

Student Review

IV, NO. 1

NOVEMBER, 1934

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STUDENT REVIEW

Vol. IV November, 1934 No. 1

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Published by the NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
14 West 14th Street New York City

THE next patriotic war debauch is due on Armistice Day, November 11, only a few weeks off. They hardly go through the motions of mourning the war dead any longer. The day has been thoroughly converted into a frontal assault on the very treacherous and partial "peace" we are permitted for a while longer. Grimly, the march towards war and fascism proceeds in five-sixths of the world. Unless we cherish the prospect of being mourned over some time hence, we must do more than weep at the tombs of the past. The militarists are right: if you want another imperialist war, it is silly to weep over past slaughters; prepare for the next. But if you are against another imperialist war, fight every manifestation of war and fascism; make Armistice Day an

occasion for demonstrating your active wrath, not passive sentimentality. Our task, student anti-war work, is now entering a critical phase. There is a danger that the encouraging developments in the recent past, especially the unprecedented strikes and demonstrations last April, will stop just there. We will either go forward in the struggle against war and fascism or we will beat a retreat; stand still and hold our position we cannot. Student opinion must be stripped of its confusion and passivity; activity must embrace wider masses and take on more dramatic forms. The time to test our ability to carry the struggle forward is at hand and should reach its high point around Armistice Day.

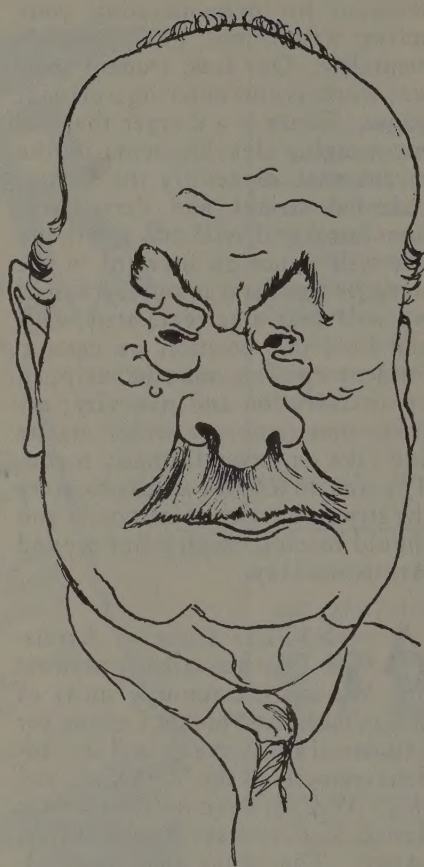
A UNITED front on Armistice Day has already been set up. We are maintaining unity of action with the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the student councils of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have indicated their desire to cooperate to the fullest extent. The plans that have already been worked out are very definite and their success in large part depends upon the discipline and unanimity that can be established throughout the country. Mass meetings and demonstrations are scheduled for Friday, November 9, the last school day before Armistice Day. Torchlight parades should follow the demonstrations or take place independently on the evening of November 10. Regional, local or school anti-war conferences should be arranged for the 10th and 11th. The parades and demonstrations may be used in conjunction with a conference. Every attempt should be made to

draw in the maximum number of high school students where that is possible, especially in cities. The most dramatic national demonstration will be a united front delegation to Washington demanding the diversion of war funds to schools and needy students. Concrete plans for this delegation are now in progress. Whether your college can send a representative with the delegation or not, a veritable deluge of telegrams should be sent to the President supporting the delegation's demands on November 9. Above all, in all Armistice Day activity, extreme care must be taken not to commit the gravest error: vagueness and generalities in demands. Concretely tie the general anti-war struggle to conditions on your campus, raise demands relevant to your school, center the attack on R.O.T.C. as the instrument of the war machine on the campus.

THERE are further milestones, too. The International Student Congress Against War and Fascism takes place December 29 to 31, 1934, at Geneva. The call for this Congress goes back to the World Congress of Youth held in Paris in September, 1933. European students have already accomplished much in preparation for the December congress. Forty-six English students were elected delegates to Geneva at the recent Congress of Youth Against War and Fascism just held at Sheffield. They represented nineteen English and Scotch schools and universities. The B.O.N.S.S., the famous association of Bulgarian anti-fascist students, pledged an initial sum of 11,000 leva to finance their large delegation. Spanish students have

promised at least sixty delegates and are publishing *Fronte Universitario* as the organ of the preparations committee. More important even than all this is the delegation of the World Committee of Students Against War and Fascism to the Congress of the International Socialist Student Federation at Liege, August 3 to 5, last. They presented concrete proposals for united action against fascism and imperialist war, for active participation in the anti-fascist meetings and demonstrations of the working-class, and for the participation of the I.S.S.F. in the Geneva Congress. The Socialist Student Congress gave no definite answer *but invited the delegation to contact the different national sections of the socialist federation*. The National Student League has already made such proposals to the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the American Socialist student organization affiliated to the I.S.S.F. No reply has yet been received. Meanwhile our task is to popularize the Geneva Congress to the utmost, to raise a fund for the sending of delegates, to establish national and local committees for the Congress, and to give it that breadth and unity which will alone spell success in December.

IT now appears that when our friends in the League for Industrial Democracy and its student section withdrew from the American League Against War and Fascism, they withdrew from the mainstream of the struggle. The LID itself must perforce give testimony to that if the recent actions of a number of its leading members bear any significance. The presidents of both the LID and the Stu-



Drawn by Florence Sachnoff

"Talk by radicals about maldistribution of wealth is sheer invention," said Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, in an address at the Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, L. I.

dent LID are now in the ranks of the American League though their organizations are not. Robert Morss Lovett, president of the LID is a vice-chairman of the American League. We are glad to print his views on another page of this issue. Richard Babb Whitten of Tulane University, president of the Student LID, recently took the stand that Professor Lovett has taken from the very beginning. He is with the American League.

Waldo McNutt, chairman of the First American Youth Congress and the Kansas member of the National Executive Committee of the Student LID, was one of the speakers at the main session of the second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism just concluded in Chicago. Professor Broadus Mitchell of the economics department of Johns Hopkins University, a leading member of the LID and Socialist nominee for Governor of Maryland, announced his support of the American League only a month ago. That the pressure from their own ranks has not been without effect is indicated by the fact that the LID itself has at least ceased snubbing the American League. A delegation of "observers" was present at the Congress. The time for the LID and especially its student section to act decisively and join the only united front that exists today against war and fascism is at hand. There are reasons to believe just this will soon happen.

THE First American Youth Congress will be remembered as one which was to urge an extension of CCC camps, then turned and condemned them and demanded their abolition; the Congress which was called to endorse a national system of subsistence homesteads, then renounced them and urged passage of H. R. 7958, the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill; the Congress which was to approve a nation-wide apprenticeship plan, and flatly came out for vocational training at the expense of the government and employers; the Congress which was intended to uphold the Roosevelt war budget and de-

clared its firm opposition to imperialist war and demanded that war funds be transferred to education with the abolition of the R.O.T.C. The Congress is carrying on in just this tradition. The executive board, with representatives from the National Student Federation, the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Y.M.C.A., the Young Communist League, the L.I.D. and the N. S. L., has made ambitious plans for the future. Mass meetings and regional conferences are being arranged throughout the country. The resolutions and minutes of the whole Congress have all been mimeographed and will soon be printed for wide distribution. A conference has been called at Washington in January when Congress meets to present the program, with special emphasis on the unemployment insurance bill. To those who persist in hindering the united front by returning to lugubrious episodes of the past, we say: *Look to the First American Youth Congress; that is where the future lies!*

GILLESPIE County, Illinois, points a moral that cannot be misunderstood. We have spoken much about unifying students and workers. We have said much about the essential unity of interest of both. We have pointed out that this unity of interest must be given concrete and significant expression in action. In Gillespie County, precisely that has taken place. For two days, from September 11 to 13, students at Gillespie Community High School went on strike against the employment of David Tallman, an English instructor in the school. Tallman worked during the summer as a strike-breaker

at a steel plant in Alton. His lame excuse was that he was employed before the strike and thus merely retained his job, not participating in the union dispute over wages and hours. A scab who remains on a job is better than a scab who finds a job. The students thought differently and stayed out until the school board recognized the effectiveness of the demonstration sufficiently to compromise. It was agreed that the school patrons would be given an opportunity to vote on Tallman's employment and he has, in fact, just been fired. Union organization in Gillespie is extremely strong. It is known as the center of revolt against the officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America.

MORE than 3000 high school students struck on September 18 against increased fees in Montreal, Canada. Students from both Commercial High School and the Baron Byng High School, the two largest in Montreal, filed out of their rooms after the noon recess. They took up picketing positions at all entrances and persuaded pupils not to enter the buildings. Representatives from each of the grades in the schools, situated in the central section of the city left their desks as a result of meetings called by the Montreal Student League. A school official stated that the increase in fees, which went into effect at the beginning of the term, ranged from 50 to 75 cents, according to grades. Officials of the Protestant school commission emphatically declared they were not going to take any action about the strike. One of the officials is reported as saying: "Education is voluntary, and if they don't want

to study we cannot force them to do it. There is an invitation for them to learn, it is not a command, and if they don't want to, that is their affair." This would make it appear that the strike was directed not at the increase of fees but against a free, unrestricted education — nothing less than a monstrous misrepresentation. The revived Student League of Canada has been playing the leading role in the whole movement against fees and retrenchment in Montreal, the educational sore of Canada.

IT has become increasingly plain that the most important organizational task ahead for the National Student League is that of gaining a mass high school membership for the National Student League. On the whole, our program is even more directly and immediately relevant to their needs than to those of the college student. Vastly more of them are young workers or come from working class homes. Retrenchment in education has much more meaning for them and for the public schools than for colleges. In fact, only a small minority of them reach college. The rest feel much more intimately the relentless knocking of society at the gates of the school. What took place at Gillespie and Montreal this month, and in Chicago and Philadelphia last year, indicates our responsibilities and opportunities. The "Student" in National Student League must come to embrace the high schools equally with our present college nucleus. The specific applications of this task are discussed elsewhere in this issue.

WE GATHER STRENGTH

THE Third Summer Conference of the National Student League, with its four days of reports and speeches, July 5 to 8, was the most thorough and effective we have had. Its record must finally be written in countless newspaper clippings. It will be painstakingly inscribed in bulging membership files. The record will be written when the business is executed—in the colleges.

The main long-term problem was advanced by Joe Cohen for the New York Resident Bureau of the National Executive Committee. Events on and off the campus were catapulting ahead. Could we keep pace? The capitalist world speeds towards war. What resistance can we and will we be able to organize in the colleges and high schools? Unparalleled strikes sweep the country. Can we really be an aid, an auxiliary to the working class? Even on the campus, the anti-war movement has far outstripped the size of our organization. In the high schools, there have been strikes of various sorts, spontaneous and unled. Our organization has kept pace neither with the necessity for action nor with the growth of our own influence. The American scene makes implacable demands on a revolutionary student organization.

We had to be harshly critical. Only a minority of colleges took part in the April 13 strike; why? Suppose you had a successful strike. Then how many members did you recruit? When you held meetings, did you pass out membership cards? When you sell the *Student Review*, what do you do with the money?

The growth of our organization will ultimately depend on how seriously we take just these simple, inevitable problems.

New England: Each delegate reported on the work of his chapter. Each report was comment on the general report and a contribution to the general discussion. We had made considerable progress in New England. The "older" chapters at Smith, Amherst, Yale, and Harvard had finally grown beyond the circle of initiators, and were attracting many new members. At Clark University, an almost 100% strike on April 13 precipitated the birth of a large and active chapter. At Dartmouth,

N.S.L. members were influential in the Junto discussion club with some 200 members. N.S.L. members edited the excellent weekly journal of comment, *Steeple Jack*, and even have plans for a daily newspaper. One of the Dartmouth delegates was afraid that his chapter would have little activity because of the dearth of problems. He was reminded that he himself had reported on the nocturnal excursions of the members in order to post up announcements of meetings on the campus trees.

It was also pointed out that in the neighborhood of Dartmouth are factories and textile mills with poor conditions and badly paid workers. Throughout all of New England one of the outstanding activities of the N.S.L. will be support of working class struggles. Students can get publicity for striking workers. Our chapters can frequently collect considerable relief on the campus. We will learn the meaning of our own program in the cold mornings on the picket line, and in the eloquent bitterness of the strike meeting.

The most startling of the group was made by a newcomer from a rural school, from the University of New Hampshire. The delegate reported on a group of thirty anxious to join the N.S.L. immediately. There is a large, well-organized anti-war movement at the school. The delegate was a bit apologetic about the fact that one of the members of the embryonic N.S.L. chapter is also an officer of the R.O.T.C. He explained that the group had come to the conclusion that R.O.T.C. could most effectively be combatted by agitation from within as well as by mass pressure from the outside. Clearly and without hesitation, a new member explained with Yankee shrewdness a position the N.S.L. had reached after months of argument and discussion.

Cities: On the whole, we had made more progress in the small college towns of New England than in large cities and industrial centers. In spite of the amazing strike of 15,000 students demanding pay for their teachers, the N.S.L. is still very weak in the Chicago high schools. The largest chapter is at the University of Chicago which is, however, almost completely isolated from the rest of the chapters. Philadelphia was

mercilessly criticized for its inability to master the most elementary principles of organization. Although a strong campaign had been carried on at Temple against the undemocratic methods of selecting a student council, although the N.S.L. had circulated an anti-retrenchment petition which thousands of students signed, no members were recruited, no solid organization built up.

The N.E.C. agreed to have its members make frequent organizational trips to Philadelphia. Cleveland reported progress. Four new chapters had been formed. The Fenn College chapter reacted vigorously and quickly to Negro discrimination. When two Negro students were barred from the swimming pool, the N.S.L. organized a march to the pool, the students surrounded by eager defenders. The discrimination ended then and there. A new chapter is being organized at the University of Pittsburgh in spite of an administration unequalled throughout the country for its reactionary and suppressive policies.

The Executive Secretary of the New York District reported on a college membership of over 800. The report dealt with activities in every important national campaign, especially the participation of 15,000 in the April strike—and the considerable lag between influence and organization. Three thousand college and high school students marched behind our banner on May 1. Just about half of these are signed-up, dues-paying members.

The West: In addition to the older and well-established Middle-Western chapters at the Universities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Oberlin, and Michigan, flourishing chapters have been formed at Marietta, and the University of Missouri. The Pacific Coast is one of our leading centers. There are strong groups at the Universities of Washington and Oregon. California has recently become a large, well-functioning district with headquarters in Los Angeles. The anti-war strike was highly successful in California. The N. S. L. issued leaflets calling upon the students to support the striking longshoremen. A large mass meeting in support of the strike was conducted by the N.S.L. at San Pedro. Everywhere the longshoremen were eager to cooperate in the formation of chapters and gave us the names of their children and their friends' children. Some 15 new high school chapters were actually organized in San Francisco and environs but most of these chapters were or-



Drawn by George Price and Louis Lapchek

organized after the conference, and explained the absence of the California members.

Organization: The organizational report tied up the loose ends of much of the discussion and answered many of the problems that arise in daily chapter activity. The report refused to accept "laziness" as an explanation of organizational laxity or insufficient activity. The main problem for a functioning chapter is responsibility. If the entire membership becomes aware of its responsibility in the building of a revolutionary student movement, there will be no laziness, no inactivity. It is time for all of us to realize that the efficient execution of routine daily tasks makes or breaks an organization. It is frequently the measure of our understanding of our perspectives and fundamental problems.

A well-worked-out plan of activity will make laziness impossible in even the largest chapter. We have work cut out for us in

all clubs, in all school organizations. We participate in language clubs, in science societies, and in all school publications. We are particularly interested in student self-government. We should participate in student council elections. Our candidates run on a platform that is not necessarily the entire N.S.L. platform, but one which derives from it. At all times, our work in these organizations is dictated by our current campaigns and activities. Where the chapter is particularly large, it is advisable to divide it into committees, such as, Retrenchment, Anti-War and Fascist, Negro Problems Committees. The committees do research work and are responsible for placing their particular problem before the chapter.

The problem of recruiting has already been discussed in connection with the individual chapters. The most important and most obvious means of obtaining a large

membership, is independent N.S.L. activity. Wherever N.S.L. members are active we never forget our own identity. In anti-war societies and in discussion clubs, we act and speak as N.S.L. members. We will recruit members from the various school organizations to which we belong. We will recruit from mass meetings, if our speakers explain the program of the N.S.L., if our literature is distributed, if our elusive membership cards are at hand.

Intensive active campaigns frequently becomes an excuse for dropping N.S.L. work. It is precisely during a free-speech fight, or an anti-war struggle that it is most important for our chapter to function regularly. At the termination of a campaign, we must consolidate our forces. Call a well-publicized N.S.L. membership meeting. Discuss the campaign, its mistakes and achievements. Sign up the active participants as members of the N.S.L.

High Schools: Outside of New York we had almost completely neglected the organization of High School students. We have chapters only in Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and Chicago. These chapters lead what amounts to an autonomous existence. They pay no dues. They have no membership books. They rarely write. The reason is just plain lack of attention on the part of the National Office.

For the first time we paid more than lip service to the notion that the N.S.L. is an organization of *High School and College students*. Two members of the secretariat of the N.E.C. were placed in charge of organizing a High School section. The committee carrying on the work is a committee of the N.E.C., and reports to it.

The College chapters can easily lay the foundation for a real High School section during the coming term. Alumni are to go back to school and renew old contacts. We are to keep in mind our young and uninitiated relatives. The High School section will issue a magazine. Each College chapter must organize at least one High School chapter by the end of the school semester. The College students assigned to High School work are to have specific functions in the High School chapter as members or officers. They are to report back to the college chapter and to the National Office.

These responsibilities are increased in industrial towns and large cities. Here we find the children of workers and of strikers, the workers and workless of the future. Here we are to follow the example of the San Francisco N.S.L. By means of actual, daily activity we are to convince strikers, unions, and other labor organizations that they should help build the N.S.L. Many of the fundamental weaknesses of the N.S.L. will be eliminated by the influx of new members from trade schools and from schools in industrial neighborhoods. These will provide the aggressive and determined leadership that is frequently lacking. They will provide, in their own persons, the intimate connection with the working class which is the backbone of N.S.L. policy and activity.

Anti-War and Anti-Fascist Activity: Only in regard to our anti-war activity did we feel that we had equalled and exceeded the decisions made at the Washington conference. We had played an important role in all of the anti-war conferences. In most cases, the program adopted was one

altogether satisfactory to the N.S.L. Nor need we speak here of the astounding success of the April 13th strike.

Our most serious deficiency was the lack of a serious campaign against the R.O.T.C. Certain schools were chosen as the center of a concerted drive against the R.O.T.C. at the beginning of the semester. These schools are Yale, City College of New York, Cornell, the U. of Illinois, U. of California at Los Angeles, U. of California, New York University (Heights), and the U. of New Hampshire.

Our program and tactics were definitely cleared up. The N.S.L. would work from within as well as from outside the R.O.T.C. The N.S.L. members will have it as their obligation to consider R.O.T.C. cadets not as enemies but as students to be won over to our program.

Accordingly, we will be unable in the future to issue leaflets to the freshmen with the slogan *Boycott the R.O.T.C.* It will remain our policy to dissuade as many freshmen as possible from strengthening military drill. We cannot, however, issue the slogan of *Boycott*. We cannot encourage a psychology which will lead to individual, passive resistance in time of war. On the basis of our own program we came to the conclusion that in time of war we will have to carry on the anti-war fight from within the armed forces and outside them. We will have to begin preparing for active and militant resistance to war by our present program and our present tactics.

It was also decided that in the future we relate our anti-war activity more closely to the fight against fascism. Not only have we failed to carry on sufficient anti-fascist activity, but we have not even clarified and discussed the problems of fascism in our publications. Study outlines and articles will be prepared.

The delegates felt that closer cooperation would be necessary with the American League against War and Fascism. In spite of the difficulties imposed by the date of the second U. S. Congress, it was decided that each chapter can send at least one delegate who will bring back to his school the program and the decisions of the Congress. A report on the preparations for the International Student Conference Against War and Fascism next December in Geneva was made. We are inviting delegates from various other student organizations such as the S.L.I.D. and the National Student Federa-

tion of America, from schools and from clubs. We must extend the scope of our preparations. The task ahead is to initiate at the Conference a united student movement against war on an international scale.

Negro Student Problems: Delegates kept arriving up to the very last session which was on the problems of Negro discrimination and of organizing Negro students. The delegate from Marietta delayed on the road by lack of hitches arrived as this session started. The report on the activity at Howard indicated the main problem. In spite of the fact that real work had been accomplished, we met with a number of difficulties. The biggest obstacle was the absence of a strong N.S.L. in the white schools of Washington. The students at Howard want to see the unity of Negro and white students in practice before they join the N.S.L. The organization of Negro students will be made possible if together with our attempt to organize the Negro college, we work hard to organize white students in the South and if we carry on a consistent fight against discrimination in the North.

We decided to set up a strong committee on Negro Student Problems, the chairman of the committee to be a member of the N.E.C. It will have as its most important campaign the organization of a Scottsboro-Herndon Week in the colleges and High Schools throughout the country. The Student L.I.D. has accepted our proposals for the Scottsboro-Herndon Week and the activities will be carried on jointly at the end of November. The Committee will keep the N.E.C. in touch with all the cases of Negro discrimination. It will publish a pamphlet on the problems of Negro students. It will arrange a tour for a field organizer in the South. It is noteworthy to point out that this committee has already been organized since the Conference.

The Conference ended. We arose and sang the International. Many of the delegates filed into the National Office where luggage was piled up in the corners and under the huge square desk. We recalled our executive secretary's sardonic reference to a chapter that consistently failed to collect its dues:

It is true that we are not yet an organization but we have the will and the desire to become an organization.

We realized that we had become an organization.

—ADAM LAPIN.

WAR, WORKERS AND STUDENTS

IN every country which boasts the higher education, except the United States, the higher student body is a political force. This force is brought to bear on questions affecting the conduct of the educational institutions themselves, and on those of larger social import. In some countries, such as Russia, China, and Cuba, the students have formed the spearhead of the movement for a new and better social order, and their bravery and sufferings have left an imperishable mark on the record of the revolutionary struggle. But although in the United States the self-conscious activity of the body of students has lagged far behind that of the same class in Europe and Latin America, there are signs of change. Thirty years ago a faint beginning was made in the founding of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, but all the founders dared to advocate was the study of the principles of socialism. As president of the League for Industrial Democracy, the successor of the I.S.S., I have watched with enthusiasm the increasing interest of students in social problems, and the disposition to turn this interest into action. Such action naturally takes first the form of support of the workers in their desperate battle to preserve their legal rights and gain some share in that common heritage of humanity which we call the good life. Students belong to the privileged class. Even if they work hard for their education they are beneficiaries to some extent of the accumulated wealth of society which generations of workers have created, and they expect to graduate into circles in which social security and prestige are marks of their class. That they should turn their organized efforts to aiding the exploited workers is only their fair contribution to the cause of social justice, but in an educational system which conditions young men and women to the service of the bitch-goddess Success, it is none-the-less worthy of note.

Students and workers are two groups in society which possess an inner cohesion, and are susceptible to organization as the result of common interests as well as of physical contiguity in schools or in factories and mines. This capacity for organization fits both classes to contribute largely to the future of a world in which collective action will become more and more important. Since

Marx, it is a commonplace to expect the social revolution by way of a labor movement, and it is a matter of constant regret that such a movement in this country is defeated by internal disputes and the ambition of selfish and often treacherous leaders. On the other hand, it is a tradition of Anglo-Saxon education to provide trained men and women for the service of the common weal, and it is pathetic to see the recipients of this training wasting their magnificent opportunities for common action in local "activities" and vicarious participation in sports. It is doubtless because such forms of dissipation of energy are less prevalent in women's institutions that the students in women's colleges have given beyond others a generous and militant support to social causes.

By virtue of their similarities and differences students and workers are peculiarly fitted to cooperate and supplement each

other. Just after the war a good number of students, animated by the example of the British Labor Party, undertook to qualify themselves as leaders of the labor movement in America. They were wrong. Such leadership must come from the workers themselves. But students with a knowledge of history and economics could and did supply criticism of strategy, economic and legal advice, and statistical information in crises of industrial conflict. By their position students are enabled to act as liaison between workers and the so-called middle class, the support of which must be gained by a revolutionary movement in transition. On the other hand, what students typically lack, direct experience of the exigencies of life, they can find to some extent by association with workers. It is a forward looking plan of education to let students alternate between the academy and industry, and it is equally useful to bring workers for certain



Drawn by Child

The American League Against War and Fascism

periods into the academic life. Workers with hand and brain should not form separate classes. The more rapidly we can unite strength and technical skill with intellectual training and knowledge in the same individuals, the sooner we shall achieve the unity of society.

There are two evils of the present day in regard to which the cooperation of students and workers is especially logical and necessary. They are war and fascism. Such cooperation is logical in the case of war because the young of both classes fight the battles and give their lives; in the case of fascism because fascism is a means of freezing the present social order in the interest of a privileged, possessing, exploiting ruling class which limits opportunity to those who will do its bidding, either as obedient wage slaves or as complacent clerks and salesmen. It is necessary because, as we are constantly told, the next war will be the sudden ruin of civilization, which under the present social order is obviously in a slower but none-the-less inevitable process of decay. That war and fascism are closely connected needs no elaborate proof. How often

have rulers preferred a foreign war to domestic change! Fascism in its protection of vested interests is the most insidious form of preparedness for such war. When the ruling class decided to enter the World War it invoked the spirit of fascism to suppress by violence all opposition. Throughout the conflict the workers were murdered by the hundreds by the fascist precursors of the San Francisco vigilantes of today. Students above all should remember with indignation how their predecessors were deluded into the war by the patriotism of teachers and preachers, who from the safety of academic chair or pulpit took a certain gleeful pride in their contribution to cannon fodder of the young committed to their charge. The American League Against War and Fascism offers an opportunity for students and workers to unite in support of these essential interests; the Congress held in Chicago, September 28-30, will be a means of forwarding and making explicit this alliance.

—ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

FISK'S FIGHTING HERITAGE

SERIOUS struggles on the campuses of the Negro colleges will surely follow the surface eruptions which alarmed the ruling class last year. A few indications show which way the wind is blowing.

In Washington, D. C., Negro students from Howard University picketed the House of Representatives Cafeteria in a more or less spontaneous effort to fight against Negro discrimination as practiced by that body.

Striking Negro students of the Virginia State College for Negroes in Petersburg, Virginia, were summarily arrested by white policemen called by the Negro president, J. M. Gandy.

At Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, the forces are drawing up against each other for another test of power like the struggle of 1920-24, which ended in the unceremonious dismissal of the vicious Negro-hating Fayette Avery McKenzie,

then president of Fisk. A short history of this struggle and the events leading to the revolt of the student body and some necessary conclusions are the *raison d'être* of this article.

At this late date, it is fairly clear that McKenzie was sent to Fisk with a definite assignment. This task was the preparation of the masses of Negro youth for participation in the World War. Although in 1916 the United States Government was not yet committed to a policy of armed support for the Entente, the people who sent McKenzie to Fisk—Hollingsworth Wood, Jesse Jones, and Paul D. Cravath, were "in the know"; hence, F. A. McKenzie was delegated to be president of the leading Negro college and through it led the wide masses of the Negro people willingly to the slaughter.

That he succeeded is history. The fact that the tried student leadership was en-

listed made his task easier. When the soldiers returned to be students again, however, he had to depend on the most desperate violence to maintain his control (and his job). Mass dismissals and expulsions became the rule. Teachers and students alike were denied the rights of free expression or appeal whether organized or as individuals. Over a hundred students and faculty members were forced out of Fisk in the seven years of this despot's rule. Covering his treachery with unctuous concern for "scholastic pre-eminence," and conducting the most ruthless intimidation against students, faculty, and families, he deliberately blasted the lives of hundreds of Negro students who came under his influence.

One cold night in January, 1921, between shivers, two freshmen sat on the curb and worked out a solemn resolve and plan: *McKenzie must go*. The main strategy was to develop mass disobedience in the student body and rally the widest support from the alumni. The opposition on the faculty must be turned to active participation in the fight of the students to get rid of McKenzie.

During the following three years, George Streator and I worked persistently to organize resistance to each new reactionary measure passed by the president. He stated from the rostrum that Negro men and women could not be trusted alone together. Among other and similar tyrannical laws, he passed a measure that the boys could not walk within 8 feet of the girls when they went from one building to another. Not allowed officially to "talk to the girls" during class hours, we were granted the privilege of "calling" for an hour and fifty minutes once in two weeks on Friday nights. Painstakingly we broke these rules and mobilized the hatred of the students against McKenzie.

The expulsions increased. Though not connected with the resistance of the student body, the opposition in the faculty took heart concurrently under the leadership of my father, Professor John W. Work, and Miss Mary E. Spence. My father refused to permit the rendition of the world-famous yearly "Fisk Jubilee Concert" until Jim Crow restrictions introduced by McKenzie were withdrawn and Negroes were permitted to sit anywhere in the Ryman Auditorium.

The alumni became articulate. My father resigned. A courageous young student, recently cited for exceptional scholarship, Elliot Turnage, staged an open hearing and invited the president, who did not come. Another student, Herchel Williams, after making an announcement of some sort from the rostrum, proceeded to tell the story of the race horse whose spirit could not be broken; even though starved by a brutal master he died with his head in the air. George Streater was expelled two or three times and reinstated each time by the petition of the students.

Things smoldered during the summer. I graduated in August and went to work as teacher in a nearby county school. A Negro was kidnapped from the borders of Fisk Campus and lynched.

ACTUAL organization of the students took form rapidly under the leadership of the class of '25 with George Streater at its head. In secret meetings we discussed plans, demands, strategy and possible support.

By the first week of December the hatred of the students against McKenzie was so great and open that he began to prepare a "great provocation." A large number of male students congregated outside the wall of the huge campus which surrounded the girls' building shortly before 10 p.m. (lights out). They whistled, called and sang to the girls. The girls answered by blinking the lights and sitting in the windows, etc. Almost without any warning 30 cops swooped down from where they had been hid by McKenzie and proceeded to beat the boys unmercifully. I do not know whether any arrests took place at that time. A meeting was held, a sort of strike committee elected, a strike called for the next day and demands formulated. The major demands were as follows:

1. Dismissal of McKenzie.
2. A Negro president.
3. A majority of Negro teachers on the faculty.
4. The right to have fraternities on the campus.
5. A student council, and,
6. Certain demands of academic and social freedom.

The morning papers carried lurid stories about the "riot" at Fisk in which the beleaguered president had called the police in defense of self and family, etc., etc.

Early in the morning reporters flocked to the campus to get "full" accounts and pictures. As the only pictures and evidence of the "riot" were the bruised and bandaged heads and bodies of the unoffending Negro

students, the reporters then proceeded to go through the boys' building and with the help of the management collect all the old broken and damaged chairs and benches they could find. They put these in a pile outside the hall and then took pictures which appeared subsequently as authentic photos of the "Fisk riot."

Most of the leaders of the striking students were then arrested. As none of us expected the arrests it was only an accident that Streater remained free for a while. The strike was about 90 per cent solid. A Publicity Committee was put into action and accounts sent out to the entire Negro press. Telegrams of support and advice began to come in from students from other schools and from alumni. Steps were begun to free the imprisoned strike leaders. Arrests continued, Streater was jailed, and nervous parents (largely called by McKenzie) swamped the campus, some to take their boys or girls home, some to support the striking students and some to counsel "caution." DuBois played the most active role among the alumni.

Then came the climax. The white students at Vanderbilt University, the South's proudest bourgeois school, came out in a sympathy strike.

The most significant things followed. The arrested students were tried and released! The newspapers turned tail and flayed McKenzie, offering him the supreme Southern indignity, refusing to call him "Mr." The ruling triumvirate, Hollingsworth Wood, Jesse Jones and Paul D. Cravath were contacted and they agreed that McKenzie should resign after Commencement, six months later. At this time I received my first real lesson in class lines and the part played by people like DuBois. This arch betrayer mobilized the majority of the articulate alumni around the fear that the students would get out of control and the alumni began to clamor for an end of the strike. At the very time when we could have won *all* the demands of the students this so-called "leader" counseled retreat!

A few of us urged continuance of the strike until the dismissal of McKenzie but our voices were drowned in the hubbub created by DuBois and his followers and the strike drew out to an unwilling end. A glorious page in the history of Negro students' struggle against discrimination had been written. On the decision to end the strike on the promise of the removal of F. A. McKenzie at the end of the school year,

Streater and I divided. He followed Du Bois into the swamps of reformism. I then came unerringly to the revolutionary Communist Party as the only means of solving the problems of Negro discrimination and Negro liberation.

In the six months that followed, intimidations and expulsions continued, almost completely wrecking the student body. Commencement came and McKenzie went.

A new figure was put into the picture to carry out the dictates of the Wall Street trustees. Thomas Elsa Jones became president of Fisk. The students were conceded practically all their important demands except a Negro president. They obtained a Student Council, Fraternities, Intercollegiate Basketball, social freedom on the campus and a large improvement in the number of Negro professors and heads of departments. But this was in 1926 and '27 when the bourgeoisie could still make concessions.

Last year saw the gathering of the class forces again at Fisk. Another lynching took place on the borders of Fisk Campus. Again the students took part, this time the leading part, in the protests. A struggle against discrimination on the campus and in the city was begun. T. E. Jones was forced into the open. He follows the path of his ignoble predecessor. Expulsions and intimidations are the answers of the president at Fisk. This time, however, the struggle of the Negro students at Fisk occurs in a period of mass strikes and united struggle of white and Negro toilers in the South. The struggle begun last year will be continued this year. The students must know, though, that their oppressors are not only the president and his immediate supporters, but the unholy alliance of Wall Street capital and their Negro tools of both stripes: the Uncle Toms who counsel "caution," and the "radicals" of the stripe of DuBois who will talk militantly and seek to lead the struggle in order to betray it by splitting the ranks of the students and their working class allies. The students must elect their committees of struggle which will report to and be responsible to the student body. They must seek and find support in the ranks of the alumni, the faculty and other students and workers, especially in Nashville. A strong, determined struggle must be conducted against the *system* of discrimination of which student discrimination is a part. A determined effort must be made to win student participation on the governing body at Fisk.

—MERRIL C. WORK.

HOW THE SOVIETS GREET STUDENTS

NO excuse will be accepted. The American student delegation *must* visit our technicum. The students have prepared dinner and a program which will last until midnight. We should leave at once." The speaker was one of the directors of the Aeronautical Technicum; he was addressing the representative of the National Bureau of the Proletarian Student Organization, our hosts in the U.S.S.R.

"But we too have made complete preparations. It would be counter-revolution not to include the Institute of Non-Ferrous Metals in the program of the delegation!" This was the student trade union representative of his institute. Each contestant was accompanied by a student committee which gave him full support.

It was a hard decision. Both were key institutes; both, being directly responsible to the Commissariat of Heavy Industry, were representative of the tremendous progress which has been made in education as a result of the First Five Year Plan.

A group of us had just returned from a large clinic which we had visited under the tutelage of a group of medical students; the rest of us had spent the morning at the Children's Theatre. We were tired by the five strenuous days under the unstinted hospitality of the proletarian students of Moscow. But our enthusiasm was undulled; few of us would have another opportunity to visit the U.S.S.R. as members of a delegation. We were willing to drive ourselves a bit in order to get the utmost out of the short time that remained to us in Soviet Russia. In the end, half of us went to the Aero Technicum and the other half to the Institute of Non-Ferrous Metals. Neither of our hosts was satisfied, but each tried to outdo the other in entertaining us and in bringing us close to the Soviet student masses.

The incident was typical. Each day, students of the finest institutions of Moscow fought to entertain us. The great majority, of course, we had to disappoint, but during the eight days of our stay as the first official American student delegation to the U.S.S.R., we visited, in addition to the two institutions mentioned above, the Bubnova Pedagogical Institute, the Railroad Institute, the Polytechnicum, the Conservatory

of Music, the Moscow State University, the Chemical Institute, the Second Moscow Medical School, and the Textile Institute and Technicum. And in addition we attended meetings of student organizations and were taken by our hosts to theatre, opera, and ballet.

We were booked by World Tourists on the *Lafayette*, leaving New York July 3. The boat trip was a marvelous experience for all. It was our job, we decided, to utilize the voyage to prepare ourselves, to as great an extent as possible, for the Soviet Union. Permission was obtained to hold meetings in the third class dining room, and every day from 3 to 5 about a hundred passengers from First, Tourist, and Third classes participated in lively discussions on all phases of Socialism. The subjects covered were: the Philosophical and Historical Bases of Marxism, Marxian Economics and Theory of the State, Building Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the Agricultural Crisis in the U. S. and the Progress of the Collectives in the Soviet Union, the Student Movement in the U. S., the Soviet Union in World Affairs, Fascism, Racial and National Minorities.

The discussions were on a particularly high level, for there were with us a few good Marxists. By the end of our trip across the Atlantic we were really ready for a summer of study in the U.S.S.R. and prepared to understand what we were to see of the construction of a social system so different from any we had known.

We had a three-day-stopover in England before the Soviet steamer left en route for Leningrad. In London we were met and entertained by members of the Federation of Student Societies, the British revolutionary student organizations. In one meeting with them we discussed the work in our respective student movements; one point of difference we noted in particular and shall certainly take up for discussion in the coming National Convention of the N.S.L.—the stress of the English student movement on an educational program, through Marxist study clubs. The N.S.L. could be criticized, the English students suggested, for losing itself in its mass campaigns and neglecting the factor of education.

Our second evening in London we spent

in attending an open-air strike meeting of the Boilermakers' Union, at which the principal speaker was Harry Pollitt, the General Secretary of the British Communist Party. After the speeches we stayed three hours to talk with groups of West Ham workers; what we learned of the problems of the English working class was particularly significant in the light of what we were to learn of the problems of the working class of the Soviet Union.

Our first contact with Soviet workers was established two days later, when we boarded the Soviet steamer, *Sibir*, which was to take us to Leningrad. We would like to have shown to the seamen of our Atlantic steamer the quarters in which a Soviet crew lives, and the Red Corner for relaxation and recreation. Our meetings continued on the *Sibir* and were participated in by workers and students of many other lands.

For the first six weeks of our stay in the U.S.S.R., the Delegation was absorbed in the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University. Here we became an integral part of a Soviet educational institution. In our student government, our adoption of self-criticism, and the publication of a wall newspaper, we used as a model Soviet student organization and activity.

There is no question that through the Anglo-American Institute the 214 students and professors who attended got a good insight into socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and, in the great majority of cases, were drawn very close to the Soviet Union. Almost every student, moreover, has taken the improvement of the Institute personally to heart, and through our cooperative efforts, its second year, in the summer of 1935, should be even a greater success.

Mornings were devoted to classes, taught in English by a competent Russian faculty. Professor Mintz's *Sociology* and Professor (former Prince) Mirsky's *Art and Literature* were the most popular of the courses. Sometimes it was amusing to observe the rapt attention with which the students of various shades of bourgeois backgrounds listened to the Marxist interpretation of pre- and post-revolutionary Russian art and literature rendered by the former prince.

Afternoons were spent in practical ob-

ervation of the material covered in the class room. Each day excursions of various nature were offered to the student body. A group attended the meeting of a District Soviet; the class in Crime and Punishment spent two days in the Peoples' Courts; the Medical Seminar took the opportunity to witness a number of abortions in the largest clinic in Moscow; the sociology students visited factories and collective farms.

In the evenings guest lecturers addressed the student body, dances were held in the auditorium, theatres, movies, and concerts were provided for, or the students were free to do what they pleased. The best received of the lectures was one on Soviet Law by Vyshinsky, Assistant Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., who had represented the Soviet Union in the recent espionage case involving the English engineers. He traced the development of revolutionary law from the days of the Cheka, when the State had to enforce its sanctions, often without the formality of a trial, down to the year 1934, when the power to try and convict even in political cases was taken from the O.G.P.U. and transferred entirely to the Peoples' Courts.

On free days we were the guests of the Soviet students, who took us on *massovkas*, or all-day mass picnics in the country. Sports, singing, mass dancing and mass games characterized the *massovkas*, and a firm friendship was established with the Soviet students.

After four weeks in the Third House of the Soviets, where we had our dormitories, class rooms, and dining room, we left Moscow for two weeks of travel in the provinces. One group visited the Crimea and the Ukraine; another went down the Volga; and a third group of 25 students traveled north to Karelia, the first tourists to visit the recently completed White Sea Canal. The N.S.L. Delegation met in Kiev and reorganized to return to Moscow for its eight days as an official delegation.

We had heard vaguely that we were to have trade union status during our stay as a delegation; but we had no idea that in addition to free accommodations and meals in one of Moscow's best hotels, we should get soft drinks, cigarettes, laundry, carfare, theatre parties, and even shaves and haircuts. We were not allowed to spend a penny of our own and our smallest wish was granted. The hospitality of our hosts was unbounded. The National Bureau of

the Proletarian Student Organization and the students of the individual institutes excelled themselves in making our stay comfortable and in crowding our eight days full of experiences to report to our fellow students in America.

On the first day of the delegation, August 31, the 31 members of our group were taken to the Palace of Labor, where we met with the leaders of all the Moscow student organizations. A brief survey was given of the present status of Soviet education and the strides made since 1914. We learned for instance that the 97 higher schools in Russia in 1914 had multiplied to 600 in 1933; that middle schools had increased from 0 to 3,500. We learned that in spite of very high standards 39% of the student body are graded as "excellent," and only 1% fail. We learned that the majority of the students are recruited directly from the working class. We became familiar with student trade union organizations and heard that at the present time a student is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. For two hours we asked questions, on all aspects of student life and work. We were glad to note that what we had learned in our previous six weeks in the U.S.S.R., made it possible for us to ask really intelligent questions which brought out significant features of Soviet educational methods.

"What is done with the backward student?" we wanted to know. "The main objective of socialist competition is for students to overtake those ahead and help those behind. If a student lags he pulls his whole group down; therefore the group as a whole is interested in bringing him up to standard. The best students, the shock brigaders, are judged not only by their own achievements but also by the extent to which they have helped the slower students."

"What is done about disagreements between students and professors?"

"What part do sports play in student life?"

"How about married students and their children?"

"How are students supported while they study?"

There is no space to record the answers to all these questions.

At the final banquet given us September 6, the Delegation presented a Resolution which it had adopted unanimously at a meeting on that day. A completely inade-

quate summary of what we gleaned in these eight days may be given by quoting a paragraph of the Resolution. It is couched in general terms; each sentence might be expanded into an essay.

"We have seen the close connection between theory and practice in the Soviet educational system. We have been able to understand the manner in which the material needs of every student are provided for and the opportunities which all Soviet students have for an education. We have been particularly impressed by the fact that in the Soviet Union students are preparing themselves for a definite purpose and for a job which they are certain of getting after graduation. This economic security is further evidenced by the fact that even while they are attending universities students are able to marry and have children. We have seen that Soviet students feel themselves a factor in the building of socialism, and the eagerness and sincerity with which they do their work has been an inspiring example to us. We have seen how students are recruited from the great masses of the Soviet population, as is evidenced by the fact that the majority of students are workers. Finally we were impressed by the perfect harmony with which the student trade union organizations and the administrations work together."

The comparison is self-evident. The critical situation of American education, the closing down of schools, the slashing of teachers' payrolls, the proposed imposition of fees in city colleges to provide municipal revenue, is a reflection in another sphere of general economic collapse. The decrease in revenues for education reflect not only the immediate economic situation but something even more profound. We are suffering from overproduction in the field of education. To have millions of illiterates when thousands of teachers are unemployed, to have hundreds of thousands suffer from lack of medical care when young doctors are penniless, is as serious a contradiction as to have millions starving in spite of the surplus of food, and millions going in rags when cotton fields are burned. Each June, hundreds of young lawyers, architects, artists, engineers, and members of all other professions graduate and join the ranks of the unemployed.

Why is a trip to the Soviet Union of so much significance to a National Student League group? Why is contact with a revolutionary student organization in a land where revolutionary activity has been in process for seventeen years of such importance to us? The answer is not difficult. The N.S.L. is a revolutionary student organization in the sense that it fights on immediate student issues and that it sees in the problems giving rise to these issues a

serious defect in the entire social system under which the American student masses live. In fighting the utilization of educational institutions for military purposes, it fights the war lords back of the R.O.T.C. and the system that breeds them. In fighting discrimination on the campus, it fights the entire gamut of racial hatred and national chauvinism. In fighting against retrenchment, it is fighting the system that sacrifices education for the sake of private profit.

The workers and farmers of the Soviet Union have conquered war and discrimination and private profit. The Soviet students have played their part in this fight and can

teach us much in the solving of our own problems and the waging of our own campaigns. "Defense of the Soviet Union" means something very real to an N.S.L. Delegation returning from the U.S.S.R.

The most important result of the Delegation is that actual contact has been officially established between the National Student League and the Proletarian Student Organization. Through the Delegation American students have been brought close to the Soviet student masses. It will be the job of every member of the Delegation and every member of the N.S.L. to see that this contact is maintained and cemented.

—ROBERT BOEHM.

ONE FRONT IN MINNESOTA

FOR some years there has been considerable radical expression on the campus of the University of Minnesota, achieving its greatest strength during the 1932 presidential election. Hitherto, there had existed two unimportant and impotent left-wing groups, a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy and a chapter of the Friends of the Soviet Union. Neither of these organizations exerted a mass influence over the student body, and there never were more than 20 or 30 students attending their regular meetings.

In 1932, a strong Thomas-for-President Club was built up. However, following the excitement and heat of the election, it dissolved leaving a few of its leaders to form the nucleus into a Socialist Club. It was obvious that while liberal and radical sentiment existed on our campus, the approach to the student body was not yet correct.

A chapter of the National Student League was organized but it turned out to be as weak as the Socialist Club. The main problem seemed to be the permanent organization of our radical backing which had hitherto only found significant expression under the stress of a presidential campaign.

The way out was found when the NSL chapter and the Farmer-Labor Club (which had since supplanted the Socialist Club) organized the Social Problems Club. The latter has since grown into a strong and virile organization. It was, and is, organized on a very loose basis. No constitution

exists save a few lines for the benefit of the Student Affairs office which requires a regular constitution.

The great success we feel has been due to the complete cooperation of all elements, liberals, radicals, Communists, Farmer-Laborites and Socialists. In fact, everyone who desires a fundamental change in the present capitalistic scheme of things can find a place in the Social Problems Club. So far no single group has tried to push its program down the others' throats, so no internal struggles for control have developed. Despite many and varied arguments and discussions, it is generally agreed that no policy which is directly contrary to the ideas of a considerable body of the membership will be considered.

Besides the presentation of radical and liberal speakers, the Social Problems Club also has engaged in two specific projects during the past six months. First, it sponsored a Peace Demonstration and Anti-War meeting on the day of the annual R.O.T.C. parade. To this end a group of basic drill students and interested upper classmen gathered to promote a demonstration of basic students as well as non-R.O.T.C. groups, although absence from drill on the day of the annual review meant certain disciplinary action. A general call for a Student Peace Conference was sent out by the N.S.L. and the Farmer-Labor Club to be held on May 17, one week before. Fifteen organizations responded, including the Y.M.C.A., the

Y.W.C.A., the Cosmopolitan club, the International Relations club, and other local groups.

While the resolutions represent no consistent program, they indicate the general radical but confused sentiment of the students participating. A Continuations Committee of nine was elected to carry on the Conference's activities, especially as regarded the endorsed move for an anti-war demonstration on Jingo Day—the time of the annual R.O.T.C. general review.

Despite efforts of the Dean of Student Affairs, Edward E. Nicholson, to prevent the demonstration on the ground that it was "discourteous to the Military Department," plans went ahead. Although the Dean refused his permission, the demonstration was held anyway and as yet no action has been taken against the participants by his or any other University office. To make reprisals by the Administration difficult, all previous committees were dissolved before the demonstration and a general committee of 58 was set up, taking all responsibility for the demonstration. *The Daily*, student newspaper, because of its sympathetic treatment of the demonstration, both editorially and in its news columns, was censored for one week by a special committee of the Board of Publications. In reply, *The Daily* published two editorials advocating a square sprinkler system to water campus grounds and calling on all students to keep off the grass to protect the "tender shoots." Both these editorials were published under a signed statement from the editor that they had been approved by the censorship committee.

During the period from Friday till the demonstration much activity was carried on by the Continuations Committee and its sub-committees in propagandising the demonstration, constructing banners and one large sign paraphrasing a remark by the gentleman in charge of the military department—"Drill is a dead issue." Many volunteers appeared from all sides and the work went ahead rapidly.

On Wednesday morning, the day of the demonstration, six thousand handbills were distributed by volunteers who met every street-car, stood at every entrance to the campus, by campus parking lots and in the Central Campus Post-Office. Several scuffles occurred, one distributor was beaten up and two advanced officers received minor contusions during the distribution of handbills. A car, filled with husky volunteers

cruised around the campus and succeeded in keeping the distributors protected. The cadet Lieutenant-Colonel tore off the chevrons of a corporal who was handing out bills, but the campus was covered without too much trouble.

A room had been secured in the Minnesota Union—men's club house—and from the windows of this room the speakers addressed an assembled crowd of over 1500. While advanced drill officers and pro-drill basic students caused some interruption at first, they were forced to leave to attend the review and the meeting went on without trouble. Although many rumors had been circulated of attempts by athletes and advanced drill officers to break up the gathering, the reactionaries did nothing more than heckle. The demonstrators were equipped, however, to meet all comers and this may have been a discouraging factor to the militarists.

The program itself consisted of a number of speeches by representatives of all campus elements. Among those appearing on the platform were the President of Mortar Board, campus women's senior honor society, Ray Ohlson—the only Minnesota student to be excused from drill because of conscientious objection, Chairman of the University Farmer-Labor club, Chairman of the N.S.L., three basic drill students, a graduate student, and members of the women's debate team who presented the case against the munition makers. Telegrams of congratulation were read and the resolutions of the Student Peace Conference were reaffirmed.

Two weeks later drill was made optional by the Board of Regents, and present reliable information leads us to believe that all units save the coast artillery and the signal corps will be abandoned this year and that the total enrollment—basic and advanced combined—will be around 250, as compared with 2300 last year under the compulsory system. However, as this plan has not been officially announced, arrangements are being made by the Social Problems Club to hold meetings during the coming Freshman Week to acquaint freshmen with the drill situation and to introduce them to the radical organizations.

During the recent Minneapolis truck strike of Local 574, General Drivers', Helpers', Petroleum and Inside Workers Union, the Social Problems Club was quite active.

Several special summer meetings were held to discuss the strike and large audiences attended. Over \$150 was raised by the students in support of the strike and many went down to strike headquarters to help the strike by reporting for the *Organizer*, organ of Local 574, writing editorials, aiding in accounting, picketing, cooking food, and so forth. One member, the Chairman

of the Farmer-Labor Club, was arrested during the strike on charges of "failing to move on at the request of an officer" and is now out on \$200 bail.

The united front has been established at the University of Minnesota on a solid and fighting basis. The united front has succeeded elsewhere within the last year. Where will it turn up next?

—LESTER BRESLOW.

—ROBERT SCAMMON.

FIST INTO EARTH

1

Puddle our steel of stars, fuse fist and dream!

and let our cordons in relentless tread rank round, and twine their hate into a rope coiling its nevermore . . . for shock on shock have cloven us in zeal, and gears of hope impel the dried-up pistons of our bones.

What water was this blood? what fat this brain?

that history could squat upon his purse and pluck the golden string so long? . . . that coined and wooden wills slept stiffly with the dead in rows of coffins blotting out the sun?

Yes, windows of the empty factories glowed with resentment, and the hanging cranes suspended cables of a mute despair—the ingots rusted and the putrid air was tense and stringed with anger of the slain . . .

Rustle your bloody curtains, O you days! glimpses of an iron radiant stage—wind our wonderment on spools of praise, girder us and harvest us an age vistas of the derricks and sweet corn . . .

2

And we, speeding thru tunnels goaled with light,

watch these recessions: twin rails of the past backflung and shining across time's converge—

we swoop from this up roadbeds to the sky! below us: rivers bogged with tarry wrecks of ancient values: moldy Christ, Parthene . .

Sooner could we weave the topmost winds than from these cabled heights to dirge the past, hanging like a sun enmeshed in steel, sinking to what rivers? . . . sooner could the spiraling gull be death than we should mourn.

For furnaces have blushed the night's black cheek, and the alternating currents of our rage surcharged and ionized the neutral air—time copper-brushed the brain and blue-flung spark revived spent acid of despair.

Battery! churn of revolt's huge wheel! and the awful tensioned poise of the wak'-ning shaft!

crackling! and you foliage of steel! flowers of our conquest grant us will (lance no arrows at a mystic dawn) drive us as hard spikes into the earth . . .

—SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

CALIFORNIA'S "HIGHER LEARNING"

THE longshoremen's strike smoldered all through the spring. It caught on early in March. Since last January, the membership of the International Longshoremen's Association had been growing on a mass scale. In March, the strike was successfully frustrated by the personal intervention of President Roosevelt with one of his on-the-spot "arbitration boards." The men waited, their impatience grew, the situation was hushed but uncertain.

The idea of supporting workers in their actual struggles has been part of our program from the very beginning but it had as yet not been applied in California. We had listened to speakers from the Imperial Valley, the fascist laboratory of America, and the tales of heroic resistance by workers a few hundred miles south of us were an inspiration. Of course we tried to understand and explain why we supported workers' struggles, why such unity was precisely in the interest of students. The fact remains that our support until this time was almost wholly verbal. The men waited and we waited too.

The great strike broke in May, a little before the close of school. It broke in San Francisco, the key city of the strike, in Portland, Los Angeles, San Diego, in virtually every port on the Pacific. The influence of the National Student League in Southern California is centered in Los Angeles, in the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Los Angeles Junior College, the University of Southern California and at the Roosevelt High School. The test for us was there.

Meetings took place almost immediately in every one of our chapters in the city. The following Saturday, the Los Angeles Junior College chapter organized two cars of NSLers, about 15 in all. We sped down to San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, twenty miles from the city proper.

The men cheered us wildly as we entered the strike hall. At the time, we marvelled at the ovation but we later learned that during the first days of the strike, the men were afraid that public opinion was against them. This unexpected and visible sign of solidarity did more to strengthen the strikers' morale than almost any other development at this juncture. We were given the floor

immediately. The longshoremen knew that some students were scabbing on them. It refreshed them to hear our spokesman promise to expose the scabs and to bring the real story of the strike back to the colleges.

The delegation then hastened to the docks proper. It was bitter, undisguised war—class war. Police were lined up at the docks by the dozen. They were outnumbered almost two to one by hired gunmen, obviously thugs.

We approach an officer. The Law actually smiles and talks. He is just earning his month's bread. He doesn't believe the papers. "These men are trying to get what Roosevelt promised them." A bulky figure appears behind the officer. "What the hell do these kids want here?" The man in the blue uniform makes it all very plain. To the officer again: "Listen, your job is to protect property here, not to be an information booth. You kids get the hell out of here. School meets in Los Angeles." This was the Law behind the Law. The officer froze silent. He moved away.

The scabs were being kept right on the wharves behind the barricaded walls. Another idea: three of us got jobs as scabs. The idea was to get as much dope as possible on what to do once on the ships. We were useful pulling scabs off the ships, and especially in spotting student scabs. Wages were all turned over to the strike fund. It was dangerous business.

The weekend was over. We had to return to school. We finally hit upon a plan for each chapter to send at least two cars of students down to San Pedro every day, after school of course. Then we made plans to reach our own students at Los Angeles. We opened up immediately with a leaflet to all students at the U. of Southern California. Homer Griffith, football idol, was now the darling of the shipowners. Griffith was their chief "publicity" scab. There were others too, mainly from the rich fraternities. The leaflet exposed them neatly.

Secondly, we went after the USC employment agency.

"Are you giving jobs on the San Pedro Docks?" over the telephone.

Answer: "No, but if you will go to Dock No., hiring is taking place today."

A lot of furious scampering around; re-

sult: a flood of protests to the school administration. Phone calls came in from prominent individuals all over the city. The bombardment soon took effect. An assurance finally came through from the highest official in the university that the employment agency was not furnishing scabs. We confronted him with the facts. He promised nothing. We phoned the agency the very next day. "Are you hiring workers for the docks at San Pedro?" "Sorry, we know nothing about the matter." From then on, school scabbing stopped. We also sent a delegation over to see our wealthy fraternity brothers. What was the big idea? They didn't know what it was all about; they'd stop. Anyhow, the publicity spotlight had been too hot for them.

The next leaflet issued at Los Angeles Junior College explained the reasons for the strike and our position on it. We chalked all the boards: *Don't scab!* The strike issue was actually brought before every one of the school's 4500 students. This spadework made itself felt when we called for a delegation for the following Saturday. Thirty-five volunteered. Just a week had passed, but a tumultuous one.

Again the men greeted us with cheers. "*Solidarity forever.*" But the longshoremen were already at this time drawing away from the officialdom of their own union. A gap was appearing and there was good reason for it too. Our own experience is symbolic. This Saturday, we were kept out of the picket lines although we were welcomed last. "No, we're sorry, but we just can't allow any but ILA members on the picket lines." Why? Oh, lots of good reasons. No matter, we were learning. We were in the wrong place, that was all. The strike was not taking place in the offices of the ILA. It was taking place at the cost of workers' blood and agony on the picket lines. Back we went, back to the rank and file. We told the men of the change in temperature at the ILA offices. They were furious. "Hell, get into the picket cars. We're the fellows on strike, not those pencil-pushers." We were not the only ones "learning."

The police now enter the scene. All but five of us had been taken to the picket lines by the strikers in their own cars. The rest

were waiting for a car. We were just off the curb, sitting on the bumpers of two parked cars talking to strikers. A police squad-car circles the block twice. It stops right beside us. "You kids from Los Angeles?" Yes. The questions were very innocuous, just to make conversation almost. "Don't you know there's a strike here?" We had heard of it, we told them. After that, they herded us into their cars: "Come on, come on . . ."

When we got to the police station, they gave us a private "room." After waiting a rather long spell, the cops entered. Con-

versation between them, obviously for our benefit. It was just ham acting.

A little more intimidation, a few more questions. "Are you all Jews? Sure, you're Jews. You're wobblies? Don't tell me you're not a Communist. Naw, there ain't absolutely no difference at all between wobblies and reds."

After an hour of this, they finally let us go. "Get out of town and stay out until the strike is over."

Back in school, the finals knocked us out for a few days. After that, we had the job of keeping ourselves together and keeping

on into the summer as long as the strike lasted. Our next move was to make arrangements for a mass meeting to raise relief for the strike.

The meeting was held Saturday, July 21, at the County Emergency Relief Association in the East San Diego Library. Ray Berquist and Celeste Strack, organizers for the NSL, were to be the main speakers. When we entered, we saw the familiar blue Buick with the "E" license plate parked at the library entrance. San Diego's "red squad," flanked by his assistant, carefully scrutinized each arrival. Just as the meeting began, a commotion at the doorway raised the tempera-

ture of the room. Paul Shapiro, a well-known member of the Young Communist League, had been picked up by Jansen, the "red squad," for threatening the social structure of San Diego by being a member of the audience. That was the beginning of the meeting. Midway through the speeches, Jansen strode down the aisle and seated himself beside Berquist. In two minutes he retraced his steps down the aisle—with Berquist—and out to the blue Buick to the police station. In an hour or so we learned that both boys were booked on a charge of "criminal syndicalism."

Bail was set at \$1000 each. We were unable to get them out until Monday because any criminal syndicalism charge in California requires that those indicted must remain in jail for 70 hours. By the time we could get their release, bail had been lowered to \$500 each and the charges changed to vagrancy. The most delightful hospitality was extended to the boys in jail. They were left in the "drunk tank" instead of in an ordinary cell. They were left without food for over 30 hours. When Shapiro refused to answer questions without advise of a lawyer or until the trial, he was slapped, his clothes torn and he was kicked viciously in the back.

During this time, and after their release, the Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defence both contributed help without stint. We learned later that telegrams had been received by the police authorities from New York, Washington, Harvard and Los Angeles. A steady stream of personal and telephone calls softened the official attitude too.

The end of the strike is known: an arbitration sell-out. The workers bought their knowledge very dearly. We were serving the workers and we tried to serve them well. During the summer, we raised 1700 pounds of potatoes, 100 pounds of beets, fruits and other vegetables and much canned goods, breads, etc. We raised \$40 in cash. Thousands upon thousands of students were made *strike conscious* for the first time. We had helped the strike by building up the morale, by stopping scabs, with material aid, by strengthening the picket lines and by necessary educational work. This was the solidarity we established, a solidarity built upon a basis of work and not words. If our historic role is not to lead the workers, at least let us not be far behind.

—SERRIL GERBER.

Give Your Support!

STUDENTS OF SAN PEDRO HIGH SCHOOL:

MANY OF YOUR FATHERS AND BROTHERS HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE FOR MORE THAN THREE WEEKS. THEY TOOK THIS ACTION BECAUSE THEIR WORKING CONDITIONS WERE NO LONGER BEARABLE AND BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT EARNING ENOUGH TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES. THE SEAMEN AND OTHER WORKERS HAVE SINCE COME OUT ON STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE LONGSHOREMEN AND FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THEIR OWN GRIEVANCES.

AS SOON AS THE STRIKES WERE CALLED THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE ANNOUNCED ITS SUPPORT. DELEGATIONS FROM THE LOS ANGELES CHAPTERS OF THE N.S.L. WENT TO STRIKE HEADQUARTERS AND OFFERED THEIR ASSISTANCE. LEAFLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED AT U.S.C., U.C.L.A., AND L.A.J.C. APPEALING TO STUDENT STRIKE-BREAKERS TO STOP SCABBING AND CALLING UPON ALL STUDENTS TO SUPPORT THE STRIKE. AT U.C. BERKELEY THE FOOTBALL COACH WAS FORCED TO STOP SOLICITING SCABS FROM AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE FOOTBALL SQUAD AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE N.S.L.

STUDENTS, WE CALL UPON YOU TO GIVE ACTIVE ASSISTANCE TO YOUR STRIKING FATHERS AND BROTHERS. WE CALL UPON YOU TO ATTEND A MASS RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE STRIKING SEAMEN AND LONGSHOREMEN THIS--

**Tuesday, June 5th, at 8 p.m.
In Moose Hall, 206 1/2 West 6th Street.**

SEAMEN AND LONGSHOREMEN, WE ASK YOU TO ATTEND THE MASS MEETING IN SUPPORT OF YOUR STRIKE

THE FOLLOWING WILL SPEAK:

George Green, OF THE L.A.J.C. DEBATE SQUAD;
Celeste Strack, NATIONAL WOMEN'S DEBATE CHAMPION AND N.S.L. ORGANIZER AT U.S.C

Joe Hanson, SEAMAN OF THE MARINE WORKER'S INDUSTRIAL UNION;
Walter Relis, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE;

Elmer Bruce, LONGSHOREMAN;
A Representative OF THE UNITED FRONT SEAMEN'S CENTRAL STRIKE COMMITTEE;
Serril Gerber, NATIONAL JUNIOR COLLEGE DEBATE CHAMPION, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA ORGANIZER, N.S.L

The National Student League of Los Angeles.

Multirepbed

THE FACTS ON RETRENCHMENT

YOU may have seen in the newsreels last month certain pictures of schools being closed down. You saw clapboard country schools and brick city schools locking their doors for an indefinite period; you saw a farm kid sitting disconsolately on the schoolhouse steps not far from where drought and the government's plow-under program have impoverished his father's lands and a mob of city pupils milling out of the schoolyard for the last time. Possibly you drew from these particulars a firmer insight into what the phrase "retrenchment in education" actually means.

What the newsreels omitted to point out was that their touching and dramatic pictures of a few thousand children being expelled into the streets, with hardly the rudiments of literacy to bolster their shaky futures, fell far short of illustrating the whole extent of the situation.

During the last decade widespread instances of curtailment in the form of fees, congestion, shortened terms, reduced teaching staffs and the limitation of enrollment by one foul means or another have made their appearance in every quarter of the country. Curtailment is clearly a constant policy that cannot hide its true face under the disguise of "an emergency measure."

Even in the boom year of 1924 the number of children of school age not attending school was actually 2,171,000, exclusive of truancy, according to the conservative accountancy of the U. S. Commissioner of Education. The Roosevelt era has doubled that number. School budgets for 1933-34 are estimated to be \$200,000,000 less than the amount available a year ago—a reduction of over 10 per cent. This year, with 2,000,000 more pupils to be instructed, 2000 rural schools have been closed in 24 states; the teaching personnel of the nation has been reduced by 200,000; and 50 to 60 children will be folded into classrooms designed to hold 30 or 40. Nor have teachers escaped the knife: to those who were lucky enough to be employed, \$30,000,000 are still due in unpaid salaries; and of those who actually received wages, one quarter started the year at a salary rate of less than \$750 a year. Take these figures together with the flummery of Ives Bills, oaths of allegiance, biased textbooks and the whole

battery of gag-regulations designed to put the mute upon independent and radical thinking in the schools and you have the cockle-warming picture of American education as it exists today.

The notion of "a universal system of free public education" is one of the most persistent of our native myths. It is to this myth, with its power to puff the bosom of the hundred-percenter, that President Roosevelt was appealing when he put forth the opinion that "this crisis can be met, but not in a day or a year, and education is a vital factor in meeting it." Well, just how universal is our educational system, and how free? A committee of the Kappa Delta Pi fraternity at C.C.N.Y. undertaking to answer that question made the following disclosures:

Thirty-two elementary schools and 51 high schools admit to charging fees, and estimate that over 13,000 pupils have been affected. The state of Utah has devised an ingenious evasion: its senior high schools, it reports, are free as the wind for four months of the term, but if you wish to complete the term you must pay a sum ranging from \$18 to \$25. South Dakota tells frankly: "40 per cent of our high school enrollment is tuition enrollment." One community in Arkansas exacted fees as high as \$48 in November of last year.

With fees required of residents in seven states, non-resident fees are far more common. Thirteen states reported fees of this type, reaching a maximum of \$80 in Michigan.

From the wind-torn mesas of New Mexico came the word, "no fees," with this explanation: "Last year, I believe, some of the schools which had to close for lack of funds attempted to charge tuition fees from the pupils; however, this project was unsuccessful, and this year, to my knowledge, there are no public schools in New Mexico which are charging fees in order to keep open." (Applause.) Louisiana reported that "a number of local school systems have had to curtail the length of the session because of inadequate finance, but in such cases the schools do not continue to operate, after public funds have been exhausted, with revenue derived from fees." As the writer of the report indicates, "our constitution strictly

forbids such practices." Until this constitutional snag can be removed, then, fees are clearly intolerable. The solution of this situation lies in closing the schools!

The existence of a permanent surplus army of the unschooled (resembling the permanent surplus of unemployed, and their number similarly augmented during the Roosevelt years) is very clearly indicated in these reports. That surplus is almost 5,000,000, or more than 14 per cent of the total child population. Two million of these are employed in industry. Between 200,000 and 300,000, according to the U. S. Children's Bureau, are "on the road, cut loose from their surroundings. . . . And the total is constantly increasing." An equal number are receiving bad food and a military regimen in the C.C.C. camps.

Two and a half million are still unaccounted for. They are children between the ages of five and seventeen; and not even the U. S. Children's Bureau can tell you where they sleep, or what they eat, or what ever becomes of them.

In the Black Belt of the South, retrenchment in education manifests itself to an almost incredible extent as an aspect of national discrimination. One county in Alabama spends \$57 for the schooling of a white child, and \$1.51 for a Negro child. The *Negro Year Book* for 1931-32 reports annual expenditures in states where population is predominantly Negro as follows:

State	White	Negro
Alabama	\$37.50	\$7.16
Virginia	47.16	13.30
Florida	57.16	14.45
South Car.	60.06	7.84
Georgia	35.42	6.38
Mississippi	45.35	5.45

With such small allotment for their education, it is to be expected that a large majority of Negro children will be found outside of the schools; and, in fact, the ratio of children employed in industry in these states is overwhelmingly Negro. The lesson is simple: if Negro children are plentiful their labor will be cheap; therefore, keep Negro children out of school and they can be turned to a profit. It is a shrewd capitalist industrial policy that turns Negroes out of the schools of the South.

If you propose to make your bread by teaching, you will be interested in knowing how that profession has fared in the application of the curtailment program.

Since 1930, 40,000 teachers have been discharged in spite of the fact that enrollment has mounted during that period. The problem of increased enrollment is met by decreasing the teaching staff, cutting the length of the school term and packing classes with at least ten more pupils than the rooms were built to accommodate. Apologists for this weird procedure have appeared in the persons of Dean Klapper of C.C.N.Y., Dean Whithers of N. Y. U., Peter Grimm of the N.Y.C. Real Estate Board, and Richard S. Childs, Cyanamid magnate and current head of the New York Charter Revision Committee. "Scientific studies show," exclaim these "scientists," "that increased size of classes does not necessarily decrease efficiency."

But a contrary opinion is held by Dr. Wm. J. Cooper, former Commissioner of Education, who toured Europe studying the fascist education in Germany and Italy. In England, Dr. Cooper found a couple of schools to his taste. He liked the Westminster School with its trim grounds, its view of the Thames, its "365 pupils enrolled at birth"—giving, of course, "preference to the sons of graduates," thereby making it "impossible for an outsider to get in." He liked the Bec School, too. "Seven acres, 540 boys . . . 15 classrooms, 3 laboratories." There Cooper saw "splendid work in tennis and volley-ball." The boy is exposed to every broadening influence. "He should join some school society and is strongly urged to join the Boy Scouts, or, if he is over 13, the school cadet corps." Fees? A trifle of "fifty dollars a year for those under twelve, and sixty-five dollars for those over twelve." This is the "lesson for the United States" that Cooper brought home from his European study tour. Either a democratic sort of congestion along the "scientific" lines of Klapper, or an aristocratic exclusion, with preference given to the sons of gentlemen, following the profound researches of Dr. Cooper.

Teachers' salaries have been slashed while living costs continue to jump. The retiring Hoover administration left a high cost of living and a comparatively high wage for teachers. Then a condition of price decline set in. This the Roosevelt administration corrected by raising prices and, at the same time, reducing salaries, with the

effect of lowering real wages tremendously. At present over 200,000 teachers receive less than \$750, and 85,000 get less than \$450 annually. Thirty-five per cent of the teachers in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky and South Carolina get paid less than the blanket code minimum of \$728 for unskilled factory workers. "Paid" means "are on the pay list." It does not refer to receiving actual currency. For by November, 1933, there was \$37,833,870 outstanding in unpaid teachers' salaries. The phenomenon of labor-surplus appears here in the form of a group of 200,000 certified teachers who are permanently unemployed.

Why do they retrench?—An official bulletin, *The Deepening Crisis in Education*, gives part of the answer. "Paying for the school is difficult," they write. The small farmer and home-owner is so bedevilled by forced payments on mortgages that he has nothing left for school funds. We find, however, that there is over \$25,000,000 worth of tax-exempt securities lying loose. Why?

Simply because the owners and large security-holders, often the public utilities interests, demanded exemption from taxes and got it. They have even got a first-class press agent in Henry Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning, who pleads in their behalf: "The purchase of books by the state should cease. The American people are being made soft by this sort of coddling."

War preparations provide the rest of the answer. The cost of maintaining armaments makes the expenditures on education shrink almost to nothing. The amount spent by the U. S. in the World War would support an expanding system of free elementary, high school and college education for 17 years! In the face of such a program, teachers and students must raise the slogans, raise them more strongly than ever:

"Schools, Not Battleships!"

"Federal Aid for Education!"

—ARNOLD PERL

—LOUIS REDMOND.

A COMMUNICATION ON PHI BETA KAPPA FROM HOWARD

JOSEPH COHEN,
Executive Secretary, National Student League,
114 West 14th Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cohen:

Along with other information concerning Howard University's eight-year attempt to obtain a Phi Beta Kappa chapter, I received—as new president of Kappa Mu Honorary Society—your request for information in the matter. I am pleased to furnish as much information as I can; I am doubly pleased to find that we have allies in our attempt.

I cannot say exactly when Howard formally began the quest which, to us, has become almost as legendary as Jason's. I do know, however, that on November 12, 1926, a long exchange of letters between Kappa Mu and Phi Beta Kappa was begun. Kappa Mu, our local honor group, has and always has had, standards as high as those of most Phi Beta Kappa chapters. We were unfortunate enough to apply, however, just after a redistricting which shifted the District of Columbia from a Middle Atlantic to a Southern district. We have therefore been handicapped in the attempt to obtain five college approvals in our district. A more detailed report of the transactions will be sent you as soon as I can obtain them.

The statement that Howard has not applied for admission is quite false; there is little other basis for our exclusion save that of typical discriminatory methods. In 1931 the campaign was most intense; the president for that year spent much time trying to persuade five out of the

many colleges of our Southern district. The fact that we have no Phi Beta Kappa chapter is not only a blot upon that organization's name but also a deterrent in our efforts to increase the interest of Negroes in pure scholarship. Howard loses annually many brilliant students because the impression has been created that our inability to obtain a Phi Beta Kappa chapter is due to a lack of standards when the fact is quite the opposite.

As for our application: we can apply no more. We can only wait for action on the part of Phi Beta Kappa; that is the information we have been given. If they desire another application, we will gladly make one. There is one consideration that we demand and that is the recognition of the fact that our lack of a chapter has been due not to inactivity or failure to qualify on our part but to our inability to persuade five schools to endorse us. If the approval of five schools is no longer needed, then there is no longer a reason for not admitting us. We have had no information to that effect.

Kappa Mu thanks you and the National Student League for your efforts on our part; we feel that Phi Beta Kappa cannot long refuse admission to Kappa Mu. We will be happy to have you continue pressure which you are so much more able to apply than we, with but a small membership, can effect.

Sincerely yours,

ULYSSES G. LEE, JR.,

Pres., Kappa Mu Honorary Society.

September 7, 1934.

BOOK REVIEWS

EPITHALAMION

Hearing that you had married, and gone off
In the big car to Quebec, and other places
I was happy. And laughed, and remarked
Many times what choice fortune had twined
These destinies for you two.

One, whom I had known casually at school
In the bitter heat of argument;
And she, years later, whom I remember
Having driven with up towards the rivers
(Pines guarding the town reservoir)
And watched in the half-light of the moving
auto
Speak simply of her lover.

This is the promise of the afternoon:
Pause at the sun-eroded lath that points
An ancient calculation to a little town;
Park near the abandoned mill, and clamber
Over the stone fences that allot
A different color to each field;

Carefully undo the shoe, unroll the socks,
And step suspiciously from rock to rock
Shattering the uneasy silence of the rushing
brook
With wild halloo to the cliffside.

And here walks the village hag, doubly
goitered,
Musing on the goldenrod, she counts
The knotty stiles that lead her to the brook.

Here where no rivet hammers mark
The hour of rise, the hour of lunch, the
close of day,
Trees took their stand what year of our
childhood,
Fronting the attack of wind and rain and
melting snow,
To arch the road, to shoot another limb:
Allowing in the fall of the brown leaf only
The advance of time.

These things I spoke of when I saw her last:
Relating the news of your marriage too
glibly,
I thought, too cheerily
For the lump in the throat.

—JOSEPH STAROBIN.

DISSECTION OF FASCISM

Fascism and Social Revolution, by R. Palme Dutt.
International Publishers. \$1.75.

This is not a book for those who take their politics with cream and two lumps, for it consists of a straightforward Marxist analysis of the world economic crisis, an exposition of the class basis of Fascism, a description of the role of the Social Democratic parties throughout the world during the general crisis of capitalism, and a clear and logical demonstration of the necessity of the social revolution and workers' dictatorship as the only means of destroying Fascism.

The specific character of Fascism cannot be defined in terms of abstract ideology, as those who take seriously the grandiose statements of aims of Mussolini and Hitler are in the habit of doing. Mussolini was forced, in 1921, to order the creation of a philosophy of Fascism in time for the National Congress two months later. The "philosophy" was delivered as ordered. But the contempt for constitutional forms, the glorification of violence, the denial of liberalism and

humanitarianism, the enthronement of war—all these are not peculiar to Fascism. They are the typical expression of modern monopoly capitalism, only stated in a much more brutal fashion.

To show how the results of Fascist rule are the direct opposite of the theory, Dutt gives figures on the situation in Italy and Germany, showing in each case the extreme misery which Fascism holds in store for the working class, and showing in the case of Italy, where the economic crisis arrived while the rest of the capitalist world was still enjoying a boom, how impossible are the claims of demagogues that this "new" order will put an end to the contradictions of capitalism.

If history were the mere mechanistic process which infantile "Marxists" like to make it, the fact of capitalism's "passing into the period of the proletarian revolution" would bring along the revolution and socialism. But, as Marx pointed out, man makes his own history, out of the conditions he finds close at hand. And if Fascism now rules in a few countries of Europe, and threatens in other major nations, that is only because the working class movement has been paralyzed by reformism and has allowed the initiative to pass to capitalism.

Those who accuse Communists of fanaticism when the latter roundly condemn the Social Democracy should read, in Chapter VIII, the section on the "Capitalist View of Social Democracy and Fascism," the text of which is a confidential bulletin of the Federation of German Industry issued in 1932 and known as the *Deutsche Führerbriefe*. Herein is contained, from the viewpoint of the dominant financial groups of Germany, the story of how Social Democracy split the working class, as the sole means of maintaining capitalism after the war, by creating a labor aristocracy that received the benefits of wage legislation and other social reforms; how, when the collapse of post-war capitalist restoration caused the withdrawal of the social legislation, Social Democracy became useless, since it could no longer point to the concessions and rock the workers to sleep with the lullaby of "peaceful transition." The captains of finance were now compelled to resort to draconian economic measures against the workers, and for this purpose an intensified dictatorship based on open force was necessary. Social Democracy, meanwhile, actively helped the process along, with its talk of the necessity of saving the "world" (capitalism) from "chaos" (proletarian revolution).

In his characteristically clear and incisive fashion, Dutt analyzes the causes of the victory of Fascism in Italy, Germany, and Austria, and shows from statements of the Social Democratic leaders themselves how the working masses were led by them into the tender arms of Fascism. The "sincerity" of these leaders is commonly brought forward as justification for their actions. In questions of politics, however, this consideration becomes irrelevant. When, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Serrati undertook to defend the reformist Turati as "sincere" and declared that the 21 conditions provided no "sincerometer" or test of sincerity, Lenin replied: "We have no need of such an instrument as a 'sincerometer'; what we have is an instrument to test political directions."

As John Strachey said, "It is the duty of every Anti-Fascist in the world not only to read but to master thoroughly every word of it."

—WILLIAM LEONARD.

ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

Poems, by W. H. Auden; Random House, New York. \$2.50.

Poems, by Stephen Spender; Random House, New York. \$1.50.

The Wasteland of T. S. Eliot has sprouted a red poppy—vigorous, lusty, and yet with its roots deep in dead soil. For the poems of W. H. Auden are the necessarily Janus-faced expressions of a transitional generation. Oxford man, aristocrat, with the tradition of his class heavy upon him, Auden, nevertheless, is attempting to cast in his lot with the revolutionary proletariat. That he has not succeeded is obvious and understandable. But the record of his attempt and the sincerity of his desire make his poems a signifi-

cant mirroring of similar struggles of declassed intellectuals the world over.

And yet, with all the instruments of a daring craftsman at his command, and with his lusty hatred of capitalist society as his theme, Auden has failed to thoroughly assimilate the Marxist position. He sees all about him the frightful morass of capitalist society: these "smokeless chimneys, damaged bridges, rotting wharves and choked canals." He realizes that it is dying and, unlike Eliot, he refuses to mourn.

Financier, leaving your little room
where the money is made but not spent,
you'll need your typist and your boy no
more;

the game is up for you and for the others . . .

In the *Ode to John Warner*, the psychological precariousness of Auden's position becomes obvious. His wit is like a senseless Samson pulling down every pillar of value until the temple crushes him. What is England? "England our cow was once a lady—is she now?" Who are the proletariat? They are "dunces" with "minds as pathic as a boxer's face, ashamed, uninteresting, and hopeless race." And the bourgeoisie? "Either rufflers or mousers, they haven't a chance." Who then will save us "Who will teach us to behave?" Ah, yes! John, son of Warner. And pray, who is John, Son of Warner? He is a "hurdler, a goal-getter, a holer-in-one." He shall save us! Surely here are the futurarians in a new guise; here is T. S. Eliot in a clown suit.

Stephen Spender, on the other hand, is to a much greater extent the traditional poet. His lyrics are simple, beautiful, and unforced. He sets himself a smaller task than Auden and, perhaps for this reason, is more successful. If Auden hews blocks of granite, Spender carves on a seashell. But the essence of such lyricism is the exquisite unfolding of a personality; to Spender—sincere and lofty as his emotion is—the aims of the revolutionary proletariat can merely figure as petals in the flower of his ego. There is much in this sheaf of 42 poems in the American edition that is worth reading. There are great lines and polished images:

Leave your gardens, your singing feasts,
Your dreams of suns circling before our sun,
of heaven after our world.
Instead, watch images of flashing brass
that strike the outward sense, the polished
will
Flag of our purpose which the wind en-
graves. . . .

And yet one does not sense in Spender the potentialities of his fellow poet. His position is quite clear and any further growth will be a mere process of refinement. But the work of both these men—dissimilar as they are and insufficient in their several ways—is a heartening rejoinder to those bourgeois critics who maintain the impossibility of revolutionary poetry. Nonsense and drum-thumping much of it has been, but the fault has lain with the Marxian pseudo-artists—not with the theme. Perhaps a stiff shot of Auden and Spender will rouse Mr. J. Donald Adams from the sweet lullaby of his *American Song*.

—SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

RIGOR MORTIS

The Decline of American Capitalism, by Lewis Corey. Covici-Friede. \$4.00.

The avowed purpose of this book is to verify and document the Marxian analysis of the capitalist crisis, decline and fall in terms of American development. As those acquainted with *Capital* know, Marx himself used England as his chief frame of reference. England, however, surrendered her economic domination more than a decade ago. No more ambitious attempt than this has yet been made to fill in the variables with statistical material specific to America.

The book falls into straight economic analysis and rather tenuous political deductions. There is also a certain unevenness in the writing as though Corey were trying to fit the style to the subject. The chapters on the economic basis give no quarter to popularization. The portions on the decay of the alleged American ideals, liberty, opportunity and progress, are easy and casual reading.

Perhaps the most effective application is made of the law of the falling rate of profit and the accumulation and composition of capital. According to Marx's analysis, the basic fatality in capitalist production may, in one sense, be traced to qualitative differences in capital outlay. The relation between constant capital (materials and equipment) and variable capital (wages) favored the latter under early capitalism and overwhelmingly favors the former today. The reason for this is that capitalists must reinvest their profits in the form of capital goods. Accumulation of profits is thus transformed into accumulation of capital with the consequent expansion of productive capacity. This leads to catastrophe unless consumption keeps pace with production. In the first place, as the capital plant expands, the fixed charges sky-rocket. At the same time, the rate of profit on every unit must decline. The fall of the rate of profit is an observable fact but a simple, persuasive, indirect proof is the increasingly larger capital investment necessary to produce every unit produced. In America, fixed capital rose 1758 per cent from 1849 to 1889, output only 1170 per cent. More recently, the ratio of output to fixed capital was 2 to 1 in 1889 and 1.4 in 1929.

If the scale of production remained equal, and the rate of profit constantly fell, the mass of profits would at some time reach zero and capitalism without profits is like a bed without pillows, to vulgarize a simile of Anatole France. The way to increase the mass of profits faster than the rate will fall is most effectively accomplished by enlarging the scale of production. The tale, however, has a sorry ending. The scale of production is enlarged by increasing the investment of capital, by reinvesting profits. But profits represent buying power stripped from the workers. The very attempt to escape the fall in the rate of profit always widens the gap between production and consumption in the very act. This is fatal to "prosperity" because the fixed charges have meanwhile mounted due to the increase in fixed capital and these fixed

charges require a reasonable continuity of production since they go on whether production is at capacity or at low ebb. This contradiction in capitalist economy is basic in the analysis.

Corey is less adequate when he draws conclusions, especially in the last chapter, entitled "The American Revolution." He neglects the Negro problem almost completely until the next to the last page when the following turns up as one of the "special" tasks specific to "the American Revolution":

Unifying the struggle of the Negro in its racial and class aspects. . . . (My italics—T.D.)

Nothing more. Obviously, this is a very evasive position. He says very little of revolutionary parties, as such, although he is very explicit of his support to a sort of generic communism, spelled in small case. Only twice, I think, and in historical context does he refer to the Communist Party.

The great virtue of this book is precisely where the title puts it: *The Decline of American Capitalism*. So long as Corey remains in the field of economics (e. g., the masterly statistical material on the numerical strength of classes in America or on the distribution of wealth), so long as he is tying Niraism and imperialism and fascism to long-term, underlying seeds of decay, he is pointed and powerful. The best proof that this is a truly massive and extremely penetrating critique of capitalism is that it made A. A. Berle (in the *Nation*) and George Soule (in the *New Republic*) welch most painfully.

—T. D.

JEWS WITH MONEY

Those Who Perish, by Edward Dahlberg. John Day Company. \$2.00.

The people in this book gravitate around a rich, reformed synagogue in a once prosperous real estate development, New Republic, New Jersey. There are those who support the synagogue and those who are supported by it—or would like to be. The former, Dahlberg condemns, the latter he pities. The book only brushes upon the rest of American Jewry for the very good reason that the class nature of the characters never allows them to come into uncomfortable contact with the Jewish storekeeper or the Jewish knit-goods worker, except in a merchant-customer or a worker-boss relationship. It is in regard to this relationship that the Harry Rosenzweigs and the Ludwig Coffees stand incriminated, for they bring to the administration of the affairs of the synagogue the same greed, the same pettiness, that guides them in their shirt factories and with their customers en route.

The great forge of motive and reaction throughout the book is the rise of Nazism, American and German varieties. True to their class interests, these people passively "appeal to the consciences" of the former, tacitly support the latter, and then protest vehemently when they are accused of betraying their people. That is why Edward Dahlberg hates them.

The second group falls into "those who perish." They are of a gentler, decenter mould than their associates, and Dahlberg presents them to us with a clear eye and an almost fatherly pity. One of them, looking at America, 1934, sees no solution except possibly the N.R.A. He descends from a perfumery counter past the synagogue to Potter's Field. On his way the truth is presented to him, at Union Square, but he never knows it. Even more tragic is the case of Regina Gordon whose thoughts and habits are quite well lined with the words "Marx," "Lenin" and "class conflict" but who cannot quite nerve herself to the complete plunge into a new and dynamic universe. Fifty years of bourgeois society have done their work too well. The troubles of 1934 do not overlook her lover, Joshua Boaz, either. He has a fine position in the synagogue but he wants to run away to Palestine with neither the courage nor the energy to get there. Even if he had, he would not be solving but avoiding his problem. A scene between Regina and Boaz in which these various ideas and elements are brought into final conflict and resolution is intensely macabre and convincing. But here again the same question comes up. While the story of these people is decadence, it does not argue for or against the decadence of the Jews as a group. The decay is that of the petit-bourgeois in Jewish society of which Regina and Boaz are clear-cut representations.

One cannot help recalling the young man who bombshelled into the literary horizon with that startlingly new novel *Bottom Dogs*. While *Those Who Perish* retains the muscularity, economy and the visual power, reminiscent of Hart Crane, that characterized the former book, we do find a development which we cannot help applauding. Dahlberg began his literary career moved by revulsion and disgust to society. It was the excellent statement of this mood that brought D. H. Lawrence to his feet after the arrival of *Bottom Dogs*. We now discover an increasing humanity and a greater willingness to grapple with events. From this source will come some of the finest contributions to the literature of the revolution.

—DAVID SHREIBER.

INTRODUCTION to FASCISM

An Introduction to Pareto, by George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

One reviewer has severely censured the authors of the present *Introduction* on their failure to select illustrations of Pareto's abstruse formulations from the ancient world as did Pareto himself. The criticism is valid, for this "Karl Marx of Fascism" sounds as profound as another Spengler or an Ortega, minus the dressing of erudition but applied to the modern scene.

Pareto received his early training in the physical sciences. Later when he was introduced to the social sciences he was impressed by the lack of scientific detachment in that field and set him-

self the task of systematizing a science of sociology. The scientific detachment of Pareto consisted in a cheap kind of cynicism common to college aesthetes who spout such scintillating preciosities as "The Human Race is stupid," "History repeats itself," "Americans are sexually obsessed," etc. Pareto's particular formula goes: For the most part man is motivated by non-logical motives. Any attempt to explain man's social behavior at all adequately requires a consideration of the "non-logico-experimental" nature of his actions. But naturally man injects some logic in his behavior; he rationalizes. These rationalizations Pareto calls the "derivatives" and he divides them into two parts, calling one "residue," the other "derivation." Without heaping up a mountain of gibberish we will offer one of the authors' examples by the way of defining terms. In the motto, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (Red Cross), the constant, "to die for country" is the residue; the rest, derivation. Or if we were to say, "Man dies for his country because Morgan & Co. likes it," "Morgan & Co. likes it" being the variable would-be derivation. From this point Pareto goes on to determine the inter-relations of residues and derivations.

Since Pareto was a "pure scientist" he never permitted himself to wax indignant over or even to regret human illogicality. Contrariwise, his inarticulate premise is, man is instinctively illogical. Indeed it is of the utmost importance for society that it possesses certain residues in order to maintain the equilibrium of the social process. There is too much humanitarianism in the world, says Pareto. But a little humanitarianism of the kind "General Dwyer shoots into the crowd to avoid another mutiny," "Mussolini administers castor oil to make more drastic measures unnecessary" is desirable because it spares us more and greater suffering in the future. So, Hitler murders both workers and his own followers to make superfluous the extermination of the whole German people. Think how beneficial these residues are for society!

It seems rather obvious then why Vilfredo Pareto is called the "Karl Marx of Fascism," why Mussolini appointed him a Senator of Italy. He has contributed so well-rounded an ideological base for Fascism that a Fascist can rationalize any crime he may perpetrate or contemplate by merely selecting a text from Pareto. Thus when the textile manufacturers decide to butcher striking workers, they may say: "Man is an illogical creature; consequently, there is no need to be finicky about dispatching him." A Hitler may murder, demolish culture, crack the foundations of civilization—for culture, civilization are only products of illogical beasts. The only sure method of handling people whose residues endanger the government of a nation is to exterminate them and the authors of the present volume hasten to assure us that "This is not irony."

We believe that Pareto's *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* is itself one huge derivative of the species familiar to Marxists.

—BERNARD MISHKIN.

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