

The Student Outlook

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ONE BIG STUDENT MOVEMENT?

An Editorial

AT WASHINGTON, during Christmas week, there was a good deal of talk about one big, united student movement. It came from both the left and the right. From the conservatives it was unity on the basis of *no* program. From the communists it was amalgamation despite the certainty of a future schism. When the Student L.I.D. rejected both of these offers, it did so not because it wished to perpetuate the present factionalism, or because of organizational pride, but because it desired to see a student movement that was genuinely radical and truly united. Let us consider both offers in detail.

Cooperation with right wing groups: In the National Conference on Students in Politics, the question of continuation work arose, and it was proposed that a Continuation Committee be set up on which would sit one representative from each affiliated national student organization. Everyone was in favor of such a Committee. Disagreement arose over whether this Committee should have a policy or whether it should be merely a clearing-house organization. The Student L.I.D. was adamant that no student organization be initiated which was not committed to a program with which in the light of the present crisis in education and society, there should be no disagreement among students. Such a program was one of opposition to retrenchment in education, opposition to R.O.T.C. and other national policies leading to war, and opposition to discrimination against negro students and other minorities. Without commitment to such a minimum program any student organization, we maintained, would under appropriate pressure be in danger of going fascist. Moreover, a student organization without commitments of this sort thereby perpetuated existing injustices. If absence of a program was one of the conditions of obtaining cooperation from such a reactionary group as the National Student Federation of America, which had asked its negro delegates to leave its dance, which couldn't even be unanimous about opposing mob violence, it were better to have open conflict. Pious nonsense about getting the N.S.F.A. in the Continuation Committee and there making it revolutionary, was

motivated more by a desire for power and bigness in the Committee than by careful analysis.

On the other hand the Student L.I.D. broke with the National Student League over the matter of including the American League against War and Fascism in the program of the Continuation Committee. Since several important groups had indicated that they would drop out from continuation work if the American League were included, and since these same delegates had said there was every possibility that their organizations would cooperate later in specific projects of the American League, we felt nominal inclusion of the American League was not worth endangering cooperation on the sort of program described above. But the N.S.L. could not be persuaded that, "Every step of actual movement is more important than a dozen programs," and proceeded to use our refusal to support this proposal as an opportunity to denounce the Student L.I.D. for double-dealing.

Amalgamation with the National Student League:

To the request of the N.S.L. that our present organizations be dissolved and a new national student organization be set up, our answer was considered and virtually unanimous. For the present we decided a program of joint activity was alone feasible, and to that end we set up a committee of five to negotiate with the N.S.L.

After hearing representatives from the National Student League we weighed all considerations in favor of complete unity such as the existence of a reactionary student movement and the threat of a fascist one, the growing similarity in tactics and program of our two Leagues, and we were sensitive to the vision of one powerful, revolutionary student movement. But one unfavorable factor outweighed these. Despite all its protestations the National Student League has been and still is the student wing of the Communist movement in this country. All its day-to-day activities bring its members closer, and finally, into the Communist movement. If any proof was necessary, Robert Minor provided it Friday night at the National Conference

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The Student L.I.D. Reorganizes

By MONROE M. SWEETLAND

WASHINGTON must have breathed a sigh of relief when on Sunday night the last delegation of L.I.D. students lifted their bags from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce steps to pile into the bus. For five days its restaurants had watched in consternation as bands of students would march in and then promptly march out as they were informed that the negro delegates would not be served; its press and radio had been filled with statement and counter-statement by rival student organizations; its public places were astir with the undertones of student controversy and the overtones of general discontent.

Some eighty-five delegates representing thirty-four colleges and a few odd high schools attended the National Congress of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which was excellent in view of the careless preparations—no printed programs, no authoritative speakers announced, too much emphasis on the Students in Politics Conference—that had been made for it. And more remarkable were the widely separated areas from which the delegates came, the University of California, L.A., Tulane University, La., Washburn College, Kansas, Chicago, Cincinnati, Tennessee, and of course there were numerous delegates from the eastern seaboard colleges.

The problem that confronted us all was to convert the Student L.I.D. with its 3,000 members into a movement in which everyone felt the responsibility in terms of campus activity of being a member in a student society committed to a new social order based upon production for use and not for profit. Yet all of us realized from the beginning that no amount of constitutional legerdemain would turn mildly interested dues-paying spectators into aggressive, emancipated campus radicals, and all of us had our private doubts about how much could be accomplished in Washington.

Everyone who attended this first genuinely national student Congress came away exhilarated and extremely encouraged. The loyalty as brought out in the discussions of the students who took part; their vision of the cooperative commonwealth; their willingness to remain in session without food and without rest in order to debate dreary organizational details showed the vitality and tenacity of purpose in the Student L.I.D.

Perhaps the most important change effected was the

provision calling for the election of a National Executive Committee of thirteen members which would include the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Student L.I.D. This group is to be elected annually at the Christmas Conference and is to meet not less than four times a year. Richard Babb Whitten of New Orleans, President of the Tulane Socialist Club, was the overwhelming choice for National Chairman to succeed Monroe Sweetland of Syracuse. Kenneth Meiklejohn of Columbia, a veteran in L.I.D. student rolls was named Vice-Chairman. The N.E.C. composed of the following was elected by the Congress:

Betty Muether	.....	Wellesley
Fred Bettelheim	.....	Penn State
Roland Burdick	.....	Syracuse
Waldo McNutt	.....	Washburn
Paul Kreuger	.....	U. of Chicago
Monroe Sweetland	.....	L.I.D.
William Chamberlain	.....	L.I.D.
William Gomberg	....	City College of N. Y.
Fred Barghoorn	.....	Amherst
Al Hamilton	.....	U. of California, L.A.
Anna Caples	.....	L.I.D.
Bent Andresen	.....	Columbia

Other Constitutional changes included a provision for high school membership and the organization of an Interscholastic L.I.D.; for making the Editor of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK a fraternal delegate to the N.E.C.; a provision that no more than four members of the N.E.C. should come from any one state; and for a referendum among the entire student membership upon request of any four members of the N.E.C. or any five chapters.

Just as important as these organizational changes was the staging of a successful anti-R.O.T.C. demonstration jointly with the National Student League right outside of the White House, and the picketing of Kaufman's department store by our Congress because it refused to employ Negro help, although its trade is completely with Negroes. The L.I.D. stay in Washington was marked by several clashes with the National Student Federation of America which was meeting simultaneously at the Hotel Mayflower. Speaking to a reporter John Lang of the N.S.F.A. declared that the

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PHILOSOPHY FOLLOWS THE FLAG

BY LEWIS S. FEUER

IN 1917, the pragmatist, John Dewey, wrote: "As with the soldier, so with the civil population there is demand for closed ranks, for mass formations, for lining up with eyes right, and forward by platoons. . . . Some surrenders and abandonments of the liberties of peacetime are inevitable." Dewey desired both to guide and keep in step with events; he pleaded for rational perspectives, attacking the fanatical adherence to "abstract justice" by those "who cannot see those long stretches of the future which in making war worth while also determine its just aims" A pragmatic peace would alter the character of the conquered by inflicting just punishment. "Especially is it true that suffering the evil consequences of resort to a course of military domination can permanently affect the future of the mind of Germany. . . . Just as victory at the Marne would have fixed its megalomaniac insanity upon Germany for no one knows how long, so discovery that its polity does not pay is a condition of a change of national temper."

Subsequently, Dewey bewailed the growth of intolerance and the spread of the doctrine that treason is every opinion which irritates the majority of citizens. Nevertheless, a pragmatic acquiescence assured us that "some of our intolerance at diversity of opinion and our willingness to suppress the civil liberties of democracy is merely a part of our haste to get into the war effectively, a part of the rush of mobilization," To Professor Dewey, war was primarily the conflict of moral ideas. Germany had frankly accepted a Machiavelian standard of conduct, and the war was to be justified by its promotion of nobler moral relations among the nations. "War to end war is no new thing But a war waged to establish an international order and by that means to outlaw war is something hitherto unknown. In just the degree to which the American conception of the war gains force, and this war becomes a war for a new type of social organization, it will be a war of compelling moral import."

In 1919, the liberal, Morris R. Cohen, wrote under the pseudonym of Philonous, "A Slacker's Apology." Professor Cohen stated that he worshipped at the shrine of Impartial Truth. Consequently, "when the Germans burned Louvain I could not forget what the Allies had done in 1900 to the Imperial Library at Peking, and

when they sank the Lusitania, I could not deny that women and children starved by the blockade." After making this observation, Professor Cohen noted, however, that there are degrees of moral turpitude, "and as a citizen I should have been glad, if conditions permitted, to volunteer for military service." But though the body of the liberal could be thus conscripted, "I could not conscript my mind." The mind, furthermore, insisted vehemently on its right not to think about troublesome contemporaneous issues. Professor Cohen defends the division of labor, and conceives philosophy as one of those "purely theoretic studies . . . one of the fine flowers which relieve the drabness of our existence." His own time would be spent dawdling with symbolic logic, and to those who protested, there was the crushing verdict of the history of thought itself: "They used to scorn Hegel for being concerned with his Phenomenology while the fate of Germany was being sealed at Jena almost at his very door. Yet history has shown the appearance of Hegel's unearthly book to have been of greater importance than the battle of Jena."

In 1917, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, perhaps the most remarkable critical intelligence in the country, sought to justify America's entrance into the war. After studying our diplomatic relations with England and Germany, he concluded that the latter had furnished the far greater provocation. The editors of the *New Republic* had asserted that the American interpretation of neutrality had been partial to England. Lovejoy argued at great length that this proposition was false: thus, the government had filed suitable protests with the British, and besides, international law permitted the shipment of munitions to England just as it permitted the export of bread to Germany. Bread could not reach Germany, but this matter of fact was irrelevant to Lovejoy's legal exposition.

At the same time, other leading thinkers were writing books on the philosophical significance of the war. Ralph Barton Perry composed an exhaustive treatise on "The Present Conflict of Ideals" which proved that an American social philosophy and neo-realist epistemology were the central issues of the struggle. Santayana wrote mellifluously on egotism in German philosophy, and traced to his own satisfaction the recesses of its moral disease. Hocking elaborated a theory of the state which enabled

him to interpret the war in idealist terms. In addition, he contributed a volume on *Morale and Its Enemies*. Not all philosophers were so refined in their argumentation. Josiah Royce, for one, had read appreciatively the works of German philosophy, and was incapable of adjudging their ideas to be the causes of war. But Royce, the teacher had seen some of his own pupils drowned in the Lusitania outrage. He rose before a Boston audience declaring that the United States must aid the Allies, "since the cause of the allied enemies of Germany is the cause of mankind." So long as humanity was defiled, "let us be ashamed of ourselves that we cannot even now stand beside Belgium, and suffer with her for our duty and for mankind," . . . He volunteered to stand beside the scaffold of "the Monarch in Modern Europe." This was in 1916.

II

In 1934, it is a simple matter to look back upon such utterances and chuckle with retrospective wisdom. What we cannot recapture are the difficulties which accompany an act of decision on an immediately momentous problem. During the World War, ideas were swept along like unconscious recruits to rationalize martial emotions and conceal an economic background. Philosophy was thus betrayed by its most loyal followers: this impressive fact yields to no brief of extenuating circumstances. Those of us who take philosophy seriously must combat the types of thought which will be adopted by the intellectual patriots of a future war. And these

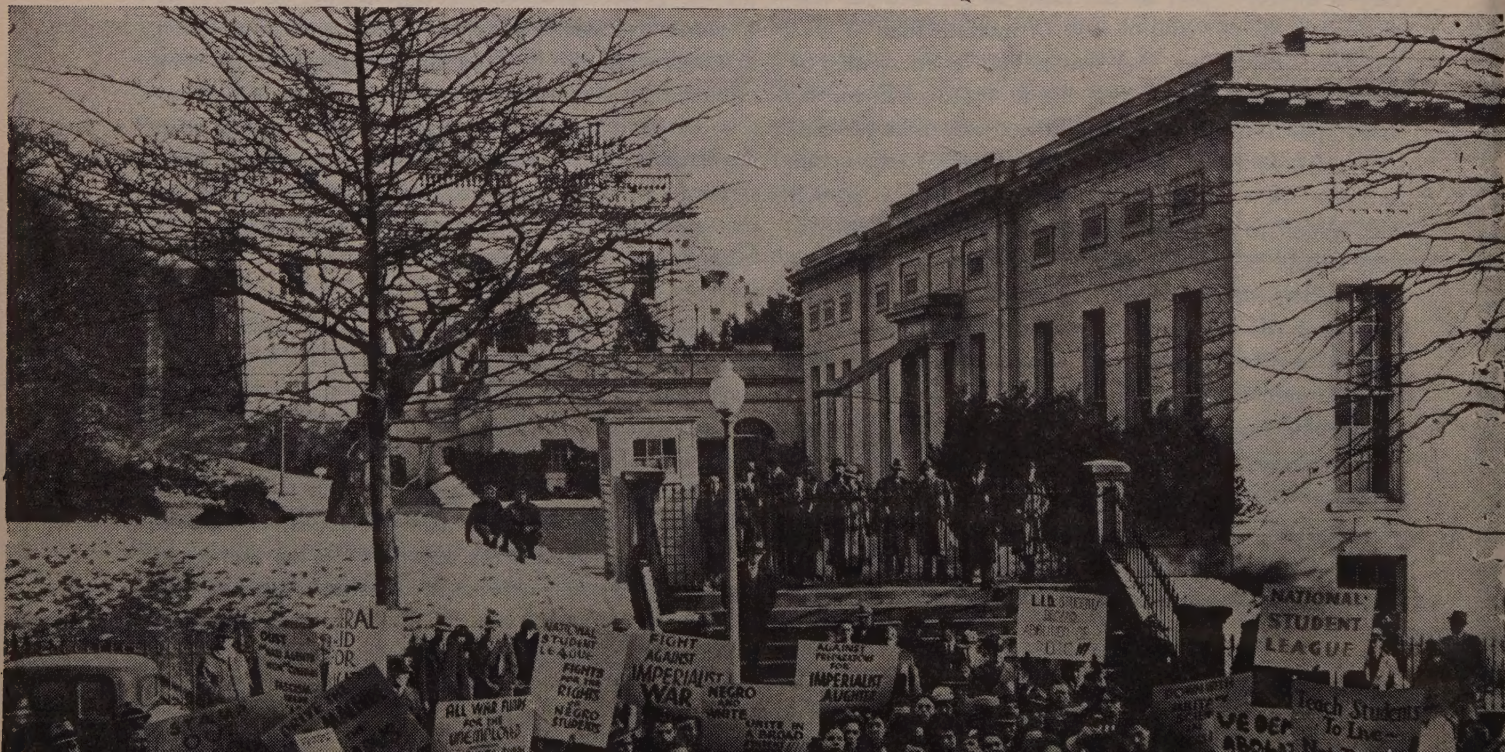
apologists will bring to bear the same kinds of argument as their forebears of 1917. Philosophy is something more than the manufacture of metaphysical systems. Its social use is critical inquiry, an insistence on clear thinking, which finally presupposes a set of systematic principles. The war-time philosophies may be examined without reference to their psychologic and economic genesis; their refutation is none the less logically cogent. I assume in what follows that ideas are social forces, otherwise I should not take the trouble of writing. Someone once invented the theory that thought never hurt anybody. This patent falsehood served an historic purpose, for it enabled thinkers to win the freedom of their profession. The purpose of our present analysis, however, is to destroy the logical defenses of philosophical patriots. The examples I have cited will serve as convenient texts.

The philosophers mentioned committed five sorts of fallacy. These may be classified as the pragmatist, liberal, legalist, idealist, and emotional. One property shared by all these methods of error is their failure to achieve an objective understanding of the facts. None of them allude to the capitalist rivalries which led directly to the war. None of them suggest plans designed to turn the war situation to the advantage of the working classes. All are entangled in the secondary considerations which encumber such problems.

Take Lovejoy's analysis, for instance. Legalism applied embodies the procedure of investigating diplomatic

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Monroe Sweetland addressing joint demonstration of Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. against the R.O.T.C. outside of White House



An American Hitler's 2nd Lieutenants

By EDWIN JOHNSON

THE R.O.T.C. continues to occupy the news as the storm center of American education.

On November 20 the United States Supreme Court refused to accept jurisdiction in the case involving a conscientious drill resister at the University of Maryland. Thereby was let stand unchallenged the reactionary decision rendered last June by the Maryland State Court of Appeals, a decision which denied R.O.T.C. exemption to Ennis Coale and, by implication, Wayne Lees, and declared that no conscientious objector to military training, not even those who may be Quakers, has a legal right to exemption from such training. The Coale case was dismissed by the Supreme Court "for the want of a substantial Federal question," it said. Considering, first, that the R.O.T.C. was conceived and is today authorized by Federal statutes, that it is financed by Federal funds and controlled and administered by a Federal agency—the War Department—and that its function is built around a specific Federal objective (training reserve officers for the Federal military establishment); and, second, that the problem of the conscientious objector to military service has in the past been construed to be a Federal matter, the Supreme Court's action, for the reason given, remains unconvincing and dissatisfying.

Last November the University of California at Los Angeles, by suspending Albert Hamilton and Alonzo Reynolds, Jr., conscientious objectors to the compulsory R.O.T.C., provided a second instance of flagrant violation of elemental civil and religious rights in the educational sphere. The Hamilton-Reynolds case, prepared by the Courts by Mr. John Beardsley, a prominent Los Angeles attorney, took a defeat on January 8 when the California Supreme Court, citing the Coale case, rendered an adverse decision to the boys' petition for reinstatement with exemption from the R.O.T.C. Mr. Beardsley has announced his intention to carry an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

But Ohio State University, infamous enough for its ousting of Professor Herbert A. Miller three years ago because his opinions were contrary to those of certain persons in power, is not to be outdone by the University of Maryland and U.C.L.A. Not by a long shot! On January 11th O.S.U. suspended seven pacifist students because of their conscientious objections to compulsory

military training. Other drill resisters at O.S.U. are under administrative fire and may get the gate before this piece appears in print. The Ohio cases will also be taken through the courts.

Little, if any, of the current discussion of the political prospects of American fascism seems to have taken into consideration the part the military training units in American education may play in the fascist movement when it comes upon us. Yet it is not reasonable to assume that an enterprise involving over 140,000 student cadets in nearly 400 separate military units, under the direct guidance of nearly 1700 War Department instructors, will be entirely neutral when the full-blown forms of political fascism prevail. What part will these military units play?

The most obvious features of political fascism are its intolerance of opposition elements and its anti-democratic tendency. Of these the R.O.T.C. is not lacking. Witness the increasing number of conscientious objectors recently suspended. Moreover, the War Department published, as an aid for its military training instructors, a citizenship training manual which indicated its view of democracy. Democracy was defined therein as "a government of the masses; authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of 'direct' expression; results in mobocracy; attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights; attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences; results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy." Consistent with this definition the manual went on to denounce "the initiative, referendum, recall, and the election of judges" as "dangerous experiment"—yes, "dangers to representative government"! The War Department citizenship manual was outspokenly intolerant of internationalism and pacifism; these are discussed under a section headed "Destructive Idealism." Internationalism is "an impractical and destructive idealism"; "history teaches that in proportion as nations lose their sense of nationalism they become decadent." Pacifism, too, "is baneful in its influence. It promotes distrust of country; debases the spirit of nationalism; is destructive of patriotism; undermines the policy of national defense;

cooperates with destructive forces for the overthrow of national ideals and institutions." Echoes of Hitler's *Mein Kampf!*

In these matters the R.O.T.C. has not limited its activity to the sphere of political theory. Its theories have issued forth in practice. Time and again the elemental rights of free speech, free press and assemblage have been threatened by the R.O.T.C. devotees. Roswell P. Barnes, in his pamphlet *Militarizing Our Youth*, listed ten such cases of military-academic suppression. Other cases can be added to those mentioned by Mr. Barnes. Here are four:

Waukegan, Illinois: In May, 1929, three Waukegan boys were severely beaten by members of the Waukegan H. S. R. O. T. C. because they were distributing literature of the Young Workers' League, handbills captioned "Soviet Russia Is An Inspiration to Workers Everywhere." Caught by the cadets, these three boys were brought before Sergeant John Holly, U. S. Army instructor, who said he would let them free and count five before turning the R.O.T.C. group on them. The boys fled but were quickly overtaken and attacked. Discussing this case, the *Baltimore Sun* referred to the incident as "a disgrace both to the instructor and the R.O. T. C." and said: ". . . apparently the R.O.T.C. and its managers have evolved no gentler or cleverer way of dealing with persons whose opinions they dislike than resort to terrorism and strong-arm tactics."

Los Angeles, Cal.: In the spring of 1931 a group calling themselves "Young America" organized to stamp out radical agitation in Roosevelt High School. When the young communists attempted to distribute their literature they were attacked and beaten. Members of the R.O.T.C. cooperated with the American Legion in raiding the cooperative restau-

rant where the young revolutionists met and broke up the fixtures, smashed the windows and made a mess of the place.

C. C. N. Y.: Last June, when faced with the obvious manifestations of a growing anti-war sentiment among the student body, a reign of inquisition and terror was loosed at City College. Serious restrictions were placed upon the basic democratic rights of free speech and assemblage. Declaring that "force is the ultimate sanction in this world," Major Herbert Holton of the C. C. N. Y. faculty advised the organization of a "vigilantes committee," and the use of "controlled force," to stamp out anti-war demonstrations. The R.O.T.C. boys and certain second-rate athletes found this suggestion to their liking and acted accordingly.

That the R.O.T.C. is blindly nationalistic and shamelessly militaristic—not in the sense of wanting war, but in the sense of relying upon military preparedness for peace—is obvious, and, restrictions of space being what they are, we can forego the amassing of the easily available evidence at this time.

The point to be emphasized is simply this, that the R.O.T.C. has demonstrated it possesses certain attributes and tendencies which are not unlike the essential characteristics and practices of political fascism. The R.O.T.C. has, as the *Army and Navy Register* said in an extended editorial on May 27th last, "developed a great educational mission as an antidote to the various forms of subversive activities which is (*sic*) spreading through our colleges." To the degree that this mission expresses itself and achieves its ends by means which are grossly intolerant of opposition elements, anti-democratic, nationalistic and militaristic, it is incipient political fascism, American brand.



STUDENTS AND THE LECTURE CIRCUITS

By MARY W. HILLYER

IN FORTY-SIX cities in January and February, groups of six skilled speakers of the League for Industrial Democracy will present problems that demand solutions whether the audience believes that it is a New Deal we have or a Raw Deal. The cities range from Michigan to Louisiana, from Pennsylvania to Kansas.

In practically every lecture circuit city there is at least a college and often a university too. Students and faculty are active members of many of the committees that are sponsoring the circuits in their communities. This is especially true in Ann Arbor where the Student Vanguard Club is promoting the series. The opening lecture at Michigan University by Norman Thomas was attended by 1500 enthusiastic students.

Skidmore College, Alleghany College and the University of Louisiana are taking the major responsibility

in bringing the program to their campuses and communities. At the University of Missouri, Ted Graham and the L.I.D. have secured splendid cooperation from college and town. The local radio station is paying for using the speakers and special informal meetings are scheduled to build up the L.I.D. chapter.

This year the Student Department of the L.I.D. has devised a scheme whereby the lecturers will meet with student L.I.D. members in a private meeting on those campuses near lecture circuit cities to talk over the problems of those campuses. A week later, organizers, either Monroe Sweetland or Bill Chamberlain, will hike into those same areas to set up or strengthen the L.I.D. chapters there. By this technique it is hoped that the Student L.I.D. will have some 200 active chapters affiliated to it by June.

Undergraduates Ride the Rods

By SI PODOLIN

LAST summer rather than be a burden to my family that was struggling hard enough to make a go of it, and having tried without success to get work, I "hit the road." I started out alone, but it was not long before I met many other students riding the rails for the same reason that I was doing it. With two fellows from Michigan State, I rode into Las Vegas, Nevada, to try my luck at the Boulder Dam Project. There were so many men hunting for work there that I nearly starved before I got out. People were tired of feeding the multitudes of work-seeking hoboes. We were hungry and miserable; but these two fellows didn't mind the hunger as much as I did. In school they lived in an old garage, cooked their own meals, when they had food to cook, and as a result had acquired to a remarkable extent the power of divorcing the habit of eating. There was only one lasting effect on Kuchake, who, incidentally, wanted to be an electrical engineer in which field he had real talent, and that was a baked bean phobia. When a woman or man we had bummed for food offered us beans he had the cheek to tell them he preferred the staff of life, though it had become bent to the verge of breaking. Kuchake wanted to be an electrical engineer so bad that he stuck in school despite his having a family that was receiving aid from the municipality in which it lived. When I quit Las Vegas they refused to go along. Kuchake said he's stay there until he got a job or starved. "Can't you see what it means to me?" he would say. "If I go home—well, I can't do that. If I don't get a job I just can't go back to school." I hope they got work; if there was anybody who needed work it was those two students. It was a hundred and twenty-five in the shade while we were there, but they would have done anything in the world, I'm sure, anything, to get money enough to return to school. They had "guts" there is no doubt; I rode freights with them and can tell you that much. Twenty of us or more jumped a fast freight in Arizona; only five of us completed the trip. We were thrown off that same train nine times. Kuchake and the other fellow were shot at by a railroad "bull." If they happen to read this article, I hope it is while they're in that little garage near Michigan State University.

In Texas I met a fellow headed for Los Angeles. He needed money to continue his medical studies; in L. A.

he was going to fight for it. He played football for a school in Texas, and had to go a good distance to fight professionally or he would lose his amateur rating, which meant his football scholarship. He was a big lanky fellow, typically Texan. He carried his boxing gloves with him, and when he sat on the side of an oil tanker his legs nearly dragged along the ground. One time in a jungle he put the gloves on with a punch drunk tramp. The tramp was a ham. However, he nearly killed the Texan. But that didn't stop him from heading towards L. A. "I'm a champ," he told us before the fight; you could see he didn't believe himself. "Just among the boys at school," he added. "We don't have a real boxing team there."

Then I went to the Dakotas to try to make the wheat harvest; I was with three students from a university in Mississippi. When we got there the wheat was about dried up from a drought that had hit that section. In Kansas I worked two weeks at harvesting for seventy-five cents a day. It was comical how I got the work. I was stopped by an old tramp whom I thought was "hot footing it" away from a "bull." He told me he was in a hurry because a farmer had offered him the job I later grabbed.

I rode the blind of the Corn King Limited across Iowa with a disgusted student from a school in Indiana. He too had tried to make the harvest in the Dakotas. We nearly starved on that trip. He was so dejected because he hadn't found work that he took the wildest chances with his life that I have ever seen a man take. We were both arrested in Chicago, but turned loose soon because the city couldn't afford to feed us.

Those were the students one met on the road. There are cases equally as pathetic at home. The municipal governments of most cities offer some aid to men out of work; but it is beside the point for a student to need help. If he is in school they grant that he must have money. Many students are being fed with what food their more fortunate friends can steal for them from the boarding houses and commons where they take their meals. Across the hall from my room at school there is a thin, little Austrian boy who is afflicted with one of those consuming obsessions for an education; it seems

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We Take a Stand

By ANNA CAPLES

Two happenings of the year 1933 were calculated to set leaders of the American student movement to thinking. One of them was the spectacle of the *Directorio Universitario Estudiantil*, that persevering group of students at the University of Havana who for years braved exile and even death until at last their efforts were in large part responsible for the establishment of the Grau San Martin government. The other was presented by German students, rallying around the swastika of social injustice and intellectual annihilation. The first was a challenge; could American students assume similar leadership? And the second was a threat, could American students withstand the appeal of a fascist movement? In both cases the answer is undeniably *no*. Fine as has been the quality of the radical movement among students in America, there is no denying that it has never reached the great mass of students, many of them enrolled in institutions famous for their liberal traditions.

With the purpose of bringing these students together with their more radical classmates to talk over their differences dispassionately and to join in allegiance to

their common ideals, the L.I.D. approached the leaders of a number of student organizations, asking them to call the National Conference on Students in Politics.

A committee made up of representatives from: the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Committee on Militarism in Education, the National Student Federation of America*, the International Student Service, the National Students League, and other intercollegiate organizations, some of them religious, and most of them liberal agreed to a conference which would focus the attention of students on politics and awaken in them a realization of their responsibility to participate in the political life of their country. It was agreed that every political group was to be represented by a speaker who could appeal for support, but that no student organization should have the floor to make an appeal for membership, as that would defeat the purpose of the conference, which was to unite students on the basis of their agreements. *Whether or not resolutions were to be passed and whether or not a continuing organization was to be set up would depend on whether these students representing all points of view could find a basis for agreement.*

On December 29th the conference convened in Washington, in the auditorium of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. It was originally intended that the speeches by political and intellectual leaders should occupy an equal place on the program with discussions in which students were to take a part, and talks by students, already active in politics. However the "genuine united front" committee planning the conference represented many diverse points of view and it was necessary to give a voice to every



Professors Kay Lewis, Coleman Cheney and David Saposs picket with P.R.T. strikers in Philadelphia during meeting of American Economic Association

tendency, so that the final program presented to students at the opening session provided very little time for student discussion.

As already pointed out one of the main reasons for entering this conference, was to provide machinery to combat the rise of a fascist student movement, should a national crisis occur in a year or two. A week or more before the dates set for the conference rumors arose that certain conservative elements in the executive committee worried over the radical appearance of the conference program had gone to government officials for help. The rumor continued that members of the "Brain Trust" realizing the importance of this move on the part of students were determined to make out of it an administration supported student movement. Events substantiated the report. Suddenly, prominent N.R.A. and administration people accepted invitations to address the conference. The program was subtly changed, giving time to extra speakers of the Roosevelt persuasion. Those who had organized the conference were shocked. The N.R.A. publicity machine is no mean enemy, especially for radical groups who have surrendered their weapons. Did this mean that it was already too late to appeal to students on a general basis, that a nonpartisan conference was not possible?

At this time the radical student organizations realized that if the conference was to mean anything as a step towards a broad student movement, its continuing organization must be founded on a basic program that could not be captured by the N.R.A. *now*, or by any fascist movement in the *near future*. At the same time they could not lose sight of the fact that the platform must be general enough to appeal to the great mass of students. Determined to guide the conference successfully through this Scylla and Charybdis, the Student L.I.D. agreed with the National Student League to support a minimum platform for adoption on the floor.

The doors of the conference opened. Bad weather and hasty preparations had cut the attendance to less than 500 students from 61 institutions. They came from all parts of the country—by car from Minnesota, by bus

from California, hitch hiking from upstate New York. The program represented a united front. It isn't every day that ex-governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, Eugene Meyer, follows Robert Minor, veteran communist agitator, speaking on the platform of the United State Chamber of Commerce, nor have so able a group of speakers been brought together as this that included Dean Donham, of the Harvard Business School, Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward, ex-Governor Sweet, Jay Lovestone, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr and Morris Raphael Cohen.

Inspired by this stimulating program, students were ready and anxious to express their own opinions. The news that the Chamber of Commerce had made the conference committee promise that no votes would be taken in its auditorium, when at the very last minute this hall had been secured, presented very serious problems. In the first place how could the students be kept from expressing indignation at being muzzled on subjects so vital to them, and a row not precipitated on the floor in which the most self-conscious and left-wing group would take the lead, possibly splitting the conference; and secondly how could any continuation committee be set up by a body when that body was not allowed to express its opinion on what form that continuing organization should take?

The L.I.D. delegates, and to an extent, those of the National Students League realized that the important problem before us was to save the conference, realized that full democratic rights may be secondary to the possibility of building a valuable organization. So rather than continue to fight against the ruling of the Chamber of Commerce, they accepted a compromise on procedure, and then with the strong support of delegates from the Y.M.C.A. succeeded in putting through a program for continuation which includes: (1) Uncompromising opposition to war and fascism; (2) Demand of federal aid for education; (3) Opposition to race discrimination.

The N.S.L. has attacked the L.I.D. for failure to keep an agreement made for action in the national conference. Tiresome as it may be it is necessary to repeat the details of this arrangement. Floor committees from the two organizations met and drew up a written program which they agreed to push for adoption by the conference. This program included five points briefly; opposition to war and fascism, requests for federal aid in education, opposition to racial discrimination, opposition to the N.R.A., and support of the American League against War and Fascism. As already mentioned it was not possible to vote on the program in the Cham-

*The National Student Federation of America was originally prominent among the organizations planning the conference. Unfortunately its directors refused to turn the last two days of its Christmas conference into a joint conference with the larger group, fearing its radicalism. However John Lang, president of the N.S.F.A. accepted a position on the executive committee of the National Conference, insisting that he would get his organization to join the other for one or more sessions. He never resigned from the committee, and it was only when the Washington Press carried his statements denouncing the National Conference as too radical and flag waving, that his disapproval of its principles was learned of.

ber of Commerce, so the executive committee of the conference was asked to draw up a platform representing the sense of the student discussion on a platform as the basis for continuation. The first three points of the N.S.L.-L.I.D. program were adopted as this platform. Realizing that it would be impossible to get an attack on the N.R.A. through this committee, without causing an irretrievable split, the L.I.D.-N.S.L. delegates tacitly agreed not to mention it. On the question of the endorsement of the American League Against War and Fascism, the N.S.L.-L.I.D. delegates, again agreed that the National Conference could not be made to endorse it. However, the N.S.L. delegate at the last moment assumed a new line of action, which had not been discussed jointly, and insisted that *cooperation* with the American League be recommended in the plans for continuation. This was a harmless enough suggestion, involving no more than mention of the name of the League, and by the same token useless since it pledged no real support to the League. It was evident however that other members of the committee were strenuously opposed to this inclusion. We of the L.I.D. felt that the point was not important enough to split the executive committee, and invalidate the usefulness of the conference. The N.S.L. refused to abide by the majority opinion of the executive committee, and disrupted the final session of the conference by an hysterical denunciation of the L.I.D., which action only served to give a black eye to all student radicals and to close the conference on a note of dissension that does not bode well for future cooperation. An account of the conference in the "New Masses," for January 16th contains the following statement: "To ingratiate themselves with those exponents of the New Deal on the executive committee, the L.I.D. leaders effectively blocked endorsement of the American League and the resolution attacking the N.R.A." From the account above it is clear that this is a misstatement of fact. Neither N.S.L. or L.I.D. pushed either of these resolutions in the platform committee.

* * *

It was enough for us that in Washington several hundred students came together and heard Norman Thomas analyze the N.R.A. more accurately and more convincingly, than its own publicity director, ex-governor Sweet. It was enough that they heard Jay Lovestone construct the facts of international society more realistically than Dean Donham, the champion of national self sufficiency. When a young lady from a great eastern college said that we must not be too hotheaded and hasty about taking a stand we must study politics,

as students, and was refuted by a graduate law student from a middle western farming state, who said that in the states which he represented; the students' homes, their colleges, their futures, were threatened, there was little doubt with which lay the burden of student favor. A college editor said that the great need for students was to relax, and not take things so seriously, and a student from New York's City College, was loudly applauded when he asked how could students relax when scores of them were deprived of their right to study just because they held their own views on war, when they and their classmates were soon to be unemployed. It was enough for us that Reinhold Niebuhr should close the conference with the eloquent and fearful warning to students, that they are inheriting a society that has collapsed, and it is up to them to build a better one.

What are the results of the National Conference on Students in Politics? We learned a new kind of cooperation in working with this large number of organizations, and we made mistakes. We cannot escape some blame for the bad impression made by L.I.D.—N.S.L. connivings. It is true that it was war, and therefore all tactics were fair, but it is also true and we as socialists should know it that even in war our tactics should aim to bring about peace, not antagonize the enemy and the neutral. And no evaluation of the National Conference on Students in Politics can pass over the two persons whose efforts made it possible for the conference to come to a successful conclusion. Those persons are Kenneth Holland of the International Students Service, who served as executive secretary, and during the conference as chairman of the executive committee, and Dorothy Shoemaker of the L.I.D. Their tireless work, and more important, their masterful tact and fairness in the last few weeks have played a real part in laying this cornerstone of the American Student Movement.

Out of the luxurious halls of the United States Chamber of Commerce, came a new pledge on the part of a large body of representative students, a pledge that they will fight against war, and fight for social justice. A framework was set up through which the allegiance of the hundreds of thousands of students reached by the participating organizations, may be sought for this program. But we know that the points enumerated in this program are inadequate. We have succeeded and we will succeed further than this, only in so far as the presentation of our own program demands the respect of all students. The real test of the conference must come in the future, and it depends on whether this nebulous student opinion can be crystallized.

The Youth Movement in the Third Reich

By JAY LOVESTONE

IT HAS been said that youth is or should be intoxication without wine. Judging by the stir and activity of the European youth masses, the young people "over there" are very intoxicated these days. Particularly has this been true for some time in Germany. The Youth everywhere has been deeply stirred on the European continent. Some have realized that millions of their brothers have squandered their lives in war. Joblessness haunts the overwhelming majority of the young today. Besides, a new generation of youth has grown up since the war.

In the main, two powerful forces have been fighting to win the youth to their banners. The Socialists, and particularly the Communist, movements have appealed to the youth emphasizing a new view of life and proposing a new social system. Then, the Fascist or counter-revolutionary ranks have vigorously sought to win a hold on the youth in order to perpetuate the old system. This Fascist drive was, of course, made under the pretense of striking out for something new. No one has realized more the dynamic and inspirational value of the youth in political struggle than Hitler himself.

It is the Hitler movement that has assiduously exploited the plight of the jobless and hopeless youth. It is the Nazis, who today are using their governmental power to reduce the number of schools and the number of pupils, who most skillfully capitalized the fact that less young people were entering the German schools because fewer of them were able to afford it and evermore of them found their education worthless under the decaying capitalist system. With expert demagogy did Goebbels harp on the fact that the boys and girls graduated by the German schools had no outlook for their future. Disgusted intellectuals became the most devout followers of the "Leader." The Youth began to feel that they were paying for the sins and crimes of the old. The Fascists, time and again, appealed to them that they should "stop bearing the burdens of the old." Here was the entering wedge for the Nazi revivalist in his plea for new nationalism. Here Hitler broke through by hypocritically raving against alleged and real "outside interference." Add to this the fact that the Nazis were able to exploit the traditional appeal of Prussian military pomp and power. Of course, the German fascists did not lack the where-with-all so necessary for

their rousing and winning the youth.

The Nazi party appointed as its Youth Director, Baldur Von Schirach, a lad who is now about twenty-seven years of age. In 1926 the *Hitler Jugend* was organized. At the same time, the *National Socialist Students Federation* was set up. By 1929, the *National Socialist Schuelerbund* was launched. There was also built a special department for young girls, called "Bund Deutsche Maedel." Before Hitler became Chancellor, the Nazis had enrolled in their ranks at least eighty out of the hundred and ten thousand students in Germany. Let me quote from one of their manifestos to indicate the touch of realism the Nazis have tried to give to their hollow and demagogic appeal:

"You gentlemen of the professorial chairs, drop your so-called renowned 'objectivity' to which no one has ever given himself over with his whole life and which has always been only subject matter for hours of cosy chatting

"The more you spin your yarns, the more you refine your tenderness to microscopic dimensions to secure the clear, cold unsympathetic day which you now face, the more will the day of youth break it all into pieces."

And Hitler, at the National Socialist Youth Field Day held at Potsdam just a few months before he became Chancellor, thus reinforced this bombast:

"Let no German boy ever bow to an injustice—Be proud and defiant and never yield, if others try to force you to commit an injustice

"Through our movement a new and strong generation is growing up that has new courage and does not surrender."

To counter the revolutionary appeal to the young workers who were stirred by the vision of a classless society, free from exploitation and oppression along the lines of the social order being constructed in the Soviet Union, the Nazis inscribed on all their banners:

"We young ones are the future nation. Hence, today, we already do not organize our ranks along the lines of class youth but rather as the German People's Youth."

"The cold unsympathetic day" which the Nazis ranted against has gone. A new and even more horrible day has come for Germany. It is but a year that Germany is Nazi. The German youth has already begun a process of painful disillusionment. The Hitler promises are now a matter of history. The Hitler policies are a matter of fact bringing more misery to the young Ger-

man in the so-called voluntary labor camps, in the ranks of the unemployed, in the Concentration Camps, in the prisons, and judging by recent events, even in the Sunday Schools. There is a new mood developing amongst the German youth. It is more than a mood of disillusionment. It is a mood of awakening. It is a mood of flux and reckoning.

Not only amongst Socialist and Communist youth, but even amongst certain sections of the middle class youth, but yesterday a bulwark of Nazidom, there is a growing spirit of self-criticism, there is a marked tendency towards ridding themselves of illusions. The Hitler victory to which many of them looked forward with so much hope proved empty in fulfillment and horrible in achievement. After a couple of months of Nazi parades, harangues, celebrations, fireworks and sundry circus stunts, many of the ardent young Hitlerites began to feel a bit more hungry and a bit less intoxicated. Some of them thought that it won't last so long. Therefore, why worry? Others thought that help would come from the outside through a war against Nazi Germany. It is most encouraging to be able to register the fact that these illusions are beginning to disappear. It is even more encouraging to note that amongst the Communist and Socialist youth there is a growing consciousness that there must have been something vitally wrong in the German labor movement and that otherwise Hitler could not have sailed so smoothly into power. Thus, especially amongst the German working youth is there a marked interest in re-examining principles for decades sacred and suicidal to the Social Democratic Party. Hence, amongst the Communist youth is there a growing feeling that there must be an overhauling of tactics towards other workers, of attitudes towards workingmen not yet Communist or Socialist.

It is in this state of mind that the German youth is playing an ever-more decisive role in the rebuilding and unification of a new labor movement. Without exaggeration it can be stated that the most virile force left in the remnants of the old Social Democratic movement is in the ranks of the younger Socialists. In their ranks there is a feeling that: "German labor must begin all over again and must discover new methods of waging class war." To them the old leaders are more and more a shadowy and painful recollection. Thousands of them remain resolute, courageous and steadfast. Among the Communist Youth, whether it be of the official Communist or of the Communist Youth Opposition, the heroism manifested is often suicidal. No risk is too great for them. They have suffered

enormous casualties in recent months. It is redeeming that a critical attitude is being more and more coupled with their audacity and that they are breaking with their recent world of dead sectarianism.

But even amongst the youth who went Nazi, there is a beginning of a change. It would be silly to say that this change had already assumed dimensions of great magnitude. Still, many Nazi youths who but yesterday were fanatical Hitlerites are today skilfully boring from within the "coordinated" Nazi Sport organizations and even inside the Storm Troops. Hundreds of them have already been sent to what the Germans call "Konzertlager" (Concert Camps), a euphonious name for the Concentration Camps. Recent weeks have witnessed an increasing number of Storm Troop battalions demanding some socialism, revolting, being immediately disbanded, imprisoned and subjected to torture exceeding in cruelty and savagry even that meted out to the Marxists. For example, in the Steinmetz Street local of the Storm Troops, in Berlin-Neukoelin, and in the Storm Troop local on Richard Street in the same section of Berlin, as well as in the crack Storm Troop battalion Number 33 of Charlottenburg-Berlin, numerous arrests took place a few weeks ago. From one of the leading underground trade union papers of Germany "The Metallarbiter" we learn that in one of the big electrical factories at Treptow, Storm Troopers, especially the younger ones, protested against wage-cuts coming in the form of collections for the Hitler movement, by stopping work for thirty minutes and firing their revolvers in the air.

The savage persecution to which the militant and revolutionary youth of Germany are subject is brought into painful relief by the recent raids on an organization consisting largely of young Socialists, calling itself: "Rote Stosstrupps," (Red Shock Troops). About 200 of its members were jailed and at least seventy of them are still in prison. They were all under thirty and some of them mere boys. More than half of them were of the working class and the others were students or sons and daughters of lawyers, doctors and other professionals. For the first time, the Prussian secret police (Gestappa) was able to break into the Communist Youth Opposition, and inflict very heavy damages on its organization.

Despite conditions for illegal work, infinitely more difficult than those experienced by the Russian revolutionaries in the blackest days of Czardom, the Communist Youth Opposition was recently able to hold a District Convention in Wuerttemberg. To this convention there also came fraternal delegates from the



The Student League for Industrial Democracy pickets the Church of Heavenly Rest

Socialist Workers Youth and the Social Democratic Youth. The convention engaged in preparing plans of action against the compulsory labor service, the militarization of the youth, the Nazi rescinding of laws in protection of youth, reaction in the school system, and for the winning of youth for Communism. The convention adjourned with the singing of the song "*Bruder zur Sonne zur Freiheit.*" This is a song which the Nazis stole almost completely, almost verbatim from

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Undergraduates Ride the Rods

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to be a common affliction among children of foreign born parents. He remains in school partly by his own industry, but mainly through the kindness of the registrar. During the cold spell his father, who is a miner in Scranton, Pennsylvania, got his first days work in three years, froze a finger and had to have it amputated. The old man can't speak English well, and has found it rather difficult to stay on relief since his son came to school. They ask him why he needs aid when he can afford to send a son to college? He doesn't like to stress that point too much in his defense; his son's ambition for an education is only equaled by his own similar desire. The boy sits up until dawn typing, with

two fingers, manuscripts for the students who bring him food. He is in no position to refuse them a favor; and usually a student who wants some remuneration for feeding another student is not the type to help, out of pure sympathy.

I can't see any improvement for us this coming summer. I intend to try to make the harvest again, hoping that I will not find the wheat burnt out. But how many students are physically able to stand the gaff of the road? How many can find employment at the end of the long grind across the country by freight train? How many can run, with success, the gauntlet of "bulls" and railroad officials whose jobs depend on their keeping road kids off the trains? How many student novices at swinging fast freights will pay the penalty of inexperience, and "grease a rail?" It is never the old hobo who falls asleep on a freight car never to awaken, or swings the ladder that throws the victim between the cars rather than the right ladder that merely bumps him off to the side.

When jobs are scarce we are the last men to get them; and if we honestly admit that we only intend to work for the summer we are rarely put on. If we must found our hope of getting jobs this summer on the industries stimulated by the C.W.A., rather than the actual C.W.A. work, then we cannot expect to return to school.

AGITATE !

EDUCATE !

ORGANIZE !



A GROUP of L.I.D. students from Union Theological Seminary and from other eastern institutions picketed Rev. Henry L. Darlington's upper Fifth Avenue Church of the Heavenly Rest in response to his open endorsement of lynch law, as revealed in his telegram to Governor James Rolph of California, upholding the latter's stand *re* the San Jose lynching. "Congratulations on the stand you have taken," read Dr. Darlington's telegram.

The picketing was organized and carried on by the staff of the L.I.D. student department, ably assisted by Ben Tinsley and Stuart Meacham of Union Seminary, and by Bob Ballantine of Bucknell, Fred Bettelheim of Penn State, and Eddie Anhalt, member at large from New York City. The students organized themselves into a Committee of Christian Students for Social Justice and issued a release explaining that Dr. Darlington's stand contradicted the best insights of the spiritual and temporal community and protested his action.

On Sunday morning, December 3rd, about twenty students gathered at the church on Fifth Avenue at 90th Street, bearing picturesque signs with appropriate scriptural quotations and pointing out the anomaly of lynch law and the kingdom of heaven. The picketers were dressed in their Sunday finery and presented a very respectful scene withal. The picketing went on peacefully until belligerent, bourgeois Mrs. Mary Brown appeared on the scene. With holy zeal she attacked one picketer and then another, ending up by falling herself with considerable emphasis on the sidewalk. L.I.D. organizers rushed to her rescue in order to prevent her causing any more damage. Traffic Officer Philip Callahan rushed up and escorted the participants of the melee to a precinct station. Meanwhile the picketing went on minus two signs and three picketers. At the precinct station the three tried to press charges of attack on Mary Brown. The officer, however, refused to accept these charges and instead issued summonses to the three—Miss Lillie Megrath, Mr. Louis Goldberg of the Rand School, and Bill Chamberlain of the L.I.D.—to appear in court.

The picketing had proceeded and the picketers were rewarded in their efforts by the news that Darlington had recanted his previous stand, saying that "it is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law." This recantation took place from the pulpit and in the form of newspaper releases to the New York papers. Dr. Darlington was forced by the picketers to eat his former words, doing it with very good grace and courageously.

The next day the Harlem Court convened without the benefit of the presence of Mrs. Mary Brown. She had given a fictitious name and address, realizing that in the public eye she looked ridiculous. The magistrate continued the case, however, saying that "a case which has so much publicity must be important." But the case was finally, after considerable delay, dropped. Mrs. Mary Brown is still at large.

President Roosevelt, in his address before the Federal Council of Churches at Atlanta, said that although those in high places may abuse the privilege of their office, "youth will not stand for this," making specific reference to the unrest at Heavenly Rest. He should have qualified that by saying "L.I.D. youth," but he didn't. Such is the prerogative of those in high places.

Though this particular incident did not cause much of a storm, at least two picketers got a taste of the explosive potentialities in the situation. An urbane father came by pushing a baby carriage. As he saw the picketers marching earnestly with their placards in front of the handsome edifice, he cursed, and literally cried: "Filthy Jews! They oughtn't to be allowed to walk in front of a church."



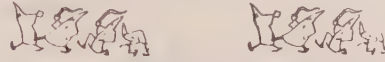
UNNOTICED by the white Washington papers a group of young Negroes, most of them just out of college, have been carrying on a brilliant struggle against the time-honored treatment of their race—"first to be fired and last to be hired." In the Negro districts of the city they have successfully battled to have Negro clerks employed in the Sanitary and A & P chain stores.

Their tactics were to picket the stores, calling upon the Negro clientele to "buy where you can work." The owners of the chain stores, responsive to their greatly reduced income, and perhaps impressed by the reasonableness of the case of the New Negro Alliance, acceded to the demands. When the Alliance went after the Kaufman Department Store, however, they met no such ready response. Kaufman's first had two of the girls arrested for picketing, but the attorney for the Alliance was successful in having the case dismissed, and the picketing was resumed. Christmas was hard by, and Kaufman's business was languishing, so the old reliable remedy was resorted to—an injunction was handed down by a friendly judge, restraining the Alliance from picketing for ten days. Washington L.I.D.ers, assisted by several Yipsels, took up the picketing at this point. After two hectic days during the week before Christmas another injunction was obtained, this time against the Student L.I.D. and the picketing stopped late on the last shopping day before Christmas.

The abuse of injunctive authority had now eclipsed the original point at issue. On Friday afternoon of the L.I.D. Convention, forty of the delegates proceeded immediately to Kaufman's Store, and in squads of convenient size continued the picketing. Almost two hours passed, and the nearly-numb picketers thought nothing was going to happen. Suddenly one Princeton lad—a friendly NSL member who had volunteered his services—was arrested by a patrolman while making a picketing sign near the store. Hardly had he been taken to the precinct house when another policeman and a plain-clothesman, without warning, attacked four of the picketers, tearing their signs from them. Promptly thereafter the assaulted picketers, none of whom was arrested, went to the central Police Bureau and preferred charges of assault and battery, petty larceny, disorderly conduct, and inciting to riot against the leader, Capt. Lauton of the 2nd Precinct. This was largely featured by the Washington press, and for the first time the case of the New Negro Alliance got a popular hearing. Norman Thomas, accompanied by assaulted picketers Gregory Bardacke (Syracuse), George Megrath (Wyoming), Seymour Phillips (DeWitt Clinton H. S.), and Ben Shangold (Ohio U.), went to Major Brown, Chief-of-Police in the District, and there pressed their case against legal-lawlessness.

Even though Kaufman's were so fearful of their injunction that they avoided a test, the police of Washington did have grave warning that picketing is a legal form of protest, not to be lightly interfered with, and the people of Washington did learn something of the constant injustice oppressing the Negro people. Also to

be counted was the close contact with the instrumentalities which the ruling class can invoke which the L.I.D. members themselves experienced.



Chris Smith of Springfield College started the New Year right for the office by sending in an envelope full of new dollar members.

Jean Harrington of Wellesley writes of their famous peace parade . . . "They had us marching in defiance of everybody from God down, while in reality we had the blessing of the college and a perfectly legal permit from the town behind us."

Fred Bettelheim of Penn State was so impressed with the Washington congress that as soon as he returned to the campus he wrote in saying . . . "I feel strongly that a year is too long by far between conferences. Another should be held in June if not before, with wide advance publicity and the other arrangements cared for."

Ruth Armeling of Denver U. writes that they are embarking on "an investigation of campus politics" and that they have "just concluded a successful series of anti-war meetings." Frances Willard writes from Berkeley that THE STUDENT OUTLOOK has made a hit on the U. of California campus.

The Youth Movement in the Third Reich

(Continued from page 15)

the Communists, except for adding one additional stanza:

"Break the yoke of tyrants, who have so endlessly oppressed you!

Let the *Hakenkreuzbanner* wave over the workers' state!"

Apparently, this song served not only as a source of inspiration but as a source of protection.

In Gera and Hamburg much headway has been made towards unity of action between Socialist and especially Communist Opposition Youth in building illegal underground trade unions. In Offenbach and Frankfurt-am-Main, in Worms, in the Hanauer district, Socialist youth, official Communist youth, and Communist Opposition youth have been engaging in closely knit united activities for the overthrow of the Hitler paradise. In the rebuilding of the whole German labor movement, the young workers are fulfilling some of the most dangerous tasks. The bicycle is a very important vehicle under these conditions. Good bicycle riders are especially active as couriers and organizers.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

The Literary Wars

THE GREAT TRADITION. By *Granville Hicks*. Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

Mr. Hicks first appeared "with the Cross of Jesus going on before." His only previous book, which came out in 1926, was called "Eight Ways of Looking at Christianity." Now, as a Communist, philosophically and politically, and consequently a reformed "opium" addict, he offers us a critique of American literature since the Civil War filled with bits of acute insight, marked by literary sensibility in its unguarded moments, and burdened with much hortative advice to writers who want to succeed in the last stages of capitalism. It is perfectly plain that Comrade Hicks has the disposition to fight the good fight, whether it be against the Devil or against Capitalism, and while his enthusiasm for what he believes very often gets the better of his good taste, he nevertheless hews a clear path through the jungle of our literature, leading us directly to a camorra of writers equally enthusiastic in their belief in his valued principles.

As one who has also drunk deep of the waters from whence Mr. Hicks draws his strength, it ill suits me to be too ironic about those principles and I should not be were it not for the fact that in reading the 306 pages of Mr. Hicks' treatise, I constantly felt that he was too much bent on proving that most of the early writers in our literature were "mugs" of the worst kind because they did not understand the society in which they lived and about which they wrote, really to give a satisfactory account of what they actually accomplished. Indeed I suspect that Mr. Hicks himself occasionally feared that his zeal was excessive for he paused now and again to lighten up his dark catalogue of failures by confession that such-and-such a writer had, after all, produced one or more first-rate books. In brief, the stress of his book is on the failure and inadequacy of American writers to the point of monotony. This is not to say that I am myself exactly hilarious about the American literary record, but I think we can profitably be less victimized by the peculiar Platonistic conception by which Mr. Hicks is fascinated. In the back of his mind there obviously exists an "idea" of a complete, rounded and perfect artist against which all earthly and, alas, earthy human beings are placed for comparison, to their disaster.

This peculiarly unhumane method of judging our literary artists is, of course, one with a fairly respectable history. It is part and parcel of the critical method of those celebrated horizon-chasers Messrs. Brooks and Mumford. But while the latter so cleverly handled the notion that the perfect artist has always been and must continue to be around the corner, Mr. Hicks has a pretty clear idea of just when he will appear in our

midst. I am very happy to report that several John the Baptists are already with us and from the study of them we can, he thinks, derive a pretty clear notion of what the one and only Jesus will be like.

Some of his lineaments are familiar to us from many past formulations of them. "The artist," Mr. Hicks writes, "makes his contribution to the salvation of the world by seeing it clearly himself and helping others to do the same." Entering a caveat at the use of the word "salvation" let us proceed to another important generalization: "After all, surveying the whole of literary history, one can scarcely think of any writer, commonly recognized as great, who did not immerse himself in the life of the times, who did not concern himself with the problems of his age—even when he chose some other time or place as the setting of his poem or his play." Thus far, very good, but the problem arises as to what kind of wisdom the artist is to bring to bear upon the world in order to see it clearly and so deal incisively with the problems of his age. Mr. Hicks has his answer ready: "the only clue to the tangled web of life in the last century is the Marxian analysis" and if the contemporary writer fortifies himself with it he cannot go far wrong. He can, alas, go somewhat wrong, particularly at the present time, and Mr. Hicks is constrained to say, "all radical writers, even those born in the working class, have acquired many of the ideas and attitudes of the bourgeoisie and, though there may be much of value in bourgeois traditions, there is also much that is incompatible with the philosophy to which they now subscribe, and the resulting conflict makes itself felt in their work." Thus it comes about that the best writers of the moment are, to Mr. Hicks, just John the Baptists and thus it also comes about that he has so much clearer a conception of the lineaments of the imminent Jesus than his predecessors in this little game. He will be a proletarian Marxist writer of genius. Very likely indeed, say we all!

Enough of that. With all its eccentricities, some amusing and others boring, "The Great Tradition" remains a significant, important and valuable contribution to the clarification of our literary history. Without appreciably modifying the canon of our writers since the Civil War, Mr. Hicks dexterously relates the figures discussed to the underlying forces of society as they operated in American life from decade to decade, gives some attention to the inner logic of our literary tradition, and generally shows that he is acutely conscious both of the fact that he is a sociologist and also a literary critic, though occasionally he forgets that he is either of these, as when he violently heckles Cabell and Wilder as a moralist. It would profit us much, I am sure, to go over his discussions in detail, pointing out, for example, how well he brings out that Howells is far more important for his influence on American taste than as

a writer of fiction; how right he is in placing the emphasis on London's individualism rather than his socialism; and how acutely perceptive he is in handling such minor writers as George Washington Cable and Harold Frederic. Mr. Hicks has shown good taste in the critics whose footsteps he has chosen to follow.

It is plain, I hope, that in my opinion Comrade Hicks has written an excellent book.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Philosophy Follows the Flag

(Continued from page 6)

documents, the weighing of evidence, and the culminating decision of a learned judge.

Now, anyone who has pursued discussions of diplomatic annals in books like Fay's *Origins of the World War* will be sensitive to the limitations of the legalist method as a guide to action. Foreign offices suppress some incriminating despatches and falsify others. The legalist is at the mercy of the most competent liar. Moreover, the judicious use of legalism would entail several years devoted to the scholarly sifting of relevant data. So long as immediate decisions are inevitable, we had best look to criteria other than the lawyer-like bickerings on diplomatic history and international law.

Legalism assumes the existence of a community of nations, free, equal, and prosperous. That this assumption is false cannot be gainsaid in a world in which continuous economic war is waged among and within the nations. For the present, we may enunciate this principle: that the net of diplomatic intrigues which precede a war is irrelevant to the philosophical judgment. Legal rectitude is not synonymous with ethical or historic justice. The workers who organize unions in defiance of "yellow-dog" contracts are accomplishing something more significant than an infringement of the law. Large social affairs must be judged in terms of the movements involved. If the hope of historic progress rests with the labor movement, then the deeds of the working class are not to be evaluated by the legal standards of a capitalist state. The socialist attitude towards a war is determined by its relations to the achievement of a socialist society.

The pragmatist method, as exemplified in Dewey's writings, is more widespread because it seems to commend itself to the practical man. Pragmatism tells you to weigh the consequences of alternatives, and choose the most fruitful. As the philosophy of opportunism, it eschews general principles and fastens on the unique novelty of each situation. Pragmatism is especially the tool of those who dare not formulate a coherent policy, embracing a multitude of problems. It is pre-eminently the expression of those who would "muddle through."

Dewey supported the war because he valued peace, apologized for intolerance because he sought an era of tolerance. The pragmatist of 1917 was so practical that he forgot to mention the imperialist background of the war, so practical that he forgot to notice the predatory motives of Russia and Italy. To speak as Dewey did of Germany's attempt at "military domination" is to interpret history much like the child who divides the human species into "good men" and "bad men." Dewey advocated the punishment of Germany, although the story of French nationalism after 1871 might have taught him a lesson. Well may we beware of the "practicality" which is equivalent to short-sightedness.

The undoubted contribution of pragmatism is its admonition that we know what we mean in terms of what we propose to do. But the choice of one set of consequences over another is not dictated by the consequences themselves. From the same collection of alternatives, a capitalist and his workers may infer similar sets of consequences; their decisions, however, will not be identical. Dewey is vague and wavering because he doesn't know exactly with whom he would align himself. The emphasis on ends and results provides an excellent cloak of concealment for those who have no desire to make their presuppositions explicit. The middle classes have espoused pragmatism as their philosophy, because as the reigning order, their biases are so much taken for granted that they go unspoken. Pragmatism becomes a technique for the elaboration of policies in their interest. But the working class, with its awakening consciousness cannot accept the pragmatism of the business men. Above all, it must keep clear the class differences and goals, which determine its own pragmatic decisions.

The effective application of a pragmatist ethic of compromise presupposes a stable economy. Where certain fundamental principles are accepted by everybody, pragmatic methods are legitimately applied to questions of detail. A party which challenges the principles upon which an economy is founded cannot accept a program which is their outcome. Socialism does not compromise on the problem of war, because it refuses to have the workers fight the capitalist battles.

We honor Professor Cohen knowing that his philosophy does not evade realities, that his liberalism honestly means the liberation of human energies. But Cohen, among others, did find himself against the war yet ready to volunteer for military service. His tentative ethical judgments were vitiated by a simple fallacy. Ethical concepts are not significantly applied unless the relevant sociologic groups are scientifically defined. Pro-

fessor Cohen, however, examined the war as if it were a dynastic contest, in which monarchs go about offending each other. Each nation is a person, subject to the law of torts; an array of moral turpitudes replaces the study of imperialist motives and class struggles. However, we cannot accept the fiction that a nation is a unique entity, which transcends all class antagonisms and bids proletarians fight for their masters.

The liberal apotheosis of open-mindedness, the generous concession of points to one's opponent, may be carried so far as to transform a meritable quality into a self-destructive force. Liberalism tends to interpret politics as the activity of a magnified debating club. But human life is finite, and talk cannot go on forever. Too much is at stake for us to dwell upon minutiae, comparatively irrelevant to the dominant clash of power groups. To the socialist, for example, the all-important fact concerning the N.R.A. is its defensive function for a moribund capitalism. Liberals confuse matters by their diverting remarks on the little frills of economic alleviation which are to its credit. Liberalism contains within it the germ of inaction and futility. Those like Cohen saw so much to be said for the Allies that, in bewilderment, they finally retired on leave of absence to the ivory tower of solitary meditation.

This phase of Cohen's philosophy is least defensible, for it makes of it a discipline, completely isolated from other preoccupations, and valuable only as an escape mechanism. Cohen cites Hegel as authority, but Hegel was deeply concerned with the fate of Germany, and his indifference to Jena was based on an analysis of contemporary events. (Only a few days before, he had written to a friend that he had seen the *Zeitgeist* on horseback). Professor Cohen's own work has shown the intimacy with which philosophical issues interlock with specific disciplines. The cleavage which makes philosophy a "purely theoretic study" is, from his own standpoint, a misconception. Philosophy is important because the assumptions into which it delves are far-reaching and generally practical. Philosophy relieves the "drabness of our existence," but any work you enjoy does the same. A painter deprived of his brush, an athlete confined to inactivity, would find life equally intolerable. No particular interest, however, constitutes a ground for exemption from the world's universal ills. No activity is "pure" in the sense of being without connections to other disciplines or people. Philosophy remains a living study only so long as it clings to this fact. The great philosophical systems of the past were nourished by a concern for the social implications of their thought. Ideas are challenges to action because they

suggest methods for coping with problems in an alien context. Devotion to a "pure" philosophy leads to its death; the impurities of life are the vitamins of thought.

The idealist fallacy is a kind of occupational disease which afflicts those of a speculative turn of mind. Philosophers like Perry and Santayana study the "philosophical" origins of war, which is presently interpreted as a conflict of ideals. The battle of books is hypostatized: a veneer of decorative ideas replaces the actual struggle of men. Ideas make war plausible, if not holy. People are captivated by "democracy versus absolutism" or "totalitarianism versus liberalism." German Fascism thrives on an idealistic, racial philosophy, and Mussolini's staff of official philosophers produces large quantities of similar, edifying doctrines. Idealistic method substitutes an agreeable verbiage for less agreeable realities. But Platonic ideas do not engage in war, and we must be materialists to the extent of recognizing that social conflicts arise from the struggles of men over concrete things. The objective conditions for strife are factors like food, clothing, shelter, and economic privilege. The values to these variables change with the given social situation, but purely intellectual differences do not at present provoke wars.

Therefore, I suggest an exercise in applied philosophy. Take any idealistic explanation and translate it into mundane prose. For "Anglo-Saxon democracy" and "German absolutism," substitute respectively British imperialist interests and German imperialist ambitions. The meaning of ideas is thereby clarified, and words lose their mystic potency. Render F. H. Bradley's "My Stations and Its Duties" in everyday language, and you discover its suppressed premise, the justification of the British caste system. The future will probably be ripe with arch-defenders of the "Family" and knights of "Civilization." Idealistic method is like the devil who quotes Scriptures for his purpose. It belies the import of a controversy by seizing upon some abstract aspect which is used as a camouflage for the real matters at issue. A realistic analysis of war is hostile to a philosophy which conceals meanings with vague, high-sounding terminology. Idealism's sacred axe makes struggle meaningless by whittling away everything except that "good" idea which lurks in the most pernicious of causes.

Emotionalism is more ingenuous than idealism; the difference lies in the degree to which they extend the metaphor of personification. Political opinions are often a collection of sympathies or antipathies to a Kaiser, Hitler, or Mussolini. Personalities are not inefficacious, but clearly, the objective conditions from which con-

A PLAY CONTEST FOR UNDERGRADUATES

Readers of the *STUDENT OUTLOOK* have already learned something of the significance of the function of the Theatre Union through its first production, *Peace on Earth*. When the first blasts of the New York dramatic critics whistled and whined down to 14th Street one cold winter's day, not much shocked surprise was expressed backstage. Dismay there was and some fear and trembling; perhaps after all the workers of New York might listen to the critics. The

flicts arise are primary. Hitler's character is abhorrent, but Hitlerism is the uprising of an impoverished middle class in a vanquished country. The emotional method in politics blinds people to the most obvious facts: Royce mourned for Belgium, but he forgot to mention that among his noble Allies was Czarist Russia, well-known for its persecution of the Jews and ruthless suppression of the proletarian movement. Emotionalism, is powerless before modern propagandist methods. A considerable percentage of Belgium's bleeding was pure fabrication. I recall a description by Admiral Sims of an establishment of artists, engaged in the output of assorted atrocities. Every great movement is fed by and gives birth to great emotions. Emotions, however, do not take the place of clear ideas, and a political movement demands both. An emotionalist in politics is like a storm-swept ship without a compass.

III

The preceding remarks are almost obvious, but the man is rare who can hold on to the obvious in a time of crisis. The socialist analysis of war, with its insistence on an unmuddled presentation of the concrete issues, provides the foundation for effective action. By stating the material objectives of opposing groups, it strips war bare of all the cant and hypocrisy which an unctuous vocabulary conceals. The socialist stand on war is ethical as well as scientific. In some quarters, a "scientific" socialism is taken to exclude all mention of ethics. Engels, indeed, attacked the early socialists for trying to deduce matters of fact from an abstract justice. The point was, however, that ethical action is based on an adequate understanding of the facts. Otherwise, ethical concepts will like the proverbial good intentions pave the way to disaster. Philosophy may yet again be called upon to follow the flag. But, if that time comes, let the flag it follows be the banner of the working classes, the red flag of international socialism.

Theatre Union had therefore to take its case directly to the workers without the intercession of critics' benevolence.

Night after night for ten fateful days, members of the Theatre Union (not the cast who were acting their hearts and souls out) went to where the audience lived. To neighborhood meetings in the Bronx, to forums in Brooklyn, to student groups in the five boroughs, to clothing workers and dress makers, printers and upholsterers, to unions and shop meetings, the Theatre Union representative said, "Go see *Peace on Earth*." The result is that for eight weeks the Theatre Union production has been playing to crowded houses and the people for whom the play was produced are the audience.

For the purpose of the Theatre Union is clear and unmistakable. The drama of today is the mansided struggle of the workers for emancipation. Even when the charge of "propaganda" is hurled with derision and scorn, the Union stands its ground and says, "That's the stuff that life is made of today. How the workers live and die, how they're exploited and how they learn to throw off their exploiters, what their children learn to think and their attitudes in the social struggle are all our concern in this theatre for the workers." Bernard Shaw declared that it was Karl Marx who made a man of him; social revolution will yet make men of American dramatists.

In the struggle for the creation of a living, mass theatre, the Theatre Union recognizes that students must play the part assigned to them in other sections of the working class movement. If you take as granted that college is no longer an escape from reality or social responsibility, the importance to college dramatists of two Theatre Union Contests becomes immediately apparent. The need today in the working class theatre is for original and unpublished one-act plays on social and economic questions. In the first contest, the Theatre Union offers a prize of one hundred dollars for the best production of a propaganda play, brought to New York and entered in its tournament scheduled for April. The tournament is open to any college drama club or group. The second contest is for original unpublished manuscripts which may be entered by any college student. All-scripts must have been written since 1932 and not professionally produced. Rules for the contest will be posted in colleges soon and can be obtained from the office of the *STUDENT OUTLOOK* or the Theatre Union at 104 Fifth Ave., New York City. J. H.

The Student L. I. D. Reorganizes

(Continued from page 4)

L.I.D. thinks "that peaceful revolutions are no fun at all. Its members believe in parades and hair-raising speeches . . . They are carried away by wild enthusiasms. They are iconclasts." The answer of our student congress to this rubbish was tart and to the point:

In view of the attack of the National Student Federation of America upon the L.I.D. through its president, John Lang, as reported in the *Washington Post* of December 26th, it is important to clarify the misunderstanding which has arisen.

The L.I.D. is a distinctly different sort of organization from the N.S.F.A., so that there was no occasion for taking umbrage at the program of the League which is a definite program for the transformation of the present social order into a socialized, warless, society. The organization which Mr. Lang represents, has stepped out of its avowed role as a student government group, and has now undertaken to express the philosophy of the leading business men and financiers represented among their senior directors. At this juncture they become a definite opponent of the L.I.D., and we are ready to meet them before the students of America upon the issue between us. As a nucleus for the development of a reactionary or fascist movement among American students, the N.S.F.A. is ideally suited, and its conduct in Washington this week has borne evidence of this tendency. No more eloquent example of the difference between the two organizations could be found than the fact that yesterday as the N.S.F.A. sipped tea in the White House as the guest of Mrs. Roosevelt, the L.I.D. was presenting Mr. Roosevelt with an appeal for the abolition of R.O.T.C., and a call for the diversion of R.O.T.C. funds to students aid.

With war imminent, with unemployment awaiting almost every college graduate, with fascism sweeping the world, the N.S.F.A. blithely sips tea.

Early in the sessions representatives of the National Student League were given the floor to present a proposal for complete amalgamation of their group with the L.I.D. which would have involved complete dissolution of the two organizations, and the establishment of a new organization. After a thorough and frank debate, the Congress almost unanimously passed the following resolution: "Until the time when the student forces making for a cooperative social order have established mutual confidence to the extent of being able to coordinate their struggle, the Student L.I.D. proposes to the N.S.L. and similar groups that we together continue our militant fight for a planned cooperative society and against war and fascism, and that to this end a joint committee of the two groups be appointed immediately to examine possibilities of increased cooperation upon specific issues." Such a committee was promptly elected and had its first test on the floor of the

National Conference on Students in Politics.

In a series of resolutions the L.I.D. stated its general policy upon several important issues of interest to students. Significant among them was one calling upon liberal and radical students to take a hand in student governments so that they would no longer be only a throne of glory for victorious fraternity factions, but would lead in student struggles against war, against retrenchment in education, and for academic liberties. The Convention reiterated the opposition of the L.I.D. to militarism in education, and pledged support to students who were disciplined because of refusal to support R.O.T.C. A vigorous criticism of the NEW DEAL was voiced, in part as follows: "To the student yet in the university the 'New Deal' gives only retrenchment in education and increased expenditure for military training. To those students who work for room or board or tuition the 'New Deal' indifferently shrugs its shoulders and forgets that these students might be among the forgotten. . . . The Student L.I.D. stands in unqualified opposition to the 'New Deal' or any other form of capitalism, planned or unplanned, and pledges itself to think, work, and act only for a social order based on production for use and not for profit, and controlled by the working class."

No less outspoken was a resolution pledging the L.I.D. to resist every evidence of racial discrimination, especially against the Negro student; a statement of solidarity with the organized forces of labor; a criticism of the indifferent wages of college employees; and an endorsement of the moves for student cooperative agencies.

One Big Student Movement?

(Continued from page 3)

on Students in Politics with his praise of the program of the N.S.L.

On the other hand the Student League for Industrial Democracy has always been sympathetic to the socialist movement. For every stick of space the N.S.L. has gotten in the *Daily Worker* we can match one in the non-communist, radical press. For every time that an N.S.L. Chapter has picketed with a T.U.U.L. union, our chapters have picketed with A. F. of L. unions. It seemed to us, therefore, that so long as these allegiances persisted, any newly merged student movement would soon split. These loyalties were the germs of future schism. We could see no way of separating a student movement from the wider political and economic movement in behalf of which it was organized. But sensing the instability of existing radical groupings, we left the way open for joint action and future unity.

FREE FOR ALL

Not Student Enough

DEAR SIR:

I have a number of things to get off my chest, so if you will lend a patient ear I'll let fly.

I am not at all dissatisfied with the "Outlook" but in common with all mundane things I think it could stand some improvement. In the first place, it being a student magazine, it is rather disconcerting to find almost all of the lead articles, and a goodly proportion of the others, written by non-students. Of course I realize that they are pertinent, well-written, and interesting. But here's the point; we radical students are omnivorous readers anyway, and we are well acquainted with these men and women from other periodicals. Sometimes we read practically the same thing in another publication. We CAN read their stuff elsewhere, but we CAN'T read student articles anywhere else. I should like to see a student magazine for students BY students, in its entirety. I should think you would have enough talent among student readers. Perhaps, seeing the big names, they become frightened. . . .

In the second place, the most interesting part of the magazine is the semi-feature page on activities of L.I.D. clubs. But there isn't enough, and articles seem to always center around the same chapters. Perhaps that's where all the news is, I don't know, but here's a suggestion: In the *New Leader*, they have a few columns of fine print, telling what locals all over the country are doing. Why not do something of the sort in regard to student clubs? We are all interested in what the other fellow is doing. It doesn't have to be spectacular; perhaps it will only be a staid business meeting. But it's interesting. And, maybe more important, it lets us know that they are active! Reading the "Outlook" one is inclined to believe that the only going concerns of the L.I.D. are those in New York, Chicago, Cornell, Vassar and a few others.

So much for editorial ears. This next is for all ears, and if you feel so inclined, and have the space, I should appreciate an insertion in the "free for all," merely to cause reverberations, if any.

I recently received some literature from the L.I.D. which evidently was the outgrowth of one of the numerous congresses against war. This was a student congress which dedicated itself to combat war and fascism. In general the literature was very laudable. But there was a nigger in the woodpile. Among other things I was asked to dedicate myself to "Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union." With my pen poised for signature and a stamp at my elbow, I paused a moment and started to think—what are these peace policies of the Soviets? I remember that at the various disarmament conferences the Soviets had consistently proposed a policy of complete disarmament. I recalled that in all communist literature one read of opposition to imperialist wars. Recently Litvinov, in Rome, declared that the Soviets were not interested in armament. So far so good. But then I happened to think of some other things. I remembered that

Russia today has one of the largest standing armies in the world. It is admittedly one of the most efficient. I remembered that Russia has an extremely efficient air force. I remembered that today in Russia all *youth is trained to fight*. I remembered that Women are trained to fight. I remembered that, just as in militaristic France, Russians are given practice in gas drills. I remembered that once a year, when Russia celebrates the anniversary of the Revolution, they have an immense military spectacle. And then I remembered reading in the "Western Worker" of "Smashing gains" of communist soldiers in China, of the "Rout" of the opposition, of the "Triumph" of communist armies in China. Then again I remembered seeing pictures in communist headquarters of red army soldiers, and I remembered the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union."

All of which didn't seem to line up very well with "Peace Policies." It seemed to me that when Russians talk of the ring of hostile capitalist countries around them and the necessity of defending the Revolution they are merely repeating what German youths were taught prior to 1914, of the Vaterland being ringed with enemies and of the necessity of defending the Reich. The communist soldiers in China are merely repeating the "Triumph" of Verdun, they are merely "Smashing" another Hindenburg line. They are merely repeating the "Smashing Success" of the Japanese in Manchuria. Do they stop to think of what those words, "Triumph" "Smashing," "Rout," mean? Peace policies?

It seems to me that the whole set-up is merely old wine in new bottles. Instead of being asked to support the war to "Make the world safe for democracy" we are being asked to support the "Peace" policies of the Soviets, in other words, militarism tinged red instead of white.

If we students are ever to grow up we will have to learn that peace is a matter of actions and not words. Pacifism is what a person DOES, and not what he SAYS.

"Defend the Peace policies of the Soviet Union." Bah! Hitler also says that he wants peace.

EDWARD G. CLEMMER *Oakland, Calif.*

(Russia is not an imperialist power.—Ed. Note.)

Send Yours In

DEAR SIR:

Goodwin Watson suggested at his propaganda Round Table, Saturday, collective introspection as a means of discovering effective methods of propaganda.

Hence the following suggestion for your magazine:—Ask in one of your issues that your readers write you stating how they were first interested in and "converted" to our "ism," explaining to your readers of course the purpose of your request. From the letters received you might obtain material for a pertinent article on effective means of propagandizing Socialism among college students.

You have a very satisfactory paper. Congratulations and best wishes.

ROLAND E. PARRISH *Washington, D.C.*

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