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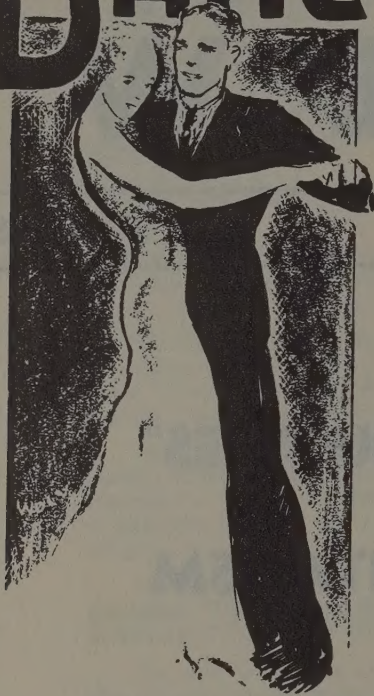
EDUCATION UNDER THE SOVIETS REMOVING AN ACADEMIC GAG

James W. Ford

EDUCATION IN THE CRISIS

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University of Pittsburgh

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Fenn College

The Student Review is swell! It is being used in organization work on this campus.

LEO GANS,
University of Wisconsin

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EDITORIALS

"Subversive Influences"

THE real reason for the Doak ruling prohibiting the employment of non-quota students becomes increasingly clear as the spokesmen for reaction voice their support.

Ralph M. Easley, staunch Republican and chairman of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation points out in a letter to Secretary Doak the real purpose for which the ruling will be used. Mr. Easley declares:

"Many of the most revolutionary and dangerous characters in South America and the Far East, for instance, have been educated in American universities and reflect the subversive character of the instruction received—this allegation being based on the well-known fact that so many of the professors in these universities are atheists, pacifists, Socialists, or Communists."

The Doak no-work ruling is clearly meant to exclude the poorer foreign students, who are of course the ones most susceptible to "subversive" influences. It is thus openly revealed as class legislation. The radical foreign student who violates this ruling in order to provide for his education immediately becomes subject to deportation.

In order to stamp out "subversive" instruction in American schools, Mr. Easley suggests that it would be well to "ascertain the identity of those professors who are so dangerous and see to it that they are ousted from their posts of high trusts," in other words, set up a spy system to single out and banish those radical instructors who point the way to a new order.

Jim - Crowing Students

THE segregation of Negroes and whites is not limited by geographical divisions. On October 5th the Associated Press reported that in Berwyn, Pa. "several hundred Negro pupils have declared a boycott against two schools set apart for Negro Children." On the same day it was reported that "segregation of Negro and white children using the swimming pool of the Trenton, N. J. High School was protested before the State Supreme Court."

The callous and open Jim-Crowism of the South manifests itself more openly and, concomitantly with the

growth of common aims and sympathies between Negro and white workers, more brazenly in the North. Furthermore these reports are important because they show that the ruling class, not content with creating prejudice and hatred between Negro and white workers, is attempting to make these prejudices second nature, or what they call "human nature" by segregating the children of Negroes and whites. One of these reports states that the Supreme Court has "reserved decision." We however must not "reserve decision," but denounce unreservedly segregation of Negro and white workers, of Negro and white students! Verbal protests, though important, are insufficient. All cases of discrimination, of Jim-Crowism, must be reported and action taken. In case of schools, strikes and boycotts should be declared and supported by all students. Attempts should be made to enlist the support of teachers and parents and publicity campaigns conducted on the widest basis.

Workers and Students Strike

SOME 164 students of the Kincaid, Illinois, High School are now out on strike. They are protesting the purchase of coal by the school board from the Peabody Mines against which their fathers have been striking for many months. This is the first time that students have struck in order to support a strike of their working-class fathers against wage cuts. This is fighting in the ranks of the workers! This is carrying the class-struggle into the schoolroom!

The miners refused to return to their jobs because of the wage cut, and on the picket line were given a characteristic welcome by 200 National Guardsmen:—tear gas bombs. The students are striking against all this. The School Board tries to excuse its actions on the grounds that the Peabody Mine owes the school taxes and these might be collected in coal as in dollars. The student body, in which feeling is high against the Peabody Mine terroristic and wage-cutting policies, sees no reason why the taxes cannot be collected and the coal bought elsewhere.

This is not the first time students of America have gone on strike. Witness the Columbia strike, the Tuskegee strike and many others. But this is notably the first time that students have felt the necessity of actively demonstrating the solidarity of the student and worker by a school strike.

The Political Situation

THE national elections approach again after one year of "prosperity" and three years of harrowing crisis. Never before has American capitalism been so severely hit by economic paralysis. With the kind efforts of our capitalists unanimously directed toward passing on the full benefits of their system to all but themselves, there has come a truly enormous drop in the standards of living of the American population. The student, feeling sharply the effects of the crisis through unemployment, higher tuition rates, and increasing war preparations, is evincing a definite and sincere interest in the political spectrum. The deepening political and economic unrest which is the universal accompaniment of mass misery and starvation necessarily finds its reflection in the election campaigns of the various political parties.

The Republican Party is inevitably associated with the crisis in the minds of millions of voters. While not of course responsible for the basic cause of the crisis, the Republican Party, like every other agency of capitalism has had a part to play in it. Hoover's bitter opposition to even the smallest measure of federal relief to any but the biggest combinations of finance capital in the country has earned him the support of bankers and the undying hatred of millions of workers and farmers. The only trump card in Hoover's hand is money, and he is making the most of it through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Democratic party, sparring partner of the Republicans since the war, finds a new function thrust upon it in this election, that of preventing the prevailing dissatisfaction with the Republican government from turning into dissatisfaction with capitalist government in general. As a friend of the "forgotten man" Roosevelt steps forward to hold for capitalism those millions of workers and farmers in whom there is awakening a dangerous resentment.

Democratic campaign speakers speak of the government subsidizing the rich, yet the *Democratic Weekly Clip Sheet* speaks of the Republicans "having had the active cooperation of the Democrats in both houses of Congress in the passage of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation." The identity of policy of the two parties on all basic questions is further demonstrated by their attitude toward the American Negro. Both parties refused proffered planks against Jim-crowism—especially in the civil service—and against lynching. The Democrats even opposed the innocuous Dyer anti-lynch bill.

While the two major parties make little attempt to conceal their capitalist character, the third party which comes under consideration has a different aspect. The Socialist Party comes before the electorate with a long list of proposed changes in the capitalist system, changes designed, according to socialist theory, to effect a gradual painless transition to a socialist society. Closer examination of the statements of Socialist leaders makes it apparent, however, that the approach to capitalism is not that of one who looks for the abolition of that system but rather of one who is thoroughly alarmed about "the present drift into social disaster" (Socialist Party platform), who looks about for means with which to "save the nation." Norman Thomas, in his Racine speech on the 28th of September, came out for the good old quack remedy, controlled inflation, the purpose being to return prices to the 1927 levels. In the same speech he says that "The government ought to subsidize the masses." Another such subsidy and the masses are lost.

The same fundamental attitude to capitalism is seen in

the demand for cleaning up capitalist government ("... decent, efficient and honest city government"—Mayor Hoan), for reforming the League of Nations "from a league of imperialist powers to a democratic assemblage representatives of the aspirations of the common people of the world," for the "governmental acquisition of the Federal Reserve Banks" and a "unified banking system" (quotations from Socialist Party platform) and a dozen other proposals of a like nature. The Negro problem is dismissed by calling for "enforcement" of constitutional guarantees, this presumably by the federal government.

The explanation of all this lies in the fundamental Socialist party concept of the state. Whereas the Communists regard any state as the governing organ of a specific class, the Socialists look upon the state, if it has the form of a democracy, as actually or potentially an independent organ. It thus becomes possible for the Socialists to speak of using the existing State apparatus as the *means* of ousting the dominant class from power. "You can help bring socialism by using your vote to get control of the government for yourself." (*New Leader*, Oct. 1, 1932). The seizure of power by the revolutionary working class is dismissed as a theoretical last resort, "in case the capitalists force us to it," while active organization with that as the recognized ultimate objective is in practice fought at every step. The attitude of Socialists in office demonstrates the practical working of this political philosophy. A Socialist will in general carry out the duties of his office in a capitalist state conscientiously and will, whether those duties involve sending out the police to "handle" workers' demonstrations, as in Milwaukee, ordering out troops for preserving the Empire in India, or using the full force of the state to break a workers' revolution, as in Germany.

Radically different is the Communist approach to holding office in the capitalist state. They hold it amply demonstrated in practice that the capitalist state readily develops the bourgeois democratic forms of government into those of bourgeois dictatorship when the illusions of the former no longer suffice to counteract the increasing dissatisfaction of the workers with their way of life.

The Communist Party does not therefore, develop its policies with an eye to the polite and gradual building up of a majority in the governmental bodies in the belief that the achievement of this majority will be the signal for the equally polite withdrawal of the present ruling class from their dominant position. Communists use their offices in the state apparatus, not to establish their prestige among the political parties as the cleanest, most honest and most efficient administrators of the affairs of capitalism, but as a rostrum for exposing the nature of capitalism to the people. Communist mayors of municipalities of France, for example, far from worrying about methods of handling strikes and demonstrations so as to "preserve order," play a leading part in these movements themselves. Every force at the disposal of such a Communist controlled municipality is directed toward mobilizing the workers, not only to a realization of their class interests, but to organization and struggle in their defense.

Because of the Communist view of the State and the holding of office in it, here briefly outlined, it is understandable that a mere handful of Communists in a bourgeois parliament cause more lasting trouble to the rulers of the capitalist State than whole blocs of other parties theoretically opposed to capitalism.

Removing an Academic Gag

TWELVE years of college teaching, both in the middle west and in the east, give me the right to say that I know college students: I regard college students as high-minded, courageous, and *adult*—the last of which, particularly, is generally denied, judging by the actions of college officials and of many teachers. I have had the most friendly relations with my students, and I respect them. What I have to say to the readers of *The Student Review* is based first of all upon this feeling.

But friendliness and respect is not all. Up to the last two or three years I have, I confess, felt that college students, despite splendid individual qualities, were very undeveloped as a political group. They resembled the entire American public, doubtless, including teachers and writers, in this respect, but the fact remains. I myself as student and teacher belonged to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, then to the League for Industrial Democracy, then to a Liberal Club, then—in the University of Michigan—to an interracial group called the Negro-Caucasian Club, and I found that few were capable of socio-political effort, and these few were apathetic.

Now all that is changed, thanks to the crisis and to the National Student League. College student thinking is no longer confined to the campus. Students take a grim and determined part in Scottsboro protests, in demands for unemployment relief, in combatting the war danger. Such a monumental advance deserves greetings from all the disinherited fighting professors of America, from Scott Nearing down. As the latest, although only an obscure, member of the academic disinherited, and confident that every one of them will join me, I greet the students of America on this genuine coming-of-age.

Coincident with the new consciousness comes a new responsibility. To the history of the persecution of thought is being added an academic chapter. The expulsion of Scott Nearing for his political and economic views while he was teaching in the University of Pennsylvania and in Toledo University in the early days of the World War has been followed up since by an increasing number of such attacks. Here are a few outstanding instances: John E. Kirkpatrick was dismissed from Olivet College in 1926 for exposing capitalist control of college policy; Sol Auerbach from the University of Pennsylvania in 1927 for writing a book in praise of the Soviet Union; Professor Wesley Maurer from the University of Ohio in 1928 for articles supporting a miners' strike; Bernhard J. Stern from the University of Washington in 1930 for honest presentation of social facts to students; Professor Herbert Adolphus Miller from Ohio State University in 1931 for his opposition to military training and to the teaching of 'Nordic superiority'.

Now, in 1932, comes the dismissal of Professor Leo Gallagher from Southwestern University Law School for defending in court the five Mooney Run workers who demonstrated so dramatically, with the eyes of the world upon them, at the Olympic Games. Now, too, comes my dismissal from the City College of New York Evening Session, because of my sponsorship of the Liberal Club and my support of the Communist Party.

Not that the real reason was given for dropping me, or for dropping any of the men named above. Fake reasons, subterfuges, irrelevant facts, lies,—these are a part of the tactic of the academic capitalist front. In my case it was stated that decreased enrollment and the return of instructors on leave made my presence on the faculty unnecessary. However, documentary and testamentary evidence exists a-plenty to show quite different causes. The college administration, through Dr. Linehan, Director of the Evening Session, was determined to smash the Liberal Club, using the technical requirement of a faculty advisor to end its existence. If instructors could be terrorized by the fear of losing their jobs, they would not dare to sponsor the Liberal Club. The two instructors who preceded me as Liberal Club advisors report a constant nagging, which led to their resignation, one at the end of a year, the other at the end of the first semester.

Then I was asked by a committee of the Liberal Club to act as advisor. I accepted. Dr. Linehan at once started in on me, sometimes hinting that I should resign, sometimes confining himself to attacks on the activities of the Club. I steadily insisted that students should not be denied the right to discuss political and social problems, to hear all sides including the most unorthodox, to propagate their opinions by leaflets and meetings.

Besides my support of the Liberal Club, I had been engaged during the past year in the Scottsboro campaign, in the opposition to Doak's persecution of aliens, in exposing capitalist terror in Kentucky and Michigan. On one occasion, in testifying against such proposed legislation as the Dies Bill, before a Congressional committee, I stated, in reply to a question, that I intended to vote Communist in the coming election.

At once a member of the House, Mr. Millard, inquired, "Does the president of the university know your views on this subject?"

At a sign from the Committee's chairman, Mr. Millard withdrew the question,—*but it was asked.*

When Professor A. D. Compton, head of my department, told me that it was President Robinson himself who had crossed out my name, I knew *the question had been answered.*

Out of the cases of Professor Gallagher and my own, certain definite points arise: Are we fighting for academic freedom for its own sake merely? On the contrary, we are facing immediate dangers. Imperialist war looms, threatening college youth and young workers; unemployment of white-collar workers as well as of factory and mine workers is present now, and is on the increase; abrogation of civil rights, persecution of aliens, lynching of Negroes, terrorism—these spread from Tampa and Harlan and Dearborn into our supposed alma maters, and directly threaten college students. The fight for free speech, for the existence of liberal clubs, for the freedom of teachers and students from expulsion for their opinions, all these are immediate burning questions.

College students face a period of sharp struggle. There must be no hesitancy or weakening. Aggressive and united protest is imperative. The capitalist terror in colleges must be smashed.

Another Fight Won

THE everlasting lament that students are impotent against the domination of reactionary university officials has again been refuted by the militant Social Problems Club at Columbia University.

The record of this organization will stand as a challenge to students everywhere fighting for their independence. The success of the Social Problems Club in combatting a ruling directed implicitly against it as the spokesman of radical campus opinion marks another step in the fight of the Columbia student against the domination of the so-called liberal administration. This fight, ever latent, came out in the open last spring when Reed Harris, editor of the college daily, was expelled for his exposures of university policies in athletics, and dining hall management, and for his support of independent and radical student activities. At this time the Social Problems Club carried on a vigorous and successful campaign for his reinstatement by baring the issues involved at open campus mass meetings. The reluctant capitulation of the university officials, due to the weight of campus and general public opinion aroused by the active fight of the radical group, did not end its feeling of rancor and desire for "peace" in the activities of the militant students. During the summer there was much discussion of rulings to prevent similar occurrences on the campus; these led to temporary regulations which were kept secret for fear of student protest. These rulings were:

1. No open air meetings permitted on the campus.
2. No campus organization to hold an open meeting in a university building unless a faculty member of professorial rank act as chairman and approve the speaker and purpose of the meeting.
3. Campus clubs to be assigned rooms for meetings on the basis of their numerical membership.

Only after the Social Problems Club announced its plan to hold an open air meeting to protest the Doak edict did the administration announce these rules. A room was granted the club for its meeting in order to circumvent criticism and stall active protest. The Doak protest was turned into a meeting to fight the new restrictions, the reactionary and ridiculous character of which the chairmanship of the professor required by the rulings adequately disclosed. The active discussion and debate usually characterising the meetings of the club were subjected to the gelding effect of ponderous parliamentarianism. Although the ludicrous result itself was not sufficient to representatives of the administration who attended the meeting, the militant attitude of the students both at the meeting and in subsequent protest activities organized on a united front with National Student League leadership won the case for the students. The same fear of "distasteful" publicity that had been the cause of the new policy made it necessary for the University to abandon it at its first trial! There is nothing that will make the "liberal" administration capitulate as quickly as the threat of exposing its fundamental reaction by mass student protest; and there are few universities today that are not attempting the liberal pose.

While the administration is attempting to formulate new hobbles for student thought and activity and to find means of disguising them in some form of the cloak of decorum, the Columbia Social Problems Club is carrying on its activities on various fronts—not blinded by its latest victory, but watchful for the ever imminent signs of administrative checks against the rising student movement.

As A Mexican Sees Us

THE North American students have interpreted the refusal of the Mexican students to attend the Pan-American Convention at Miami, Florida, as a sign of unwillingness on the part of the students of Mexico to establish an intellectual interchange with the students of the United States. The Ibero-American Confederation of Students, in order to do away with many errors and prejudices, makes the following declaration:

The conferences which were to be celebrated between the North American students and the delegates of the Ibero-American Confederation of Students have been definitely suspended.

Never has an enthusiastic purpose existed among us in favor of an intellectual interchange with the students of the United States because such an interchange would not bring favorable results, since there is a great spiritual separation between the students of both countries, and since such confidences have no interest to us.

It is known that the North American students are now beginning to take a great interest in the social problems of America; but they are merely spectators. This is evident from the fact that when the American students desired to participate in an important polemic, they invited the students of Porto Rico and the students of Mexico to hold a conference at the University of Washington. The American students did nothing but listen.

Despite the lack of organization which exists among the Ibero-American students, we have a great interest in all social problems. The student in our Latin American countries does not stand still in the midst of collective necessities. The history of these countries, especially in recent times, carries the mark of the younger generation.

The youth have not limited their actions to school work, but they have also taken an active part in social and continental problems. In the latter we have acted with great energy, not only because they offer us something to fight for, but also because at each moment we have become more convinced that cultural and racial homogeneity offer us great perspectives.

The attitude of the North-American student is altogether different since most of their time is spent in athletic activities. It is undoubtedly true that the American students have achieved a great disciplined organization. It is evident also that a great number of them feel intellectually frustrated. But outside of these activities connected with university work, the American youth inhibits itself in such manner that it causes great alarm to us. In the social field the American youth does not participate.

Now, many years after the Ibero-American students have taken part in the continental problems, the North American students are beginning to feel a great interest for all of us. At present they merely listen, but we think that some day they will be active. But this can not be obtained without us. Our work shall be to make them react so that they will no longer remain in silence.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The author of the above article is general secretary of the Ibero-American Confederation of Students of Mexico. The translation is by Erasmus Lozano of Monterey, Mexico. The National Student League intends to make one of its major tasks the development of closer relations with the revolutionary student bodies of the Americas against the common enemies. Imperialism, in particular, against the imperialists of our "own" country. In publishing this article the editors of the Student Review must point out that they are in no way supporting the nationalistic elements of the Ibero-American Confederation.

The Rap of Brass "Nuckles"

THE slight modification of Secretary of Labor William Nuckles Doak's vicious ruling barring foreign students from employment in this country should not deceive anyone. Essentially the ruling remains the same. The modification merely allows a foreign student who was admitted to the country prior to last August, to accept a scholarship or fellowship—if one is offered. Such is the magnanimity of Mr. Doak! This seems to have soothed a number of pink liberal educational authorities, but will hardly suffice for those who sincerely seek the retraction of the ruling.

Meanwhile protest meetings continue to be held on campuses throughout the country. Indignant letters continue to pour in on the Labor Department at Washington, D. C. And though college presidents and deans continue to denounce the ruling with their mouths, they hypocritically and obsequiously enforce it with action.

President Nicholas Murray Butler, erstwhile bad boy of the Republican party, beautifully exemplifies the last point. While Nicholas stigmatized the ruling as "reactionary, stupid, and clearly against the interests of the American people and their influence in the world," he simultaneously notified the officers of the university that the ruling must be adhered to in every point. And when the Social Problems Club ventured to hold a meeting on the campus to protest the ruling in the name of several hundred foreign students at the university who were directly affected, the administration clamped down an iron rule against the club's campus meetings. This tended to arouse the student body even more and the administration withdrew the regulation quietly, just as it had reinstated Reed Harris, expelled *Spectator* editor, when the campus strike took on huge and serious proportions.

That Doak's ruling hit his organization harder than perhaps any other in the country was hardly what concerned Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education. What did concern him, however, was the fact that Mr. Doak had utterly ignored him in issuing the edict. That was what hurt the pride of Dr. Duggan. It was with this in mind that he somewhat subtly wrote in the October 1 issue of the Institute's bulletin: "The fundamental issue at stake is whether the cultural relations of the United States with foreign countries should be to such an extent under the control and administration of a department of the Government which, almost of necessity, looks upon the matter primarily as one of employment." Nothing else mattered to Dr. Duggan. What about the thousands of foreign students who come to this country through your organization, Dr. Duggan? What about their immediate concern? Surely hundreds of them are directly affected by the Doak ruling! What are you going to do to aid them?

Professor Christian Gauss, dean of the college at Princeton University, went on verbal record as disapproving Doak's action. But that was as far as he went. Officially, of course, Princeton put the ruling into effect. Dean Gauss righteously declared:

"Young men working their way through American colleges do not wish to be protected in this way from the competition of foreign students whom they have always welcomed as ambassadors of good-will.

"The ruling can serve no useful purpose, for this de-

parture from the tradition of international comity in such matters can only be taken by other nations as an affront. It will not help labor, and its tendency to increase nationalistic tension and antagonisms at this time will further delay recovery from a crisis whose causes are international."

The *Daily Princetonian* went a little further than Dean Gauss by circulating a petition condemning the ruling and asking that it be rescinded. The petition was signed by administrative officials of the university, members of the department of the faculty and leaders of undergraduate activities and forwarded to Washington, D. C.

President Livingston Farrand of Cornell University objected to the ruling on the ground that it was "not only unfair but short-sighted and unwise from any point of view." Even the reactionary Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York, attacked it. His is the diplomat's attitude:

"Our American students abroad are given every possible consideration and help by foreign governments and universities. They are not given less, but rather more privileges than the native students. It is obvious that we should allow our foreign guests all the advantages enjoyed by Americans enrolled at colleges and universities."

Denouncing the ruling as similar to other reactionary tactics which has long been used by the Labor Department against foreign born workers, Donald Henderson, executive secretary of the National Student League, declared:

"Governmental authorities have advanced the fiction that this is intended to protect American students from the competition for jobs which these students give. This is sheer demagoguery and worthy of a man with the record of Doak. The National Student League points out that no group of American students has ever had so vicious an attitude as to propose what our Secretary of Labor is executing . . . All students should realize that this ruling will also be used as an excuse for letting loose a reign of deportation on foreign students who displease leaders like Doak by their extra curricular activities.

"The National Student League appeals to all students to force a reversal of this ruling. Organize meetings and mass demonstrations on your campuses; distribute leaflets exposing the class nature of this ruling; adopt resolutions to be sent to the Secretary of Labor; secure the signing of petitions by all teachers and students; bring this problem up in your classroom, particularly your foreign language class; send letters to the local campus papers and to the daily press denouncing this vicious interpretation of the immigration law. Protect the foreign students! This is the students' fight; its loss will be our international disgrace!"

The outcome of the special hearing before Assistant Secretary of Labor W. W. Husband at which former Magistrate Charles A. Oberwager was supposed to have represented an as yet unnamed group of foreign students is a warning of the futility of legal action against the ruling. Oberwager ostensibly appeared to attack the ruling. He stayed in Husband's office for two hours. When he emerged he was everything but in outright favor of the curb. Yes, he told the press in effect, the ruling is not half bad. Mr. Doak and his assistant, Mr. Husband, are good fellows. For had they not conceded him the point that each case of a

student consigned for deportation would be considered separately and on its own merits?

Whether or not the ruling is constitutional is of comparatively little importance. The important thing is that even if it is constitutional it should be fought. Professor Edwin S. Corwin chairman of the department of politics at Princeton University and an authority on constitutional interpretation has declared the ruling absolutely unconstitutional. He pointed out that the supposed legal basis for this regulation is to be found in the immigration act of May 26, 1924, by which immigration into the United States is placed for the most part on the "national quota" basis. Immigrants not subject to the quota rule are termed "non-quota" immigrants, one class of which is the "bona fide student" at least fifteen years of age who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college or university particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor.

Shortly after the passage of the act the Department of Labor issued a regulation that a non-quota immigrant student "who engages in any business or occupation for profit or who labors for hire shall be deemed to have abandoned his status as an immigrant student and shall on the warrant of the Secretary of Labor be taken into custody and deported." In 1926 the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, speaking by Judge Mack, held that this regulation "must be construed as applying to those who definitely give up their studies and instead engage in business or work for profit or hire, but not to students, otherwise bona-fide, who during their studies gain their maintenance and tuition by self-supporting labor."

Evidently, said Professor Corwin, the essential question is whether an alien can be a "bona fide student" and at the same time be earning his living. The Department of Labor says no. The Circuit Court of Appeals says yes; and while the latter answer still lacks confirmation by the Supreme Court, it is supported by commonly observed facts.

The vicious ruling is essentially highly nationalistic class legislation applying by its very nature only to those foreign students who come from the lower income groups and who consequently find it necessary to work their way through school, in whole or in part. In all probability Doak had somehow figured out that many of the foreign students who work their way through college in this country come from families exploited by imperialist capitalism, families which have reason to hope for the downfall of capitalism. Doak may even have feared that these students might give the spark to a revolution in this country.

Certainly Doak did not by any manner or means think that he could solve the unemployment problem of the United States by his ruling. Certainly he did not think that the employment of the few hundred students who come from abroad affect seriously the ability of American workingmen to find jobs. Certainly he did not think that the removal of 2,500 students from the labor market would have any appreciable effect upon the ranks of 16,000,000 unemployed.

If the only purpose of the ruling is, as Assistant Secretary of Labor W. W. Husband declared, the weeding out of "thousands of others who were in the country posing as students," why then does the ruling limit the activities of foreign students studying here legitimately? Why, then, are they required to attend day classes only? Why, then, do they have to post bonds of \$500 when entering the country? Why, then, are they required to carry only fixed courses and obtain passing marks? Why, then, is the Department of Labor empowered by the ruling to judge whether or not a student is worthy to carry on his studies in this country?

Arnold Riess

The Johnson Facts

THE series of attacks made by the administration of the Evening Session of the College of the City of New York upon the student body because of its revolutionary activity and upon the teaching staff because of its increasing radicalization culminated in the dismissal of Oakley Johnson, an instructor of English. The administration claims that the dismissal was the result of a need for economizing, in spite of the fact that two other instructors were placed on the staff.

Those of us familiar with the work of the Liberal Club during the past few terms know that its struggle for the relief of unemployed was a signal for the administration to begin its attempts to suppress the club and the revolutionary spirit of which it was the concrete expression, a struggle in the course of which the club clearly exposed the reactionary attitude of the director of the Evening Session, Dr. Linehan. Aware that the club could not officially exist without a faculty adviser Dr. Linehan caused the removal of the Club's adviser to another branch of the college and then "persuaded" his successor to resign. The post was then assumed by Oakley Johnson who, in spite of the many none too subtle overtures of the director continued to support the subsequent activities of the club which included participation in the National Student League investigation of conditions in the Kentucky mining districts and the fight against fees. Unsuccessful in his attempts to remove Oakley Johnson, Dr. Linehan flooded him with objections based on mere technicalities, the purpose of which was to disrupt and ultimately put an end to the activities of the Club. Nevertheless Oakley Johnson persisted in his demand for the continued freedom of speech and activity for the Club. This alone might eventually have brought about his dismissal, but his activity outside the college precipitated the matter. Oakley Johnson in his statement to the student body clearly and simply sums up the case.

"The real causes of my dismissal were, first, my insistence on freedom for the activities of the Liberal Club during the last semester of 1931-1932, when I was faculty adviser of that student group, and, second, outside the College, my open support of the Communist Party. I still insist on the right of students to take an active interest in campus and public affairs on whatever side they prefer, and on my own private right to support any political party I choose."

Similar "strategic" moves have been made by the authorities of the day session. After a period of meetings broken up, demonstrations prohibited, and forums banned, the militant clubs of the day session find themselves in a predicament like that of the evening session Liberal Club. The advisers of both the Social Problems Club and the Student Forum have also recently resigned for reasons none too clearly explained and none of the three clubs may now meet officially.

The issues are clear. Elementary political rights are denied to teachers and students by the unrestricted use of the economic weapon and expulsion of students by the college authorities. The dismissal of Oakley Johnson is an obvious threat to the instructors and students whose political and economic beliefs the college administration considers radical and dangerous.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Resolutions condemning the action of the City College administration and demanding the reinstatement of Oakley Johnson should be sent by student groups at once to Dr. Linehan and Pres. Robinson, C.C.N.Y., 137 Street and Convent Avenue, New York City.*

Eugenics Under Capitalism

THE transactions of the Third International Congress of Eugenics which met in New York City during August were chiefly notable for the paper entitled "The Dominance of Economics over Eugenics." It was delivered by Professor H. J. Muller of the University of Texas, one of the world's outstanding authorities in the field of genetics. If Professor Muller's paper dealt with the strictly genetical side of eugenics (genetics being the study of the laws of heredity, eugenics their application to the betterment of the human stock) a discussion of it would belong to technical journals. However, as we shall see, this paper is an attempt to show that nothing less than the overthrow of the present capitalist system can create a society that will serve as a laboratory in which eugenics can work its way to becoming a real science; and an analysis and a commnatory upon it is both pertinent and vital.

Professors Muller's paper is important to students because, if understood and acted upon, it will change and vitalize the science of eugenics, and because it reveals the increasing radicalization of that very conservative faction of the intellectuals, the exact scientists. The revolutionary attitude taken by Professor Muller will be better appreciated if we understand the viciously reactionary character of a paper presented to the same Congress by Dr. H. F. Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History and internationally known for his palaeontological researches. Dr. Osborn's paper is typical of the nonsense written by the apologists of the capitalist system, in general, and eugenis in particular, and is characterized by the following passage:

"While some highly competent persons are unemployed, the mass of unemployment is among the less competent, because in every activity it is the less competent who are first selected for suspension, while the few highly competent are retained because they are still indispensable. In nature these less fitted individuals would gradually disappear, but no civilization we are keeping them in the community in the hopes that in brighter days they may all find employment. This is only another instance of human civilization going directly against the order of nature and encouraging the survival of the unfittest."

In other words, when a firm closes its doors and dismisses several hundred employees, when \$25.00 a week employees are dismissed to be replaced by \$15.00 a week substitutes, when farms are sold because the farmers cannot meet interest payments at the present price of crops, when thousands of teachers, engineers, scientists are unemployed, Dr. Osborn sees revealed the workings of nature (even the hand of God). The unemployed are unfit to survive and should not survive, and our society, in weakly giving way to its "humaneness" and establishing bread lines is contravening the laws of nature. Were the unemployed possessed of enough of the spirit of self-sacrifice, and a proper reverence for the dictums of eugenis, they would not seek to fight and struggle against starvation or even to eke out their existence by recourse to bread-lines, charities, and doles, but would do away with themselves and theirs in order to rid the racial stock of its debased elements.

We may well ask ourselves why a distinguished scientist makes statements in the name of science which reveal such ignorance and are such obvious misinterpretations of the social force of our times. The answer lies in an understanding of the fact that in each historical period, the existing ruling class justifies its domination by appealing to the authority of greatest weight. Today science is the supreme authority, and the capitalist system is therefore shown to be

"scientific" and "natural," i.e., the only one compatible with the laws of nature. Therefore the bourgeoisie takes scientific laws and distorts them to justify glaring social evils. Therefore, when, in a decaying social order, millions starve in the midst of plenty, "scientists" like Dr. Osborn can be found to justify this condition on abstract, scientific grounds. The ideology of scientists is that of the ruling class of the system in which they live, and, consciously or unconsciously this ideology influences their scientific work. For a scientist to rise above the mores of his time and make contributions of permanent value, intelligence is required to realize the influence of these mores, and character and conscience to dare to assert theories that upset established prejudices. This was clearly stated by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto:

"In times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of society, assumes such a violent glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."

Such an ideologist is Professor Muller. In "The Dominance of Economics Over Eugenics," he fearlessly shows the bankruptcy of this science and points the way to its regeneration. This will be made evident in the following passages:

"We might as well admit that the forces at work are quite beyond the control of us as eugenis, in the society in which we live. For they are fundamental economic forces. Galton lived too early to appreciate the principle brought out by Marx that the practices of mankind, in any age, are an expression of the economic system and material technique existing in that age. He thought that they could be moulded willy-nilly from without, into conformity with the abstractions of an idealist intellectual. But the organization of society today is such as to make the primary motive of action, at least among the dominant section, the profit motive. This motive works out in devious ways that are contradictory to the welfare of the race as a whole, despite the fact that some of our modern philosophies in a defense reaction, try to rationalize the two ends into harmony."

With the class prejudices that Dr. Osborn has so well given expressions to, go their corollaries: racial, religious and national prejudices. Professor Muller shows that these prejudices have no scientific basis in the following:

"The results of scientific investigations, then, show us that there is no scientific basis for the conclusion that the socially lower classes, or technically less advanced races, really have a genetically inferior intellectual equipment, since the differences between their averages are to be accounted for fully by the known effects of environment. At the same time, we are brought to realize that in a society having such glaring inequalities on environment as ours, our tests are of little account in the determination of individual genetic differences in intelligence, except in some cases where these differences are extreme or where essential likeness of both home and outer environment can be proved."

We have already remarked about the perversion of scientific theories to fit the desires of ruling classes. Particularly is this true of eugenics, which heretofore has served as little more than an apology for the capitalist system. Professor Muller exposes the class character of this intellectual dishonesty.

"Naturally, the apologists for the still existing order would have us naively accept appearances at their face value. Their justification of the existing order requires this acceptance. This is bound to lead to a false genetic valuation on individuals, of classes, and of races, so long as this system lasts."

The apologists defend their position with the *a priori* argument that, in the social struggle, the better rise to the top. They neglect to show that success in modern economic competition depends on many other factors, besides innate endowment, and that today we have increasingly operative, instead the principle of: to him that hath shall be given."

"This brings us to consideration of another topic: What should be the eugenic goal? So long as present conditions continue, the ideology of the people must in the main be a reflection of that of the now dominant class, and the standards, the criteria of merit of the latter, will be accepted. Naturally, those in power will idealize their own characteristics, particularly those which brought them to dominance. Insofar as they concerned themselves with eugenics, would not most of them believe in the production of bigger and better business men, who could see us through bigger and better depressions? There would also be room for various accessory gentry, such as sportsmen of the type who symbolized the predatory life, slap stick and slush artists to keep us harmlessly amused, and some safe and sane scientists to invent better poison gas and to harmonize science with useful superstition. And perhaps the most benighted elements could be cajoled or coerced into developing themselves into more callous slaves, who could work longer hours on a cheaper grade of beans. Not that this fantasy would ever be realized, for, as I have shown, eugenics under our social system cannot work. Nor are the distinctions between these types truly genetic ones. But that would unquestionably be to the direction in which the ideology of the dominant class would logically try to lead eugenics, if it could do so. Only the impending revolution in our economic system will bring us into a position where we can properly judge, from a truly social point of view, what characters are most worthy of a man, and what will best serve to carry the species onward to greater power and happiness in a united struggle against nature and for the mutual betterment of all its members."

"But in our day the writing on the wall is manifest, and they are fools who blind themselves to it. Let us rather prepare with open eyes to face our new problems. There is no use in arguing about the effects, in a hundred years or more, of the continued differential reproduction of different classes, when the very basis for the existence of these classes as such will soon be swept away, and in the place of economic conditions imposed by the class struggle, entirely new conditions will be substituted. Similarly, the present disputes of eugenicists about the fates of races will soon appear vain and beside the point, when the economic and social reasons for the existence of the differential fertility of races, as well as for race prejudices, will have disappeared with the general abolition of exploitation. True eugenics will then first come into its own and our science will no longer stand as mockery. For then men, working in the spirit of cooperation, will attain the social vision to desire great ends and to judge of what is a worthy end. Then first, with opportunities extended as equally as possible to all, will men be able to recognize the best human material for what it is and garner it from all the great neglected tundras of humanity."

Thus, the two-faced character of the use of scientific laws is laid bare by Professor Muller. Those same laws which the capitalist system uses to justify mass starvation and mass oppression, will, if carried to their logical conclusion, make impossible that very system.

AS we go to press we learn of a ruling issued by the administration of the New York City College School of Business. This ruling has instituted a censorship, of a type reminiscent of Czarist Russia, of the student newspaper, *The Ticker*. Reports of this sort are becoming more common. In the columns of the *Student Review* there are additional stories telling the same tale.

Since the beginning of the semester, Social Problems Clubs have been suspended, their meetings banned, newspapers put under strict censorship and the leaders intimidated. But the students are in no mood to sit back and meditate on the forces of reaction.

In New York arrangements are being made to organize a wide Students' Rights Conference to be held during the Thanksgiving holidays. The best and most active student and liberal faculty representatives will discuss the situation and make plans for a well-organized and effective student opposition to the first signs of a "reign of terror".

Culture and the Crisis

WE of this generation stand midway between two eras. When we look backward, we see our American past like a great tidal wave that is now receding, but that was magnificent indeed in the sweep of its socially purposeless power. When we look ahead, we see something new and strange, undreamed of in the American philosophy. What we see ahead is the threat of cultural dissolution. The great wave piled up too much wreckage—of nature, of obsolete social patterns and institutions, of human blood and nerve.

We who write this, listed among the so-called "intellectuals" of our generation, people trained, at least, to think for ourselves and hence, to a degree for our time and our people—we have no faintest desire to exaggerate either our talents or our influence. Yet on the other hand, we are not humble, especially with respect to the power that measures itself in dollar signs and ciphers, the thought that is not thought, but merely the stereotype of habit, the action that is not will, not choice, but the reflex of fear. Why should we as a class be humble? Practically everything that is orderly and sane and useful in America was made by two classes of Americans; our class, the class of brain workers, and the "lower classes," the muscle workers. Very well, we strike hands with our true comrades. We claim our own and we reject the disorder, the lunacy spawned by grabbers, advertisers, traders, speculators, salesmen, the much-adulated, immensely stupid and irresponsible "business men." We claim the right to live and to function. It is our business to think and we shall not permit business men to teach us our business. It is also, in the end, our business to act.

* * *

Why should intellectual workers be loyal to the ruling class which frustrates them, stultifies them, patronizes them, makes their work ridiculous, and now starves them? There are teachers on the bread lines, engineers patching the sheet-iron shacks in the "Hooversvilles," musicians fiddling in the "jungles." The professionals are not yet starving as the proletariat is starving. But since 1929 there reigns a permanent superfluity in the ranks of the professional groups. We "intellectuals," like the workers find ourselves superfluous. Is that because there is too much civilization, too much "culture"? No, it is because there is not enough.

We, too, the intellectual workers, are of the oppressed, and until we shake off the servile habit of that oppression we shall build blindly and badly, to the lunatic specifications of ignorance and greed. If we are capable of building a civilization, surely it is time for us to begin; time for us to assert our function, our responsibility; time for us to begin; time for us to renew the pact of comradeship with the struggling masses, trapped by the failure of leadership in the blind miseries of a crumbling madhouse.

League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford

Leonie Adams, Sherwood Anderson, Newton Arvin, Emjo Basshe, Maurice Becker, Slater Brown, Fielding Burke, Erskine Caldwell, Robert Cantwell, Winifred L. Chappell, Lester Cohen, Louis Colman, Lewis Corey, Henry Cowell, Malcolm Cowley, Bruce Crawford, Kyle S. Crichton, Countee Cullen, H. W. L. Dana, Adolf Dehn, John Dos Passos, Howard N. Doughty, Jr., Miriam Allen De Ford, Waldo Frank, Alfred Frueh, Murray Godwin, Eugene Gordon, Horace Gregory, Louis Grudin, John Hermann, Granville Hicks, Sidney Hook, Sidney Howard, Langston Hughes, Orrick Johns, William N. Jones, Matthew Josephson, Alfred Kreyborg, Louis Lozowick, Grace Lumpkin, Felix Morrow, Samuel Ornitz, James Rorty, Isidor Schneider, Frederick L. Shuman, Edwin Seaver, Herman Simpson, Lincoln Steffens, Charles Walker, Robert Whitaker, Edmund Wilson, Ella Winter.

(Excerpts from pamphlet, "Culture and the Crisis.")

A CALL TO ARMS!

The Manifesto of the World Anti-War Congress

THE intellectual and manual workers united in this Anti-War Congress are conscious of the importance of the task that has been entrusted to them by millions of men and women in all countries. In order to lay a solid foundation for their future work, they wish to record in a single document the thought and the will of this Congress and to come to an agreement on the essential points and conditions of the *struggle against war*, and the duties and responsibilities incumbent on each and on all.

The Congress, regardless of the ideological and political differences which may separate its various component elements desires to face facts and facts only. It desires to emphasize that the dangers of war are no less real and grave today than in the years immediately preceding 1914. Though none, not even those ready to launch the war, can specify the exact date of its outbreak, the fate of the human race is nevertheless at the mercy of a diplomatic incident, a frontier clash, or a political crime.

The Congress faces the facts. It points out that war in colonies and mandated territories and economic piracy, ravage the continents of the world. It points out that entire nations and vast countries such as India, Morocco, or Nicaragua, are as a matter of fact at the present moment waging a defensive war against the armed forces of imperialist profiteers.

It points to the invasion of China by Japan, with the evident complicity of the great powers, as a most dastardly act of brigandage which will be inevitably followed by a division of the spoils no less bloody than the contest itself.

In the present political situation, with its more or less veiled alliances and treaties, its various conflicting yet interlocking capitalist interests, any imperialist war must certainly spread until the whole world is involved.

The Congress denounces the conduct of the big newspapers and of public men who through servility or love of gain distort the truth about the wars in progress and about the imminent catastrophes towards which the present generations are being visibly impelled, and which will engulf them unless they put up a vigorous resistance.

It points out and condemns the huge and ever increasing growth of armaments throughout the world, which flatly contradicts the sophistries, quibbles, and theatrical proclamations of the governments concerned. It condemns the terrifying and increasing efficiency of weapons, all the sinister instruments of scientific extermination, through poison gas and disease germs, certain to be employed in the next world war.

It condemns the capitalist policy which rigorously shuts off the countries from each other for the exclusive benefit of a small and voracious minority, which drives every government to exploit to the limit the territory, wealth, and population of weaker countries, in order to secure markets at any cost. It accordingly condemns such agreements as the one recently reached at Ottawa.

These protectionist measures, adopted under the pressure of the economic crisis resulting from the existing economic system and lasting as long as the system itself, only serve to accentuate the crisis and render inevitable the transformation of economic strife into armed conflict. The sole course open to the governments of capitalist countries, or rather to the financiers who so thoroughly dominate these countries and governments, is to resort to an act of violence which will forcibly dip the scales to the exclusive, if fleeting, advantage of the best armed and most powerful group among

them. Capitalism is the cause of the economic crisis and the economic crisis hastens war.

A single fact suffices utterly to condemn the existing system, since it illustrates the deplorable disruption of world organization precisely at a period when the logic of events, as is generally admitted, forces us to judge everything by international standards: it is the fact that in some parts of the globe enormous stocks of foodstuffs are being destroyed while in others famine reigns. In India and in China a large proportion of the population dies of hunger, and in other continents hundreds of millions of human beings suffer and perish.

The Congress points out that all capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy which they are attempting to undermine and overthrow. There have been direct wars of intervention, encirclements and blockades, armed attacks supported by western imperialism, raising of White Guards in Europe and Asia, attempts at destruction by sabotage within the Soviet Union, unprecedented campaigns of calumny and defamation, all carried on under the flimsy cover of diplomatic relations established merely for the sake of immediate financial advantage. And today there is being openly prepared in the Far East a final armed crusade against the Soviet Union.

The Congress points to the steadfast peace policy systematically pursued by the Soviet Union, and repudiates the legend of "red imperialism," the only object of which is to justify and mask the persistent attacks against the Republic of workers and peasants.

The Congress proclaims that the present and future victims of the whole situation are the great masses of the people. The crisis of overproduction and maldistribution resulting from the chaotic system of private profit, the consequent increase of unemployment which has reduced hundreds of millions of human beings throughout the world to the point of starvation, the enormous growth of military expenditure, the rise in the cost of living and in taxation, all combine to crush the working masses already decimated by the late war and who, after 14 years, are still suffering from its wounds and bereavements. After having been ruined they are now driven to the slaughter once more.

It points out that the Japanese workers have, by their heroic example, already shown how the fight against imperialist war is best carried on. They have stood up against their own bourgeoisie, held up war production and munition conveyers, and shown up this war in the eyes of the Japanese soldiers for what it is—a war of piracy.

The Congress points out that the maintenance of the artificial frontiers imposed by the peace treaties—those one-sided arrangements dictated by vengeance and by political interest, and sacrificing the immediate future to a momentary gain to the victors—has created a great division between the nations, which conjure up war upon all frontiers. The very basis of these treaties, Article 237 of the Treaty of Versailles, which ascribes the sole responsibility of the war to Germany, is a flagrant untruth which has been used by a trick of demagogic mysticism to contribute to the growth of the Fascist reaction in Germany.

The Congress points out that, regardless of this or that apparently pacifist political manoeuvre, every imperialist power, whether it be the United States or England or France or Japan or Italy, is working for war.

It draws attention to the leading role played by French imperialism which, in its preparations for war, is attempting

to bring about and to direct, with the aid of its vassals, Poland, various Balkan states, and others, a regrouping of the imperialist forces. (Danubian Federation, Lausanne Pact).

Determined as it is to offer every resistance in its power to the current sweeping the whole present generation towards disaster, the Congress sees salvation only in the concerted action of workers, peasants and all the exploited and oppressed of the world.

It declares that there is no other adequate means of carrying on the war against war.

It is aware that many distinguished minds are desperately seeking to find a means of saving society by noble dreams. It is aware that there are men who offer a personal resistance to war which may draw down upon them the vengeance of capitalist laws. But it considers that in the face of the terrible challenge offered by present developments it is impossible to stop short at abstract formulas, or to confine oneself to means of resistance foredoomed to failure; notably the—unfortunately futile—sacrifice constituted by the noble attitude adopted after a declaration of war by conscientious objectors and by all others who fling themselves individually against a collective disaster.

It expects that the men of character and courage who preach these heroic measures and who are prepared to accept for themselves the very grave consequences of such an attitude, to join with the others in erecting, stone by stone, from the ground up, a massive collective barrier against war. Every form of opposition to this work merely helps the enemy.

The Congress considers that the so-called Plebiscite, proposed by some in the event of war, is ineffective. Such a referendum can have no influence once the war has broken out. Public opinion will then be forced to accept the situation as it is, and will do so the more readily since it will have been intoxicated by newspaper propaganda.

Above all the Congress warns the public against governmental institutions, and especially the League of Nations, which functions at Geneva as the direct mouthpiece of the imperialist powers. The words spoken at its great pompous ceremonies are words of peace, but its acts are the acts of militarism. The Congress calls upon the sincere men and women assembled here in response to our rallying cry against war, to expose this hypocrisy which, like all merely verbal pacifisms, aims only at lulling the vigilance of the masses, so that war may once more take them by surprise.

The Congress warns the true enemies of war against the political compromises with the prevailing system practised by certain leaders of working class organizations. Such co-operation strengthens this system and betrays the cause of the struggle against war. The attitude of the leaders of the Socialist International in August 1914, one of the outstanding facts of the last war, marks a notable setback in the movement towards human emancipation. The hostile attitude adopted by the leaders of the Socialist International towards the present Congress, confirms the impression that they still maintain the tactics of 1914.

The Congress addresses itself to the innumerable masses of the proletariat which need only conscious organization in order to come to power.

On the strength of the mandate given to it by a multitude of people coming from all quarters of the globe united in their sincere and burning desire for peace, though holding divergent political opinions; on the strength of its profound conviction that the struggle against war is only genuine to the extent to which it is efficacious and influences the facts; the Congress calls upon the masses, the only invincible power

existing in the tragic disorder of our times, to enter upon this scene of disorder in closed and disciplined ranks and to raise its powerful voice.

It is along these lines that this Congress intends that its International Committee for the struggle against War shall work towards extending this front of the working class across the world.

Each of us here takes a sort of pledge, and we take it all together:

We swear that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the exploited and victimized masses to be broken up.

We swear to fight with all our force and with all the means at our command against that purveyor to the slaughterhouse imperialist capitalism.

We swear to dedicate ourselves with all our forces and all our resources to our direct and immediate tasks, standing up:

against armaments, against war preparations, and in consequence

against the governments ruling us;

against jingoism, chauvinism, and fascism, the police army of imperialism which leads to imperialist war and provokes civil war against the masses of the working class;

against war budgets, a vote for which is a dishonor and a crime;

against the loans and taxes that rob the masses to feed armaments;

against the campaign of propaganda and slander aimed at the Soviet Union, the country of socialist construction which we will not allow to be touched;

against the dismemberment of China, of which each imperialist power covets a portion;

against the exploitation, oppression, and massacre of the colonial nations;

for the support of the national minorities and the peoples fighting for their national and social independence; for the effective support of the Japanese workers who have raised the flag of struggle against their own imperialist government.

All the burdens of war, as well as all the burdens of armed peace and of war preparations, are laid on the shoulders of the working class, whose vanguard is formed by the armament and transport workers. The working class must therefore immediately organize and be on its guard.

We swear to fight with all our power against the gathering disaster.

And we continue to appeal to all: to appeal to all workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all countries, to the exploited and oppressed. We call upon them to join us, and in public meetings and demonstrations to take the pledges we have taken here and to put them into effect.

EDITORIAL NOTE—*The above manifesto is significant in relation to the broad Student Anti-War Congress to be held in Chicago this Christmas. The manifesto was adopted as a basis for a real united front struggle against war. We have a similar task to perform at the Student Anti-War Congress.*

Student Action Speaks

Fisk University

A student strike is imminent as a result of a futile effort on the part of the administration to close up one dormitory and herd all the women students in one building. The campus was in an uproar when the dean of women informed the residents of Bennett Hall to move bag and baggage to Jubilee Hall, which meant the crowding of three or four girls into each room. The students showed their indignation by drawing up and signing a petition at a midnight mass meeting. So far the students have resisted efforts to move them out of Bennett Hall. The National Student League has appealed to the students of the nation to support the Fisk students in their fight.

University of California

Answering the call of the World Congress Against War and the National Student League, the militant students of this campus have organized a broad Student Anti-War Committee through which they are directing their efforts against the imperialist war danger. A half dozen organizations are represented on this broad committee. A symposium on war was held on October 19 in the Wheeler auditorium.

Many students directly hit by the crisis have come to realize their alignment with stricken workers of the world. Depletion of funds for emergency loans has resulted in unusual hardships for many need students, it was even admitted by Dean Thomas M. Putnam. Students who are living on fifteen cents a day, men with no place to sleep at night, and women who possess no warm clothing, are among those who apply for positions according to the director of the Alumnae Bureau of Occupations.

Fenn College

The Caldron, official publication of Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio, has come out unequivocally for Foster and Ford. The National Student League group here is helping inaugurate a branch at the Case School of Applied Science.

Harvard University

The program of the Harvard Branch of the National Student League for this semester is quite ambitious. It includes creation of discussion groups, publication of a critical magazine, activity along the whole cultural front, embracing the drama, film, and literature, and active participation in the industrial conflicts and workers struggles around the campus.

Commonwealth College

The National Student League group at Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, is daily attracting more and more members. Virtually all the revolutionary students have joined up. A wall paper called the *Red Menace* appears every two weeks. The only reactionary opposition on the campus comes from a group of socialists. Contacts are being made with the University of Arkansas where a chapter is being organized. A three week survey of labor conditions in the South is planned for this Fall.

Southwestern University

More than five hundred persons attended the second meeting protesting the dismissal of Professor Gallagher from Southwestern University. The meeting lasted almost four hours. Instead of appearing as he had promised, Dean McNitt called another meeting to attract students away. The Gallagher meeting was called in the Walker Auditorium of Los Angeles, Calif., in the name of the National Student League. Professor Gallagher delivered a speech in which

he defied the members of the notorious red squad of Los Angeles who were present, exposed Dean McNitt, and called upon the students to join up with the workers in their fight against capitalism. Lewis Browne, author, vigorously protested Gallagher's dismissal in the last speech of the evening.

Cornell University

With the purpose of lending impetus to the revolutionary student movement, the Liberal Club sponsored the second regional conference of New York State liberal clubs on October 21st and 22nd. In the call for the meeting it was pointed out that, "The Student is inexorably lead to the conclusion that he is not a disinterested spectator but a part of the world scene. He must fortify himself against those forces which tend to prevent him from exercising his just rights of criticism and expression." Donald Henderson, Joseph Cohen, Scott Nearing, and Earl R. Browder spoke at the conference.

University of Texas

A National Student League nucleus is being organized among the militant students who last year came to the aid of the underpaid university workers.

Brooklyn College

Despite faculty and reactionary student opposition, the Women's Division has won a 50c decrease from the original \$2.25 Student Association Budget. The fight is being continued for a still greater reduction.

Washington State Normal School

A group of revolutionary students recently attended a workers meeting in Bellingham, Washington, at which they made plans for organizing the students of the Normal School.

University of Toledo

The Liberal Club has gone on record as protesting the dropping of an attempt to procure special street car rates for the University by the Student Council. A committee representing the club read the letter of protest before a meeting of the Student Council. The militant students are planning to continue their fight against raises in tuition.

Woodward High School

The students of this high school (Toledo, Ohio) are conducting a fight for representation on the faculty athletic board. The distribution of leaflets and petitions resulted in the expulsion of one of the most active students in the school. The student has since been allowed to return to school, but his name has been arbitrarily scratched off the roster for candidates for the office of president of the junior class.

University of Michigan

In conjunction with the International Labor Defense, the Students Socialist Club conducted a Scottsboro protest meeting at the Natural Science Auditorium. Attorney William V. Banks, brilliant colored lawyer from Detroit explained the necessity of standing by the innocent Scottsboro boys. The Students Socialist Club is now conducting an Anti-ROTC campaign.

La Cross State Teacher's College

The newly formed Social Problems Club unanimously voted to affiliate itself with the National Student League. The club intends to take up pertinent student issues this semester. Fifteen students joined up at the first meeting of the club.

High Schools Join the Fight

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 3, 1932.—A number of teachers reported that persecution had been widespread among teachers in the collecting of the 5% donations. In many schools, it was said, the principals had made the teachers write the amount of their contributions on the outside of their envelopes and had told protesting teachers that the announcement that contributions were to be voluntary had been made "for public consumption only."

*We demand that the state support, by taxing higher incomes, all students whose parents are unemployed. No "voluntary" contributions by teachers.**

LOUISVILLE, Ky., May 5, 1932.—Some educators now fear that the school terms in the poorer counties will have to be reduced to five or six months and that the teachers may expect even smaller pay than they have received.

*We propose to fight against all attempts of the cities and boards of education to economize at the expense of students and teachers.**

ALBANY, N. Y., March 10, 1932.—A bill was submitted to the State Legislature by Representatives Westall and Gamble which would permit removal of teachers without trial on charges involving their positions.

*We propose to fight against any attempts of the school authorities to limit the rights of free speech, press, assembly, and student self-government in the high schools.**

KINCAID, Illinois, Oct. 7, 1932. Approximately one hundred and sixty four students went on strike in the local high school in protest against the use of coal bought from the Peabody Mine where miners are on strike against a wage cut.

*We propose to participate in the struggles of the working class by joining in demonstrations, collecting relief, and student self-government in the high schools.**

Other news items by the score could have been taken from the daily newspapers to show the problems of the high school student. Every thinking student knows from his own experience in his own school the reactionary control which he must fight, the eternal attempt to stifle free speech and independent thought. Directly supported by the municipal or state government, the high school (like the "free" college) has always been the center for the most dictatorial reaction.

Racial discrimination and war propaganda are omnipresent in the high schools of the country. Negro educators find no place as teachers; Negro students are segregated and given inadequate facilities. R.O.T.C. and other forms of military training hold places of honor among student activities, often by offering substantial benefits to those who participate.

Budget economies are constantly threatening the very existence of the students' school career. Deficits are met by lopping off weeks from the school year. Summer sessions, night sessions, continuation schools, one by one are discarded. Class rooms are crowded beyond capacity so as to eliminate "unnecessary" schools and teachers.

* Italicized material are quotations from the program of the High School section of the National Student League.

The narrowness of the high school curriculum reflects the pettiness of bourgeois boards of education. History, Civics, Economics, are given not as courses of study, but as apologetics for the status quo.

The high school student cannot stand alone in his fight against economic and intellectual repression. He must unite with all students who are engaged in the same fight in order to carry his struggle to a victorious conclusion.

The National Student League has recognized his need and is forming a High School Section. Side by side, class-conscious students, high school and college together, will forge an unbreakable bond in the battle against their common enemy.

Experiences in the New York and Chicago High Schools have helped formulate the following tentative program for a High School Section of the National Student League:

1. We, as the High School Section of the National Student League, fully accept the program and policies of the National Student League, and propose to rally to their support the masses of the high school students throughout the country.

2. We propose to fight against any attempts of the school authorities to limit the rights of free speech, press, assembly, and student self-government in the high schools. We shall actively protest against any attempt to gag teachers and prevent them from expressing their views.

3. We propose to organize and lead the fight of students for better economic conditions in school.

4. We propose to fight against racial and national discrimination both in and out of school, realizing that race hatred and national prejudice are means used by the ruling class to "divide and rule."

5. We propose to fight against all attempts of the cities and boards of education to economize at the expense of students and teachers.

6. We propose to expose the decay and narrowness of the high school curriculum. We shall expose the falsehoods taught to us from our text books and publish articles and outlines to be used by the students for refutation in their class rooms.

7. We propose to expose the sham of democracy and prosecute an unending fight against the widespread denial of the right of free speech, press and assembly for both workers and students.

8. We propose to popularize the achievements of the Soviet Union and expose all those who are engaged in the campaign of falsehoods against the Soviet Union. We recognize that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world where the living standards of the workers are going up instead of down. We believe that the Soviet Union is the only country where education is truly vital and for the purpose of building a new social order, as numerous liberal educators can attest. We realize that only in the Soviet Union is the future of the student assured, so that the years spent in school are not meaningless.

9. We propose to struggle against imperialist wars, against war preparations and against the use of the high schools for outright military training or war propaganda.

10. We propose to support the demands of the young and adult workers, employed and unemployed, for unemployment insurance. This insurance must be paid by the government from taxes levied on higher incomes and from funds now wasted in war preparations.

Education Under the Soviets

(Continued from the October issue)

SOME of the features of the Soviet educational system may be summarized as follows:

Siemeletka or Primary school, a 7 year course, begun at the age of 8, compulsory. In the first two years, the method used is the same as in other countries, the teacher doing most of the work, with the cooperation of the children. In the third year the Brigade-Laboratory method is initiated. The teacher creates groups called brigades, according to the place where the children live, and tries to have each of these groups contain good and poor pupils together. The children are always consulted about this grouping. In the higher grades, the children group themselves. In the lower grades the teacher walks around, watches the children work, and offers aid and suggestions when asked to do so by the children. The teacher assigns problems over a length of time and the members of each brigade work them out together, and if any question arises, it is taken to the teacher. When the brigades finish their problems, they ask the teacher for a conference, where they are asked questions on the work assigned, oral and written, each member of the brigade receiving a different problem to solve. If one child in a brigade fails, the brigade as a whole is promoted, but the one who fails must make up the work and take a re-examination. If one brigade is brighter than another, it is not moved up, but is given more detailed work in the particular field. Backward and dull children get special help from the teacher. If it is felt that these children are incapable of further study, they are sent to the Fabzauchi, where they learn a trade.

We feel that it would be worthwhile and at the same time interesting to outline the course of study in the Siemeletka because it indicates how, from the very beginning, the child is made to feel his connection with society.

FIRST YEAR—Reading, by word-sentence method. Counting, children given nuts, etc. to count. They learn all arithmetic operations by actual manipulation of objects. They are taken to factories and told stories about manufacturing, industry, etc. Children are neither told fairy tales, nor given any books of this sort to read. They are told stories about Soviet growth, development, and the life of pioneers.

SECOND YEAR—All arithmetic operations in large numbers. Reading, writing and retelling what they have read. Children are given an idea of geography. They are taken to shops and factories, where processes are explained to them. Nature study—excursions to fields and gardens.

THIRD YEAR—Problems in arithmetic. Composition. More numerous excursions to factories and shops. Geography.

FOURTH YEAR—Fractions. An understanding of geometry (geometrical drawings, manipulation of geometrical objects). Drawing. Excursions to factories, where they make collections of manufactured products. Written descriptions of these.

FIFTH YEAR—Elementary physics. Begin to work in school shops. Geometry. Begin algebra. Nature study (zoology, botany, etc.), anthropology. Geology. Begin study of German.

SIXTH YEAR—Shop work. Physics. Begin chemistry. Anthropology. Algebra. Geometry. Drawing. Geography. More serious excursions to factories, shops, museums. Languages. Begin study of literature and history of literature.

SEVENTH YEAR—Begin second half of algebra, solid geometry. History of the Party. Finish elementary physics and inorganic chemistry. Economic geography. Language (German). Contemporary writers, Russian literature. Comparative literature. Some philology. Drawing.

We spoke to several students of the primary grades and found them to be alert and mature. Their questions showed a great interest in and knowledge of world affairs and the affairs of the U.S.S.R. It was impossible for us even to begin to compare these active, enthusiastic and serious-minded youngsters with the products of our public schools. When we asked them about the discipline in their schools, they replied that there was no such problem, and that if any child should dare to break the discipline of the classroom, he would immediately be ostracized by the Pioneer organizations and the student body as a whole as an enemy of the school community and Soviet society. Our public school teachers, who spend at least three quarters of the teaching time in maintaining discipline, might well ponder over this!

After graduation from the Siemeletka, the student may enter either the Technicum, the Fabzauch (factory school, called the FZU), the Rabfac (worker faculties or schools), or simply continue his studies by means of Za Otchnoye Obuchenye (Home study courses).

a) The Technicum—a 3 year course, equivalent to our High School, gives an intermediate education and specialization in some field of Soviet economy. Here too the students spend two and a half months in study and two and a half months in the factories and shops. The course of study may be summarized as follows:

Completion of elementary mathematics and beginning of calculus. History of the Party. Leninism. Political economy. Contemporary politics. Economic Geography. Biology. Inorganic chemistry. Mechanics. Intermediate physics. Factory organization. German. Russian literature. Drawings and plans of factory buildings. Rationalization of labor. Technology according to specialization. Physical culture.

The Brigade-Laboratory method is used. After graduation, the student may enter an institute of higher learning.

b) The Fabzauch (FZU)—a 2 year course, which provides an intermediate education and intermediate specialization. Students must be between 16 and 19 years old to enter. If for any reason a student is too old to stay in the Primary school, he may enter the FZU even after the 4th, 5th or 6th year of the Siemeletka. After graduation he must work in a factory for at least 2 or 3 years before he can enter any higher schools. The student cannot be younger than 16 to enter the FZU, as he would not be able to work in a factory after graduation, since according to Soviet law no one is allowed to work in a factory before 18.

The FZU differs from the Technicum in that it is closely bound up with the factory, and is, as a matter of fact, considered as one unit of the factory. It is usually situated near a factory which has a section devoted entirely to the students. The students work four hours and study four hours every day. They take part in the production of the factory. If, for instance, the factory must produce 1,000 tractors within a certain time, the students take it upon themselves to produce 100. However, they produce according to their theoretical knowledge. For example, they make first the wheels of all the tractors, then the axles and so on, until they have made an entire tractor and then they put

it together. Although the student learns the complete process, he specializes only in one particular field.

c) The Rabfac—a 3 year course, designed primarily for workers who did not get the opportunity to study in pre-revolutionary days. Students may also enter who have graduated from the Siemeletka and worked in a factory for at least 3 years. These schools, divided into day and night sessions, prepare the workers for entrance to the higher institutes. The main purpose of these Rabfacs is to create an intelligentsia from the working class.

Universities in one sense have been abolished, and in their place we have the higher institutes of learning. Each of these is equivalent to one of the faculties in our universities, and is a unit in itself, with its own buildings and its own organizations.

1. Vuz or Institute of general higher education.
2. Vtuz or Institute of Technical higher education.
3. Academy or Higher Business school.
4. Institutes of Red Professors, or training schools for professors of social and political economy.
5. Party Schools—which prepare Party organizers and propagandists.

All these are generally 4 year courses, and students, upon graduation are qualified teachers, engineers of all sorts, philosophers, mathematicians, chemists, physicists, etc. Most of the material concerning student life and methods of learning, etc., which we have described above, was gathered by us from students of these higher schools, as we spent most of our time with them.

Since there is a shortage of labor in the Soviet Union, a great many workers who want to attend an educational institute are unable to do so. The government has therefore devised two means of education which make it possible for these workers to acquire as much knowledge and higher specialization as they desire while working in the factories. One of these means is the Za Otchnoye or Home study courses, which are directed and supervised by every important institute. These courses include all the branches of study found in the Technicum, Rabfac, Vuz, Vtuz and the other institutes we have discussed. A student of such courses receives by mail the required books, assignments and written explanations. If he is unable to understand some problem, he may, on his free day, go to the institute which directs his course and consult a professor about his difficulty. If he lives very far from this institute, his fare is paid. Each institute sets aside special days for this purpose. A final government examination is given in these courses, and if the student passes he receives the same diploma and has the same qualifications as the regular student. We were interested to learn that a great many elementary school teachers in the villages pursue these courses, later to attend universities and perhaps become professors. That this means of education is utilized by a great many workers, may be seen from the fact that in the Ukraine alone 19,000,000 roubles were spent last year on this work. We spoke to students in the different institutes who told us that they had received their preparatory work through these courses, and a great many of them said that they had been illiterate or semi-illiterate only a few years before!

The second means which the government provides for the education of the workers is the "Combinat," a combination of different levels of schools in one institute. To every factory or group of factories is attached a Combinat. This Combinat is designed to raise the worker while working in the factory from an illiterate common laborer to a qualified engineer. The Combinat is divided into sections. One section liquidates illiteracy. There the worker is taught how to read and write, and he learns some elements of arithmetic. He is then promoted to a section where he spends one year and is given an education equivalent to the Siemeletka.

Following this, he goes to a FZU for 2 years. During this time his status in the factory has not changed. From the FZU, he enters the Technicum where he studies for 3 years, but now he works in the factory not as a common laborer, but as a qualified technician. After completing the 3 year course, he goes on to what is the equivalent of the Vuz or Vtuz, a 4 year course. After graduating from this course, he is a qualified engineer.

The factory to which the Combinat is attached serves as a huge laboratory where the students may observe directly theories they have learned in class, or where they themselves may translate these theories into practice. In many instances, there are actual laboratories in the Combinat where the students can perform experiments not possible in the factory, but these are as yet poorly equipped due to the shortage of money and materials. There is often also a lack of trained teachers. In most cases the engineers of the factory act as teachers. This however is only temporary and will be overcome in the near future.

From this summary one can see with what efforts and methods the young proletarian government is spreading education and knowledge to that strata of the population which formerly could not get it. The Soviet student knows well how to appreciate this. We found him to be the most enthusiastic element of the entire population. He feels at home in his surroundings, he is conscious of his mission, he is a hard worker on both the educational and industrial front. When he works in the factory during his period of practice he is a shock-brigader. Not only does he perform his duties as a worker most efficiently, but he also carries on in the factory a great deal of social work. He helps eradicate illiteracy among the workers, he conducts political discussion groups, he imparts to the workers the theoretical knowledge he possesses. During the summer, groups of students go to the villages to help the peasants gather their harvest. In Kiev, we attended a meeting of technicum students where a call was issued for volunteers to go to a certain kolkhoz to help the peasants gather beets. The response was unanimous. In the winter the students help the street cleaning department to remove the snow from the streets and railway tracks. Wherever there is an emergency, and extra or special work to be done, you find the students on the job. They do all this gladly, and although they take great pride in their accomplishments, they take it all as a matter of course. In Dnepropetrovsk we visited a Building Institute of great architectural originality, with immense windows and well-lit rooms. We learned to our great astonishment that from the ground up, it had been built by the students. And this was not an isolated case, as we later learned. Imagine a group of American students settling down to build their own university!

Not only do students build their own universities and dormitories, but they take an active part in the construction of buildings in the community. If a building is to be completed and there are not enough workers, students organize shock-brigades on their free days, and with great enthusiasm put themselves to the task. Moreover, all the plans of new buildings are made by students of architecture. Students of architecture never work on imaginary projects but always on concrete ones. If a new building is planned, the project is handed over to the school of architecture, where each brigade works out its own plan. These plans are then judged and those students or brigades whose plans are accepted receive a prize. This method of working on concrete problems we found employed not only in architectural schools, but in all schools.

At the Lugansk Agricultural Institute, we were told of a splendid example of student ability and competence:—The Gigant state farm asked the institute to send over some students to help organize the work and eradicate illiteracy.

A brigade immediately set out for the farm. When the group arrived there, however, they were laughed at by the workers and technicians because of their youth and apparent inexperience. But in the course of a few months they had carried out their task so well, that when they left they were given a rousing send-off. This happened some time ago, but it is an incident that the Institute still remembers with great pride. Another example of a similar nature was related to us in Moscow by a student at the Pedagogical Institute. Some students were sent to a textile factory for a month's practice. When they got there, they were impressed by the speed and competence of the workers and were afraid that they might be derided for their ignorance and labelled "intellectuals." To avoid this, they decided to work during two shifts in the same day and thus acquaint themselves with the process. They did this for several days until they became competent workers.

We shall conclude our report with the words of a girl student of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute:—

"We do not consider education as apart from practice in building socialism. Students in the Soviet higher schools are active fighters on the cultural and economic fronts. In the institutes and technicums we prepare thousands of young workers and peasants to become engineers, technicians, teachers, agronomists, in order that they may more quickly take

other places on the front of socialist building, which is in need of the technical education of its own proletarian intelligentsia.

"We are fighting for a higher quality of work and better discipline. We study and at the same time we take part in social work in factories, in shops, in kolkhozes, and we coordinate this social work with our general educational program. We organize courses in the factories and shops to prepare workers and peasants to enter our institutes. Hundreds of students help overcome illiteracy, lead circles in political studies, are teachers in evening schools and Red Army schools.

"Under the leadership of specialists, we students built a railroad connecting a factory with a town. We organize subotniks—voluntary work on off days—to help workers and collective farmers. We help in digging peat and coal, we help in the gathering of the harvest, we send books to the villages and kolkhozes.

"All this we do with great enthusiasm, with willingness, since we know everything is ours, that we work for ourselves. It is not an easy task, but it is gladly carried on in the spirit of class struggle."

The 15th Anniversary of the U. S. S. R.

Fellow Students of the U.S.S.R.:

You are now celebrating the 15th Anniversary of the October Revolution. You are now glorying in the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan in four years. You are now reviewing the new life you have created upon the ruins of the old.

We, revolutionary students of America, are proud to call you brother students; proud to congratulate you on your Fifteenth Anniversary. We unemployed students congratulate you on your splendid educational system which has divorced the fear of unemployment from education. We students, subject to forced military training in our schools in preparation for imperialist wars, greet you and the entire Soviet Union for your steadfast policy of peace.

Very different are conditions for students in the United States from those in the Soviet Union. Here after graduation we find our specialized training valueless and our degrees useless. We, the products of years of training, can find no place in industry, science or the arts, while a position awaits every Russian graduate.

Though the economic crisis has become more intense, tuition fees in the colleges have not been lowered. Instead, in the few free colleges that do exist the authorities have instituted and increased fees, as in the case of the College of the City of New York and the Detroit City College. In your country, all institutions of higher learning are free. You students receive wages for attending these schools.

Academic freedom exists nowhere on the American campus. If the students object to fees or military training, they are suspended and often expelled. And if our instructors dare to support the students, they too, are thrown out. In Russia full academic freedom in every sense, full participation in the whole life of the community is yours.

There is no effort to coordinate our class room work with

training in the field. Instead every effort is made to isolate the student body of America from the rest of the world. The great economic changes, the great struggles in the political and industrial world are activities in which students may not participate or even think about. In your land there is no separate student class and working class; the student is a worker usually sent to school by the factory he works in. With you there is no isolation, no secluded cloisters! Not only is the specialist trained in his profession, but he is taught to integrate his technical knowledge with an understanding of the society of which he is a part.

In America the summer vacation usually means searching for work so that the student may earn enough to go to school during the year. In the Soviet Union summer means a month's vacation at the free Student Rest Home, and a period of actual working in his chosen field. American students are forced to fight in the ranks of the imperialist army; you in the U.S.S.R. are trained in the defense of peace.

In order to struggle against these conditions, we in America have organized the revolutionary students in the National Student League, to fight for lower tuition fees, and a free college in every city; for academic freedom for all students and instructors; for the abolition of all forms of compulsory religious services; for the abolition of military training, and for a full social and political equality for Negroes and other minorities. While you in your country, have organized into a Student Federation in order to carry out more effectively your work in building up a new society.

Therefore, brother students of the U.S.S.R., because of the work you have thus far completed in the building of socialism and because of the promise you hold for the future, we the revolutionary students of America greet you upon the Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

RALPH SLOAN

Class Room Economics

WARM and soothing, the sun fills the classroom. The new spring rays cast an aura over each student. Apparently all is well with the world. The members of the class lean lazily back. Some sleepily, others wide-awake but braced to resist the steady drone that rises and falls in regular diapason. The professor lectures. I catch mere snatches, the rest of the words wander out of the open window to float in midair over the green campus.

"The role of the state is to protect. We must always think of the interests of the third party. How far can we let labor go?—the public—the inadequacy of the law—not enough control—the employers' associations."

I pulled at the ivory knob, I hammered at the ivory door, and shouted to the top of the tower, "Good god, man, what are you saying? Have you never seen cops smash up a demonstration, heard the crunch of bones, workers bones—that strange and terrible sound that careful professors never heard, or hear of? Have you never seen the chaos that comes when hard faces swing in from all sides on marching workers, and clears away to leave visible a worker sprawled face down on the street, a trickle of blood, only one trickle, professor, between the corner of his mouth and the dust of the street?"

"Of 348 cases reported before the Massachusetts Labor Conciliation Board—the United States Department of Labor has about twenty conciliators—they investigate and try to bring about an amicable settlement—the Governor of the state offered his services—"

"Phrases, Phrases," I thought angrily. What does he know about workers and their work and their lives? "Have you, Mr. Professor, been where the stockyard workers live? Do

you know the stink and the unpaved streets, and the rotten little houses falling over into them, and the bent workers pulling themselves along, and the broken women, and the children rummaging in garbage heaps?"

"Now to recapitulate the work of the United States Department of Labor—they have accomplished very little—if the government interferes in labor disputes. just how far should it go?—the law protects workers." ers."

The anti-war demonstration on Michigan Avenue flashes before me. The hard faces of the cops swinging in on the marching workers—a worker sprawled on the ground—workers being jammed into a squad car—being chased—standing up only to be beaten down—and above all, with obscene persistence, the siren of the police car, and the voice of its driver complaining "I'd like to murder these god-damned communists, that's what I' like to do, murder 'em."

"The right of to organize not a question—closed shop issue—the attitude of the courts different in various states—the Plant vs. Wood case in Massachusetts—labor now can meet freely—"

Stale tobacco smoke. The stale face of the police chief. A workers' committee protesting the revocation of a permit for a meeting. An I.L.D. lawyer demands the constitutional rights of free speech. The chief's face grows red. He bangs on the desk, and shouts, "I am the Chief of Police, I don't have to argue with you. Get out."

"Now the Clayton act of 1914—the Democratic Party—Wilson at the American Federation of Labor Convention."

The bell rings.

Paul Johnson

They Are at it Again!

THE appearance of the "City College Student," an independent student newspaper, free from alumni control and faculty pressure, and edited by 38 members of the staff of the official "Campus" brings to a head an issue at the College of the City of New York which is fundamentally a question of free speech for the militant section of the student body.

During the summer, the Alumni Association, which owns the "Campus," rejected the nominees of the staff for the editorship—because of the alleged radical politics of the student board and the refusal to "play ball" with the administration. For weeks the Association cast its nets about in the oily water of the Military Science Department, trying to find a servile student editor. At the opening of the new semester the affair was climaxed with the resignation of the staff, the beginning of a campaign to boycott the "Campus," and the publication of the "City College Student."

President Robinson, one of the subtlest men in the American college today, has long been at odds with the student newspaper. Since last year he has refused to give any statements to the "Campus" and has championed the issuance of a free sheet, the *Faculty Bulletin*, edited by the Faculty and published by the College, as a sufficient organ of school news and comment.

The majority of the "City College Student" staff members have had little experience in leading student struggles or opposing the administration. In the fight to reinstate Mac Weiss and the Social Problems Club in 1931, and the tuition fight last semester, they sympathized from the sidelines, munching the intellectual and political zweiback of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The college administration has not stopped at *The Campus* in its drive to bring all the college publications under its control. *The Ticker* of the School of Business, was banned by Dean Moore when the editorial board refused to submit to faculty censorship. The appointment of a faculty censor was announced to the editors shortly after the appearance of an editorial criticizing the Dean. "Mr. Crane (the censor-Ed.) will in general act on the following policy" stated the Dean in his letter to the editors, "He will reject editorial comment that is directed against any administrative officer or member of the instructional staff. He will also eliminate any material which in his judgment is disagreeable or scurrilous in tone or violates the requirements of good taste."

It is high time for the students of the City College to awaken to general offensive quietly opened by the administration on their rights of free speech and free press. The obvious answer of the students is solid support of publications, as well as clubs, outlawed because they decline to "play ball" with a reactionary administration.

Education in the Crisis

AFTER a hundred and fifty years of development, capitalism is bankrupt. All the achievements of modern science, all the conquests over the forces of nature, the whole unprecedented increase in the social forces of production have under capitalist control, only succeeded in piling up fabulous wealth for a handful of parasites while spreading misery throughout the great majority of the population. Like the charred ruins of a fire that has devastated a whole country, fifteen million unemployed American workers stand as a living indictment of the whole capitalist system. The great majority of people in this country are today faced with a life and death issue: shall we accept mass unemployment, wage-cuts, continually falling standards of living, mass poverty and ever-growing menace of a new imperialist war; in short, shall we accept the capitalist way out of the present crisis, or shall we follow the example of the Soviet Union and forge our own working class way out, by freeing the factories from the death grip of a handful of billionaires and producing for the welfare of all instead of the profit of the few. The whole progress of the world, of the forward development of civilization, the future of the working people, depends upon the determination and the ability of the oppressed and exploited to unite in a mighty and irresistible movement to achieve this end. Society has reached such a point that it is possible not only to produce enough for the bounteous consumption of all members of society and for a generous reserve fund, but also to allow each individual sufficient leisure so that the permanent achievements of culture are not only preserved but transformed and further developed from a monopoly of the ruling class into the common property of the whole of society.

With the development of the productivity of human labor to a point where the monopoly of its products by a handful of parasites transforms superabundance into immeasurable poverty of the majority, the last pretext has disappeared for the existence of a ruling class. The final argument in defense of class difference has always been: There must always be a class which will not have to struggle producing its daily means of subsistence, so that it can have time to accomplish the intellectual labor of society. This argument, which once had its historical justification, has had its very root destroyed once for all not only by the great industrial revolution of the last hundred and fifty years, but by the present crisis of superabundance. The existence of a ruling class has become a hindrance to the development of science and art. The capitalist class not only stands in the way of life, but in the way of free education and development of the great majority of people.

Let us examine the state of education at the present time. The decline, the moral and spiritual decay which characterizes capitalism as a whole, is also reflected in the sphere of education. In fact, education reproduces in miniature all the general features of the crisis and in turn supplies a penetrating measure of the decay of a system which blocks and retards all the forces of progress at a time when it is materially best able to advance them. Overproduction, unemployment, wage cuts, lower living standards, and the reduction of educational expenditures, have characterized the educational situation during the last three years, resulting in a worsening of the conditions of instruction and impairing the quality of teaching.

Charles H. Judd, of the University of Chicago, summariz-

ing the educational situation in the American Journal of Sociology for May, 1932, stated:

"Shrinkage in revenues available for the conduct of public schools amounted in some cases to as much as 20 per cent. A canvass of public-school systems made in the middle of the year showed that there were practically no cases in which increases in resources could be reported and that in 40 per cent of the school systems, school revenues were reduced below the level of the year preceding. Many of the systems which escaped reduction in their budgets during 1931 were quite certain to experience curtailment during 1932.

"There is no uniformity in the method adopted to effect retrenchment. In most centers there is a disposition to maintain, as far as possible, the schedules of the teachers' salaries. In a few cases salaries for the year have been reduced either through the closing of schools for a period or through consent on the part of the teachers to serve for a time without pay. Economies of minor types have been very common. The supervisory force has been reduced. Summer schools have been abandoned. Classes for adults have been closed. More fundamental changes have been introduced in the form of reorganization of classes. Classes have sometimes been increased in size, and periods of instruction in laboratories and shops have been shortened."

In spite of the vaunted achievements of capitalist education, one child in seven or 14.2 per cent does not reach the seventh grade; more than one child in five or 23.2 per cent does not reach the eighth grade. Only one child in four or 26 per cent completes a high school course, according to the U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1930, No. 3. Nevertheless the list of teachers unable to find work after graduation is enormous. The recent demonstrations of a militant section alone of the unemployed teachers of New York serve to emphasize the acuteness of the situation. And yet, "overproduction" of the number of teachers in relation to the available jobs continues. According to Professor E. S. Evenden of Columbia University in a preliminary report of a national teachers' survey issued a few days ago, the number of students in American colleges, universities and normal schools preparing for the teaching profession has increased 105 per cent in the last ten years. "The situation is further complicated," Professor Evenden states, "by the retrenchment policies adopted by many school districts." This is further substantiated in the annual report of the Barnard College Employment Bureau issued by Katherine S. Doty last November 21st: "In the teaching field," Miss Doty reports, "the New York City situation has been particularly disastrous for our graduates. Additional complications are again presented by the State of New Jersey which has just increased its practice teaching requirements from six to eight points. Under these present conditions it is certainly advisable, as our acting dean, the President of the United States, and others have publicly urged, that the recent graduates as far as possible take this opportunity of further study and preparation. Unfortunately many of them, because of family finances, need especially to get work and find it difficult to follow this advice. The Research Division of the National Education Association made a survey of the oversupply of teachers and was forced to admit that "there was a surplus of persons with teaching licenses

in 1929-1930 in a number of states," 1920-30 being the period covered by its investigation.

However, perhaps the most typical example of wage cuts, elimination of social insurance and a general lowering of the standards of living of school teachers at a time when capitalism has reached its greatest material wealth, is the school situation in the Middle West, and particularly in Chicago, the second largest city in the richest country in the world. Two days ago, the *New York Times* reported that the thousands of Chicago's school teachers and school employees who have received no pay for more than half a year, may receive wages for the last half of March, "if the legal requirements can be arranged" Many of the school teachers are actually starving; cases of fainting in the class room from lack of food have become quite common. Most of the teachers have exhausted their credit and many of them have lost their little homes. The usual educational trips abroad during the summer vacation period have become a thing of the past. Naturally, under such circumstances, the quality of teaching is at its lowest ebb.

The picture is equally black, if not worse, as far as the working class school children are concerned. According to a report by Don C. Rogers, director of a building survey for the Chicago Board of Education, "more than 67,000 Chicago school children are being handicapped in their effort to obtain an education by lack of adequate accommodations in elementary, junior and senior high schools."

The schools are dangerously overcrowded and makeshift schemes have been adopted to distribute the children. "Portable" schools similar to the old one room country school houses, are being used. They cluster like outcast hovels around the main school buildings which have exhausted their seating capacity. A total of 14,000 children are compelled to work in poorly lighted basement rooms, which is ruinous to their eyesight and health. 25,000 have had their schedules arranged in a most inconvenient manner, have to attend school before and after the regular session of other classes. Concentration for the children in many cases is impossible. They are compelled to attend what is called "double" schools where one group recites while another group in the same room studies; or they are forced to hold classes in improvised rented quarters. For example, one school of 1200 children attended classes in a rented factory. The boasted "facilities and equipment" of the modern capitalist school are unknown to many school children in Chicago. Many of them have never been in a school gymnasium or auditorium. According to the report, some classes are held in "old and dilapidated" buildings, endangering the lives of the pupils.

Moreover, there are thousands of children who cannot take advantage of even these limited educational facilities because of lack of clothes to wear, actual weakness from hunger or because of the necessity to help support the family in one way or another.

Jim Crowism and segregation, which Mr. Coolidge does not mention in speaking of the superiority of the capitalist system, is prevalent in the sphere of education as well as in every other sphere of capitalist society. Throughout the South, separate Jim Crow schools are maintained for Negro children. All told, school terms are shorter, and equipment is poorer than in the white schools. In South Carolina, for example, the total expenditure per pupil enrolled in 1928 was \$60.25 in the white schools and \$7.65 in the Negro schools. School property (buildings, equipment, etc.) was valued at \$134 per pupil in the white schools and \$17 in the Negro schools. Even in Charleston County, which had the highest average salaries for Negro teachers in South Carolina, they were paid less than half as much as white teachers.

Compare these facts with the advance of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union. Expenditures for popular edu-

cation in 1930 were over \$1,000,000,000. In 1932 the national budget calls for an expenditure of 9,200,000,000 rubles for social-cultural enterprises. Some 450,000,000 books were printed last year in the Soviet Union, or about four times the pre-war output. Illiteracy is steadily decreasing and among trade unionists has almost entirely disappeared. Before the November Revolution only about 7,000,000 children attended school; now there are 23,000,000. In the secondary schools there are now eight times as many pupils as in pre-war days. Altogether, 46,000,000 people, or one-third of the population, are attending educational institutions. In 1913 only about 25 per cent above the age of ten could read; 90 per cent of women were illiterate. Illiteracy has now been practically eliminated from the industrial centers.

In the sphere of technical and higher education in the Soviet Union, the advance has been equally great. In 1930 there were 22 higher scientific institutes for training engineers and directors; in 1931 there were 106. There are 584 technological schools where the best shock brigaders are trained as assistant engineers. This year there are 420,000 students in these technological schools. 350,000 will study in special workers' schools known as Rabfacs, while one million youths will be trained in the factory schools and will be paid while learning. There are 120 scientific research institutes in addition to 47 agricultural research stations on the state collective farms; 10 transport; 44 peoples education; and 34 protection of health laboratories.

In the United States, on the other hand, capitalism not only tends to check technical and scientific development, but it renders valueless the scientific training of thousands of technicians and engineers by depriving them of work. Even before the present era of monopoly, capitalism exhibited tendencies to interfere with scientific development. Karl Marx, for example, cites the case of a stone-crushing machine invented by Englishmen but not adopted in England because the workers doing that work were paid so little that the introduction of the machine would have rendered stone-crushing more expensive to the capitalists.

These reactionary tendencies, however, become particularly pronounced during the present stage of monopoly capitalism. Buying out patents, supporting obsolete plants, fixing cartel prices according to manufacturing costs of the worst plants, secrecy in scientific work, fear of innovations that threaten depreciation of the old capital stock—these are some of the practices which clip the wings of science within present day capitalist society. Instead of going forward by leaps and bounds in a free and all-sided development in the service of an ever richer social life, science is bound hand and foot to the reactionary caprices of a handful of capitalist parasites who measure everything by the amount of profit it will net them. Aside from the fact that a tremendous part of scientific research is directed towards the fact remains that capitalism today stands in the way of its of each nation superiority in the struggle for profits, the fact remains that capitalism today stands in the way of the fullest exploitation of science for the reduction of the working day to a minimum. "Iron Age," the organ of the U. S. steel industry, for example, admits that by putting all the industrial plants in the United States on the level of modern technique, it would be possible to shorten the working day to one-third of the present and at the same time to double the output.

The growing demand for scrapping machinery and returning to hand labor in order to provide work shows the reactionary lengths to which capitalism will go in order to maintain its monopoly. Instead of lightening the burden of toil each year, capitalism has reached the point in 1932, where, in the face of the world's finest machines, it can only save itself by increasing the amount of physical labor. Such

an insane contradiction is only possible in a system where social production cannot physically continue without destroying the social barrier of private ownership and appropriation.

However, the immediate, and most tangible evidence of the cultural decay of capitalism is the increasing unemployment of scientific workers, technicians and engineers. After spending years in preparatory training, thousands of these professional men are unable to find work. Here too is revealed the helpless anarchy of a system which not only requires a decreasing number of scientists in the face of mass starvation and misery, but which at the same time permits a "surplus" of these very scientists and technicians to be added to this army of unemployment and hunger. In New York City alone, for example, it was estimated that 2,500 engineers were unemployed. And that was last November. According to the *New York Times*, nearly 1500 architects and draftsmen were looking for work at the bureau maintained by the American Institute of Architects in New York. The Cleveland Engineering Society has 1407 chemists, architects, engineers, registered with its employment bureau. The Cleveland Press, for example, carried a feature story with the following heads: "Jobless Engineers will go back to soil—2000 Chagrin Valley Acres. City's Unemployed Technical men will raise own produce, trade it for staples; no white collars as they hoe individual plot." According to the plan of the Cleveland Engineering Society, each man is to be assigned one acre on which he can grow his vegetables and farm produce. Pay will be in the form of scrip, negotiable at a central market. "Both the scrip and the produce raised by the men on their acre," the Press continues, "can be bartered at the market, to be established in the valley, for food staples, clothing and other necessities."

Thus not only does capitalist economy break down and return to the primitive system of barter, but men trained for the highest type of technical work are forced to scrap their skill and begin all over again learning a new occupation, for which they are entirely unfitted, under the most primitive conditions and on a charity standard of life. The tragic irony of such futile gestures on the part of the most superior capitalist system, of course, is the simple fact that the millions of people who are professional farmers are not only unable to make a living but are actually losing their farms in the process. In Louisiana, for example, one fourth of all the farms were recently sold to meet foreclosed mortgages.

Capitalist education thus stands bankrupt and in the iron grip of the same process of decline and decay affecting the entire capitalist system. The crisis has demonstrated the utter futility of the conception of education as a self-sufficient force divorced from the fundamental processes of social development. It has demonstrated the falsity of artificially erecting arbitrary barriers between education and the ever sharpening class struggle in society today.

In spite of the much vaunted superiority of the technical and educational achievements of capitalism, the fact remains that its highly developed educational apparatus has not prevented the chaos of the present economic crisis. On the contrary, less than three years ago its most advanced thinkers and teachers tried to convince the world that crises had been abolished and that poverty had seen its end. The achievements of scientific research have even contributed towards the development of the present economic crisis.

Education has failed to prevent the crisis or even to affect its development, because the capitalist system, which produces crises, is not a rational system of production in which the ultimate actions of society are identical with its original purposes. In a system which is not based upon a planned economy but upon an essential anarchy of social production, education and reason, insofar as they are the education and reason of the ruling class, are utterly helpless. This was

clearly grasped and expressed recently by a leading capitalist educator, Dr. Paul Klapper, dean of the School of Education at the College of the City of New York:

"Education in our democracy is a much indicted institution," Dr. Klapper declared. "People ascribe to the failure of the school many of our social ills, forgetting that education has ever been a product of existing social order, charged with the function of rationalizing and perpetuating the society that supports it. However progressive the teacher and however free and unfettered the school, they nevertheless seek to justify what is."

Only in this light can we understand the role education is playing and can play at the present time. To the extent that education remains an adjunct of capitalism, both educators and educated will suffer from the unarrestable decline and decay of capitalism. The free development of education, art and science depends upon the ability of the educators, artists and scientists to free themselves from the fetters of decaying capitalism and to unite with the revolutionary movement of all toilers. Capitalism holds no future in store for the intellectuals of this country. Its whole perspective for the intellectuals is the same as its perspective for the working class as a whole: unemployment, wage cuts, ever lower standards of life and work. The Soviet Union, which shows the workers of the whole world the way out to a society free from unemployment, hunger and war, also shows the intellectuals of the whole world the only path leading to the free and unhampered development of art, literature and science. There can be no free development of art and knowledge where mass misery, hunger, suicide and insanity constitute the material basis of society and the general lot of the vast majority of manual and mental workers.

It is necessary to break through the traditional conception of education if our understanding is to become a practical force in shaping the course of history. The idea that education is confined to educational institutions, that it is merely a study of books, is at best an unreal and poverty stricken conception. It does not grasp the real relationship of education to social life. If ideas are to become a force they must seize hold of the masses. In this respect, the basic struggle of society today is the struggle between the ideas of capitalism and the ideas of Communism; the struggle between the capitalist way out of the crisis and the revolutionary working class way out of the crisis. The political parties of capitalism, the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties, all aim to convince the workers to accept the capitalist way out of the crisis.

They are part of the total system of capitalist "education," which, as Dr. Klapper admitted, aims to justify and preserve capitalism. From one point of view, politics may be described as a continuation of class education by special means. There are no fundamental barriers between the two. The question to be asked is: Which politics and which education? The Communist Party is the sole political force for the education of the widest masses to the only way out of a system whose highest achievements are mass starvation, misery and war. The present election campaign of the Communist Party is a gigantic venture in the education and organization of every section of the working class, Negro and white, native and foreign born, for a revolutionary struggle out of the capitalist crisis. It calls upon every honest intellectual to rally to the support of its platform and invites every one to study and act upon it.

EDITORIAL NOTE—*Because the above article discusses many problems of vital importance and interest to the student, we invite all discussion and comment concerning the above questions. Address all contributions to the editor.*

The Campus Drug

BOOTH as football player and as editor of a student newspaper, Reed Harris occupied a particularly advantageous position from which to view the "behind-the-scenes" operations of modern American colleges. A critical and reformist spirit has made him conscious of the rottenness of these operations, and impelled him to expose them and to offer his remedies.

While the corruption existing in college football is supposed to be the central theme, only about half the book* is devoted to it. The other half exposes the rottenness of various other aspects of American college life.

The facts offered by the author, concerning football, are none too startling. Most of us know in a general way that football stars do not pay tuition, that they get meals, and perhaps board, free. What we do learn is that many of them actually get a cash return above all their college expenses. Interesting, too, is the hypocritical, underhand way in which they are paid, as well as the method by which they become scholastically eligible to compete.

Harris' chief indictment against professionalized college football is that it is the worst offender in the vulgarization of the American college. He complains that "the true spirit of learning in American education has collapsed, to be replaced by materialism of the grossest sort." And, he points out, the chief force in this collapse is football. "... the god of materialism and his supporting genius, King Football, continue to hold sway ..."

Later in the volume while discussing general problems of education, his indictment becomes confused and contradictory. For here football becomes not as he first states, the "worst of the infections," but merely a "by-product of an unfortunate system." Furthermore, "without it (football) the giant self-styled centers of culture might at least make more or less of a pretense of interest in things intellectual... With it, they often fail to impress the simplest yokel." Therefore, football, he argues, is no longer the greatest force in the collapse of learning, for even without it there would be only a "pretense in things intellectual."

The truth of the matter is that football is neither the chief reason for the corruption of American college life, nor a by-product of that corruption; it is an integral part of the educational system, devoted to the same purpose as the rest of the system. What this purpose is, Dean Klapper, of the School of Education of C.C.N.Y. has recently stated succinctly: "... Education has ever been a product of existing social order, charged with the function of rationalizing and perpetuating the society that supports it." While the colleges were confined chiefly to the aristocracy and the sons of the wealthy bourgeoisie, it was a simple matter to rationalize capitalism, and there was no necessity for fanfare in extra-curricular activity to keep students from becoming critical of the lessons taught in the class room. To-day, however, when the mass of students are of petty bourgeois extraction, and many with working class parents, students who feel the pinch of the crisis, and have no material reason for wishing to perpetuate it, might become conscious of the contradictions and the irrationality of

capitalism, and the business of perpetuating it would become more difficult. Football, in that case, becomes a necessary diversion, a "circus" by which the student body is prevented from taking its studies and life too seriously.

Such reasoning is not unconscious on the part of officials. In "The Changing Fabric of Japan", M. D. Kennedy writes, "It is a welcome sign that, in spite of so many resemblances between present day student unrest in Japan and similar unrest in pre-war Russia, there is one great difference; the Japanese student is taking rapidly and readily to outdoor sports."

Since this is the purpose of higher education, Harris's description of the average college graduate, as a person whose intellectual and cultural level is low, whose chief interest it is to make money, to play bridge and bluff well, who is completely conditioned against anything new or different, is precisely the type of individual the colleges are required to turn out.

Harris states correctly that because of the tremendous amounts of money and attention paid to professionalized intercollegiate football, the athletic and physical training of the average college student is greatly neglected. Intramural sports are subordinated to intercollegiate sports. The latter includes less than ten percent of the student body, and does the students more harm than good. Harris realizes that intercollegiate football is strongly supported by the financial powers that control college policy, and, therefore, that it will not be radically changed by college administrations. He points out that only mass student action, led by organizations with the "militant, forward-looking policies of the National Student League" can force any concessions from college authorities.

Harris deals at some length with the problem of the suppression of free speech in the colleges. While his treatment cannot compare in breadth and concreteness with Upton Sinclair's discussion in the "Goose-Step," he adds some recent interesting examples of this suppression. In his solution of the problem, however, he makes the same error made by Upton Sinclair in suggesting that freedom of speech be obtained through reforms carried out by the authorities. Obviously, if the purpose of education is, as has been mentioned above, the perpetuation of the present social system, it is childish and naive to expect those who control educational policy willingly to permit the expression of "subversive" ideas.

Harris's particular proposal is that all "higher" education be government-controlled, so as to do away with the obnoxious interference of men who subsidize the colleges. But he himself contradicts this as a solution of the problem of free speech by pointing out that the State Universities are among the worst offenders in suppressing such freedom. The expulsion of Oakley Johnson, as well as many other such cases in New York's City Colleges are adequate proof that as a remedy his suggestion is a futile one.

The only solution of the problem of free speech is the organization of teachers and students under militant leadership, prepared to struggle against each case of suppression as it occurs. The case of Reed Harris himself illustrates the effectiveness of such struggle. The beginning of such an organization has already been made.

*"King Football" by Reed Harris, Vanguard Press. \$2.50.
\$2.50.

Police Club Students

WED. EVE. OCT. 19, 1932.—THE CITY-WIDE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE DISMISSAL OF OAKLEY JOHNSON REVEALED THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY THE CITY COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION TO COMBAT THE STUDENTS STRUGGLE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM. MANY POLICE, RE-ENFORCED BY THE RIOT SQUAD AND A CARLOAD OF PLAINCLOTHES MEN CLUBBED THE STUDENTS OFF THE NEW YORK CITY COLLEGE CAMPUS.

THE MEETING WAS ORIGINALLY CALLED OFF THE CAMPUS BUT LATER, IN PROTEST AGAINST THE RULING FORBIDDING THE DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS WITHIN THE COLLEGE GROUNDS, IT WAS LATER TRANSFERRED TO THE CAMPUS.

A GROUP OF FIVE HUNDRED STUDENTS ASSEMBLED AT THE CALL OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE TO PROTEST THE DISMISSAL OF DR. OAKLEY JOHNSON. PLACARDS DEMANDING THE RE-INSTATEMENT OF OAKLEY JOHNSON WERE PROMINENTLY DISPLAYED.

DR. OAKLEY JOHNSON HAD BEEN ON THE SPEAKERS STAND SCARCELY FIVE MINUTES WHEN A POLICE CRUISING CAR DREW UP. FOUR POLICE AND A SERGEANT BEGAN TO ROUGHLY MISTREAT THE STUDENTS. THEY WERE SHOVED ABOUT FROM PLACE TO PLACE. DONALD HENDERSON, INSTRUCTOR AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK. HE SPOKE OF THE REIGN OF DISMISSAL AND EXPULSIONS BEING INSTITUTED IN THE COLLEGES IN THE ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS THE POLITICAL AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM OF INSTRUCTORS AND STUDENTS. A STUDENT SPEAKER THEN CALLED FOR THE GROUP TO MARCH ONTO THE COLLEGE CAMPUS WHERE DR. JOHNSON AND OTHER SPEAKERS WOULD ADDRESS THEM.

THE SHIFT TOWARDS THE CAMPUS SURPRISED THE POLICE. THE STUDENTS MARCHED IN REGULAR FORMATION AND SHOUTED "WE DEMAND THE RE-INSTATEMENT OF OAKLEY JOHNSON." THEY GROUPED THEMSELVES AROUND THE CAMPUS FLAGPOLE. THE POLICE CAUGHT UP WITH THE GROUP AND BEGAN SWINGING THEIR CLUBS. THE STUDENTS RESISTED. THE TURMOIL ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF STUDENTS IN THE CLASSROOMS. MANY OF THEM STOOD AT THE WINDOWS SHOUTING ENCOURAGEMENT TO THEIR FELLOW STUDENTS WHO WERE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE STRUGGLE.

DR. JOHNSON AGAIN BEGAN TO SPEAK. HE CONTINUED UNMOLESTED UNTIL THE RIOT SQUAD ARRIVED. THE POLICE FOCUSED THEIR SEARCHLIGHT UPON THE GROUP. POLICE BEGAN TO SWING THEIR CLUBS. THE STUDENTS WERE BEATEN BACK. THEY REFORMED, HOWEVER, AND MARCHED TOWARDS THEIR ORIGINAL MEETING PLACE. THERE THE MEETING CONTINUED, WITH MINOR INTERRUPTIONS BY THE POLICE, UNTIL THE END OF SESSIONS.

Despite its literary and structural defects, *China Red* makes for interesting reading. The scope of the book is not as broad as the title implies. It is the story of the political development and background of two Chinese students, sweethearts, during the period of the Canton and Hankow revolts in China. The lover, Sheng-Chin-Yeu, begins as a convinced Nationalist and ultimately swings over to the side of the Chinese revolution and Communism. The girl, Chi-Ku-Niang, at the critical moment fails her lover and betrays herself as a vacillating, sentimental petty-bourgeois. Shen-Chin-Yeu, a student at Stanford University, California, is deported from America for his political activity as a student, and he is executed by the Kuomintang.

Sometimes, the oversimplification of terms involved and the author's awkward handling of his theme, result in the presentation of reactionary ideas and sentiments. However, throughout the book, the author evidences his sympathy with the cause of Communism. The translations from an old Chinese book of songs are enjoyable.

●
BRAVE NEW WORLD, by Aldous Huxley, Doubleday Doran & Co. \$2.50.

The Aldous Huxley of Point Counter Point has certainly fallen as an artist. No great imaginative feat is necessary to construct a Utopia out of a half-baked concept of socialism and an up-to-the-minute knowledge of scientific data. Hollywood jumped into the Unknown with a picture starring El Brendel, called "Just Imagine." It produced a vision of press-the-button machinery, the usual automatic love episode, chorus girls, and the routine comedian. In other words, a replica of Hollywood on Mars. Huxley jumps into Nowhere with a vision of mass production; the scholastic bourgeois arguments against socialism: standard mentalities, nationalized women, etc., and he produces a replica of Ford and Capitalism. El Brendel sighs, horrified and astonished at the 1-minute birth of an automat babe, "Give me the good old days!" Huxley heaves a similar sigh in the person of John the Savage. He pleads for the "right to be unhappy" and against "getting rid of everything unpleasant instead of learning to put up with it."

CONTRIBUTORS NOTES

●
JAMES W. FORD, Communist Party candidate for Vice-President, was a student at Fish University.

ARTHUR GOLDSCHMIDT is the chairman of the Columbia University Social Problems Club.

RALPH SLOAN is international Secretary of the National Student League.

HERSCHEL PRAVDAN is the pseudonym of an undergraduate at a prominent Eastern University.

MAX GORDON is an editor of *Sport and Play*, organ of the Labor Sports Union.

PAUL JOHNSON is the pseudonym of an active student leader on the campus of the College of the City of New York.

WALTER QUINN is a graduate student of economics at the University of Chicago.

CORRECTION

●
"In the October issue, the article "We Are International" contained the following statement on page 11—"Approximately 3% of the students in England are of upper class derivation." This should read: "Approximately 3% of the students in England are of proletarian origin."

A WEAPON FOR STUDENTS

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

WHY ?

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

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

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

The **NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE** is conscious of these war manoeuvres. It is rousing students to immediate action. It is already assuming an international role. It has participated in the International Student Conference and the World Congress Against War held at Amsterdam. It is distributing leaflets and organizing meetings to root out the R. O. T. C. menace from the colleges.

The **Student Review** is the interpreter and the leading weapon of this revolutionary student movement. The editorials, the articles and book reviews serve to define its philosophy and direct its actions. **YOU MUST READ IT** to be fully informed about this rapidly growing movement.

The ranks of students supporting the **NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE** and the **Student Review** are growing day by day. You, the students, are the backbone of this movement. The revolutionary student movement must spread to every college campus. We must have **5,000 New Members**, and **5,000 New Subscribers** before Christmas!

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