came out of them were the syntheses of many proposals and counter-proposals over which delegates wrangled for five and six hours. On the floor of the Convention, during the evening session when the Resolutions Committee presented the preamble and the resolutions, there was "real discussion" on whether or not to include mention of the Soviet Union's peace policy, and on whether or not to take the non-cooperation pledge. Clear and lucid exposition, by N. S. L. members, of the N. S. L. position helped to defeat opposition to these points. In the discussion of the role of the working class, the only real opposition came in the form of insistence that other groups—such as farmers and intellectuals—be mentioned along with the working class. The delegate who proposed the change prefaced his proposal by agreeing with the N. S. L. speakers. This confused the N. S. L. members themselves. Had a vote been taken on the leadership of the working class in alliance with other anti-war groups, it would have been carried by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Starobin's unfortunate literary mannerisms lead to further inaccuracies in his treatment of Dr. Hook's role at the Convention. On the first night of the meeting, Dr. Hook became the leader of a group to save the student body from what it believed, a priori, were going to be the sectarian proposals of the N. S. L. It should be stated that the Arrangements Committee, and not the N. S. L. (as Mr. Starobin writes) had proposed that four members from different schools of the University be elected en bloc. This move had been made on the insistence of the Heights delegates in spite of the opposition of the N. S. L. members on the Arrangements Committee. When this was proposed at the Convention, Dr. Hook, in the interests of "democracy," introduced a motion to set aside this proposal. Unfortunately this served to encourage the disruptive elements at the Convention, even those farthest from Dr. Hook's own position. The session grew seriously disorderly, so much so, that the offices of Professors Wheelwright, Burnham and Burgum were needed in the task of restoring order and efficiency.

We recognize and are glad to note Dr. Hook's help at the Saturday night session, particularly, his opposition to the amending of the draft resolution in relation to the hegemony of the working class. We do not attempt to define what were Dr. Hook's intentions outside of our objective knowledge, but we do say that his actions objectively aided those who organized themselves to "rid the Convention of Socialism and Communism."

Mr. Starobin states that "the first flush of enthusiasm is giving way to an indifference among the students." In refutation, we merely point to the student symposium held on the pledge, to the theatre part to "Peace on Earth," to the anti-war meetings being held at all divi-

sions of the University, to the active participation of the Permanent Committee in the plans for and the execution of the program of the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism, and to the initiative which the same committee took in calling representatives to a city-wide collegiate anti-war committee.

In conclusion, we wish to remind the editors of *Student Review* that Mr. Starobin's article should have been referred to the Executive Committee of the N. Y. U. chapter before publication. And we further call to the attention of the editors that as long as the pages of its official organ characterizes student bodies as "petit bourgeois" and "pseudo-bohemian" (as Mr. Starobin puts it) or "ultra-conservative and reactionary" (as Bill Gordon does and then expects to build a Yale chapter!) the N. S. L. cannot enlist the support of the masses of the students in building a "revolutionary student movement."

N. Y. UNIVERSITY CHAPTER
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dollfuss In Oregon

THERE is no military training at Reed, no R.O.T.C., no censorship of the college newspaper, no frats, no sororities, and no paid athletic coaches. Sports are mainly intramural, and under a system of student leadership. There are no squabbles over representative student government; it was provided as a part of the community life on the plans of the founders of the college. And there is free speech. What a student says and does at Reed is subject only to what is called the "honor principle." In brief, Reed is probably the most liberal of educational institutions, and yet Reed has its problems like any other college in the United States.

During the height of the Austrian crisis, four students (including a recently elected Rhodes scholar) circulated a statement denouncing the barbaric attack of the Dollfuss regime on the socialist working class of Austria. It was signed by President Coleman, seven faculty members, and forty of the more prominent students. On the same day it was decided that a large demonstration be held, where effigies would be burnt. The plan started from a casual joke dropped by one of the faculty members, but the idea caught on, and immediate arrangements were made to carry it into effect the next night, Friday. There was to be a dance then and the campus was bound to be full. The purpose, as stated by the student leaders was to arouse interest in the problems of the present day Austrian and German situations, and their common fascist tendencies.

Friday afternoon, the leaders were approached and invited to discuss the matter with the president. They did. The president heartily approved of the purpose but not of the tactics of the demonstration, saying that it would be "silly," unintellectual, and detrimental to the publicity of the college. He offered as a substitute for "this medieval burning of dolls" the use of the college

EDITORIAL REPLY

1. The N. Y. U. chapter has one valid criticism. Starobin's attitude was supercilious. This we regret and will try to atone for.

2. It is not *always* necessary that the most active participants in activity be the reporters of that activity. Mr. Starobin conducted one of the study sessions.

3. We regret that Mr. Starobin's "unfortunate literary mannerisms" perturbed the N. Y. U. chapter. His article was not intended as a report in the sense that it had to be exclusive of any personal opinion or comment.

4. There is only one way for the N. Y. U. chapter, or any other chapter of the N. S. L. to get official reports or communications into the *Review*. They will have to assign someone to do the writing, approve the report, and then send it in. We cannot send back articles to Oskosh, Oregon and N. Y. U., in order to get the official seal.

chapel, where, he said, the problem could be attacked sanely, and with a more telling effect. He presented his opinions with no suggestion of intimidation, or of faculty coercion. Instead of being dissuaded the students pushed through their plans with renewed vigor, and the demonstration took place at 10:15 p. m., during the intermission of the dance. The participants appeared en-masse, carrying torches, banners and effigies of Hitler and Dollfuss, chanting in unison: "Down with Hitler and Dollfuss!" They circled the dorms about 120 strong, (the college enrolls 470) and then marched to a clearing where the effigies were strung up on gallows and set in flames. The fires leaped high into the night air and attracted a great number of spectators. The marchers gathered around in rough semi-circle, and intermixed with other students who had been at the dance; and girls, too. All in all about 250 people stood around at the burning. Calls for speeches were answered with concerted outbursts of "Down with Fascism!" and the assertion that "as a gesture this is clear enough!" Attempts to turn the gathering into a joke were booed down, and a period of comparative quiet ensued, during which the spectators watched the stuffed replicas sink to the ground. The crowd broke up quietly at 10:45.

Those are the facts. Controversy rose concerning them. Conservative opinion rallied around Dr. Coleman, who declared that the whole affair was a "silly prank." Charging Dr. Coleman's stand as "an attempt publicly to discredit a determined protest against a real menace", the leaders of the demonstration said, "We can understand why Norman F. Coleman should be anxious to make a major virtue of dignity. But some of us are sufficiently convinced of the importance of these political issue to take a stand on them."

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ALBERT FRIEDMAN

Book Reviews

The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan, By James T. Farrell. Vanguard Press. \$2.50.

FARRELL'S first novel, *Young Lonigan*, provided a picture of a young boy struggling to fix a focal point of judgment out of the myriad nuances of youth. Without knowing why, William (Studs) Lonigan felt that he had to be a rebel, that his true destiny would be otherwise destroyed by his parents, school, and church, all of which had no significant relation to himself. Over and above all was the compulsion of being "tough," of avoiding the pitfalls that fooled the conforming "punks." Studs is an inarticulate Stephen Dedalus in revolt against a petty bourgeois background but he turns to life rather than art in his effort to know himself.

Studs grows up during the period lying between the United States's entrance into the War and the Great Crash; he works for his father in the painting business. Yeah, Studs is a real guy, he has plenty of dough in his sock and the kick of an ossified mule in his right fist though maybe Weary Reilly is tougher and has a better right hand and maybe if you come right down to it Studs is not so tough in comparison to Weary Reilly but anyway Studs is plenty tough and the punks think he's a swell bo but he sneers at them, for instance this Andy Le Gare out on the west coast working hard and going to school and writing Danny in Chi to send regards to good ole Studs Lonigan, who sure is one swell guy, Danny. It is a man's world and therefore you have to be a real man, a rough guy, to get anywhere in it. Pool, baseball, football, dances, and girls are all right but you have to go into that stuff like a man . . .

The structure is episodic and held together by the single continuous thread of Studs's battle to remain a triumphant individual on his own terms, which issue from the inarticulate conception of Studs as the guy who does things, rather than the other way around; and at the end of the book when Studs lies in a drunken stupor in the street, "bloody, dirty, odorous with vomit," his failure is clearly indicated.

As a character study of an individual *The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan* is one of the most penetrating analyses of unconscious bourgeois class consciousness that have been written in recent times. Tell Studs that he is a force fighting against workers and he will laugh you off, telling you that he himself doesn't give a good god damn; all he thinks about is getting along in the world. He is politically and economically unconscious, and his mind reflects the bankruptcy of his cultural heritage. There is nothing to fight for although it is important to fight; there is nothing to be happy about although it is good to be happy; and there is nothing to get really excited about except girls: and for that you can't be really tough. All that is left is vicarious activity evoked by a vague inner drive toward perfection; but what that is or what it should be is quite undecided. Perhaps Studs's victory will come after he awakes from his drunken stupor in the gutter.

Farrell has a vigorous mind and an aching ego which compels him to give everything he has or thinks he has; as a result this book is overcrowded with cardboard events, with a wealth of detail which never complements the personality of the main character. It is apparent that Farrell, is bearing down too hard. He needs more control and more experience. The entire question of the class basis of Studs and what he represents is apparent only to those who know where to look for it, whereas it should tower over everything for all to see. Nevertheless there is good reason to await his next novel with expectations of great accomplishment, for Farrell's vigor, honesty, and creative instinct must inevitably produce literature of a rare and powerful quality.

PETER MARTIN

Lenin, by Ralph Fox, Harcourt Brace and Co.

MR. Ralph Fox has written a popular and human biography of Lenin. To the wise guy and professional kritiker this is a way of saying: "Although Fox is a member of the British Communist Party, and had access to the Russian materials, he was unable to construct a truly momentuous and detailed analysis of Lenin's life."

John Strachey says, a bit mildly, of these people in his review of the book (*Nation*, Feb. 21) "they appear to have given way a little to a certain childish desire to appear learned."

The merit of Fox's book is its inspired and reverent simplicity. It is a straightforward tale of a life so impressive to Fox's mind that he could not be ought else but restrained. His reverence is, of course, far from idolatrous; rather it is animated by a serious joy in telling a wonderful story.

Particularly the passages relating of Lenin's boyhood, his student days, and the influences of his older brother, make fascinating reading. Even during Lenin's Siberian exile, when he had already plunged into the labor of organizing the Party of the Revolution, Fox finds it important to detail the life in the small Siberian town, the beauty of long walks over frozen fields, and quiet song in the forest. Not the sensationalism, here, of the foreign correspondent, nor mere fiction.

The difficulty with the book is the hunger that it inspires for a really thorough volume on Lenin and Leninism.

To say this is not to damn; it is merely that precisely such a biography, correcting, as it does, many prevalent misconceptions concerning Lenin's life and character, makes one demand a broader, more political, more scientific treatment of Lenin in relation to his life's work.

Lenin's contribution to the theory and practice of the 20th century revolutionary movement lies in his uncompromising insistence that only a criticism and annihilation of all those forces within the working class movement and its periphery that distort, impede, and vitiate the revolution, can ensure the victory of Socialism.

What is needed is an analysis of this contribution. This will be more than a refutation of slanders. It will be more than a biography. It will be an aid to revolution in five more sixths of the earth.

J. S.