

Student Review

VOL. IV, NO. 2

DECEMBER, 1934

TEN CENTS

TOWARDS ONE STUDENT MOVEMENT • ANGELL'S
LITTLE DEVILS • GUTTERSNIPE AT CITY by EDWIN
ALEXANDER • PHILOSOPHERS IN A VACUUM by
STUART GREEN • THE MICHIGAN COLOR-LINE

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE SCHOOL

114 WEST 14TH STREET
OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS
November 5 — December 14

With this the third year of the National Student League School a new innovation has been added to the regular curriculum. As is well known there are two reasons for the existence of a school conducted by the National Student League: (1) to bring before the students an understanding of the foundations of society; (2) to bring to the fore the day-to-day issues which face the students.

1. THE NEW DEAL IN AMERICA

MARGARET MORRIS *Monday*
Member Labor Research Association, 6:30-8:00 p. m.
Editor N.R.A. Notes; Co-editor Labor Fact Book.
The course analyzes the N.R.A. dealing mainly with its aspects on American capitalism, the growth of monopolies, the role of the Labor Boards, the effect of the N.R.A. on the laboring population, ending with a forecast as to the future of the N.R.A.

2. BASIC FACTORS IN THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS

CHARLES HODGES *Monday*
Professor, New York University; 8:30-10:00 p. m.
Author, "Background of International Relations"
An interpretation of the fundamental factors in the Far-Eastern situation dealing with the growth of nationalism and capitalism in the Orient.

3. AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

E. P. GREEN *Tuesday*
Member, Anti-Imperialist League 6:30-8:00 p. m.
A course on the economics of imperialism with illustrations from American developments in Cuba, China, and Latin-America.

4. SOCIAL APPROACH TO MUSIC

ELIE SIEGMEISTER *Tuesday*
Ex-instructor, Brooklyn College; 8:30-10:00 p. m.
Member, Pierre Degeyter Club
A survey course in music from its earliest beginnings to the present period. The function of music in society will be analyzed.

5. THE NEW AMERICAN LITERATURE

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM *Wednesday*
Professor, New York University; 6:30-8:00 p. m.
Author, "The New Criticism"
A rapid survey of the poetic, dramatic, and literary fields touching on the works of such writers as Rollins, Dahlberg, Maddow, Hayes, Sklar, Peters, and Rice.

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6. GENETICS AND EUGENICS

DR. MARK GRAUBARD *Wednesday*
Instructor, Columbia University; 8:30-10:00 p. m.
National Research Fellow, 1931-1933
A study of the biological and social forces in human behavior, the meaning of human nature and the role of heredity and environment in society.

7. NEGRO PROBLEMS

CHARLES ALEXANDER *Thursday*
Educational Secretary, League 6:30-8:00 p. m.
of Struggle for Negro Rights
A course dealing with the role of the Negro in American history with special accent on the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. The future of the American Negro will be given detailed treatment.

8. PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIETY

PEN AND HAMMER *Thursday*
8:30-10:00 p. m.
A course of six lectures given by Pen and Hammer on such topics as sex, family, propaganda, revolution, the individual and society.

9. PROBLEMS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

MAX SCHULMAN *Friday*
Member of International Typographical Union, 6:30-8:00 p. m.
Big Six Local, A. F. of L.
Questions of craft and industrial unionism, opposition work in the A. F. of L., independent trade union struggles, Revolutionary unions, the united front, will be discussed in this course.

10. FORUM

Noted lecturers will appear every Friday evening at 8:30 p. m. to discuss problems of immediate importance. Each lecture will be announced individually. Admission will be 15c an individual lecture or 75c for the full six lectures.

STUDENT REVIEW

Vol. IV December, 1934 No. 2

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NEWS has just reached us from California which must displace even the anti-war demonstrations of Armistice Day weekend as our first concern. Five students have been suspended for one year from the University of California at Los Angeles for attempting "to destroy the university by handing it over to an organized group of Communist students." The students are John Burnside, president of the student council, Sidney Zsagri, chairman of the forensic board, Thomas Lambert, chairman of the men's board, Mandel Lieberman, chairman of the scholarship committee and Celeste Strack, organizer of the local chapter of the National Student League and former champion debater. The students were suspended by Provost E. C. Moore, who said that the measures were taken as an outgrowth of attempts by students to maintain an open forum against

faculty objections. Miss Strack was punished "for persistent violations of university rules." A formal statement was issued, which we have not yet received, but which, according to the reports, charges that the drastic action was necessary because the Provost believed that the four men were using their offices to further the National Student League. Readers of *Student Review* will remember the article entitled "California's 'Higher Education'" in our November issue which detailed the actions taken by students in support of the great longshoremen's strike. The National Student League was the backbone of that support and the University of California at Los Angeles is the backbone of the National Student League in California. California students are thus continuing their "higher education." They are facing the frantic violence of the staid and respectable trustees of a ruling group confronted with students, who will no longer remain silent when society is wracked by fundamental conflicts.

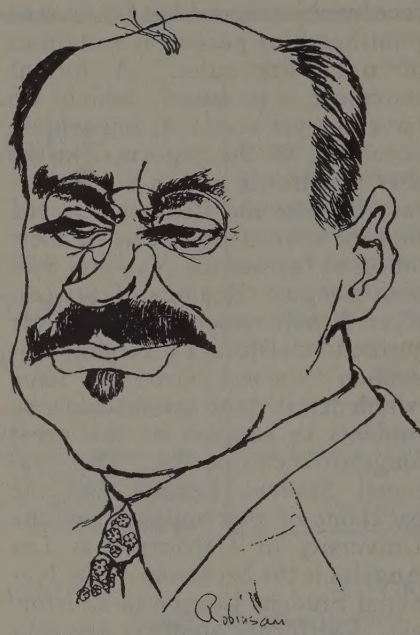
THESE expulsions in California have their counterpart in the east—in City College where twenty-five students were suspended, many of whom have just been conditionally reinstated. These expulsions have one root basis. When students challenge the status quo in action, when they organize against imperialist war and fascism in their own schools, not in the vague quarters of nebulous idealistic sentiments, then the forces in their schools that are there to keep the status quo intact will not go long without resorting to suppression and the utmost re-

straints of freedom of action. So long as students are passive and listless, so long do their academic liberties remain untouched. What need is there to violate them? What is lost by keeping them sacred? But precisely at that point where freedom of speech, assembly and organization will be instrumental towards waging war against the basic disasters of our times, precisely then does freedom go up in smoke. Truism as this may appear to some, the sooner the significance of these things are learned, the further are we on the way to abolishing them. We will understand that it is not a particularly obnoxious or painfully obtuse administrator like Frederick B. Robinson that stands in our way but the system of things he represents and defends. He may be ousted, and that is now the main objective, but a subtler man will succeed in obscuring the issues, not in solving them. The solution goes beyond the school; it is profoundly social in nature. War and fascism are inevitable in our present economic order. The struggle against war and fascism is inevitable too, at a certain point. Counter-attack follows attack. California and New York — a continent apart — socially, two sides of the same coin.

THE next step comes on Armistice Day. This must be the answer to our New York Robinsons and our California Moores. The next step is widespread, unequivocal demonstrations, conferences, parades and mass meetings against imperialist war and fascism on the very day when the patriots gather to light the fires for another war. This is the opportunity for the grimmest, broadest united front; there is little opportunity of

splitting on this issue. Mass protests, demands backed by thousands can penetrate even a Congressional tin-hat. For every militarist weeping his fraudulent tears over the betrayed dead, let there be one student speaker who will concretely and dramatically sear the lessons and causes of war into hundreds more. Who does not remember the thousands that came out with us last April? Who does not remember how we ourselves were amazed at the response, at the militancy? There is one thing more to remember. We had only begun to tap the rock of possible support. At the next opportunity we resolved to do better, to see that many more marched and stood by our sides. This is our opportunity. Armistice Day week-end is the logical moment. If we will resist the danger of vague, essentially empty phrase-making, if we present concrete demands relevant to each particular campus, if we focus our fire on the Reserve Officers Training Corps as the main instrument of the war-makers on the campus, if we analyse ruthlessly but simply, then we will be able to record another victory, another milestone along the path that leads to a warless, classless society.

THE first American Youth Congress held in New York two months ago where very dangerously reactionary elements, flirting with fascism, were defeated by the common opposition of organizations extending from the Young Communist League to the Y.M.C.A. has been repeated in Rutgers. We have learned that Viola Ilma herself has been expelled by her faction for "bureaucracy" but the remainder of the



Drawn by Florence Sachnoff

"Your conduct is worse than that of gutter-snipes," said Frederick Bertrand Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York, to his own students at their emphatic greetings to the student ambassadors of the glory that once was Rome.

rump session tried to carry on by organizing a similar conference in Rutgers, New Jersey. About three hundred people attended, mainly students from the university. Once again, the self-appointed chairman was removed, this time the Dean of Men Metzger, of Rutgers (in New York, it was Professor Jay B. Nash, head of the department of Physical Education of New York University) and replaced by a democratically elected chairman. Instead of listening seriously to speeches by Bernarr Macfadden, one of the originally invited speakers, the conference took up the problems facing youth today. As a result, they decided to affiliate

with the majority American Youth Congress unanimously; they passed the resolutions of the parent conference almost without revision, and a continuations committee was set up equally broad in scope consisting of the Y.M.C.A., the Communist and Socialist youth organizations, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, and others. Incidentally, the Ilma group (sans Ilma) has published a very expensive and engaging account of the New York Congress in which the grammar alone could pass as actuality. Expensive brochure or not, we are going to beat the enemy wherever we find them. At the present time, we have two strikes on them and it looks as though they might as well give up trying.

ONE thing leads to another in New York State. In August, Governor Lehman signed the Ives Bill which requires that every teacher pledge loyalty to the Constitution. Thereupon, Dr. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, wrote to George Smith of the Board of Examiners, that "in considering candidates for teaching in your forthcoming examinations you make personality and character your first consideration and that under the head of character you consider loyalty and love of country. . . . It matters not how much knowledge they have . . . let us have men and women who know, understand and believe in the principles upon which the American government is based." Smith thought the idea pretty good. He proceeded to prepare a statement "concerning his attitude toward subversive political or economic measures, toward the use of

force in furtherance of such measures." The Ives Bill and the Ryan recommendations are plain in their intent and implications. It would be gilding the lily to improve upon their own declared purposes. One sign of sanity was the answer to the Ives Bill prepared by the New York Teachers Anti-War Committee which pledges the signer "to hold our highest loyalty to be the promotion of the health, material well-being, cultural growth, and happiness of the children in our charge. . . . To oppose war preparation and war propaganda, especially in the schools. . . . To oppose all measures of repression directed against students who organize and act in the defense of this pledge." Among those who signed this statement are Professors Boas, Gardner Murphy, Counts and Goodwin Watson, of Columbia, Edwin Berry Burgum of New York University, and Morris Raphael Cohen of City College. This counter movement must spread. The interests of teachers and students are identical. Both suffer from the same disasters, both find the same opposition to freedom of action from such foes as the propagandists for war and fascism.

IN Montreal, Canada, the high school strike of 3,000 students has just ended. The strike was called when fees were increased 25 per cent in a city where parents were already assessed for the training of their children. The students, many of Jewish parentage, walked out in a very militant strike led by the Montreal Student League. They returned to school only after it became apparent that one stage of the struggle had exhausted itself. Perhaps the chief strike-breaking

agency this time was the respectable Jewish press. The *Canadian Jewish Eagle*, the *Jewish Chronicle* and the Canadian Jewish Congress went to red-baiting excesses that would make Hearst pale with envy. What "Judaism" may turn into is indicated by an extract from the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, of September 28:

In the first place, the *Talmud Torah*, Folk Schools and Peretz Schools if they are to deserve continued and increased public support must fundamentally revise the programs in the classrooms and clubs and enforce a militant point of view of Judaism as opposed to the reaction-base of Communism. . . . The Young Judaeans, Poale Zion Clubs, the Y.M.H.A. Junior and Senior Clubs and the dozens of Youth Clubs in the community must come together to carefully plan and put into practice a militant program to eliminate completely any vestige of the damaging horde which calls itself Communist; an influence of depredation and anarchy! (Our italics).

DR. BRODIE is principal of Seward Park High School, in the lower East Side of New York. Emerging from the quiet of a respectably mediocre career, he makes a strong bid for prominence as the Robinson of the city high schools. Having procured the names of all NSL members (meeting off school ground) by means easily surmisable, Brodie arraigned them in his office on October 14, called them all "slinky, slimy Reds," and suspended them from classes. In addition, he strongly advised their parents to withdraw them from school. At a subsequent meeting protesting the principal's actions, nineteen youths were arrested on charges "of disorderly conduct and use of unseemly language." The NSL arose in Seward because of poor lunchrooms, high prices, autocratic control of student discussion, arbitrary

suppression of free speech and free press, conditions that are prevalent in high schools throughout the nation. And here is Brodie attempting to nip a local organization of the NSL in the bud only to find it blossoming forth with the active support of high school and collegiate sentiment every where.

THOSE who think of students as comprising a homogeneous group, are often inclined to forget the sharp class divisions which exist among them. In Chicago recently, the white students of Morgan Park High School went on strike against the presence of Negroes, demanding their removal to Shoop, an overcrowded Jim Crow grammar school. The strike was instigated by the American Legion and supported by the wealthy parents of the white students. At an open meeting, Attorney Sheer, a Chicago lawyer, intimated that the cleaver of discrimination might soon be wielded against other national minorities. "No Jews, no Germans, no Bohemians," he urged. The students of Tuley, another white high school, launched an effective counter-strike proposed by the Chicago NSL in protest against the action of Morgan Park and the American Legion. It is significant that certain classes of students so readily become agents in the attacks of reactionary organizations upon national minorities; and that others understanding the importance of solidarity rally to the support of their Negro brothers. It is plain that the time is close at hand when we shall all understand: The student cannot be free in the white skin while he is branded in the black.

SIXTEEN YEARS AFTER

AT the time that these lines are being written, last minute preparations are under way for a series of anti-war, anti-fascist activities throughout the country, which will be worthy successors to the great student strike against war, led jointly by the National Student League and the Student LID, on April 13, last. We can no longer lean back and contemplate in cynical amusement the German cannon, made by Vickers, Ltd., now an English war memorial. People will no longer be amazed when they hear that such firms as Anaconda Copper began the war with a deficit of \$300,000, and achieved a surplus of \$33,000,000 in 1916; that Bethlehem Steel declared a 200 per cent dividend on class B common stock in 1917; that the surplus in the U. S. Steel depositories rose from \$143,000,000 in 1914 to \$518,000,000 in 1918. Students have begun to draw the obvious, practical conclusions from the inexorable logic of the war situation. Armistice Day can no longer remain the rallying hour of the war makers; we are using it for our own purposes. Students of all political creeds, will confer, organize and demonstrate, on what promises to be a momentous week-end, November 9-11. No better time can be found to explain the position of the National Student League with regard to militarism and war; no more suitable time can be found to propose future tasks, and to outline perspectives.

Wars are rooted in the economic facts of social existence. It is the desperate rivalry for a market, for maintenance of profits at the expense of their competitors which drives the financial capitalists to attempt a redistribution of the world's colonies and spheres of interest. One need only scan the reports of the Congressional munitions investigation to understand how a titanic struggle between the oil magnates of Great Britain and the United States stimulated the actual outbreak of war between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Despite the attitude of those who try to exorcize the conflict between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world out of existence, we point to the material reasons for this antagonism. With the ascendancy of fascism in Germany and the insane clamor of Hitler and Rosenberg; their "drang nach Osten"; their attempt to secure the West-

ern territories of the Soviet Union; and with the simultaneous attitude of provocation and conquest pursued by Japan in the Far East, the threat against the Soviet Union becomes ever more imminent. The Program of the NSL shows how the Soviet Union has "in spite of innumerable interventions and provocations . . . pursued a consistent policy of peace. Its unequivocal stand for complete disarmament and peace can be explained only by the fact that it is the first country in the world where the basis for modern imperialist war, the drive for capitalist profit, has been abolished."

Despite the traditional "hard boiled" and practical attitude with which the American student is said to observe social realities, the belief is still widespread that half-way palliatives can combat imperialist war. Again, we believe it is necessary to reiterate the fundamental fact, that war cannot be abolished if the social and economic system which causes war is not overthrown.

Students and Workers

"In the fight against war, students must not put their faith in peace pacts and pledges not to fight. Experience has shown the futility of opposition to war which relies on moral suasion and is not prepared for organized mass resistance." As an independent group in society, the students do not wield decisive power in the fight against war. In seeking for allies, students must realize that the working-class occupies a preeminent position in the entire industrial set-up; that the workers alone are in a position to impede the processes of the industrial and military machine so that the fight against war can ultimately succeed.

Thousands of students are enrolled in the ROTC. The National Student League does not abandon them. We rather seek to win them for the fight against war. Our position is not one of passive refusal to participate. The National Student League proclaims quite openly that it works within the ROTC in order to win this important section of the student body to the realization that imperialist wars are not fought in their interests; that the slogan of *Abolition of the ROTC* must be adopted by all students who realize the meaning of modern wars, whether they now wear the khaki or not. In

all our demonstrations and activities we must point out that the ROTC *student* is not the enemy. We must show him how to fight side by side with his classmates who oppose war and fascism.

In adopting the pledge: "not to support the government of the United States in any war which it may conduct" we do not wish to convey the impression that in time of war we will withdraw from the scene of combat, and that a simple refusal to fight will shame the imperialists and jingoes into ending the war.

"The National Student League repudiates the pacifist position, which, while it apparently refuses to take sides in this conflict (the struggle between the workers and capitalists), in reality, helps to prevent the action required for the defeat of the imperialists." The *Program* of the NSL goes on to show that only the working class is capable of building a new social order. Refusal to support those who fight for the overthrow of the system which causes war, objectively serves to perpetuate it.

There are larger perspectives after November 9-11. At the end of December, the International Student Congress against war and fascism, will convene in Geneva. Initiated by the World Committee of which the American League Against War and Fascism is the American Section, this student congress will be of the widest united front character ever established on an international scale. The French socialist student federation as well as pacifist student groups in many European countries have officially indorsed the congress and have elected delegates. In America, the National Student League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and many other groups have also indorsed it and are now actively preparing to send a large student delegation to Geneva. Wherever American students assemble at anti-war conferences, wherever they demonstrate and manifest their opposition to war, this appeal must be made: Support the international student congress! Elect delegates from schools and conferences!

We address one more word to the thousands of students demonstrating this November 9th. The success of the anti-war struggle will be determined not only by spectacular actions. It must be insured by *organization*. We have explained the position of the NSL and we invite all students who understand the need of translating their ideas into action, to join and to build the National Student League.—JOSEPH COHEN.

TOWARDS ONE STUDENT MOVEMENT

ALMOST a year ago, in the December 1933 issue of *Student Review*, the National Student League addressed an open letter to the Student League for Industrial Democracy in which we called for the amalgamation of our respective movements. Our proposal was twice rejected, first at the national convention of the Student LID in December and second, at the meeting last April of its National Executive Committee. In spite of these refusals the NSL has never ceased to stand for the amalgamation of the NSL and the Student LID. Now, on the eve of the Nov. 9 demonstrations against imperialist war, the National Student League again calls for the unity of the militant student movement.

When the NSL first called for united front actions between the NSL and the Student LID, our offers were indignantly refused. We were told that fire and water could never mix. We were told many interesting anecdotes about the difficulties between Socialists and Communists in various European countries. We were told it was impossible. We persisted. On many campuses united fronts were formed. At last, at this December 1933 convention the Student LID heard the insistent demand of campus events and agreed to the united front. During the intervening months we have seen the growth and development of powerful student protest against war. We submit that the strength and the clarity of that protest was due in large measure to the united action between the NSL and the Student LID. On April 13, 25,000 students shouted into the dulled ears of the *New York Times* and the rest of the capitalist press the clear voice of student protest against war. We submit that the April 13 strike would have been virtually impossible without united action between the NSL and the Student LID. We believe that even greater gains will accrue from the joining of our forces, from the organizational unity of the militant students of the United States.

We do not minimize the differences and difficulties that stand in our way. We do say that despite these difficulties, unity is possible. We do believe that a first step toward eliminating these differences in program and approach will be taken when they

are openly discussed at joint chapter meetings between the NSL and the Student LID on every campus. We propose to begin that discussion here.

L.I.D. History

The very formation of the NSL was a basic criticism of the history and the program of the LID. In its newly published handbook the Student LID has this to say on the historic causes that led to the birth of the NSL. "A movement of dissatisfaction set in within the LID which expressed itself in two ways. Attempts by loyal students . . . to change the structure of the LID, and the splitting away of Communist students who attributed the defects of the LID to its Socialist leadership." Very little of this took place. First, the "loyal students" were so loyal that it took them some two years even to attempt any change, the nature of which we will discuss a bit later. Second, among the founders of the NSL were many non-Communists such as Arnold Johnson, of the Civil Liberties Union, several Socialists, such as Maurice Goldblum and Ronald Duval, as well as fraternity men such as Leif Dahl, of Columbia. This is not to minimize the very important part played by such Communists as Edmund Stevens and Joseph Cohen. It is merely to point out once and for all that the NSL was formed by students of various political beliefs for the simple reason that *there was no organization that fulfilled the needs of the students*. The NSL was not formed by a handful of splitters. It was the first attempt to organize a militant student movement that would cope with student problems. This will become clear if we look, no matter how briefly, at the history of the LID.

What does the LID handbook have to say on the matter of its origins? Its history "is the record of the apprenticeship of the prophets and makers of Socialism in the United States." In the year 1905 a small group of ardent intellectuals founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society whose primary object "was to create students of Socialism, not to produce Socialists." Jack London toured the universities making his big speech on the Present Crisis. Theirs is a great tradition. All the big names of

American middle class radicalism are associated with it. Bright boys and girls who later aspired to more respectable glories were among its organizers; Walter Lippmann, of the *Herald Tribune*, and Bruce Bliven, of the *New Republic*, among them. And then came the war. There was practically no opposition in the universities because none had been prepared. The I.S.S. was snuffed out. This might appear a trifle unfair were it not that the handbook makes so much of the past. The war was the end of the "Golden Age."

Wanted: A Name

Slowly chapters began to revive. But students wanted "a more inclusive name than 'Socialist,' because they believed there were several approaches to a Cooperative Commonwealth. They wanted a name that would not necessitate innumerable explanations to students and administrations of the non-connection of their society with the Socialist Party. Others felt that the word 'Intercollegiate' tended to cut them off from the technician and worker." For these reasons the name was changed to the League for Industrial Democracy. Of course the change in name eliminated difficulties. The new name is deceptive and meaningless. It obscures the class nature of political democracy under capitalism (as we shall see, the greatest unclarity still exists on this point) and presumably calls for democratic control of industry under capitalism. No administration could object now. Even more interesting is the second reason for a new name. The members feel isolated from the workers; so they eliminate the word Intercollegiate! They solve this most serious of all the problems of a student movement by a change in name.

The organization grew—but not on the campus. It dug its roots deep into the spare time radicalism of middle-class intellectuals, of malcontent lawyers and preachers and business men. Then came 1929, the crash on the stock market and the crisis. The American college ceased to be a well-appointed country club. As the business enterprises and professions of their parents crashed about them, thousands of students had to drop out of school. Tens of thousands of others took part-time jobs while

they attended classes. The most bewildering problems began to confront the student both on the campus and in relation to society. The Handbook lists the activities of LID members during these years. In New York they help the I.L.G.W.U. In North Carolina they urge an official investigation of the textile industry. They organize a Chataqua to carry on educational work among the miners of West Virginia.

Let there be no misunderstanding. The NSL believes in the most vigorous and dramatic actions in support of the working class. But we ask: Is there no connection between the terror that is set upon striking workers and the suppression of student activities? What about R.O.T.C. and war? What about the segregated Negro student and the oppressed Negro people.

To these and to many other questions the LID gave no answer. And because there was no answer the NSL was formed. The New York Student League was founded in the spring of 1931. In its initial December 1931 issue the *Student Review* printed a suggested basis for a student movement. In April, 1932, at the same time that our delegation was investigating the conditions in Harlan, Kentucky, the first national convention of the NSL was held. Much later in December 1933 the student members of the LID became the Student LID. And still later in October 1934 we find printed in the handbook of the LID for the first time a declaration of principles. The declaration of principles in no way clears up the age-old problem of the LID: What is the relation of the student to society, above all to the working class?

The N.S.L. Compared

From the first the NSL gave a clear and simple answer to these questions. The conflicts and problems of society impinge on the campus. They are reflected in every campus issue, in every school struggle, no matter how seemingly petty. When students are involved in a fight for a free college they are involved in a struggle which has profoundest implications. Retrenchment is a product of capitalist decline, of the drying up of professional and technical opportunity. Capitalism no longer needs the many trained intellectuals it formerly required. Students fighting for a free education almost inevitably bump up against the forces of organized society, against business organizations, against the press and against the banker-

controlled city government. Students who participate in a campaign against tuition fees, grasp the social implications of the clash. They begin to understand that they have pitted themselves against forces that are not primarily local or collegiate. They begin to recognize not only the existence of the class struggle but their relation to it.

The point is clear. A student movement is most effective when it strikes hardest at its own sector of the struggle. It is most revolutionary when it recognizes the deeper implications of every activity it conducts, when it fights against capitalism because IT stands opposed to the daily needs of the masses of students, and because only by its overthrow will the ultimate problems of war and peace and security be solved.

Our recognition of the vital student problems, that first came to the attention of large numbers of students only after the economic crisis was well on its way, leads us to the inevitable conclusion that is possible and necessary to have a student movement unaffiliated to any political party. We have always insisted that it is necessary to have a student movement organized on the basis of a militant program that will unite students of various beliefs and affiliations to take common action on their immediate problems. Although we insist on a broader social perspective as a part of our daily struggle, we point out the folly of a student organization confined to the adherents of one political party or sect. The National Student League is not the campus representative of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League either programmatically or organizationally. It is true that a good many members and leaders of the NSL are Communists, but leading Communists in the NSL have been elected purely on merit, purely on their devotion and loyalty to the NSL program. At Rutgers our vigorous and growing chapter consists largely of Socialist Party members and sympathizers. Most of our members belong to no party as yet.

As the Student LID sees the matter, "The Socialist and Communist movement, fortunately or unfortunately, must have groups on the campus whose purpose it is to serve their respective programs there." We have heard this before and it is not new to us. But have not the chapters of the Student LID and the NSL worked together in the united front? Why not one organization? It will not suffice to repeat the stale formula again. There is but one question: Is there a need for one powerful stu-

dent organization to fight against war, fascism, retrenchment, Negro discrimination, and, yes, to support the working class in its heroic struggles the world over. We maintain that there is.

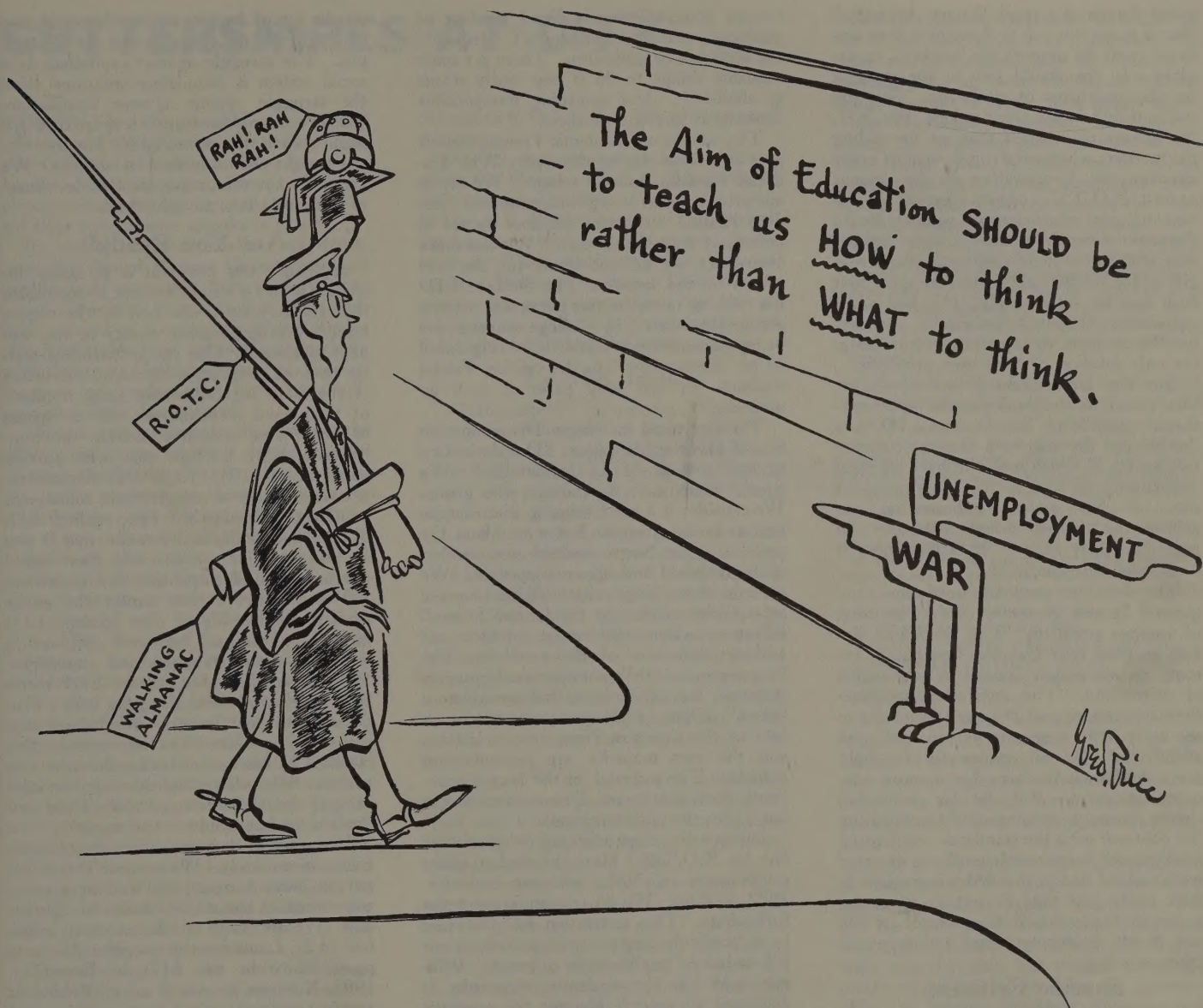
The fact that the Student LID is admittedly a Socialist organization has caused continual interference with its united front relationships. One example will be enough. Although the American League Against War and Fascism had proven an excellent means not only of uniting various student groups but also of the entire student anti-war movement with the larger working class movement, the Student LID had to get out when the Socialist party got out. Although the Student LID observers at the recent Chicago Congress of the American League reported favorably no action has been taken. The student anti-war movement is inestimably injured because the S.P. said the word.

Declaration of Principles

The Declaration of Principles is sharply divided in two parts. There is the off-campus program and then there is the campus program. First the big problems are discussed and then the lesser problems. It is this separation that accounts in large measure for the complete inability of the Student LID to understand its relation to the working class, as well as for its inevitable mistakes in the conduct of its daily campaigns. Let us look briefly at the analysis of three of the bigger problems.

We are told that Fascism—"expresses a social system and a class—the middle class—fighting with their backs against the wall against the rising power of the working class and their peasant and farmer allies." A little later we read, "It is open dictatorship in the interests of large scale industry . . ." This is hopeless confusion. Fascism cannot be both the dictatorship of large scale industry and of the middle class at the same time. How can we fight fascism in our own country! If we do not understand its origin and its class nature? What reader of the *New York Times* or the *Nation* or the *New Republic* does not know that it is Krupp and Thyssen, that it is the biggest men in German industry, who are the power behind Hitler?

The discussion of the state is equally confused. We are told of participation in working class activities that "At times it means defiance of power and authority, when gov-



"Those Who Conquer."

Drawn by George Price

ernmental force is thrown into the balance against labor in the class conflict." It were time we learned that the state is not a deus ex machina. It were time we learned that the state is the political expression of the ruling class, in a capitalist country of the capitalist class. Every high school student who has ever been in conflict with

a school administration has learned to look upon that administration as an antagonist, as a foe, whether latent or open, because it is controlled by the city and state machinery and ultimately by the financial and industrial powers that be. The Student LID has not learned this yet.

The relation between the student and the

worker is formulated as follows: "Those students who desire social change of a revolutionary character must throw in their lot with the working class—with labor and farmers. Only if they do, will they be able to participate in the building of the new social order which they seek." Of course it is a good thing for students to "desire

social change of a revolutionary character." But is it not our job to determine *how* students come to support the workers, to explain *why* we should join in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. This you will not find in the Declaration. The NSL has always maintained that we are aiding the workers when we struggle against every manifestation of capitalism on the campus, against R.O.T.C., against jingoist education, against retrenchment, against Negro discrimination. We have always insisted that students will participate in the struggles of the workers only when we show that both face the same enemy, that their needs are similar, that it is historically necessary for the students to support the workers as the only solution of their own problems.

But the Declaration is not altogether sure that it is the workers who will overthrow capitalism. The Student LID aims "to achieve the goal of a classless cooperative society in which men will have an equal opportunity to achieve the good things of life..." No student organization can achieve the classless society. And we will contribute very little to its achievement if it contribute only confusion.

The omissions and the confusions frequently become grotesque in the discussion of campus problems. The particular section entitled Our Campus Program is for some obscure reason devoted to a discussion of curriculum. "This institution has functions to perform and it is up to students to see to it that these are served well and effectively." By all means let us fight for a better curriculum, for a more adequate program. But let us remember that a thorough revision of the curriculum "to conform with the standards required by intelligence" is impossible until you do away with a social system that hides inventions in dark vaults lest they be put to some use, a system for which it is a matter of life and death to obscure social and economic facts.

Specific Criticism

Then there is the incredible section "End Trustee Domination," which states militantly enough that the "Student LID demands the abolition of trustee domination in our schools." A noble sentiment indeed, but what of it? Is it not evident enough that although it is necessary and essential to fight against trustee domination, although we may win certain concessions in the fight, one must do so with the understanding that

trustee domination is a direct product of capitalist society? One doesn't "demand" the abolition of capitalism. There are more valuable things to do if one really wants to abolish it. And spreading irresponsible illusions is not one of them.

The section on Academic Freedom never gets around to facing the issue: Why academic freedom, and for whom? We say in our program that we fight for academic freedom because "it means freedom to act in defense of student interests." We also make clear that we do not stand for the free speech of the fascists. The Student LID has nothing to say on this important matter. At a time when City College students are being suspended wholesale for having dared to be "discourteous" to the visiting Fascist students we can only gape at such an omission.

The last word on Negro Discrimination is said in strong language, "Discrimination against any group is Intolerable." We should imagine it depends on the group. We consider it a good thing to discriminate against fascist groups. But what about the position of the Negro student as a member of an exploited and oppressed people? We are told of the Negro that "his has been the most exploited class in the United States." Effective action requires a correct and realistic definition of the problem. The Negro people is the most oppressed group in America, but certainly do not constitute a "class." There are Negroes who are members of the capitalist class, few it is true, and the vast majority are peasants and workers. The material on the Negro problem is sheer sentiment. Discrimination cannot be fought with sentiment.

Perhaps the most amazing section is the one on R.O.T.C. Here we find a queer combination of NSL influence and pre-1932 pacifism. We do not understand the following: "This institution has no place in an academic community, especially when it is dedicated to philosophy of peace." Who ever said that the academic community is dedicated to peace? Do not the program writers of the SLID know the record of the universities during the world war as part of the war machinery. The section on the struggle against the R.O.T.C. is virtually meaningless and ineffective. You can put up a good fight against the R.O.T.C. only if you realize that you are fighting against the war department and the forces in our country that make for war.

Most of the confusion in the program

can be traced back to this major confusion of separating the campus from the off-campus. The struggle against capitalism as a social system is completely separated from the struggle against trustee domination. The educational institution is apart from the social system that produced it. For this reason we get cliches instead of analysis. We are told that things are intolerable instead of being told how to fight them.

Are You Ready?

Although this criticism is in many instances severe it will be evident to the reader that the severity is dictated by the urgent need for programmatic clarity in the student movement. One cannot help but realize that the program writers and executives of the LID lag far behind large numbers of their own members as well as masses of unaffiliated students. Surely the hundreds of City College men who participated in the 1933 Jingo Day demonstration and in the demonstrations subsequent to it, realized that their fight against R.O.T.C. had meaning and content, that it was an anti-war fight. Otherwise they would not have braved suspension and expulsion.

We are aware that almost the entire student membership of the Student LID has during the past year been involved in various student struggles and campaigns. We believe that most of the LID members understand these struggles better than do some of their leaders. We believe that these basic problems can be immeasurably clarified by discussion during the next two months. We believe that discussion on each campus should be directed toward the unification of the student movement.

We propose that the discussion of unity begin immediately. We propose that it begin on every campus, and end at a unity convention of the student body this Christmas. We are ready to offer our convention hall in St. Louis for this purpose. We proposed unity to the LID in December 1933. Now we propose it again. Behind us stands a year of united front activity, and a host of students convinced of the possibility of and the necessity for *one militant student movement*.

SECRETARIAT, National
Executive Committee.

[The N.E.C. invites members of the NSL and the Students LID as well as unaffiliated students to express their opinion on "Towards One Student Movement" in the columns of *Student Review*.]

GUTTERSNIPE AT CITY

TWENTY-SIX students are awaiting trial and discipline by a closed court composed wholly of faculty members. Five more are debarred from classes. Three or four are almost certain to be expelled, possibly by the time this sentence appears in print.

By another faculty mandate, the democratically elected Student Council has been peremptorily dissolved. Both student newspapers have been investigated and the findings referred to a committee of the faculty which will pass final judgment upon them, with the strong likelihood that *The Student*, the more independent of the two papers, will soon find itself dischartered.

These are the present developments in the affair which began with our simple request: "Cancel the Fascist visit. It is evident that the Italian students are here to popularize their doctrine, and it is not the proper function of our college to help them do it."

Although that motion had been passed unanimously by the Student Council, President Robinson refused to consider it—out of respect, he said, for Mr. Finley of the *Times*, Mr. Eisner of the Board of Higher Education, and one other "prominent citizen" who had urged the visit upon him.

We then asked Dean Gottschall for permission to hold a protest meeting at the campus flagpole. He refused, and offered us the use of the Lewisohn Stadium instead. Here, safely stowed behind two feet of stone wall a full block from where the Fascists were being received, we could hold a thoroughly ineffective meeting to our hearts' content. After some protest, we accepted and approached Professor Arbib-Costa to arrange for a Student Council speaker at the official reception in the Great Hall. I was granted permission to speak.

The morning of the visit, Tuesday, October 9th, the Student Council issued a leaflet calling for a mass picket-line in front of the Main Building entrance. At noon the lines assembled. Private officers of the administration immediately interfered, a Mr. Fuller among them, taking the names of the pickets and ordering us to disperse. We marched in a body to the Great Hall in time to hear Dean Gottschall read from the Bible: "A soft answer turneth away wrath."

The anthem, "Lavender, My Lavender," is being sung by the freshmen and we add

our voices to the chorus. We are extremely courteous.

But there is a spontaneous wave of hissing when the Fascists march to the platform; and it becomes louder and more insistent as Frederick B. Robinson gets up and, smoothing his pants with a gentle gesture, begins to speak. The catcalls grow in volume and variety; Robinson falters. Then his eloquence, his preeminent talent for the unhappy phrase, returns as always with a sudden rush of blood to the head.

Le Mot Juste

"Guttersnipes!" he shouts; "Your conduct is worse than that of guttersnipes!"

The audience laughs and permits him to go on with his speech. It is a recognition of merit: once again Prexy has made snappy copy for the gazettes.

I had been scheduled to speak next, and as President Robinson concluded, the three Student Council members, Rubenstein, Cutler and myself, mounted the platform. Professor Costa called me aside. "Please be courteous," he said. "Please do not mention fascism." I told him we would greet the visitors in our own way. Costa went over to confer with Robinson. Several people in the audience, sensing the significance of the confab, called out: "Let him speak, let him speak."

I began: "I do not intend to be discourteous to our guests. I merely wish to bring anti-Fascist greetings from the student body of City College to the enslaved, tricked student body of Italy..."

Immediately we were surrounded by a score of excited professors and fascists. Somebody hit me in the eye. I saw two of the fascist students going after Gil Cutler. Then order was restored and we were told to adjourn our meeting to the Lewisohn Stadium. A thousand students gathered there to hear anybody who wanted to express his opinion of the Administration's brutal stupidity.

A barrage of tomatoes thrown by a few ROTC men in the rear of the stadium splattered the audience as Charles Goodwin, organizer of the NSL chapter started to address the meeting. A group of infuriated students caught three of the tomato-throwers and offered them the chance to express

themselves from the platform. Humiliated, one of the three spoke to the audience. The three students' names have been placed in the possession of Dean Gottschall, but no action has thus far been taken against them.

On Wednesday, President Robinson released the following piece of piffle in the *New York Times*, doubtless at the behest of its associate editor, the "prominent" Mr. Finley who had helped to arrange the visit:

"All connected with the College have every reason to be humiliated and chagrined at the gross discourtesy shown our guests. Certain groups connected with the NSL and the SLID seized the occasion to demonstrate against fascism and even attempted to assault the guests. The disposition of the entire matter rests with the trustees."

A Student Council leaflet issued the next day flung this back into the Robinson teeth:

"All connected with the College have every reason to be humiliated and chagrined at the gross discourtesy that was shown by President Robinson and Dean Gottschall to the student body. Certain groups connected with the college administration and Italian fascism seized the occasion to support fascism and even attempted to assault the student speaker. The disposition of the entire matter will rest undoubtedly with the students because any disciplinary action will assume the role of fascist terror against the student body."

"DOWN WITH FASCISM! NO DISCIPLINARY ACTION! OUST ROBINSON AS AN OVERT SUPPORTER OF FASCISM!"

The canny little Dean started off with a brand new mode of attack. He called the parents of five students to his office. "Make your sons apologize or withdraw them from school," he told them, "or suffer the consequences—the shame of suspension and expulsion."

Some of the parents were as anti-fascist as their sons. The sons of others stood adamantly against parents and Dean. All five were debarred from classes. No reason was given. Later, Rubenstein and Cutler were told that they had walked across the platform in an ungentlemanly manner. Why, by heaven, President Robinson had had to say "Sit down" twice! I, it appeared, had provoked the riot by being jumped upon.

At the Freshman Chapel on Thursday, Dean Gottschall called upon one Daniel Daniels, a student, to organize a vigilante committee from the floor. Ten students, volunteering without a clear understanding of the real purposes of the committee, met that afternoon with Gottschall, Mr. Hoch,

a teacher of economics and brains of the mob, and President Robinson in the latter's private office. Plans were discussed for a new lathering-up of school spirit and for the active suppression of anti-war and anti-fascist activities. President Robinson offered \$125 to finance a newspaper to be published by the vigilantes, after *The Student*, now under investigation, will have been suppressed.

All the students so approached have at present withdrawn their support from the project. One of them revealed the facts given above.

At an open meeting held off school grounds, a fifty-pound sack of building lime was hurled from the roof and narrowly missed several students. The name of the lunatic who is responsible for this act is

known, and will be divulged to the administration if they request it.

President Robinson provoked the current City College clash, and the Faculty Committee is acting under his shadow in refusing to grant the accused students their right to an open trial. It is this tradition of high-handed reaction that is Robinson's gift to City College, and it must be fought specifically by demanding that he be ousted. We already have the support of the *New York Post* and the *World-Telegram* for the struggle. An intensive drive is being sponsored by a united student front of the NSL and the SLID. It is the support given by the student body at large that will determine whether or not we shall be successful.

—EDWIN ALEXANDER.

THE MICHIGAN COLOR-LINE

WILLIS WARD did not play on October 20 against Carnegie Tech. The teams were intact but another end snatched the passes for Michigan. Other Negroes have brought honor to Michigan's teams, Eddie Tolan and DeBart Hubbard before Ward. Ward himself is not only famed as star end. He is a sterling trackman. Last year, Michigan won the Big Ten championship and Ward was tagged as the "One Man Track Team."

Willis Ward did not play because he is a Negro, because Michigan was scheduled to play Carnegie Tech's southern gentlemen, because Michigan was ready to play the vicious game of racial discrimination. And because there was not sufficient Negro and white protest—massive, demonstrative, tough-minded protest—to force the break-up of this "gentleman's agreement," and because class, racial and national lines cut across sport equally with every other human activity.

At Michigan itself, the outrage did not go unchallenged. On the eve of the game, when it was still partially uncertain whether Ward would play or not, student, faculty members and townspeople came to a mass meeting called by student organizations and the Ann Arbor Ministerial Association. People crowded the aisles on both sides, crowded the four doorways, while many more stood outside. It was held in Natural Science Auditorium.

This mass meeting is important because it is an indication of the typical reception that such a case will receive in a large university, indicates the sort of opposition we are facing, and the issues at stake. More than the friends of the Negro people came to that meeting.

"Comrades!" A roar of laughter followed by catcalls and handclapping came from the right. A fraternity fellow, pleased with his little joke, tried it again. "Comrades!" This time, he pulled his hair down over his eyes, his hand waving heroically.

A lad in an expensive sport jacket raised his fist and shouted: "Fellow workers!" He was rewarded with hisses and cheers and guffaws. This was repeated a number of times.

At eight o'clock, the chairman, Abner Morton, a serious young man wearing glasses, took to the platform. "Students, faculty members, and . . ." He got no further. Out from the crowd came: "Down with capitalism!" "Down with everything! We want beer! Heil Hitler!" This is how the warriors from the right made their presence felt.

"Wahsh you der Sharlie?" Someone in the back of the auditorium took up the refrain. The chairman up front looked disgusted. He made an attempt to introduce the speaker. "Professor Harold McFarlan of the Engineering College. . . ." His voice was again lost in the uproar.

Finally, the right faction roared out in relief as one of their number walked to the platform. The audience quieted down except for occasional boos or cheers by isolated individuals.

"The sponsors of the Ward movement say it would be unChristian to discriminate against Ward but they don't realize that it would be just that to permit him to play because in all likelihood, he would be injured in the game." The speaker, a junior in the 'lit' school looked around for support. He went on: "The coaches who have improved Ward's playing ability should have the right to say whether or not he should risk that ability." The fraternity boys whistled and the large majority of the audience looked very unconvinced.

The next speaker, Sher Quraishi, a Hindu, delivered a lecture on good sportsmanship. He said: "You're a bunch of fools. You can't even allow a meeting to be held until you are bawled out."

Someone in the back yelled: "When in Rome do as the Romans do!"

Quraishi replied gravely: "No, my friend. When in Rome, do the Romans!"

Speaker followed speaker. Harvey Smith, captain of the track team, said that those who were opposed to Ward's playing were interested in his welfare. Smith's voice trembled.

Some fraternity men both Negro and white, and another Hindu spoke. It was after nine o'clock before Harold P. Marley, president of the local chapter of the Civil Liberties Union, was able to present his talk. Marley spoke in a suave, convincing way. He cited other examples of discrimination in Michigan, in the girls' dormitory, in Ward's failure to become track captain the preceding year because of his color. His plea was for "racial understanding."

The mass meeting adjourned with a resolution, made by a member of the Vanguard Club, protesting to the Board in Control of Athletics for the discrimination in the Ward case.

Willis Ward did not play the next day. The protest meeting was held too late. No further action was taken after the Saturday game. No greater victory can be claimed than that we had gained a number of sympathizers. The protest meeting was hardly equal to Michigan's challenge. The answer is yet a matter of the future.

—HILIA LAINE.

ANGELL'S LITTLE DEVILS

ON the day that Harvard's President Conant rejected Putzy Hanfstaengl's offer of a thousand-dollar scholarship, Yale's President Angell announced his plans for receiving the student emissaries of Mussolini. Orations in the chapel and dinner in University Hall: the entertainment was to be modest, decorous, and characterized by that simple warmth and reserve which American university leaders accord to all students except their own.

Dr. Angell had already read the letter of the National Student League Chapter stressing the propagandist nature of the visit and urging him to withdraw the invitation. "To admit these students to the Yale campus, and to extend to them official greetings merely on the basis of academic freedom, is to hold out the hand of liberal good-will to these exponents of medieval oppression, megalomaniacal race theories which are paraded in the name of science, and doctrines which are disastrous to all student, professional and working-class groups."

It was in defiance of this explicit protest and in defiance of the masked allusions in the *New York Times*, several Connecticut papers, and the *Yale Daily News*, all of which had significantly concatenated in their news stories the action of Harvard with the impending reaction at Yale, that President Angell persisted in his invitation; and on Saturday, October 6, the Mussolini student salesmen arrived.

It was cold, and the wind was skimming solid belts of rain across the pavement when the 350 young Fascists came trooping down Yale's campus. A demonstration called by the American League Against War and Fascism had failed to materialize; the heavy rain, the immediate threat of expulsion and arrest had prevented all but a dozen of them from convening. The Fascisti lined up and raised cheers for their respective universities.

"Roma!" they cried. "Campagna!"

"Moscow!" retorted somebody among the onlookers; an Italian anarchist shouted, "Abasso Mussolini!"; and a fight developed with the contingent of local New Haven fascists, who had come prepared to provoke such a development. One man had three umbrellas broken over his head and his face lacerated by brass knuckles; another was

struck repeatedly across the face; a third was badly cut over the mouth. None of them was a student, and there were no arrests. The Italians withdrew, assembled their ranks, and moved on to their tryst with Angell in the chapel.

Abasso Il Fascismo!

President Angell was more than courteous in his greeting: he dripped. "American and Italian universities have in common a great cultural tradition," he said at one point, "and we are further united by the fact that we fought side by side in the World War, to which this memorial is dedicated." In reply, the leader of the Fascist students arose, stiff, mock-courtlly and officious, and gave the order, "Salute Il Duce!" The Fascisti thrust forth their arms: "Viva Mussolini!" They shouted. Then they were conducted out to be banqueted.

Eleven persons who had been disgusted by the proceedings—an instructor at the college, two women, four Yale students, and four workers—gathered in the rain on the wet quadrangle near the Dining Hall where the young Fascists were being fed. After an hour the Italians began to file out, two by two, ranked informally now; and as they approached the quadrangle the eleven demonstrators moved forward to confront them.

"Abasso il Fascismo! Abasso il Fascismo! Abasso il Fascismo!"

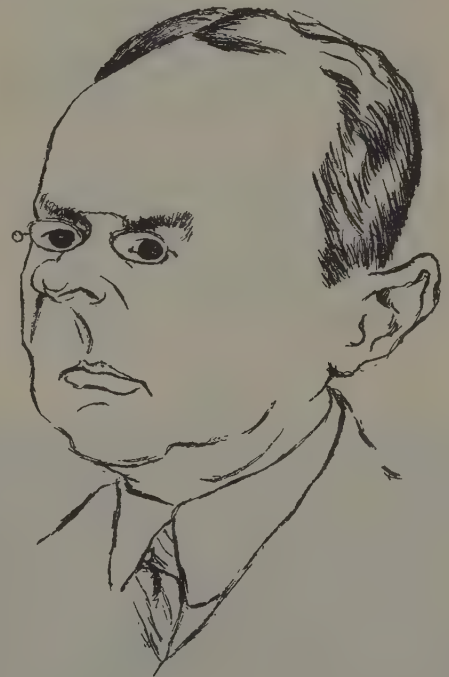
The Fascists stopped. A large, broad-faced fellow wearing the golden "M" that means "Mussolini" and is awarded for special distinction in Fascist sports and arts, waved his arm to signal the others forward. At another signal the Fascists, numbering three to each of the demonstrators, closed in for the attack. Three of them wedged the instructor between them and hammered him to the ground; others were slugging it out toe to toe; the bearer of the golden "M" was beating one of the women over the head with a heavy package. The eleven turned and ran, pursued half way across the quadrangle by the feasted visitors.

That afternoon at the Bowl, Yale's band serenaded the Fascists with Italian songs, Yale's cheer-leaders called upon the student body to huzzah Mussolini, and the students replied, even to the point of raising their

arms in quasi Fascist salute; while on New Haven Central green, a sparsely attended meeting of the American League and the NSL denounced the action of President Angell and the *Yale News*.

The Yale incident is instructive, and its ugly lesson should be blazed across the facade of every university in the country, where it can be read every day by those educators who championed fascism's right to advertise and to tyrannize under the transparent veil of free speech. It is an interesting sidelight on the methods of fascism that their harbingers of good-will could think of no better form in which to couch their reply than the resort to physical violence. The refusal of Italy's finest to allow free speech to others on their own campus, in a land where they were visitors, is an illuminating example both of the way in which fascism is established and maintained and of the ideals which the regime imbues.

—LOUIS KAYE.



Drawn by Florence Sachnoff

"American and Italian universities have in common a great cultural tradition and we are further united by the fact that we fought side by side in the World War . . ." according to James Rowland Angell, No. 1 man at Yale University.

ITALY'S SECOND EMBASSY

IT IS no secret that many American universities are being used as centers of fascist propaganda. Three general channels are used: exchange students, exchange professors, and heads of the German and Italian departments. Recently the fascist activities at one major university were revealed, which served as an example of what is probably going on at more than one leading "institution of learning" in this country.

The November 7th issue of the *Nation*, in an article on "Fascism at Columbia University," revealed how the Italian Department at Columbia, and the Casa Italiana of the same institution are dominated completely by Fascist influences, and that the Casa itself is "one of the most important sources of fascist propagandana in America."

No expression of anti-Fascist opinion is permitted in any publication with which the Casa is associated, and it maintains a steady barrage of Fascist propaganda by means of its speakers' division and its publication, the *Italy-America Monthly*.

The director of the Casa Italiana, Giuseppe Prezzolini, Dino Bigongiari, head of the Italian Department, and Professor Riccio, their co-worker, are all avowed Fascists. According to the *Nation*, "there is an intimate association and regular correspondence between the Italian embassy at Washington, the Italian Consul-General's office in New York, the office of the *Fasci all'Estero* of Rome, which has charge of fascist activities abroad, and the Casa Italiana."

The speakers' division of the Casa Italiana last year received \$3,000 from the Italian Consul-General of New York. Most of the Casa's furniture was donated by the Italian government.

Professor Riccio, who was secretary of the committee in charge of arrangements for the 350 visiting Italian students, was given a medal on October 23rd by the Italian government for his services on its behalf.

This "unwholesome situation" is demonstrated by one of the recent releases of Columbia's Department of Public Information, which is an interview with one of the lesser lights in the Italian Department, Dr. Howard R. Marraro, who recently returned from a visit to Mussoliniland, and has been singing the praises thereof.

The absurd and openly propagandist statements of this Fascist sympathiser, who is ignorant of economics or sociology, will, of course, fool no one who is informed on the facts. They merely indicate how raw the propaganda has become.

"Relatively speaking, there is no suffering in Italy," declared Dr. Marraro. "Despite its natural poverty, one does not see the distress and suffering that we have witnessed here in the past few years."

We suppose he means relative to the Black Death, because Mussolini said a few years ago that it was fortunate that the Italian people is not yet accustomed to eat several times a day, that "its standard of living is so low that it feels scarcity and suffering less." Evidently Italians are tougher than even this statement would indicate; a more recent statement of Il Duce held that mankind is capable of much more asceticism than it has shown in the past.

Nothing But Facts

According to the release, "Dr. Marraro cited figures secured from 'high government officials' to show that the standard of living is higher both quantitatively and qualitatively than it has been since before the World War."

We have the testimony of an authority on this question. In the June issue of *Current History*, Hugh Quigley, Chief Statistical Officer of the Central Electricity Board in Great Britain, stated: "The shrinkage in consumption of foodstuffs generally has been so great, particularly in the last three years, that the standard of living in the years before the war was actually higher than it has been in the years 1932-33."

Secretary Biagi of the National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates himself admitted, in 1932, that beginning in 1927 there had been a general drop in wages of 20%, then a further drop of 10%, then a "general downward movement" in 1930 of between 18 and 25%, and "many other adjustments in 1931." Although the cost of living index figure dropped 15.73%, industrial wages decreased from 16% in the printing trades to 30 and 40% in other

industries. Things are rosy indeed under Il Duce.

"The labor situation in Italy should be a model for the world," Dr. Marraro said, adding that there had been neither a strike nor a lockout since 1925. . . . Labor difficulties in Italy are successfully settled either by conciliation or by submission of the case to a labor court whose judgment is binding on both parties, Dr. Marraro pointed out.

Of course, there *have* been strikes in Italy. That there have not been more of them, however, is due only to the fact that they are forbidden as criminal actions, and that participants in them are subject to heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment. As for the marvelous Charter of Labor, apart from stipulating compulsory "arbitration" in labor disputes, its role on behalf of the workers was admirably summarized by Augusto Turati, Secretary General of the Fascist Party, as follows:

In the ungrateful task of reducing wages not one of the principles solemnly enunciated in the Labor Charter was violated.

"The ratio of unemployed to the total population and to the working population is less in Italy than in any other country in Europe or than in the United States," said Dr. Marraro. Possibly he does not consider Russia a part of Europe.

"There is no such thing as a bread line, and even in the poorer districts, a beggar is seldom seen. Government agencies care for those who would otherwise be needy and poor."

This is pure bunk. Agricultural laborers, who constitute about 50% of the population, are excluded from relief, as are all artisans, home-workers, and domestic servants. The relief in any case is never greater than 3.75 lire per day, or 36 cents, and is granted for a maximum of only ninety days, which means that the unemployed disappear from the lists just when their need is greater than ever.

With almost two million unemployed in Italy, according to a conservative estimate, affected by such governmental "care," and with the average rate for those who do work being about eight cents an hour, we can not understand why Signor Marraro says that the "results of the world depression are barely visible in Italy," but we can easily understand why he was presented with a personally autographed photograph of Mussolini.

—WILLIAM LEONARD.

ON Tuesday, October 23, twenty-two bus boys and countermen of Sorrell's Cafeteria walked out on strike. On Thursday October 25 they returned to work having won all of their demands. What happened in between is a chapter in the history of the American student movement.

Sorrell's Cafeteria is the largest and most popular student meeting and eating place in the vicinity of Brooklyn College. The students comprise a large majority of the customers although there are business men and workers who patronize the cafeteria.

After several unsuccessful conferences with Sorrell's, the workers struck under the leadership of the Cafeteria section of the Food Workers Industrial Union. The demands of the workers were:

1. Fifteen dollars a week for bus boys. Twenty-five for countermen. (This meant a three dollar increase.)
2. Recognition of the Food Workers Industrial Union.
3. Security of Jobs.

The Brooklyn College NSL knew that it would play an important part in the coming strike. Almost as soon as the strike began an Evening Session NSL'er was on the picket line. The strikers stood around and proudly point to him. "Students," they said to each other.

Wednesday morning the Day session, with a membership of 175, distributed leaflets stating the demands of the strikers and calling upon students to boycott Sorrell's. Students picketed all morning. Boards were chalked up in classrooms and we joined the picket line.

We walked back and forth with the cops shooing us on, gently. We were students, you know. We were waiting for a platform for an open air meeting. Just then I saw the Students L.I.D. approaching in a body. "We are coming down to support the strike. We are going to hold an open air meeting."

We didn't have a platform and we could not get a flag and it was a united front so we waited for their platform. The Student L.I.D. chairman announced it as a meeting of "the Student League for Industrial Democracy, supported by the union and the N.S.L." Unfortunately, no mention of the name of the union or the meaning of the letters N.S.L. or that it was a joint meeting. Anyhow, it was large and very successful.

On Thursday we found the streets blocked with the cars so that it would be difficult to hold an open air meeting. Until the meeting

BROOKLYN WINS A STRIKE

started we strolled in groups of two or three, but our noonday walk never went beyond the building which housed Sorrell's. It was mass picketing and everybody knew it. The place was emptier than it had been on the day before.

There was no rush this lunch hour and it was drawing to a close when we started our meeting. We had agreed to have an N.S.L'er as chairman and a certain number of speakers from each participating organization. Before the meeting got under way, someone was arrested.

Dave London and Nat Polakoff were walking in front of Sorrell's for almost an hour. Someone from the store next to Sorrell's said, "Why don't you wipe the snot off your nose?" Dave approached him and said, "Do you want to speak to me as—" Dave would have finished, "as a gentleman?" but was interrupted by a spit in the eye. There was a tussle. The man came out with a black eye which both boys insist is not their handiwork.

Dave called a policeman and preferred charges against the man. On the arrival of the policeman, the spitter and his brother, a lawyer, who happened to be with him, persuaded the law to arrest Dave and Nat instead.

We started the open-air meeting and it lasted for three hours with many short speeches. The crowd included students and

non-students. The students came and went, but many non-students stood quietly by for three hours, listening intently, obviously sympathetic. Then some people from the crowd came to the chairman and asked to speak. One was a student who had eaten in Sorrell's and wanted to defend his position. We gave him the platform.

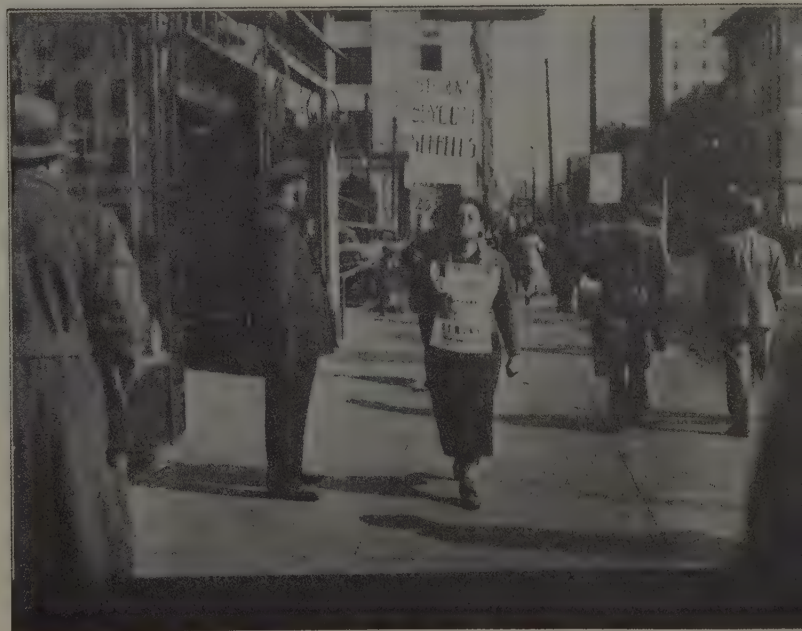
Then the non-students began. A member of the Empire State Motion Picture Operators Union, an unemployed father of a City College student, a Negro who spoke of the conditions of the Negro students, a white collar worker from the neighborhood, someone who was just a worker. They were entirely sympathetic. They thought it was a wonderful thing that students had left their ivory towers—though it was only the white-collar worker who used that expression, the rest explained in simple, workers' language.

Two hours after the meeting was over, 5:27 to be exact, the strike was settled, the workers receiving a two dollar wage increase, union recognition and security of jobs.

We had won the strike, the union told us that themselves. But better still, we had gained the confidence of the workers around the neighborhood and in the union. They will be ready to call upon us now and know that we will respond enthusiastically.

—BEATRICE GOMBERG.

Students carrying union placards together with some of their own manufacture at Brooklyn College, another one of those horrible City Colleges.



PHILOSOPHERS IN A VACUUM

WHEN Schopenhauer left a bequest for the widows and orphans of the soldiers killed in suppressing the Dresden uprising of 1848 he expressed more profoundly than he knew the role of the philosopher in contemporary capitalist society. Schopenhauer did not want to be troubled. The business of the police and the military was to keep order that the philosopher might not be disturbed in his speculations and also that his investments might not be interfered with. Such is the attitude, conscious or unconscious, of most philosophers in America today. And they must protect themselves in other ways from being involved in social struggles that might hinder their metaphysical pursuits.

Our devastating crisis probably exists less for the minds of academic philosophers than it does in the thought of any other professional group. They ignore it. With negligible exceptions, the philosophic periodicals of the past five years have proceeded as serenely as if there were no catastrophic collapse of our economic, political, and social order. Such articles as "The Problem of the Self," "Ethics as Pure Postulate," "Numerical and Qualitative Identity," "James' Pragmatism Prior to 1879," "The Greek Conception of Nature," fill the learned magazines. It is not that these subjects are unimportant, or that significant light may not be thrown on contemporary problems by the discussion of them, but that they are treated as if such problems did not exist. Actually, they represent the social position of the philosopher and his attempt to maintain his traditional status in the face of a changing society. Likewise, the discussions at the annual meetings of the divisions of the American Philosophical Association take place in almost complete divorce from all social reference and often from all scientific reference. Philosophers still largely believe that they are a group apart, concerned solely with special "metaphysical" and "epistemological" problems that transcend all other fields of human knowledge.

Yet all is not well with the philosophers. More mundane matters intrude. At the last meeting of the Western Division of the Philosophical Association, for example, a telegram was presented urging the Association to draw up a "resolution protesting against suppression by German Government

of freedom of philosophic thought and expression and the unjustifiable deprivation of academic status of students and teachers of philosophy." The enterprise and daring of these philosophers was shown by the action of the Executive Committee which, "in view of the delicacy of the matter" and other considerations, recommended that the question be passed along to the American Council of Learned Societies. All three divisions of the Association at their last meetings sought to establish machinery to study the problem of "increasing the opportunities for the employment of men and women trained in philosophy." In fact, the Eastern Division found need for liberal interpretation of the membership rules relating to professional employment "under the present emergency conditions." It is to be noted that for some years hundreds of well-trained students have been unable to find positions in philosophy and that these professional philosophers speak of the "present" emergency conditions as if the unemployment of teachers were merely temporary. They forget that even before the crash of 1929 students were warned against graduate work in philosophy if they were taking such work with the expectation of teaching.

The Other Side

Now if we turn to the other side of the picture, to the effect of philosophy courses on American college students, we find that it is scarcely for the better. Prof. Morris R. Cohen's students learn "to prize the majesty of the intellectual life." Hocking's text, *Types of Philosophy* is widely used and psychologists have been known to complain that students who have studied this book resist all attempts at a scientific psychology. The average student of the one philosophy course that most colleges require is either painfully bored because he can see no possible connection between it and the things which actually concern him, or he becomes enamored of Plato or of Berkeleyan idealism. It is not unknown for students to take the latter so seriously as to upset their mental stability. In a typical small college I know, philosophy is described in the catalogue as endeavoring to show the student his relation to God. A metropolitan university such as Columbia is far from such a position,

and yet partly due to special large endowments many of the younger teachers and graduate students are led into the study of religion which actually occupies a large part of the work of the philosophy department. Professor McKeon of Columbia, a scholarly medievalist, has turned out some unfortunate results in the shape of students for whom no thinking has taken place since the 14th century. Many philosophy teachers, probably the majority, think it their special mission in life to overcome the leanings their students have towards materialism.

What Does It Offer?

The history of philosophy in America reads thus: until 1880 there was but one course in philosophy and it was taught with few exceptions by the president, who was almost invariably a clergyman. When one outstanding thinker taught materialism to his students in the first half of the last century, Thomas Cooper of the University of South Carolina, he was removed from his position by the State legislature for his heretical teaching and opinions. Though admittedly there is less direct emphasis on God in our colleges today, there is a definite hostility to any sort of materialistic teaching.

Students rightly complain that philosophy has nothing to offer them in the way of solving their personal, social, scientific problems. Bourgeois philosophy has nothing to offer them; nothing except a means of justifying present social institutions and the resultant individualistic way of life. Serious students who have been brought face to face with the problems of economics and politics are forced to seek outside of university halls for philosophic guidance. They are going, in fact, in increasing numbers, to Workers' Schools, National Student League classes and discussion groups, where they can find what their colleges cannot give them—a Marxian materialism that is relevant to contemporary problems and students' needs.

When we turn to philosophy itself we find the greatest confusion among the philosophers and the almost unbelievable rehashing of outworn problems. Idealism, realism, and pragmatism are regarded as virtually the only alternatives. Deweyan instrumentalism, which at least recognizes the existence of pressing social problems, ac-

tually has only a few followers. Materialism is taboo. Most philosophers have attempted to keep to the line of traditional American theism, thus acting as apologists for Protestantism. Few dare come out for an unadulterated materialism. Professor Sellars tells us in his contribution to *Contemporary American Philosophy* that when he was about to call himself a naturalist his friends remonstrated on the grounds that it might lead to his dismissal from the University of Michigan. Thus democratic freedom of thought is preserved in America! Professor Long of the University of Southern California recently said, at the last congress of the Pacific Division of the A. P. A. that "Philosophical dignity seemed to him imperiled by materialism." Clearly, philosophical dignity must be maintained at all costs, even at the price of a befuddling obscurantism. Thus the philosophers rant while seeking desperately to uphold their spiritualistic conception of reality.

The Meaning of Meaning

What are these philosophies of idealism, realism, and pragmatism? The idealist maintains that, in one way or another, nature is subordinate to mind or spirit, that thinking is not the function of a material organism, but rather that the material organism exists only for or in thought. Consequently he begins always with "ideas" or spiritual entities in explaining anything, rather than with material conditions, natural forces, and the like.

The realist may be described vulgarly as a man who dislikes idealism but who cannot make the grade of materialism. In seeking to escape the latter he has remained in the same circle of ideas out of which idealism has developed and thus has nothing positive to offer. They proceed by crude dichotomies, completely undialectical in their mode of analysis. It is noteworthy that many of the realists have become pan-psychists, regarding everything as sentient. Montague, for example, holds, although he warns his students it may be only a personal idiosyncrasy, that everything has a soul, that even the table before him possesses consciousness. It was brought out in the report of last winter's congress of the Eastern Division of the A. P. A. that "Whatever differences there may be between idealism and realism, the representatives of both parties found point after point on which to agree and found it not easy to ascertain what the shooting in previous wars had been about."

Pragmatism again seeks vainly to escape by not taking sides. It must be noted however that Peirce, James, and Dewey are all idealists in the sense of starting with consciousness, a stream of undifferentiated feeling, and thus of deriving the world from experience. There is little or no difference between the position of Dewey in his *Essays in Experimental Logic* and that of Bradley, the arch-idealist, in his *Essays on Truth and Reality*. Prof. Sidney Hook, an ardent disciple of Peirce and Dewey, recently contended that "the presumed metaphysical differences" between idealism and materialism "turn out to be verbal." He said that "the sole intelligible difference between these philosophies was that of naturalism versus supernaturalism, atheism versus theism." Now there is no supernaturalism or theism in such a philosophy as that of the later Bradley, or of such an American idealist as the late Prof. G. H. Mead. Hook would have us believe, then, that there is no difference between materialism and such idealisms as these.

But there is a profound difference. Materialism holds that man lives in a world he did not create, that there is an objective reality which has its definite substance and structure, that man lives in this world and through science comes to trace out this objective structure, that his science is true when, and to the extent that, it succeeds in representing this structure or pattern of events. Materialism holds against all forms of spiritualism or idealism that thinking is a function of the material organism and hence that "mind" is dependent upon both the material organism and its material environment. It follows therefrom that our ideas are conditioned by our environment, or as Marx put it, that "existence determines consciousness" and "social existence determines social consciousness." Dialectical materialism holds also, of course, that man reacts upon and determines his environment, but it first looks for the causes of both external events and human ideas in material conditions, rather than in such nebulosities as "mind," "spirit," and the like. This philosophy is nothing esoteric but is what every man assumes when he enters into active relationship with nature, either for the production of material goods or in the quest of scientific knowledge. Yet this philosophy is not, with few exceptions, taught in our universities. Instead we find idealisms of all descriptions, dressed up in innumerable ways for more palatable consumption. Anyone

who runs through the collected essays that make up the two volumes of *Contemporary American Philosophy* can easily verify this for himself. To these philosophers materialism, such as we have outlined, is crude or even "undignified." That is because they have got so far removed from the basic struggle for material wants and from the actual processes of technology and scientific experimentation that they cannot recognize the truth of this plain matter-of-fact view. At all costs they will be dignified, even as Morris R. Cohen is dignified. Writing on "The Intellectual Love of God" in the *Menorah Journal* in 1926, he attacks the emphasis on time common to Hegel and the Marxists. He regards this as a consequence of our quest for material goods. He attacks it as interfering with the "spiritual life." He confessedly is seeking "the piety which has distinguished genuinely spiritualistic views of life." These men, then, it seems, have their own particular bias. Piety they want more than truth, dignity more than a workable philosophy of nature and human life. It is all right for them to have the piety, but as teachers they owe their students something more.

Heads in the Sand

These characterizations of the prevalent types of philosophy are naturally highly simplified. The professional philosophers will of course object. We think however that in their very simplicity they single out the salient features, the essential distinctions, which the idealist philosophers desire to conceal.

The handful of philosophers who are concerned with actual social problems, such men as Sellars, Dewey, Cohen, and others, have read a little of Marx but have not got beyond the traditional theories of American democracy. Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard, a famous realist, believes in "Christian democracy" and describes himself "as one who is revolutionary enough to remain loyal to the great revolutions of the past." Sellars goes so far as to favor "profit-sharing" and "increased participation of employees." Hocking, who believes that the universe is a "self," also urges the religions of the world to unite against their common enemy, the philosophy of Marx and Lenin. Cohen dislikes the idea of social progress because it impoverishes life by robbing men of sustaining visions and moral holidays. (Would that this philosophy would take a complete holi-

day, moral and otherwise!) For the benevolent Durant Drake, God "is the power which is visibly in the world making for righteousness and all Good." For Warner Fite of Princeton to think of human life in terms of social progress is "inconceivably trivial." John Dewey, who "cannot obtain intellectual, moral or esthetic satisfaction from the professed philosophy which animates Bolshevik Russia" has recently written a volume on religion in which he so juggles the concept "God," that he manages to hold on to the religious tradition even while professing to repudiate its content.

Or let me describe a little discussion that took place at the last convention of the Pacific Division of the A. P. A. According to the official report of this meeting, "Mr. Tufts brought philosophy back to earth by assessing the present status of 'Equality as

a Moral Value'." This paper presented a typical liberal position close to that of John Stuart Mill. Erickson, of the University of Utah, asked whether Plato was not right in defining justice as each keeping in his place. Another philosopher from the University of Southern California, Smith, agreed, suspecting that justice and social equilibrium demand inequality and concentration of power and the submission of the masses. (*Journ. of Phil.*, Mar. 1, 1934, p. 128.) One philosopher, indeed, pointed out that Russia has reversed our practice of using nominal political equality to achieve predatory inequality. Just what this meant I am not quite certain but it seems to represent left-wing opinion. Good old Hartley Burr Alexander of Scripps College, thought that America conceived justice in a Christian manner as giving to each according to his needs.

Such are the men American students listen to while their world is tumbling about their heads. The common feature of all is their fear of radical social change and their faith in the efficacy of capitalist society. Their conventional attitude is that the philosopher, viewing things *sub specie aeternitatis*, must remain aloof. The result is, of course, the retention of bourgeois prejudices. And at bottom, lies the age-old struggle between materialism and idealism.

Only a revolutionary change can liberate academic philosophy in America and bring it into integral relationship with the sciences and with the needs and aspirations of the masses of the people. As Marx so aptly put it, "Theory becomes realized among a people only insofar as it represents the realization of that people's needs."

—STUART GREEN.

FLEDGLINGS IN KHAKI—A Story

I WAS waiting for George in the hall downstairs. It was the free hour before the Military Science class. I was feeling very hot in my uniform, but I figured I would get used to it after a while.

While I was waiting, one of the officers passed. I smiled at him. I figured, since I was in uniform, he would smile back, but he didn't. He seemed kind of stuck-up. I felt foolish. I guess they get that way after a few years of Mili Sci.

Just then I spied George's big form slowly coming down the hall. He had a newspaper up in front of his face. All you could see of him was his blonde hair standing up. He wasn't looking where he was going, and he walked right into the officer. George's newspaper fell out of his hand. He apologized while he was bending down to get his newspaper, but the fellow was sore and he said something about, "Looking where you're going." George said pretty loudly, "Well, I said I was sorry." The fellow stared at him for a couple of seconds, and then he walked away with his head stuck high in the air. George came over to me. His face was red.

"Have you been waiting long?"

"No, I just got here. What was the fuss with that guy?"

"Did you see me bunk into him?"

"Uh, huh."

"He was pretty snotty. He said a good sol-

dier knows where he's going. I wanted to take a poke at him. Where does he come off? He's only a student like us. There's no reason for getting so snotty."

"Forget it," I said. "You always meet somebody like that. Let's go outside. It's hot in here."

"Say, do you feel hot too? I think it's this lousy uniform. I've been itchy all day."

We went down the hall and through the exit at the side of the building.

There were a lot of students sitting outside on the benches underneath the trees. They were all in their shirt-sleeves. Some of them were reading books, but most of them were just fooling around. We saw Davis and Chilton, a couple of fellows we knew from the math class. We nodded and they nodded back.

George said to me, "That's damn funny. Davis had his uniform on this morning."

"I know. He takes it off after the class. He doesn't like to be seen with it. He told me he's sorry he took the course."

"How come?"

"I don't know. I guess he got to talking with one of the reds."

"Well, why doesn't he drop the course?"

"I guess he doesn't want to lose the credit."

George started to say something and stopped.

"What is it?" I asked.

He was frowning. "How do you feel about taking the course?" His voice was very quiet.

"I don't know," I said. "I guess it's all right. I just took it to fill up my program. It can't do any harm."

"Yeah," George said. "If there was something else to take instead . . ." He shrugged his shoulders.

"Forget it," I said. "Let's go over to the park."

We walked slowly to the park. There was a very hot sun and we were perspiring a great deal. George was really dripping. He looked as if he was struggling with a heavy load, trying to lift a piano or something. He frowned the whole time.

When we got to the park, we went through the gate and along the pebbled walk toward the big grass lawn. We passed people sitting on the wooden benches on the walk. There were some nurses with baby-carriages. But most of those sitting on the benches were men in torn clothes—many needing shaves. A couple were playing with the pigeons. Some were dozing. A majority just sat there staring in front of them. All the way down it was like that.

We got to the end of the walk and on to the lawn. The lawn was pretty crowded. A lot of kids were running around and playing ball. Some older people were lying down and being stepped on by the kids. We lay

down at the edge of the lawn, George next to a middle-aged man in a gray flannel shirt.

The sun was still burning hot, and we were still perspiring, George's shirt was soaking wet. We opened our ties and collars, and lay back with our heads resting on our hands.

"I bet we have to carry rifles today," I said.

"It'll be lousy with or without rifles."

I closed my eyes. I felt the hot sun on my face and I kind of dozed off.

About ten minutes later, I heard voices as if from far off; George's and somebody else's. I opened my eyes and sat up. The man in the gray shirt was talking.

"Ya never can tell," he was saying. "One day she'll be cold and then smacko, a stinkin' hot day like today. There just ain't no way of figurin' it."

He was very dark. His hair was black except for some gray on the side. He looked like an Italian, although I don't know what he was. He was chewing fast on a piece of gum. I could see George liked him. Suddenly he looked hard at us. "What's the uniforms for, boys?" he asked.

George got very red. I guess I did, too. It was the tone of his voice more than anything else.

"They're for a course up in school,"

George said. "Military Science."

"You mean Military Drill?"

"I guess that's it."

He let out a long whistle, and shook his head. "So they got it in the schools now."

"It's just a course," I said. "Like Mathematics or Chemistry. We get credit for it."

He stared at me a moment, and then he said, "My God, kid, do ya know why ya takin' it?"

"Well, I guess they want us to be prepared, in case of war."

"Who's they?"

"The government."

He smiled. "Is that what they teach ya in college?"

"We don't know what they teach in college," George said. "We're just beginning."

"Well, let me tell ya, kiddo, it ain't the government. It's a few big shots who hold the government in their palms, like this." He put his right finger in his left hand, and closed his hand. "Those are the guys that got ya drillin'. Just because they wanta make

themselves a little mazuma. The millions they got ain't enough for them. They gotta make a little more. So they'll start all the blatin', and while they're at home havin' their caviar and cake and fried chicken, ya're off in Germany or Japan gettin' your head blowed off. He shook his head. "I know."

He tapped his right leg. There was a funny, hollow sound. "Ya hear that? Ya know what that is? That's cork. Yessir, cork. That's my present from the last blow out. What the hell am I good for now? Just layin' in the park here and watchin' young fellas like you bein' set up like ninepins. Ya don't see 'em givin' us our bonus, do ya? Nossir. They promised it to us, but where the hell is it? They're busy spendin' it for more wars."

"There isn't going to be a war," George said. "Not for a long time anyway." He looked very pale.

The man laughed. "No? What d'ya think they're spendin' all that dough for, fire-crackers? Why d'ya think F. D. R. is so hot for a big navy, so he can go fishin'? Don't kid yourself, sonny. They expect it any day now."

"Well," I said, "what if they are preparing? They can't have war if people are against it."

He put his hand up to his head. "Holy Christ, sonny, that's just what they said before the last one. That's just what they said. How can we have a war when people are against it? But we had it, didn't we? You're damn tootin' we had it. And if they have their way, we're gonna have another one. And damn quick, too."

He was chewing his gum very fast. He turned his face away and spit it out. Then he looked back at us. In a very quiet voice, he said, "Whad'ya get out of it, anyway? It ain't like history or arithmetic—somethin' educational. It's just plain lousy. Kick it out of your schools, boys. Let 'em spend that dough on us veterans and the unemployed. Then they'd be doin' somethin'." He smiled. "Don't ya think I'm right?"

George and I just sat there, not saying anything.

He asked again, "Don't ya think that's the right idea, boys?"

We shook our heads, yes. I looked at my watch. "We better be going. It's a quarter to three."

We got up on our feet, brushing off our pants. We shook his hand. "Goodbye."

"Goodbye, boys," he smiled. "Think over what I told ya."

We walked away fast—down the walk through the gate—out of the park. George was taking big steps, and I had trouble keeping up with him. He was looking straight ahead of him. His face was set. I guess he was thinking about what the man had said. I know I was.

When we were about half way to school, George stopped walking altogether. He turned to me. "Listen, Sid, why the hell should we take that course anyway?"

"That's right, why should we?"

"The hell with it. Let's drop it right away."

"It's O.K. with me," I said. "But the other fellows ought to drop it, too. What about them?"

"That's right," said George, "We're not the only ones."

We walked on slowly to the school.

All of a sudden George said, "Jesus Christ, Sid, we got to do something about this war question. Hell, I don't want to get shot up for something I didn't have a hand in." Then he said more slowly, "I don't want a cork leg, either."

"Who does?"

"You know." He stopped. He put his fingers through his hair. His face was all screwed up. "You know, there must be a hell of a lot of people who feel just like that man does. I mean, people who burn up at the thought of war, who will do just about anything to stop it."

"Uh, huh."

"Now look. If all of us people got together, we could . . ." He didn't finish the sentence. "Damn it, Sid." He slammed his right fist against his left palm. "We got to do something. Not just stand around and wait until a war starts." He took hold of my arm. "Don't you feel that way about it, Sid?"

"Sure," I said.

"Do you remember what he said about a few big people starting wars, or, because they were the ones who got something out of it?"

"Yes," I said. "That stuck with me."

"I'd like to find out how much truth there is in that. Jesus, if that's the truth . . ."

"Just think of it," I said. "It's enough to get anyone boiling mad."

—FELIX ALBERT.

BOOK REVIEWS

OF THEE WE SING

We're not cast from the common mold,
That's at least what we've been told.
Our thoughts are far beyond the ken
Of the rank and file of common men.
Your thoughts may dwell on sex or dice
But we're not concerned with petty vice.
Our intellect boasts a scope more vast
For we are men of a different cast.

We seldom venture on peerades,
But are addicted to tirades
Against Hoover and the moneyed classes.
We read not *New Yorker* but *New Masses*.
We're often heard to mention Marx,
That fellow they talk about in parks;
Though parts of him aren't very clear,
We think he's got the right idea.

Exposed at Last!

You can make us pretty sore
If you merely mention war.
And of all our hates Fascism's worst,
That is, of course, if you don't count Hearst.
We pounce on all erroneous statement,
Bombard editors without abatement;
In fact with the slightest provocation
We'll send anyone a communication.

Do not pity our condition—
The country's running to perdition.
Remember that the struggle's on
And by Youth it will be won.
Down with each bourgeois institution,
Come on belated Revolution,
Get them men, and give 'em Hell,
For we are the boys of the N. S. L.

—from the *Dartmouth*
Jack O'Lantern.

Education at Bay

The Effects of the Economic Depression on Education in Other Countries, by James F. Abel

(U. S. Education Office pamphlet). Free.

This pamphlet, by a "specialist" in foreign educational matters for the U. S. Education Office, is a typical bourgeois "specialist's" piece. It has the appearance of being carefully written—even painstakingly written—but the number of times this supposedly intelligent "specialist" slips up on himself is nothing short of amazing.

Here is a prize one: Page 29 states that among the South American nations Chile and Colombia have kept up their school work during the depression; page 30 states that Colombia has cut its school expenditures by 50% and Chile nearly as much (but with little difference in the extent and efficiency of the schooling given).

But with all its failings the booklet cannot help giving some statistics that show clearly the decay of capitalist culture. We learn that throughout the world at least one-third of the population (10 years of age and over) is illiterate. The proportion is fast approaching one-half. As school funds are cut more and more, the needs of the masses for education rapidly increases. In India nearly one-half of all education is paid for through fees from those receiving the schooling. In Cuba the 1932 educational budget was cut 54% under 1929—and then all high schools and colleges were closed. The 1932 school budget

of Abyssinia—which is nominally a free country and a member of the League of Nations, but is actually under the heel of Britain—was \$110,000, or 1 cent per person for the year.

The author admits that Japan's "policy is one of retrenchment along all lines except for military and naval expenditures." Even in 1931-32 thousands of the Japanese teachers were not getting the starvation wages they were supposed to receive. He continues: "A... large expansion of education was in the planning for China." But he neglects to add that the only planning that went into effect was Chiang Kai Shek's foreign-financed campaign of slaughter against the Chinese Soviet areas.

Liberia has long been Uncle Sam's pride and joy. It was set aside in Africa as a "home-land" to which America's "surplus" Negro population was once moved. Now it is virtually owned—lock, stock, and barrel—by Harvey Firestone. Its people are exploited unmercifully for the sake of the rubber king's millions. One result? \$2 was spent in educating each of the 10,000 students being educated in Liberia in 1932. One person out of every 200 in the population was receiving schooling.

No country on the face of the earth was too small to be located and discussed—except the only country that is progressing in educational matters, the USSR which is advancing with seven league boots. Just 30 words out of 37 pages are devoted to the USSR.

JAY F. OTIS.

Jeremiah Steel

The Second World War, by Johannes Steel; Covici-Friede. \$2.00.

Fascist Germany Explains, edited by Celia Strachey and John Gustav Werner; Covici-Friede. \$1.25.

After having predicted everything in sight, and risen to fame via sensational war-scare articles in the *New York Post*, Johannes Steel has decided to go the whole hog and predict a war. When the war comes, and it will positively come by the Summer of 1935, says Mr. Steel, it will be only "the armed expression of that grim, silent, bitterly fought economic war, which all industrial nations of the world, without exception, have been waging against one another for the past ten years."

This kind of a beginning suggests that the book might get down to fundamentals. But while it contains much valuable material relating to the European economic and political situation today, it helps in no degree toward a clear-cut analysis of the issues. Such statements as the following will give an idea of the kind of inter-pretation evolved:

It is a sad commentary upon human intelligence that while the means of intercourse between nations become daily more ample... all nations are today actually further apart from each other than at any time in this century.

Mr. Steel recommends "an effective World Economic Policy," which he leaves undefined, as the only way to stop war, but throws up his hands at the possibility of such a policy the way things are constituted at present.

As for the radicals, they "over-estimate the pace of social evolution," and there is to Mr. Steel's mind "little likelihood that the second World War will eventually become a world revolution, particularly so since the psychology of nations, as such, has remained essentially unchanged during the last century."

Meanwhile, "international capitalism looks on complacently," and so, we suspect, does Mr. Steel, who can write books about it. We recommend to him R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution* in which he will find some concrete meaning to the facts and figures which he himself has garnered. We further heartily recommend Mr. Dutt's book to those who after reading Johannes Steel's awful revelations are likely to conclude that we had better hurry up and get our guns loaded before the European bogey man heads in our direction.

The little volume of quotations from Nazi sources edited by Strachey and Werner is a book that deserves wide circulation. Consisting solely of the words of Nazi leaders together with excerpts from present-day German newspapers, books, and magazines, it brings home forcefully the significance of what Herr Hitler himself declared in his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*:

The German has not the slightest notion of how a people must be misled if the adherence of the masses is sought.

Fascist Germany Explains reveals the method.
—WILLIAM LEONARD.

Where the Jew Begins

"Where the Ghetto Ends; Jews in Soviet Russia," by Leon Dennen, Alfred H. King.

In a novel, a sense of architecture is prerequisite, in a travel book it is a delight. After a skillfully small anecdotal introduction, cameoing pre-Revolutionary Russian Jewry, Leon Dennen describes an arc, across the vast Soviet panorama. With seemingly random strokes he draws a straight sure line through the lives of hundreds of representative Jews. The young are vital, alive, and when they have time to think about it, happy. The old ones are slowly dying off. Some grumble, some adjust themselves. Dennen has sympathy for these but he does not waste it unduly. The apex of the arc comes when towards the end of the book, the author discusses the position of the Jew in Soviet culture. Of course there are many writers in Russia who are Jewish, but that to this reviewer was not nearly so important as the fact that in so many new Soviet novels the Jew was taken as the typical proletarian builder, the typical Comsomol shock-trooper. Here, indeed was the expression of the Gentile acceptance of the Jew, and here, too, the adjustment of a two thousand year old problem.

On his ascending the curve, the author pictures himself traveling toward Moscow. At Moscow, the center of Soviet life, he takes time off to discuss Jewish culture. Thus geometry very skillfully becomes the author's symbol for his ideas. Now he begins to descend. He goes to Poland. The most interesting chapters of the book deal with the misery and penury of people, while when only a hundred miles across the border. . . . The conclusion is obvious. From Poland to Germany. On his way Mr. Dennen quite briefly disposes of Zionism. The closing scene of the book takes place on the Hamburg docks, on the eve of Hitler's ascent to power. This section is all too brief. One cannot help regretting that Mr. Dennen had to leave Germany in a hurry—for obvious reasons.

Appended to the book are many photographs, but not only strengthen the author's case, but act as peep holes into that land of enormous vitality, Soviet Russia.

—DAVID SHREIBER.

Book Review

The Challenge to Liberty, by Herbert Hoover; Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. \$1.75.

This excellent book contains ten chapters, viz.: one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten—in the order mentioned. For assistance in arranging these chapters in sequence, our ex-President is probably indebted to the proletarian proofreader. However, if read in reverse order, viz.: ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, one—the effect is precisely the same. The book will be an excellent rejoinder to those who maintain that America has a living ex-President.

—S. A.

Secretary of Drought

New Frontiers, by Henry A. Wallace; Reynal and Hitchcock, New York. \$2.00.

Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, has written a concise statement of the philosophy and aims of the New Deal. He believes that we are progressing under the aegis of Roosevelt toward "New Frontiers" when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together. Despite the unprecedented strike wave hitting its high points at Toledo, San Francisco, Minneapolis and New Orleans, he is quite certain that the class conflict will be eliminated. "... Working with the capitalistic order as it has come to us out of the past, we can develop policies which will enable the representatives of agriculture, labor, industry, and consumers to meet together more effectively than in the past, and discover just formulae for price and production policies."

Aside from the problem of what constitutes a "just" price, the general features of the Roosevelt "plan" are quite familiar to us: price-fixing that doesn't fix prices, the insurance of monopoly profits under codes incorporating the stretch-out and minimum (maximum) wages, the plowing under of cotton and destruction of hogs, etc. The incapacity of a capitalist economy to dispose of its periodic surplus except through mass starvation or war is candidly recognized by the Secretary of Agriculture. "What the AAA had planned to do over two or three years, the drought did—except for cotton and tobacco—in one."

The fact that real wages of farmers and other laboring groups have decreased is admitted by Wallace. "The NRA has increased the cost of the things the farmers purchase at the very time that their own products have gone down greatly in price." The remedy, according to Wallace, lies either in a drastic reduction of the tariff reducing the cost of non-agricultural commodities, or the AAA plan of restricting production. The former, however, is impossible since the United States has shifted to creditor status as a result of the war loans. The latter plan, Wallace states, has succeeded in raising prices of farm products. But the problem now raised: at whose expense? is slurred over with the statement "the money for straightening out the trouble is obtained from the consumers of that particular product" (italics mine). In other words, Wallace substitutes for the class analysis of society the old city versus farm fallacy. Like the older Populist and Grange Movement leaders, he believes that he can solve the problem of the starving rural proletariat by shifting the burden to the starving urban proletariat. His subscription to the Hearst-backed manufactured products sales tax which hits urban consumers and petty shopkeepers the worst, is ample proof of this. Such a tax, says Wallace, would be "more equitable, since the benefits are spread amongst all classes of society" and it is preferable "to spread the costs by means of a low tax on many products rather than a high tax on a few products."

—SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

THE STAGE — REWARMED NIETZSCHE

Within the Gates, by Sean O'Casey, at the National Theatre, New York.

Sean O'Casey is one of those peculiar playwrights who does not believe that the theatre has achieved its consummation in the well-carpeted but uninspired realistic play. He has stated his case repeatedly: the drama with an intellectual horizon stretching from the gin-bottle to the contraceptive must give way to the lusty muse of the Elizabethans, the omnipotent awe of the great Greek craftsmen. And so, spurred by this conviction, and drinking deep from the wells of Irish fantasy, wit, and joy in life, Mr. O'Casey has fashioned the fine play now perplexing or inspiring audiences at the National Theatre in New York.

I say perplexing because a poetic drama is surely not going to meet with unqualified jubilation. The author will be accused of pretentiousness, pompousness, and unnaturalism. To all these criticisms Mr. O'Casey can justly thumb his well-thumbed nose. For though his theme is the ancient affirmation of life against death, he has presented this banality to us refurbished in modern dress, the "eternal truths" wandering through Hyde Park in the persons of a Dreamer and a Young Whore, a Bishop and a Young Man in Plus Fours.

Now on paper such a theme (though it is superimposed with a flimsy plot involving the Bishop's youthful indiscretion with the Whore's mother) will sound as ridiculous as any other truism, and the logical inference will be drawn that to say one equals one over four acts hints at redundancy. Logically, this is true; poetically, it is not. For Mr. O'Casey states his faith in life (1=1) in an infinite and richly-inventive number of ways. He is a yea-sayer with variations, a rewarmed Nietzschean presenting us a superman in the person of a blond-haired poet in a red scarf. His message is simple if obvious: vicious in its hatred of the hypocrisy of the church and the superficiality of all those products of capitalist society—Young Men in Plus Fours, jabbering Nursemaids, officious Constables; jubilant in his belief in the possibilities of a fuller life. But how are we to achieve this? And here Mr. O'Casey proves himself impotent: we are to achieve it by achieving it. He preaches us, paradoxically enough, a moralistic paganism, and then leaves us stranded on the seashore.

Technically, where O'Casey has failed is in his attempt at fusing a realistic play over a symbolic allegory. In certain scenes—the Disputants, for example—he drops his poetry and proceeds to straightforward realistic dialogue.

The result is confusion: for the allegory has abruptly stopped, while the mind, by a process of inertia, persists in carrying forward its symbolic interpretation. O'Casey should have been consistently naturalistic or consistently symbolic. To fuse the two requires a greater art than he has achieved. All symbols, furthermore, are dangerous unless their implications are limited within a specific field of reference. Loosely used, the symbol can mean anything one wishes it to mean.

Consider, in this connection, the climax of the drama—the chorus of the Down-and-Outers, dismal, ill-clothed, chanting awesome widespaced chords like a Greek chorus of fate, converges upon the dying Young Whore and seeks to assimilate her in their midst. Suddenly the Dreamer flings up his arm and the Down-and-Outers recede in fear. He has rejected them. They cringe away as he strides through their ranks, affirming death to fear and to decay.

Now, to an infantile leftist who walks his party line as if it were a tightrope stretched over an abyss, O'Casey, the product of the Dublin slums, is to be damned for this symbolic climax. For the Dreamer has turned his back upon the Down-and-Outers, he has rejected the proletariat. On the surface, such criticism is valid and O'Casey is guilty of political misstatement. But actually his fault is a technical and *not* a political one; he is guilty of fuzzing his deeper meaning through the use of a loose symbolism. Anyone acquainted with Sean O'Casey's revolutionary past and his overt sympathy and actual participation in the struggles of the Irish proletariat will not misunderstand the deeper meaning of the Dreamer's gesture. He turns his back upon the Down-and-Outers, he rejects them, he demands an orientation for a newer and more sunlit-rich society. And isn't that precisely what the revolutionary workers are doing? Aren't they, too, turning their back upon the beaten, the decayed, the rotten, and facing instead toward the sun? The symbolic value of the Down-and-Outers must not be misinterpreted: they are not the materially unemployed; they are the morally unemployed, the hopeless and the fearful-of-life, the actionless bankrupt. Had O'Casey been clearer in the presentation of this idea, he would have written an even greater play than he has. But just as Nora's slamming of the door in Ibsen's *Doll's House* marked the beginning of the naturalistic drama, so this Dreamer facing toward the sun may mean the beginning of a newer and richer poetic drama. As such, apart from all quibblings, it represents a significant event in the history of the modern stage.

—SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

Business Notice!

No chapter will receive *Reviews* unless they have completely paid for, or, otherwise accounted for, all past *Reviews*.

CONTRIBUTORS

STUART GREEN is an instructor in philosophy at a Mid-Western university and an active member of the Pen and Hammer out West.

JOSEPH COHEN is executive secretary of the National Student League.

EDWIN ALEXANDER led the anti-fascist demonstration at City College. He is now debarred.

LOUIS KAYE attends Yale University and HILIA LAINE is our scout at Michigan.

A Communication

To the Editor of *Student Review*:

Writing in *Student Review* for November, 1934, under the caption "Fisk's Fighting Heritage," Mr. Merrill C. Work, who graduated from Fisk in August, 1924, takes great liberties with the truth, with my name, and especially with what might be called in this bourgeois world, *my character*. I ask the right to correct Mr. Work in several instances, however much damage these corrections do both to his rhapsodic account of the Fisk strike, and to his newly created revolutionary background.

The Fisk student strike was called on Thursday morning, February 6, 1925, out of protest to the dismissal from the University of four students: Robert Anderson, Charles Lewis, Edward Goodwin, and George Streater. The demand for reinstatement of these students was equal with a demand that the president, F. A. McKenzie, and his administration, should resign; for, only two days before, McKenzie had secured the arrest of Anderson, Lewis, Goodwin, Edw. Taylor, Victor Perry, and had ordered the arrest of two other students, Berry Crawford and myself, for organizing and fomenting discontent among the students. I am taking my chronology backwards. On January 31, 1925, the president returned to the University from an extended trip North, determined to rid the school of "pernicious agitation." The previous November, Lewis, Anderson, and Streater, had indicted the president in his presence, before the Board of Trustees of the University. The previous June, W. E. B. DuBois, as alumni speaker during commencement, had delivered a grave indictment against the McKenzie administration, and had brought to a head the rumbling dissatisfaction that students and many alumni had felt for McKenzie for a period of almost nine years.

Mr. Work, as I say, graduated in August, 1924. In this article, he incorrectly places himself back in the turmoil as a sort of guiding genius, long after he had left Nashville. He gratuitously hands the whole affair to himself and me as "our planning." That is not true. The Fisk situation was in the making five years before Work and I entered the college department in 1921. I categorically deny that Mr. Work played a major or a minor role in developments at Fisk from 1923 onward. My mem-

ory is excellent to that date, I have notes and friends nearby to remind me!

Mr. Work is guilty of a monstrous breach of fact when he claims that the Vanderbilt students, white, Southern, and Methodist, went on a sympathetic strike with Fisk students. It is true that a few white students from three Nashville colleges were grouped around J. B. Matthews, then teaching at Scarritt College, and these gave encouragement, and many valuable suggestions on publicity. To state that the students of Vanderbilt went on sympathetic strike is preposterous, and stupid.

Mr. Work is in error about the lynching that took place in Nashville in 1924, after he left the city. The boy was kidnapped from the City Hospital, fully ten miles from Fisk. He confuses the Cordie Creek lynching with one ten years earlier.

Mr. Work does me a conspicuous disservice when he intimates that I "followed DuBois into the swamps of reformism" and called off the strike, or had part in its calling off. The facts are these: 55 per cent of the students remained out of school until June, 1925. (School strikes are affected by school closing, you know.) McKenzie resigned on April 20, 1925, effective in June, 1925. The new administration removed the suspensions from the four students, Lewis, Anderson, Streater, and Goodwin, and they were readmitted and did enter school, January, 1926, and with them, the bulk of their class, the class of 1925, and they did graduate in 1926, a year late.

In *The Crisis* for April, 1925, Du Bois wrote: "Men and women of Black America: Let no decent Negro send his child to Fisk until Fayette McKenzie goes." That statement was never retracted. When Mr. Work claims that DuBois or Streater urged calling off the strike, Mr. Work lies; emphatically, Mr. Work lies. I do not care how unerringly Mr. Work joined the Communist Party, but I do care how erringly he tries to ruin my character in order to build himself a fighting past!

—GEORGE STREATOR.

We are sorry to say that Mr. Work will be unable to reply to the allegations contained in Mr. Streater's letter until our next issue. The above letter is printed without immediate answer with Mr. Work's permission. THE EDITORS.

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