

The **STUDENT**
The Intercollegiate Socialist Review **OUTLOOK**

Who Rules the Colleges?

Some Light on Boards of Trustees

The Role of the Teacher

By SIDNEY HOOK

Students Strike Against War

Summer Projects for Students

Vol. II, No. 5 - May, 1934

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The Student Outlook

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Free Passage

to the

International Socialist Student Congress

LIEGE, BELGIUM

July 29 to August 6

will be given by the

STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

to the student who submits

the best program of action
for a revolutionary student movement

Manuscripts must not exceed 2,000 words. They must be typewritten and reach the office of the Student L.I.D., 112 East 19th Street, New York City, by June 15th, 1934

End Trustee Domination

On May eighth, twenty students from Hunter College appeared at City Hall to protest the likely appointment of Hannah Egan as Dean of the college. Hannah Egan, as Acting-Dean had established an unenviable reputation for a prim, unbending, black-frocked lady with the social vision of a Victorian matron. For her to become Dean would be a major calamity for the coming generations at Hunter College, were such calamities not commonplace, were intellectual and emotional fossils as college administrative officers not the rule, instead of the exception.

But the point we desire to stress in this connection is the failure of the Hunter girls to go first to the logical agency for their protest, the Board of Trustees, rather than to the City Administration. There is an obvious reason for such a procedure. College trustees are notoriously out of step with social change. They are recruited from the privileged classes. As directors of the college they take it to be their job to preserve the domination of the privileged classes, to preserve the old loyalties, the old customs, the old emotions. They are usually absolute rulers. To appeal to them would have been a fruitless gesture.

What is surprising is the little protest there has been against trustee-dominated universities; the little information there is of the character and workings of Boards of Trustees. *The Student Outlook* prints in this issue what we hope will be the first of a series of articles on the old men and women who rule American higher education. We hope this article will stimulate further research and a reorientation in the student movement.

Let us sum up the striking findings of Irving Lipkowitz and Rose Morison of New York University:

- (1) Boards of Trustees have absolute control over colleges with no check by faculty, students, or any other group.
- (2) College trustees, unlike ordinary trustees, not only control the expenditure of funds, but also the investment of funds.
- (3) In ordinary corporations, directors are responsible to stockholders. No such responsibility exists for the college trustee.
- (4) Contrary to widespread impressions, the greater share of running expenses comes out of the tuition fees paid by the student.

(5) Boards of Trustees are self-perpetuating, themselves electing new members.

(6) There is little indication that artistic, educational, intellectual or technical competence of any sort, except in financial manipulation, is a prerequisite to election as a trustee.

(7) The bulk of trustee membership comes from America's financial and industrial oligarchy.

So long as students and faculty have no voice in faculty appointments, in curriculum changes, in disciplinary actions, the college will remain one of the strongest of conservatism's bailiwicks.

We must give up the notion that we have student self-government because we elect a student council president, or an A.A. officer, etc. We are compelled to fight for such petty and illusory self-government when we are weak. But the student movement in this country now has strength. *We must demand participation in the government of the college; not merely a partial control of extra-curricular activities, but a voice in the vital affairs of the college.*

We cannot wage this fight alone. But it is as much to the interest of the faculty as to us to attain freedom from trustee domination. Then they can teach the truth. Then they need no longer fear overnight discharge.

— A strongly organized student movement—

— A strongly entrenched union of tutors, fellows, instructors and professors—

The two together can demand their rights as intelligent citizens of the college community, and get them.

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*who will not be at their college address
after June 1st please send in your summer
address if you wish to receive your
June copy of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK*

STUDENT SUMMER PROJECTS

ON EVERY SIDE, members of the Student L.I.D. are asking how during the summer they can carry on the best possible work in the building of a new social order. We of the Student L.I.D. look upon the summer as an opportunity to broaden our contacts in the radical movement, to make a contribution to the working class movement that we cannot make during the college year, and to gain experience that will enable us better to carry on our own revolutionary activity in the future.

During this summer when labor organizations are fighting the company union and the employer, when the unemployed are struggling against merciless curtailment of relief programs, they will need more than before the help of those who are young and strong and willing to do anything to help in their battle for a decent living. There are five diverse projects that will give students an opportunity to do this constructive work.

The largest is to be the Summer Training School in New York, where leaders of activities on the campus can get together to pool their ideas and experiences, and test them in practical work, and most important of all to get expert advice and direction from veterans in the radical movement. The laboratory for intensive practical work is to be the successful Unemployed Union of Greater New York. There will be seminars and discussion groups led by Mary Fox, Norman Thomas, George Streater, Harry W. Laidler, Roger Baldwin and others, and there will be opportunities to contact progressive movements and leaders located in New York. Although the first students picked will be those who have distinguished themselves in activity during the past year, and those who seriously plan to go into the labor movement, applications from anyone else interested are solicited.

The other projects will consist of educational and organizational work in diverse fields, among textile workers in the south, West Virginia miners, the farmers of the middle west, and the Tennessee sharecroppers. All of the projects will start during the third week in June, and as many of the students as possible will meet at the summer conference of the League on June 21st, for preliminary plans and discussions.

All applications for membership in the projects must reach Anna Caples at the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, around May 15th.

1. Carolina Workers School, High Point, N. C.

The Carolina Workers School was started six months ago, under the direction of Alton Lawrence, (University of N. C. 1933, and State Secretary of the Socialist Party) Larry Hogan, and Jack Feis. The purpose of the school is to carry on educational work among the workers of North Carolina, particularly those employed in the furniture and textile mills in the piedmont section of the state, in order to orient them in the economic society of which they are a part. The school has recently been officially recognized as the educational department of the United Textile Workers Union, of North Carolina, and so will receive the cooperation of the union in carrying out its program.

Type of Work: Classes are now being held in elementary economics among mill workers in High Point. It is hoped that similar classes can be developed in the towns near High Point, and that the members of the school staff will be able to set up branches of the school in more distant sections of the state.

Equipment: The staff of the school is housed in a small residence on the outskirts of High Point. There are at present only four members of the school staff, but the house can easily accommodate ten or twelve. The school owns a car for transportation between classes, and has an adequate supply of office equipment.

L.I.D. Student Project: Anna Caples will be in charge.

Number of persons: four to six.

Dates: June 21—August 16. Expenses: \$50 each.

Type of work: teaching, recreational work, chauffeuring, office work, housekeeping.

2. Highlander Folk School, Allardt, Tenn.

A year and a half ago, the first unit of the Highlander Folk School was started at Monteagle, Tenn. The purpose of the school was "to provide an educational center in the south for the training of rural and industrial leaders, and for the conservation and enrichment of the indigenous cultural values of the mountains." A small group of resident students is being trained in social sciences and tactics for leadership in industrial and rural communities. Community educational and recreational projects are being carried on in Monteagle. They are now opening an additional school at Allardt. Norman Thomas, Kirby Page and Reinhold Niebuhr are among the advisory committee of the school.

(Continued on page 22)

The Role of the Educator

By SIDNEY HOOK

THE subject I wish to discuss here is one which is likely to become increasingly important with the accentuation of social conflicts in the next few years. It directly concerns the educational philosophy and activity of more than one million, one hundred thousand teachers in the nation. Indirectly it concerns the entire community which supports the teacher and which is in turn influenced in its pattern of thought and behavior by the instruction it receives. Briefly put, the question is: What is the creative and critical role of the educator in the world today? What are the limits and pre-suppositions of his legitimate criticism? Is he merely the servant of the community, paid to formulate and strengthen in the minds of the growing generation the values and prejudices of his social environment or is he to regard his teaching as a calling—as a calling to suggest, lead and guide in the creation of new social values?

If the teacher refuses to see this problem, the social order itself brings him face to face with it. Every age of social transition is an age of social criticism and our age is nothing if not transitional. The conflict of social principles, slogans and policies finds its echo in the class-room as everywhere else and the teacher is *compelled* to become self-conscious concerning the subject-matter and method of instruction—especially in the cultural and social disciplines. If the teacher finds himself in a position where some of his views do not accord with those accepted by the group which holds political power in the community, he is likely to be confronted with the charge of being a propagandist and not an educator. He consequently must ask both for the sake of clarification and defence: what is education, how does it differ from propaganda, what is its relation to the school, and what is the role of the educator both as a teacher and a citizen?

These are extremely difficult questions and no one can offer complete answers to them. But a few things seem clear. To begin with, education in its widest meaning—the assimilation and extension of the culture of the group—is not co-extensive with schooling. There are societies in which educational processes go on as part of natural life and activity and in which there are no schools: and there are societies whose schools are not notorious for the amount or kind of educating they do. Formal schooling on a large scale begins in general

when two conditions have been fulfilled. First, where division of labor has been carried to a point at which the needs of production make it necessary to impart instruction in certain manual and verbal techniques: second, where class divisions in society give rise to different social values, and where the social process itself is incapable of enforcing homogeneity of interest, the school becomes one of the institutional agencies by which the values of the dominant class in the community become the dominant values in the community.

The function of the school as the overt instrument of education is therefore, two-fold: it gives instruction in certain knowledges and techniques, and more important, it consciously inculcates certain social and ethical values, attitudes and ideals so that they become a part of the unreflective, unconscious, unquestioned behavior of the members of the community. It is this latter function of education with which I am primarily concerned tonight. It is a function which has been recognized by every realistic social philosopher, statesman and politician from the days of antiquity down to the present. A few illustrations: Aristotle in the fifth book of his *Politics* (Chapt. IX) wrote: "But of all things which contributes most to preserve the state is the education of your children for the state; for the most useful laws will be of no service if the citizens are not accustomed to and brought up in the principles of the constitution; of a democracy, if that is by law established, of an oligarchy, if that is." Napoleon more than 2,000 years after was more forthright: "Of all political questions," he proclaimed, "that of education is perhaps the most important. There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely recognized principles." And to bring the record up to date—I select almost at random—a sentence from an address of a prominent Princeton educator to taxpayers in behalf of public education. "Taxpayers!" he said, "do not cut down school support because the levies on property seem to you to be too high; remember that in the last analysis the public schools of this country are the most important safeguard of private property we have."

Now I stress this particular function of education because I desire to locate the chief source of propaganda and creedal dogmatism in the system of public education. If my analysis is sound, the propagandist is not

the social critic who examines the roots, conditions and consequences of dominant social ideals, evaluating them in the light of other possible social ideals—the propagandist is the teacher who accepts the *status quo* and its ideal rationalization as final and fixed, who seeks to make them part of the child's unconscious by investing them with the sanctity of use and authority, and who teaches that existing institutions and ideals represent that which is invariant in human behavior so that to question them is to undermine the foundations of society and human life itself. It is a strange irony that when a teacher here or there submits to realistic analysis the fetishism of nationalism, success psychology and profit-incentive which pervade the social science curricula of the public school system, he is greeted with outraged cries of "Propagandist!" Propagandist!" by those very conservatives who in season and out carry on unremitting propaganda for the dominant values of the dominant class.

But it might be retorted if the propaganda of entrenched conservatism is bad the propaganda of radical dogmas is just as bad. True enough—in the abstract. But if we keep our eye on the actual educational scene we discover that what is called radical propaganda is usually rigorous criticism of the accepted dogmas and not the imposition of new dogmas. Further it may even be argued that where new gospels are unintelligently presented as final truths by some uncritical minds, the fact that they clash with the accepted dogmas purveyed almost everywhere, gives them a certain educational value because they provoke the doubts, queries and difficulties out of which genuine thought arises. Where authorities fall out, critical intelligence gets its chance.

However, I am not one of those who believe that anything significant can be achieved by the inculcation of any kind of dogmas in the classroom. It seems to me that the methods of reaching a conclusion are more important in the long run than any particular conclusion reached. Genuine teaching is critical teaching, and critical teaching consists in the discovery and reasoned investigation of all relevant alternatives to ideals and plans of action under consideration. How much of our teaching is critical today? I venture to say very little, for the very process of challenging existing practices to show their credentials of validity is regarded by those most influential in the public educational system as incompatible with the function of the school in society.

In order to win the right to a free critical analysis of accepted values it becomes necessary to challenge the dogma that the school must be the servant of society.

First of all, society is not a homogeneous unit but is torn by a conflict of interests, groups and classes. Loyalty to society, then, means loyalty to whom? The schools are supported,—when they are—out of the social wealth created by the collective producers of the country. Loyalty to this group may be incompatible with loyalty to a political apparatus or a state machine or an administrative bureaucracy which identifies its own class good with the good of the community. Secondly, granted that we know what we mean by society, to serve society does not mean to be a servant of society. Socrates, Bruno, Karl Marx can claim—certainly with justification—that they served society better than those who, fortified by the doctrine that the educator must serve existing society, prevented and persecuted these men in their educational activities. The educator serves society truly by making a *critical* survey of social realities and social ideals and then honestly and courageously defending any conclusion he may reach.

This last statement runs counter to the assumption of some educators who call themselves liberal and who hold that the educator can and must make critical surveys but that he must not reach—or if he reaches, he must not state—any positive conclusions. Otherwise, so they say, he runs the risk of being dogmatic, of holding views that may not stand up when all the facts come in. Now the truth of the matter is that all the facts can never come in and there is a risk attached to believing or asserting anything on the weight of probabilities. But is it not queer that although logically the same thing is true in science, these educators do not caution the scientists to refrain from drawing conclusions after examining the evidence? Is it not clear that the real point at issue flows from the nature of the subject matter of social thinking, from the fact that since the social sciences are not genuinely experimental the same consensus of opinion cannot be arrived at as in the physical sciences, so that there is always the danger that the considered judgment of the educator will strike at a dogma which some vested interest is striving to perpetuate? Certainly, there is this danger but only one who regards the educator as a social and political eunuch will desire that he avoid it. In the last analysis intellectual integrity consists in the willingness to take a position after the critical analysis has been made. The position does not have to be advanced as the absolute truth and on some matters the evidence may call for suspended judgment. But this does not in any way justify denying to the teacher and educator the right enjoyed by every other professional worker to express freely and publicly his conclusions *no matter whom they*

affect provided he is prepared to argue critically for them. In fact if this right is denied, the teacher loses his professional status in two different ways. Insofar as the teacher is a specialist in any subject-matter, he loses the respect of the community which will distrust his findings if it suspects that he has been guided or hampered by extraneous considerations in arriving at them. Insofar as he is a teacher of the youth who naturally look to him for leadership and inspiration—what respect can they have for him if they believe that he is free to hold and express only those views which are approved by his superiors?

If my point is well-taken that effective teaching means effective criticism and the class-room right to engage in it, it will not be difficult to show that the duties of the teacher are intertwined with his duties as an intellectual worker and citizen. It requires but a superficial knowledge of what is happening to the educational system of the country to convince him that the conditions of effective teaching, security of tenure, salary and working conditions, together with the health and welfare of large numbers of the young, are rapidly being undermined by the consequences of the existing economic system. No matter how sound his educational philosophy is he will never be able to apply it so long as the continuance of educational services is a function of the business cycle, so long as he cannot control his own vocational destinies by well organized teachers unions, so long as the shadows of war, poverty and fascism make it impossible to turn school into society and society into school.

Space does not permit me to develop these ideas at length but I wish to state programmatically my own conception of the function of the teacher both as a professional worker and a citizen. Since these are days in which every proposal is made in points, I wish to offer the following six point program for a teachers' movement—I offer them not as dogmas but to provoke the critical discussion which precedes intelligent action.

1. The primary cause of the contemporary chaos in economic, social and political life is private ownership and control of the instruments of production, from which arise recurrent crises, increasing misery of the great masses of the people, insecurity, unemployment, imperialism and war.

2. The specific economic disabilities from which the educational system of our country suffers—retrenchment all along the line, discontinuance of educational services, overcrowding in class-rooms—as well as the pressure under which the teacher labors to make his educational activity subserve the cults of nationalism,

political conformity and cultural orthodoxy are directly traceable to the organic processes of capitalist production and the needs of those classes who wield the dominant political power within.

3. Since under the present order the conditions of effective teaching are beyond the control of the teachers, they must organize their energies for a fundamental transformation of the social system.

4. The economic and cultural difficulties of all other producing groups in the country—the workers, farmers and professionals—flow from the same basic factors which are at the source of the teachers' predicament.

5. The teachers of the country must therefore align themselves with the workers, farmers and professionals in a common struggle for a classless society.

6. This struggle must inevitably assume a political form; the immediate goal of such a movement must be the establishment of a government, of, by and for producers to initiate and enforce the necessary measures toward a classless society.

Imperial Valley

As we go to press, word is received from Monroe Sweetland in southern California that a group of students, instructors and clergymen organized on a "Good-Will Tour" in the troubled Imperial Valley by the American Civil Liberties Union, were escorted out of Brawley by Vigilantes. The car carrying a group of Student L.I.D. members including Katherine Cline of U.C.L.A., Louise Gleeck of Pomona College and Monroe Sweetland was fired upon three times about 12 miles north of Brawley. General Pelham Glassford, Federal mediator in Imperial Valley, who had assured the delegation an appointment did not appear. As the group walked through the streets of Brawley, a cordon on Vigilantes was thrown about them, continuous wise-cracks such as "Reds," "They don't all look like Jews," were thrown at the group and finally they were ordered back into their car. The spokesman for the mob bid them adieu with the polite comment, "The next time you come you'll get your car filled (viz.) with red paint and that will be the last of the car and the last of you too!"

The situation in Imperial Valley is tense, worse than Harlan County. Wire to Attorney General Homer Cummings demanding that Federal marshals protect visitors and meetings in the Valley.

WHO RULES THE COLLEGES?

By IRVING LIPKOWITZ
and ROSE MORISON

I. New York University

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY ought to begin at home. There is yet to be a concerted effort to analyze our collegiate corporate structure and throw light upon the powers, activities, and tendencies of its controlling boards of trustees. This smallest and most powerful group in the university is the least publicized one. The proxy is at least a name to the student. When a trustee dies or his successor is elected the public press usually runs a picture and a short biography. That is all the trustee publicity that may come to the student's notice under ordinary circumstances.

This absence of publicity is all the more dangerous when we consider that university trustees have far greater control over the funds in their care than have commercial trustees and are at the same time less restricted by law in the investment of these funds. The ordinary trustee holds or invests the trust funds for the benefit of a party other than himself. This beneficiary has complete control over the spending of whatever income he is entitled to. The trustee cannot interfere with his private budgeting of these funds. But the university trustee is in a real sense both the beneficiary and the trustee. He has complete control over the spending of these funds as well as the management of the trust funds. He merely turns the funds over to himself to spend for collegiate purposes and needs as he sees fit. One indication of how far this budgetary control can and does extend is provided by the Dean of Faculties of New York University, Marshall S. Brown, who reported in October, 1930 that the Executive Committee of the Council, the board of trustees, has adopted a recommendation which the Dean of the Faculties had made for several successive years "that the deans and department heads should not be permitted to make, hereafter, in advance of the adoption of the budget, salary or other financial commitments, however tentative, that in effect bind the University to compliance, without the definite approval of the administration of the University, which in turn is responsible to the Council." Here is a far more powerful threat to academic freedom than the obvious and sensational violation which usually comes to the student's attention. Such complete control of expenditures, even back to preliminary and tentative commitments, is by

far the most effective control on faculty personnel and activities. All this power in the hands of those who, according to their title, are merely trustees for the funds.

Not only does the university trustee control the expenditures of the university income but also has practically a free hand in regards to its investment policy. The trustee is in all cases governed by the trustor's instructions, but where there are no such instructions, as is usually the case, the commercial trustee is governed by rigid state investment laws limiting trust investments to "legal" bonds. The university trustee under such absence of prior instructions is not at all governed by the state investment laws as regards trust funds. They can invest in whatever they please. These boards with their complete control over expenditures and unhampered by any special legal restrictions as to their investments in 1930 had supervision of one and a third billions of income-producing funds, exclusive of the university plans and equipment, and the private colleges alone had an income of \$400,000,000.

To whom are these comparatively unrestricted holders and unchallenged rulers of university wealth and income responsible? Undoubtedly the faculty is responsible to them, and even the administration, as pointed out in the N.Y.U. quotation, "is responsible to the Council." Are they responsible to the students? How many times have they reported their activities to the student body? How many trustee reports have been published and circulated among students, just as balance sheets are mailed out to corporate stockholders? Students seem to be merely part of the assets of the corporation. The board is the sole and all powerful ruler, unhindered by special restrictions, privileged to be both trustee and beneficiary and responsible to no one but themselves.

What sort of men have been granted such extensive financial control of higher learning in America? Who are they? What do they do? What are their social and educational views? Why were they made trustees? What has been their record as trustees? These are the questions which must be answered in every college and made known to the students of that college if there is ever to be effective academic freedom of thought and action.

Sheer generalization on the matter of trustees has

been indulged in too often. It is time to marshal the facts as they exist in each university and present them in their true light to the student body. As an indication of what may be found suppose we touch on the situation at New York University.

The Council of N.Y.U., as the board is called there, normally consists of 32 members, but at present there are two vacancies. The remaining 30 members fall into the following occupational categories:

Commercial and investment bankers	13
Industrial executives	6
Lawyers	3
Engineers	2
Publishers	2
Arts Patron	1
Clergyman (University Chaplain)	1
Dean of the School of Medicine	1
Chancellor of the University	1

In addition, all the officers of the Council are from the banking group. Both lawyers are directors in financial institutions and eleven financial directorships are distributed among the industrial representatives. So that the strength of the banking world is far greater than indicated by the table. The pure arts are represented by a wealthy purchaser and collector of paintings. The pure sciences haven't even that degree of representation. The engineers were both connected with the New York City water supply system during the Tammany regime. The representative of religion is also chaplain of the New York Chapter of the D.A.R. The faculty is without any representation on the boards since both administration members are "responsible to the Council" and not to the faculty. The students are merely students of course, and as such have no place in the more weighty matters of running the University. Nor is there any one on the board who could be called representative of the social and economic class in which the vast majority of the students fall.

The usual claim made for banker domination of a board of trustees is the need for increasing and holding the endowments of the school. But at N.Y.U. these old claims are not at all in line with the facts. By far the greatest source of income is tuition fees paid by the students. In 1931-1932, 87.55% of the university's expenses were paid with student fees. The five year total of income from student fees amounted to \$29.5 millions while the total income from endowments over the same period was only \$1.3 millions. Twenty-three times as much from students as from benefactors and no recognition made of the fact on the trustee board. The financiers are running true to style. The students, like

the stockholders, are allowed to put in their money, but have nothing to say about the spending of it.

Although N.Y.U. undoubtedly gets a larger portion of its income from student fees than does any other university, nevertheless in some 800 odd private institutions of higher learning, more than twice as much income was received from student fees than from endowments during the period 1921-1930 with the portion from student fees steadily rising. So that a similar situation is to be expected in other universities.

At the beginning of this depression the university met the need for increased income not through new endowments but by raising the tuition \$1 per point. This plan is now in use despite the fact that N.Y.U. derives most of its student income from that economic group which is always the hardest hit in a depression. But regardless of this still greater dependence on the students' pocket-books there still is not a single representative of his social and economic class on the Council. Nor can the students expect any such recognition under the present corporate structure of N.Y.U. The board of trustees is self-perpetuating and therefore has the power to maintain its present status indefinitely regardless of the changing social conditions, unless the student body brings organized pressure to bear on them to recognize other responsibilities than that of continuing the domination of the present rulers.

The effect of this self-perpetuating feature is forcibly illustrated in the changes made in the composition of the N.Y.U. Council during the past three years. In January of 1931, Fred I. Kent was elected President of the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Reverend Alexander. This latter gentleman was a trustee for 43 years and president for the last 25 of them, a record which in itself indicates a tendency which is incompatible with continual alertness to social changes. Mr. Kent, his successor, is a prominent international banker who is particularly interested in foreign exchange. He is treasurer of the National Industrial Conference Board and a director of the Bankers Trust Company.

With the advent of this new banker-president the subsequent elections showed a decided trend towards Wall Street financiers. In March, Reverend Berg, N.Y.U. chaplain, was elected together with David Sarnoff, president of R.C.A., and Thomas J. Watson, president of International Business Machines. Mr. Watson resigned after a short time. In May, Samuel F. Streit, president of the New York Stock Clearing Corporation, the most important New York Stock Exchange subsidiary, and a former governor of the New

York Stock Exchange, was elected. At the same time Orrin R. Judd, vice-president of the Irving Trust Company, was elected.

As the depression deepened and the false leadership of our financial wizards was being exposed, three more Wall Street men were put on the board in November: Allan M. Pope, president of the first Boston Corporation, George E. Roosevelt of Roosevelt and Son, and Benjamin Strong, Jr., vice-president of the Bank of Manhattan. Five bankers in a row in a single year, at the beginning of which a banker was elected president of the Council. All this in the second year of the depression.

The dean of the School of Medicine, Dr. Samuel A. Brown, was elected in April of 1932. But in October, Strong, the banker, was made Secretary of the Council, making all the officers men in the banking field; and in November another banker, Barklie McKee Henry, a son-in-law of the late H. P. Whitney, was elected. Early in 1933 Canfield, of Harper's, was elected.

Towards the end of 1933 a significant sequence of events took place. In October, Samuel F. Streit, an N.Y. U. trustee and president of the New York Stock Clearing Corporation, died. In November the new president of the New York Stock Clearing Corporation, Lawrence G. Payson, was elected a trustee. Here is self-perpetuation carried to a dangerous extreme. Who was chosen, Mr. Payson the individual, or the new president of the New York Stock Clearing Corporation? At the same election Malcolm D. Simpson of J. P. Morgan and Company was also elected a trustee. Regardless of all the disclosure by senatorial committees of the corrupt practices of our financiers, as late as last November the Council of N.Y.U. still turned to Wall Street for new members with such eagerness that even death could not deprive them of the services of the president of the New York Stock Clearing Corporation for more than a month or so. Out of a total of thirteen elections, eight were bankers. Not only were seven of the thirteen bankers, now on the Council, elected during the past three years but also all the officers of the Council are now bankers.

The trustees have charter powers to elect new members without regard for what any other interested group says or thinks. These N.Y.U. elections show clearly how irresponsible they can be to the changing social attitudes of the thinking public. Yet N.Y.U., as in the matter of fees, cannot be called an exception to the general situation throughout the country. A survey of 180 colleges made late in 1931 showed that 59% of the trustees were elected by self-perpetuating boards

of trustees. N.Y.U. is but an example of what one such board has done.

This indifference to the public exposure and denunciation of financiers is again illustrated at Cornell. In October of 1931 Martin J. Insull was elected a Cornell trustee. A brief chronology from the *New York Times* of subsequent events indicates his growing value to Cornell:

1932—

Feb. 9—Stock (Midwest Utilities) drop causes concern; big losses in asset value.

April 16—Receivers appointed for Midwest Utilities and Subsidiaries.

April 22—Stockholders charge mismanagement.

May 4—Resigns as president of Midwest Utilities.

Sept. 15—Living in a \$20-a-week boarding house in Canada (in preference to U. S. jail).

Oct. 5—Indicted on theft charge.

1933—

April 29—Resigns as a Cornell trustee.

Even this overdue resignation was not the result of any public pressure by either Insull's fellow trustees, the Cornell administration, or the faculty. But note that his utility stockholders forced him to resign in May, 1932. No such organized protest rose from the student body to force his trustee resignation. The students, our collegiate stockholders, are even more apathetic than are other corporate stockholders. At N.Y.U. there wasn't a single protest from a student organization against any one of the series of banker elections to the Council.

Students are in an even more unfortunate position than the average stockholder. At least when the market price slumps and dividends are reduced or passed entirely, stockholders feel the loss financially and begin to ask for reasons. The student on the other hand, does not get his returns in the form of a common medium of exchange by which he can judge objectively the variance in his yearly returns. A depreciated diploma looks just like one that is worth par. While the average stockholder has other criteria and agencies by which to judge his investment than his stock certificate, the student has none. The faculty is of no help in this respect as Professor Yandell Henderson at Yale points out that

"American professors facing their own problems, seem year by year less able to conceive of any large organization or institution in any terms except those of a business corporation consisting of a board of directors outside its active operation, a president and department managers, and a body of employees." *Sch. & Society* 33:276.

Trustees still believe that the university should always keep in mind what the endowment-creator might want, as Harold H. Swift, president of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago so delicately hinted:

"We heard last night, and we are hearing on every hand, and we shall hear much more, that education is suffering from lack of funds. Our endowments come largely from private sources. Wills are being rewritten, and capitalists are not articulate. They write and rewrite wills, and they do not talk about it very much. Naturally, discontent occurs and expresses itself during such times as these. We should look for it and I think we should welcome it. But because times are troubled, unsound doctrine should not go unchallenged; and the radical makes the front page. The conservative, therefore, should shout twice as loudly to be heard at all."

This statement was made in November of 1932 at a Conference called by N.Y.U. entitled: "The obligation of Universities to the Social Order." There can be little question that trustees believe in such an obligation, but obviously they insist on its being the social order in which they have come to power. On the other hand many faculty men and administration heads believe that the university should serve only the "idle curiosity" of scholars, as Veblen ironically termed it.

The result is that these professors work in their private cubicals, of expertness and disinterestedness while the trustees show no such objectivity and keep increasing their own control on the boards. The trustees are united in self-perpetuation, the faculty is divided on their duty to any social order, past or future.

The government provides no such thing as a Federal Educational Commission to trace and watch trustee activities as the Federal Trade Commission does the activities of private business. Of all corporate executives, university trustees are the least controlled, and under existing charters and laws, the least controllable by legal routine.

The student body must solve this pressing problem itself. It cannot depend on faculty initiative nor can it look for guidance to foreign universities since "Nowhere but in the United States is university education organized like a corporation for manufacture or transportation" (Yandell Henderson). The student must constantly press upon the trustees for frequent reports on university matters, must relentlessly fight for recognition at least equal to that of prospective endowment-givers, since students provide more than twice as much funds as do these benefactors. The student must keep



Fellow students vow to avenge death of Antonio Gonzales, killed during 48 hour strike from University of Havana. Bullets and tear gas were used in breaking up mass meeting on the University steps.

constant watch of the changes in the make-up of his trustee board and impress upon the voting trustees his interest and concern with the elections.

Veblen challenges student bodies with his claim that:

"... except for a stubborn prejudice to the contrary, the fact should readily be seen that the boards are of no material use in any connection; their sole effectual function being to interfere with the academic management in matters that are not of the nature of business, and that be outside the range of their habitual interest." (The Higher Learning in America, p. 66).

Is he right? If so, trustees are continually acting to strengthen that prejudice while faculties either ignore it or are afraid to attack it. It remains for the student alone to find out and correct the evils of the collegiate corporate structure.

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GETTING THE
POLICE
OFF THE CAMPUS
AT THE
CITY COLLEGE
OF NEW YORK

Harvard

There were about six of us at a rump session of a Liberal Club meeting. Most of the others were dubious about calling a strike. It was said that the response would be meager. To which it was urged that the strike was important not from the standpoint of Harvard locally, but in its status as part of a national move. If Harvard didn't respond then so much the worse for it. We, at least, would have done our duty. Then the suggestion was made that the strike be implemented by a demonstration on Widener steps, and everyone was in enthusiastically.

Wednesday evening, strike notice distribution was on. We dropped the leaflets in all the mail-boxes, posted them; yard police tore them down. The *Crimson* tried to brand the whole thing as a communist affair. The *Crimson*, you will also remember, supported Governor Rolph's stand on the lynching question, boosted Hanfstaengel for the commencement parade, and supported Harvard's refusal to hire any of the exiled professors.

On Friday morning, there appeared an announcement that the Mullins Chowder Club would run a counter meeting. This group consisted of *Crimson* candidates, and was organized by the *Crimson* in an effort to discredit the whole strike. We had gotten permission to use Widener steps; they had not, but the authorities at no time interfered with them. The Freshman Dining Halls supplied the opposition with eggs and grapefruit, but their need for target practice was pretty evident.

By 10:30 groups were gathering in anticipation of

the disturbance, cameramen in great quantities, and radicals who were a little scared by this monster which their strike notices were conjuring up. The yard police were there, fully mobilized, even though the university had announced that, because the N.S.L. — Student L.I.D. membership was only about twenty, no reinforcements would be made.

As the meeting opened, the Chowder boys appeared in their regalia, one clad in towels, holding his "Down with Peace" sign, another in black robes with a bomb, a Boy Scout tooting a bugle, and leading cheers for "We Want War," and a Nazi-uniformed gentleman who assisted. They presented a medal to our first speaker, Marks, an N.S.L.'er. Marks pulled the boner of growing obviously sore, and the crowd hooted him and booed as they saw he couldn't take it. We just waited; clowning couldn't go on forever. Mallinger was second, but addressed them in Communist soap-box fashion, admonished them as the worst audience he had faced, and met with an ugly reception. I think there was a third pacifist who ran up then and spoke for a minute or so. George Clifton Edwards of the Student L.I.D. then went on. He was the success of the day; he fought the crowd with his pleadingly rational voice, spoke about the armament race; munitions makers, C.C.C., etc. He met the hecklers with banter and repartee; but despite his balance and poise, the majority of the audience was turning to the other rostrum where the Fascists had fled and were staging a mock meeting. There was the strange spectacle of a mob, continuous, but heads on

ts Strike Against War

one side sloping faithfully in our direction, and on the other side, hands going up in the Fascist salute. We heckled the other meeting, giving vent to continuous boos. The Fascist meeting was being licked. We would now have seized the meeting, but lo!—Edwards on the other side of the library was taking advantage of our strategy, and was speaking again. So back we rushed, and now for a while, the whole meeting was ours. Feuer of the Student L.I.D., went on as the last speaker,—pointed out that the other side was using the Fascist tactics that had triumphed in Germany, but that we were here to see that they didn't win in America (applause)—that when the strike was called, a lot of people said they were for peace but didn't like to be obstreperous; but that the object lesson today had shown that they had better learn to be so,—and that this strike was a dress rehearsal of what we would do if war should arise.

A bombardment started, and all sorts of objects whizzed pretty closely around Feuer's ears. Our time was up, and Feuer closed the meeting asking all now to join and disrupt the other side, and concluded with three cheers for peace.

A large part of the audience was with us. Edwards got prolonged applause, and there were lots of congratulations afterwards. The *Crimson* which engineered the whole affair, hypocritically followed it up with an editorial on the uselessness of demonstrations. Demonstrations are what they're afraid of; they are a challenge to the student Fascist opinion which they represent. It is clear that the next time a strike goes on, it will be fraught with great danger. Further instructions and considerations of contingencies will be necessary. Their first weapon is ridicule, but that can't be kept up. Another strike will probably witness violence and injury. The fun will turn into bitterness, and there were lots in the audience who would have joined a fighting rush. The tradition will now be a contest between both sides, so I guess we'll have to outfit ourselves with. . .

DEMOCRITUS

Vassar College

The Vassar anti-war demonstration, although the impetus came from the Student L.I.D. was managed under the

auspices of the whole students association, so that it might have as wide an influence as possible on the people here and also on the Poughkeepsie spectators. The parade was headed by the President and about thirty faculty members (no trustees that I know about though it had been rumored that some would be there). There were at least five hundred students, some of whom marched in divisions determined by their various affiliations—the Student L.I.D., of course with “Against Imperialist War,” “Schools, Not Battleships,” and “Each man killed means \$25,000 for the armament makers” banners—other groups were the French club with banners calling for peace (in French) the dramatic association with “More Plays like Peace on Earth,” etc. The seniors wore academic dress, a flag was carried in front and national and college anthems were sung from time to time. The most popular song however, was one made up by a senior, Caroline Hoysradt, the chorus of which is:

“Baa baa bomb shell, have you any will?

No sir, no sir, I'm just here to kill.

Little bomb, who made thee, who gave you your mission?

A money grasping crook and a dirty politician.”

In order to clarify our position and distinguish ourselves from the mass of sentimental pacifists the Student L.I.D. had a meeting just before the parade on causes of war—there was a discussion led by a member of the economics department in which the problems were, I think faced pretty realistically. The parade was received with a small amount of clapping and some hooting—but for the most part the townspeople were almost too



surprised to react. The papers gave us a lot of half approving, half contemptuous publicity—one editorial remarked that "Although they were always glad to see the Vassar girls in town they would like to suggest that it would be even nicer if the daisychain would rehearse in the war memorial square," which appropriate place was the focal point of our parade. We marched down five blocks of the most crowded part of Main street at just five o'clock—when great numbers of people were getting out of work.

DORIS YANKAUER

Syracuse

When "several hundred students," as a local paper described it, can be called out to strike against war at Syracuse University the achievement is a signal one.

One week in advance, on the eve of Army Day, Student L.I.D. members of the Social Problems Club posted copies of the N.S.L.—S.L.I.D. call for a strike against war on April 13. The campus was startled. Caught unawares, administrative officials told the press that "it would be interesting to see how the students responded to such a call."

Between 200 and 300 of Syracuse's undergraduates came out, despite the fact that *The Daily Orange*, student paper, was not allowed to give an inch of news space to the strike. A variety of speeches greeted those who listened—all opposed to imperialist war, a few opposed to all wars, all opposed to militarization of youth, all demanding a diversion of war funds into educational channels.

For the most part, campus "liberals" and campus "pacifists" sneered at the strike before it occurred and

half-heartedly admitted its success afterward. Here students learned the fundamental lesson that authority must be defied in time of war; here they received their first real test of their ability to defy those who exist in defending the status quo.

The local N.S.L. chapter, in formation, was asked to participate, and Rose Rosenthal spoke in its behalf. Others were Student L.I.D. and unaffiliated students—two from high schools.

ROLAND BURDICK, *Syracuse*

University of Oklahoma

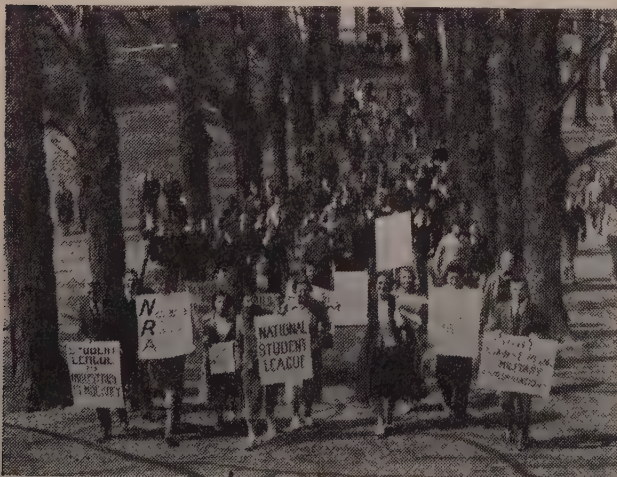
Oklahoma's first attempt at participation in a nationwide protest against militarism, although far from successful, has laid a foundation for bigger and better movements to come.

University of Oklahoma sidewalks on Wednesday bore 25 posters, sent from New York and signed by both S.L.I.D. and N.S.L. Much comment and not a few arguments ensued, and several posters were torn or defaced in the course of the day.

Thursday morning found 175 large type posters screaming: STRIKE AGAINST WAR Friday, April 13, 11 to 12, Union Bldg. *National Student League* and *Student League for Industrial Democracy* was signed to the posters, although neither organization functions actively on the campus due to administration restriction.

The posters were printed and distributed by a secret group of over a dozen, most of them members of one or both organizations.

At 9:30 Friday morning—an hour and a half before the strike was to begin—President W. B. Bizzell learned the identity of several of the group, summoned them



Coming out for the strike at Smith and Amherst



Laying a wreath at the Eternal Light in New York, just before the anti-war parade, April 6th

from classes and informed them that they would be responsible for any wholesale class cutting.

Under threat of expulsion, they prepared large signs and hurriedly posted them at the Union building: WAR STRIKE CALLED OFF at request of University Administration—N.S.L. and S.L.I.D.

Care had been taken in distribution of both sets of posters that no buildings should be mutilated, so as to avoid any charge of vandalism. Hypocritical officials, however, found in the time of strike a cause for action, and declared it subversive to incite to class-cutting.

Acting on the statement of President Bizzell that a protest against war or militarism is not per se objectionable, plans are under way for an afternoon demonstration some time in May.

ANON

University of Chicago

Under the name of the United Anti-War Association, Pacifists, Internationalists, N.S.L. and Socialist Club members called a student strike against war on April 6th. A parade and outdoor mass meeting was held on the campus. At 11 o'clock the line for the parade started forming and by 11:20 placards were distributed to the students in line. There were about a hundred in the parade which was lead by an effigy of "our great American Patriot" William Randolph Hearst.

During the course of the parade, approved collegiate yell tactics were used to inform students and faculty that a group of sincere students were not attending classes and were protesting against the jingo journalism that is being practiced by the capitalist press today, fomenting a new war psychology, and protesting against funds being voted for new armaments while needy students and workers were in want.

At 12 o'clock the mass meeting in the circle was called. About six or seven hundred students had gathered around the speakers stand. Ted Noss of the Socialist Club, Joe Kepecs of the N.S.L. and Truman Kirkpatrick for the Pacifists addressed the meeting. The results have been more gratifying than had been hoped for. At least some of the students are started on the road to thinking about the causes and results of war.

E. M. DUERBECK

Strike Against War



"All right, go ahead. Strike if you like. But any student who cuts military and can't give a 100 per cent ironclad excuse that he was not out because of the strike will be permanently suspended from the R.O.T.C."

COLONEL C. A. ROMEYN,
Military officer at Massachusetts
State College, Springfield Republic-
an, March 17, 1934.

FELLOW STUDENTS OF AMERICA!

The anti-war movement in the colleges has been openly challenged by an army official. Threats have been made against the carrying out of plans for Student Anti-War Week, April 6-13, and particularly against the holding of a

Protest Strike on Friday Morning, April 13, from 11 to 12 o'clock.

We must answer clearly and unequivocally. We accept the challenge. The strike must go on. The plans for the remainder of the week must be vigorously pressed. We must demonstrate NOW that neither the speeches nor the threats of the war-makers can stop the student anti-war movement.

Vigorous action is called for at once. The threat of war looms larger than at any time since 1918. South America today is torn by the struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay and the clash of British and American oil interests. On the eastern frontier of the Soviet Union Japan is preparing feverishly for armed struggle looking to the expansion of her sphere of influence. Fascism is sweeping over central Europe, destroying all cultural values and annihilating the working class movements of Germany and Austria. Nationalism is drugging the minds of men, rendering them susceptible to the pleas of the patriots and the plans of the munitions manufacturers and industrialists. Naval and military expenditures are everywhere being rapidly increased. In America a quarter of a billion dollars has been appropriated for naval construction. Public Works funds have been turned over to the military machine. Youth is being disciplined and militarized in the C.C.C. camps and in the R.O.T.C. Newspapers, movies and newsreels have been drawn into the campaign for greater war preparations.

There can no longer be any doubt that the munitions makers and the financial and industrial interests are getting ready once more for a final bitter struggle to determine who shall dominate the world markets. Imperialist interests daily come into sharper conflict. National and racial rivalries are being exploited with greater and greater intensity.

Fellow students, what is to be our answer to these plans? We can stop war if we want to. We must do so before it is too late. With the workers, who, like us, will have to be the fighters in any war, we can and must serve notice on the statesmen and business leaders that we will not serve their ends any longer. Our task is to create a warless world.

Our fight against war must be unified and coordinated. We call on all students to support Student Anti-War Week to the fullest possible extent. We call on them especially to answer the challenge of the war-makers by a 100 per cent student strike April 13th. We call on all faculty members to dismiss their 11 o'clock classes in support of the strike. We must make all those who call for national preparedness and who shout military slogans understand that the student anti-war movement means business. The desire for peace is everywhere. Our task is to make that wish effective.

Support Student Anti-War Week! Strike against War! Regardless of your political or economic beliefs, work with us to stop war! We can and must put a halt to the march toward armed conflict!

STUDENT LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

**Abolish the R.O.T.C.
Schools, Not Battleships
Fight Against Imperialist War**

Strike Against War

*The call that brought 25,000 students
out on strike*

Southern California

At U.C.L.A. plans were drawn up by a small committee of three students, Clothilde Parter, Student L.I.D., Paul Light, N.S.L., and Ann Le Sourd, a member of neither organization. They called themselves the student strike committee. The prospect of getting out a sizeable group of students was very discouraging. About a week and a half before Strike Day, these students were called in to "confer" with the Provost of the U.C.L.A. The latter, naturally, was opposed to the strike. The committee began by insisting on having it, and a compromise was concluded in the end. This called for an assembly sponsored by the Administration, and officially entitled "An Assembly to Talk About War."

Several days before the assembly, the Administration put up form announcements such as advertise all official university events on the campus, including the statement "classes will not be dismissed for this assembly." Whereupon the committee organized a cam-

paign among the faculty, asking them to excuse their classes during that hour. But there was no way of telling what the response would be.

Well, it's over with now, and the "assembly to talk about war" was a decided success. In spite of many classes, mid-term examinations, and the general reactionary atmosphere in Southern California, there was a noble response. Last minute pressure on the profs worked—they came in goodly numbers bringing their classes. Two thousand was the total attendance, which is only 1500 less than turn out to the student body assemblies which present a popular dance orchestra or a movie star. This was the first time that U.C.L.A. students had an opportunity in such large numbers to hear the truth about what causes war. At the same time it was pointed out to them that the assembly was for purposes of protest, and they knew it was strike day.

At Los Angeles Junior College a strike was planned for eleven o'clock in face of outspoken disapproval of the administration. Serril Gerber, who is national junior college debate champion was the leader. A few minutes before eleven o'clock he was called again to the office of the Director, who pleaded with him to give up the demonstration, and conduct a meeting in the auditorium instead, which was done. Some of us went from the U.C.L.A. meeting to the Junior College, and arrived in time to hear a stirring talk by Gerber about imperialism. Several hundred students attended. Later we saw copies of a little song sheet, on which were printed the college hymn of the institution, and the Star Spangled Banner. A purple swastika was printed over the latter. This bit of Hitlerism was released just before the assembly in front of the auditorium.

At Pasadena Junior College a successful strike could have undoubtedly been held. The War Resisters are strong there, and there is some good Congress of Youth leadership. The strike was also changed to an assembly, when the administration received word of a proposed "visit" from the National Guard at the same time that the strike was to be held. Unable to get a place on the school grounds, they had to meet in a church, three blocks from the campus. Some 250 students attended. Al Hamilton spoke.

KATHERINE CLINE

City College

On April 13, 1,500 students at City College went on strike at 11:00 A. M. A mass meeting was held on the campus, in defiance of the Dean who had refused to grant a permit on the ground that he could not allow interference with classes, and despite attempts by Dean

Gottschall and the police to disperse the gathering. On April 20th the strike committee, consisting of members of the local Student L.I.D. and N.S.L. units, was called before the Faculty-Student Committee on Discipline to answer charges of having violated a faculty regulation in holding an unauthorized meeting on the campus. Everywhere the expectation was that the same thing would occur as last year, when 21 students were expelled from City College for anti-war activity.

The result, however, was an almost complete victory. No students were expelled; only one was suspended, and he had already dropped out of school. One was dropped for "low academic standing", though there can be little doubt that his participation in the strike and mass meeting were the initiating causes of his dismissal. The committee, as a whole, received only a public reprimand.

Three points were regarded as important at the hearing. All three were won. The right to be represented by legal representatives was reluctantly accorded by the disciplinary committee. The right to a fair and open hearing was insisted upon in the face of the Dean's determination at the start to conduct the whole matter with the usual secrecy and a minimum of publicity. After considerable argument, the student body of City College was allowed to be present. Finally, the students insisted upon the right to appear in a group, and to present their case through one spokesman, rather than as individuals.

Students at City College, both at the strike and mass meeting, and in the hearing before the Disciplinary Committee, demonstrated a unity of purpose in their support of the anti-war movement that enabled them to carry out the plans of April 13 without the disastrous consequences of the events of last year. Throughout the students on the strike committee insisted upon their identity with all those students who had gone on strike. They pointed out that they were elected representatives, chosen to conduct the strike in the most effective manner possible. They refused to answer questions individually. They impressed upon the Disciplinary Committee the fact that whatever any member of the strike committee had done he had done by virtue of his position as a member, rather, than on his own responsibility. Their acts were those of all the students who took part in the demonstration. This point they established clearly and unequivocally.

The mass support the committee received is ample testimony to the vitality of the anti-war movement at City College.

K. M.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

LYNCHING

Nigger stands.
 (Whattaya think of the nigguh!)
 My nigger stretches and looks wakeful—
 (Whattaya think of that DAMN nigguh!)
 Hell broke-spattered red over gushed-brown.
 Didja ever see a nigguh hang limp?
 His body in clothes is as yours,
 And his mouth pops open
 as your would do
 if you hung limp.
 This nigger is raw—
 Thick-bleeding and oozy red-brown.
 Black skin, whip-cut, and
 Fishbellywhite teeth crushing tongue.
 Hands must be tied above head
 Cause you can't slash a man dead
 Whut kn fite bak.
 "Com'mon, Jesus, feel dis man.
 I carried your cross and didn't slack down."
 Didja ever see a nigguh hang limp?
 His soul keeps awailing in song.
 And his body jerks soft
 As a banjo unstrung.
 "O, Jesus, is you rite,
 Or can you ever be wrong;
 Eight or nine times,
 Mus' I be hung?"
 Then, why must they hang a nigger,
 Who's to be hung, over river.

Toes make marks in the mud,
 And a nigger hung limp
 Makes a slush in the clay.
 Sliddin', sloppy slush,
 When they're dragging him away
 Hoho, there brother Christ,
 They turned you into black.
 Set you grow
 Deep and low
 In filth,
 Don't they think you want
 To come back.
 "Low ebb, riber Jorden,
 I'se wadin' across.
 Slow ebb, riber Jorden,
 Yo'r risin' fast.
 How's a man's strenf,
 When just for show
 They tied yo'r hands
 N' hung you low
 Over mud,
 N' slashed yo'r flesh
 N' you hung limp
 Cause you was nigguh.
 "A nigguh alwaze hangs limp.
 Yeh, Theh! brother Jesus,
 I c'n hang limp 'z you hung limp
 . . . up'n a cross."

MAURICE PAVLOV

STEVEDORE. By Paul Peters and George Sklar. Presented at the Civic Repertory Theatre by the Theatre Union.

There is no quarrel in the case of *Stevedore* about the plausibility of the incidents and the characters or the way the initial situation works itself out. The basic story, of a Negro active in organizing a dock workers' union being framed for an alleged attack upon a white New Orleans wanton, is told simply and swiftly without the introduction of too many other stories. The character portrayal, especially the scene in which the Negro stevedores are seen idling on the dock, is done so persuasively and colorfully that this play will have a place in the permanent literature about the Negro race. Judged by the usual standards of theatrical criticism,

there is nothing in *Stevedore* that critics can cavil at.

But this play has a greater significance as a clamorous indictment of the treatment of the Negro under capitalism. It is more effective than a hundred radical tracts. In the last act, on a night of race riots and white terrorism—Negroes thrown into jail, beaten up, homes burned, windows smashed by roving gangs of white vigilantes—the Negroes finally barricade themselves in their alley behind bedsprings, dilapidated furniture, barrels and other odds and ends. There is a tremendous pressure upon the members of the audience to rush up to the stage and place themselves shoulder to shoulder with the barricaded Negroes. This would not happen were the play not so convincing, did it not deal with such a vital and contemporaneous problem.

The play grips one with hands of steel right from

the scene in which the town's buck Negroes are lined up in the police station to the last tumultuous situation on the barricades. One is fascinated and terrified because the story it tells is what is actually the case below the Mason-Dixon line, and to a lesser degree, all over the country. Negroes have been framed to get white women out of a jam. Race riots have been started with "rape" as the pretext, and the attempt by Negroes to unionize as the real reason. Newspapers and pamphlets testify to these facts. But it takes the consummate skill of Paul Peters, George Sklar and the Theatre Union to stir us into action, to make us see the class conflict inherent in the Negroes' plight, to make us want to rush to the barricades.

JOSEPH P. LASH

OUR NEXT STEP—*A National Economic Policy. By Matthew Woll and William English Walling. Harper Brothers. New York.*

The authors of this small volume, one a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, the other an economist and publicist for the same organization, present the views of the extreme right wing of organized labor. Their economic and political program, ably and authoritatively stated, is an interesting modification of their former conservatism but will still be considered grossly inadequate by thousands of trade unionists and by all Socialists.

To the extent that they have moved leftward they are a barometer representing the pressure of discontent in labor's ranks. The very fact that they argue for a firm governmental regulation of business, and for a program of extensive social legislation, including unemployment insurance, illustrates a sharp reversal of the old Gompers policy.

Though making frequent use of such disarming phrases as "conservative, pragmatic, and thoroughly American" they are compelled to accept in essence the Marxist theory of surplus value in their indictment of the pre-1929 "prosperity" that precipitated the present crisis.

In commenting on General Johnson's threat to the A. F. of L. at its 1933 convention ("the plain, stark truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike") they even, and correctly, describe it as pointing "in the direction of Fascism."

Their program of a mildly reformed and planned capitalism, nowhere clearly differentiated from the New Deal, would, however, at best approximate the industrial relationships that prevailed in Germany of the Weimar Republic, with probably the same catastrophic aftermath.

This reviewer, himself a member of the A. F. of L. believes (1) that nothing less than a Socialist revolution will free labor from insecurity and industrial serfdom, and (2) that the number of trade unions, old and new, who share this view is being daily swelled through rapid disillusionment in the New Deal.

PAUL PORTER

A Socialist Reply

Mr. Armin W. Riley, Division Administrator,
National Recovery Administration, Wash., D.C.

DEAR MR. RILEY:

I reply to your letter inquiring into my willingness "to assist the National Recovery Administration" as an Administration Member to see that some "code is fairly administered, having in mind the best interest of the industry, its employees and the public, and to take a helpful and constructive part in developing industrial self government."

First of all, I am unwilling to assist the National Recovery Administration. I am a Socialist. I believe in the abolition of the capitalist system. I believe in the necessity of the destruction of this system of exploitation by the might of workers organizations.

My objectives are in direct conflict with the essential aims of the National Recovery Administration which are to strengthen the capitalist system, to eliminate some of its inefficiencies as a profit system, and to develop technics by which workers can be manipulated into further acquiescence.

Nor can I entertain the elaborate rationalizations with which some radicals have spun their way into various sections of the Roosevelt administration. The events of the past weeks and months have proved beyond explanation that the overwhelming pressure being exerted on government today is by bankers and industrialists for the maintenance of their system. The good intention of certain individual men and women in various administration jobs are not discernible in the deeds of the administration.

In this position that is offered what role is it proposed that I (or people like me) play? It is to help administer a code for the best interests of the "industry, its employees and the public." I, however, believe that there is a conflict, insoluble under capitalism, between industry on one hand and workers and consumers on the other; this conflict the N.R.A. perpetuates.

Would it not be the role of the Administration Member of a code authority to follow precedents laid down in other industrial disputes. The revised Wagner Labor Disputes Bill based on the President's settlement of the automobile strike, will legalize company unions. On the other hand I devote what time I have to aid in the building of genuine workers organizations; my aim is to help smash company unions.

I decline to be even an insignificant member of a government which after a year of displaying its brand of social engineering has devised such a positive, direct and universal scheme for workers' enslavement. Even the courts in the recent past of rugged individualism had accomplished this only here and there.

Furthermore the time is too short to waste in a course in practical government. When one takes on a job saying to himself that he wants only to see how the government works from the inside what he actually does is stay and help run that government. The surface of capitalism in America today has been worn too thin for anyone to be deceived by the nature of things and causes at work underneath.

I am unwilling to assist the National Recovery Administration because it is in direct conflict with the work to which I as a Socialist have devoted myself. Sincerely yours,

JOHN HERLING

Agitate! Educate! Organize!

University of California, L. A.

While not wishing in the least to propagandize Communism, Donald A. Breyer and Darwin—Berkeley debaters—did want to hold the long-scheduled debate on the proposition "That Communism Is Fit for America." Sensing a possibility that there might be objections, Breyer wired the following telegram to the U. C. L. A. *Bruin*:



Monroe Sweetland,
National Organizer

"Rumored that jingo press is making efforts to call off Monday's debate on Communism. (stop). We intend to debate and uphold Communism. We are not being financed by Moscow nor very much by anybody. We have yet to be propositioned by a Russian."

An immediate reply came from William Hensy, debate manager at Los Angeles:

"Daily *Bruin* telegram very indiscreet. Communism cannot now be discussed. We must debate: Resolved, that the power of the President shall be substantially increased as a settled policy, or cancel debate altogether."

The new title, apparently suggested as a rapid antidote for threats of "Red propaganda," was not accepted by the Berkeley men. But Breyer, while in the south for other debates, decided to investigate the U.C.L.A. situation. His reception was warm from the students, and cold on the part of the administration. Manager Hensy said he had feared the curtailing of debating activities, and so had been forced to accede to an indirect, intangible, but very potent tradition of the authorities against all "radical" activities. The feeling of the students, at that time, was one of helplessness in the face of a massive wall of disapproval.

Breyer's investigations were to be even more illuminating, however, when he talked with Provost Moore. The conversation started with Breyer's statement: "Of course, I realize the issue of free speech is being challenged." The Provost's answer supplies food for thought." But free speech is *not* being challenged here." Further, it was definitely hinted that the State University must not antagonize powerful community

groups, such as the Better American Federation, and the American Legion.

But the "happy ending" of this little story is the most illuminating feature of all. After Breyer had left Los Angeles, and the atmosphere had cleared a little, Manager Hensy made this startling statement to the *Bruin*: He had simply called off the debate "to avoid sensationalism over a simple debate." Further, the Berkeley men were accused of the crime of "obnoxious interference by visitors to the campus." No triumph of conservatism could be more devastatingly complete. As Breyer has stated it (and, by the way, he is no more "radical" than a Democrat):

"This includes more than the question of Communism. It involves the whole freedom of speech issue, which is in danger of being stifled in every university in the land, and which is to be averted only by the intelligent action of university students everywhere. For, above all, suppression of free speech in the universities is the first sign of the undeniable rise of Fascism."

People's Junior College, Chicago

The charter recently granted to the Student L.I.D. by the Student Council is in peril of being revoked, because the Council did not like the Chapter's activities during Student Anti-War Week. According to the *College Observer*, the newspaper, "the 'conservatives' felt that the L.I.D. posters would be 'damned silly' and 'disgustingly un-American.'"

Jesse A. Reed, Jr. writes us: "Our Council did not object to our having a mass meeting, etc., but when they saw our slogans, they went into violent convulsions. It was a disgrace to think of hanging such slogans in the school. The administration, which sympathizes with us, ruled that the council could not censor or prohibit anything we did: . . . The posters were put up, some of which were torn down by National Guard students, and the meeting was held. Today we appear before the Student Council to show why our charter should not be revoked."

Syracuse University

Roland Burdick sends us notice of a similar situation.

Text: "It looks as if the Social Problems club will have to call themselves the 'Hoover-for-President Club' if they wish to be recognized officially." —"The Observatory," in *The Daily Orange*, Friday, April 13, 1934.

The evening of Wednesday, April 11, 1934, marked a new step backward in the direction of overt reaction on the part of the administration of Syracuse University. Directly influenced by the administration, as they indicated freely, members of the Men's Student Senate voted 5 to 2 against recognition of the Social Problems Club, an organization of liberal and radical students meeting off-campus, carrying on educational activity for a new social order.

Benjamin Moses, a Senator, led the fight against recognition, basing his opposition on 5 points which follow:

1. The Vice-Chancellor does not approve of the Club. (He doesn't approve of Russia, either, but it was recognized.)
2. The Club is conducting an anti-war strike, which is idiotic, insane, and plainly radical, and the administration does not approve of it.
3. The Club appears to be under the influence of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.
4. The constituency of the Club appears to be the same as that of the old Liberal Club, which was refused recognition. (There are only two members of the old Liberal Club, which was refused recognition.)
5. It is a radical club. (Thanks, administration!)

Robert Ginnane, another Senator, in no way connected with the Social Problems Club, pleaded that the Club should be allowed freedom to express any opinions on campus. I have never heard a student give a more fervent and more sincere plea for democratic liberty.

"The question finally resolves itself," *The Daily Orange* remarked editorially in its news columns, "into whether or not the senate should be the agent to repress radicalism." Indeed, they, like little Caesars, were glad to serve the administration so well. They should be graduated with honors.

Said *The Daily Orange* on the editorial page: "Does not the senate's refusal to accept them give the Social Problems Club a real issue to complain about. Does it not prove that we do not have freedom of expression and action for all students regardless of color and creed?"

University of Denver, Col.

The Denver U. L.I.D. carefully planned and held a regional L.I.D. conference over the week-end of March 31. Between 75 and 100 attended representing the School of Mines at Golden, the University at Boulder, several high schools and Denver University. Outstanding was the clash between the Socialist stu-

dents and a Nazi German exchange student, in which accusations and rejoinders flew fast.

Our Denver Chapter is one of the leading, if not the most prominent student organization on the campus. It has about 55 members, most of whom are liberals, with a handful of avowed conservatives and not more than ten radicals. The really excellent leadership of its founders, Wm. Vincent and Lester Garner, and their successors, Carl Campbell, Travis Taylor, Vincent Barth, Don McNasser and Ruth Armeling has developed a splendid educational program. The Chapter has a meeting each week at which it has speakers or a debate or goes on a tour. These tours of slums, mines, jails, etc., are well conducted and the lessons clearly indicated. The posters and publicity the chapter gets out are splendid. A room as headquarters is maintained in the basement of the chapel building. The Denver unit is planning to go to Boulder, (U. of Colorado), to put on a program for the new L.I.D. Chapter there.

University of Colorado, Boulder

This group, organized less than a month, has done effective work. During Student Anti-War Week it sent a committee to the two nearby C.C.C. camps asking permission to put on an anti-war program. They were refused with the statement by the army officer in charge that it was not the intention of the C.C.C. to sponsor pacifist propaganda. It is a determined, well-organized L.I.D. Chapter from which more will be heard. The setting-up of our Student L.I.D. Chapter was followed by the organization of the Fascist Brownshirts who decided after their first meeting to disband and support the Young Democratic movement. The group believes that the N.R.A. is fundamentally fascist and the members are nearly all leaders in the University Democratic organization.

University of Washington, Seattle

New groups have been set up at this university in the northernmost corner of the country, at the University of Wyoming, Whitman College and Washington State College. At the latter college there was an intelligent and eager conference on "Youth and War," which was led by Monroe Sweetland. At Laramie, Wyo., a vigorous chapter has been started at the University which is ably led by Alan Swallow. The day after the student anti-war strike President A. G. Crane of the U. of Wyoming broadcast an address from Washington defending compulsory military training. An impromptu canvas of campus opinion undertaken by our Chapter at the University obtained 41 signatures to a statement declaring that President Crane's address did not repre-

Officers of University of Idaho Chapter
Martha Slifer,
James Best (front)
Edward Joyce,
Donald Donahue



sent the unanimous opinion of the Wyoming student body and that the signers were opposed to military training in the schools and colleges.

University of Tennessee

One of the colored boys, writes Howard Frazier, Marsh and myself, had quite an experience the other night. After attending a committee meeting there I persuaded him to come on over to the dormitory with me. You should have seen the people staring at us when we came over. While here, a boy came in from across the hall and we had a general bull session. After the fellows left, the boy from across the hall came back in and wanted to know who in the world that fellow was. "Why," he said, "I didn't know that Negroes could be as educated as he was." He just went on about such intelligence—and a Negro. He certainly has a different conception of Negroes now.

Greensboro, North Carolina

In the industrial city of Greensboro, North Carolina, where yankee exploitation and southern prejudice meet, the first Student League for Industrial Democracy conference to be held south of the Mason and Dixon Line, took place in March of this year. It was not an interracial conference. The Student L.I.D. does not consider the race problem as one that can be considered apart from the problems of all members of the oppressed working classes. Therefore the program of this conference included a general discussion of economic conditions and more particularly of the "Crisis in the South."

This conference like all of the other conferences sponsored by the Student L.I.D. went on record after analysis of the causes of war and discussion of war threats throughout the world as favoring the adoption of the "Oxford pledge." But the real and burning interest of the students, most of whom were new to the radical movement was centered on other subjects. One of the speakers was the director of the Workers School at High Point. He told the story of a new vigor in labor organizing in North Carolina and throughout the whole unorganized south. He called on the students to do what

they could to help that organization, but particularly to interpret to the workers the need for Negro and white to organize together—since without joint organization the Negro scab is used to break the white man's strike, and vice versa. The fate of the tenant farmer, as well as the industrial worker absorbed the attention of the conference.

This was not an interracial conference; but it is idle to say that a group of Negro and white students can come together in a Jim Crow town, and not have the problem of race prejudice uppermost in the minds of many. That subject was an undercurrent to every matter discussed. There were two times during the conference at which the problem came to the surface, and the delegates from the north realized the full significance of this undercurrent. One of these instances was when the press report of the conference was read. The names of speakers were listed. There were a number of white labor organizers and college teachers, who were named with the appropriate Miss or Mr. before their names. More prominent on the list were: the wife of a well known Negro college president, and the associate editor of the *Crisis*. Their names appeared unadorned with customary titles. The northerners among the delegates were shocked, at the extent of race prejudice that could reach such petty, sordid depths, that a white newspaper would refuse to grant an educated and learned Negro the respect of Mr. before his name. The issue came to the front again when one of the most active members of the conference, the president of the student body at a Negro woman's college, rose and said that she could no longer keep from saying what was on her mind. She was obviously moved. She said that she had attended many conferences, interracial conferences called by religious groups, and the students of two races had sat on two sides of the room, and they had talked about "Brotherly Love," but always sat on opposite



Some of the delegates attending Colorado Conference of Student L.I.D. at the University of Denver

sides, or if they moved closer the barrier was still there. On one side the white, and on the other the black, and they were always glad when the conference was over. But, that had not been true of this conference. For the time being racial antagonisms had been resolved in a larger fight.

The Conference was attended by more than 125 student delegates.

Colleges represented included Univ. of North Carolina, Bennett College, Johnson C. Smith Univ., Appalachian State Teacher's College, Christiansburg Inst., Va. Worker's School, Tenn. Ag. and Industrial College, Va. Union Univ., College of Wm. and Mary, Vassar College, Salem College, Immanuel Lutheran College, North Carolina College for Women, Carolina School for Workers, and Atlantic Christian College.

* * *

Joseph Jacobucci, editor of *The Branding Iron* at Laramie, Wyoming has been suspended by President Crane until next September. Ostensibly Jacobucci was suspended for publishing a mock edition of his paper; actually the campus believes it was his stand against the R.O.T.C. and his support of the Student League for Industrial Democracy that earned him suspension.

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STUDENT SUMMER PROJECTS

(Continued from page 4)

L.I.D. Student Project:

Number of persons: six men. Expenses \$5 per week.

Dates: June 21 to August 30th (or at least four weeks of this time).

Type of work: construction work of new school buildings at Allardt.

3. Tennessee, Vicinity of Knoxville

A location in the vicinity of Knoxville Tennessee, has been chosen as a headquarters from which a group of L.I.D. students can carry on an intensive organization campaign among a variety of different kinds of workers. From this central spot it will be possible to work with farmers, coal miners, textile workers, and workers on T.V.A. developments. Howard Kester, Socialist Party organizer, and former secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, in this section will direct the group.

Number of persons: four.

Dates: June 21 to August 2nd. Expenses: \$50 each.

4. West Virginia Chautauqua, Vicinity of Charleston, W. Va.

Pioneer Youth is again planning to conduct playgrounds and camps among the children of coal miners in a number of towns in the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia, where the L.I.D. conducted chautauquas in 1931 and 1932, and where Marian Frenyear carried on the work alone in 1933. We are planning this year to carry on the work with a staff of four or five persons, and it is hoped that Marian Frenyear will be in charge. A number of the clubs, particularly among the women that were started in previous years are still in existence. The members of the chautauqua will start new clubs for educational work, and carry on recreational activities.

Number of persons: four or five.

Dates: June 21 to August 2nd or 16th.

Expenses: \$50—\$60 each.

5. South and Middle West Farm Project

The "plight of the farmer" has become a familiar phrase during the past few years. But like most of such expressions it has come to cover very varied phenomena. The farm problem is not the same in the West, where the mortgage is the primary mode of exploitation, as in the South, where tenantry and share-cropping prevail. Nor is it the same in the Far West, in which large scale production is widespread, and production is carried on by wage labor.

The problem of the farmer remains important today in terms of the need for analysis of his economic posi-

tion and for a program for his rehabilitation. To attempt to obtain a clearer understanding of the issues farmers face, a tour is projected through the South and Middle West. A report is contemplated. The project will be carried out by a group which will travel by car in order that stops can be made as discretion dictates.

Two cars: 6 persons.

Expenses: \$60, \$75 living expenses and cost of running cars.

Time: June 21—August 1st.

One other car is necessary.

Leader: Kenneth Meiklejohn, vice-chairman, Student L.I.D.

New York Training School

The summer Training School is for the purpose of giving instruction and experience to members of the Student L.I.D. in the practical and theoretical business of organization and education in accordance with the ideals of the L.I.D.

Students: From fifteen to twenty students will be accepted, of which number at least one-half must be planning to return to college the following year. Every college chapter will be asked to designate one member who will represent it at the school. Applications of additional students will be considered after those chosen by the clubs have been taken care of.

Program, Practical Work: The laboratory work of the school will be in connection with the unemployed movement in New York. Two students will be assigned to each of ten locals of the Workers Unemployed Union, and each student will remain with the same local throughout the entire period. The work which the students will do in the locals will be varied, and adapted to each local situation. This work will include: surveys of the neighborhood, and contacting of the social institutions in the locality, organizational aid secretarial work in the local, and promoting educational, recreational and dramatic projects. The students will of course take an active part in any city wide demonstrations or protests that are held during the summer.

Theoretical Work: Seminars will be held in those subjects which it is most important for radical students to understand. The following subjects will be dealt with in lectures and discussions to be held every morning during the six weeks of the school term: Unemployment, the Labor Movement, the Negro and the Labor Movement, Civil Liberties, the History of Socialist Thought, Technique of Propaganda, and Building a Revolutionary Student Movement. Among those who will be asked to lead the discussions will be: Norman

Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Roger Baldwin, George Streater, Mary Fox and David Lasser.

Length of Session: The Training School will last for six weeks beginning the 21st of June and ending the 4th of August.

Living Arrangements and Expenses: The students will carry on cooperative housekeeping in two or three apartments, that will be rented for that purpose. The total estimated expense will be only \$50 for the six weeks, including the expenses for the first week-end that will be spent at the regular annual conference of the League. Student chapters are asked to raise the funds necessary to send their representative.

Directors: Mary Fox will be the director of the school, and will be assisted by Monroe Sweetland and Lillie Megrath.

Seminar Plans:

Lectures or discussions will be held early every morning, and the students will be expected to study during most of the morning. It has been suggested that one week be given to each of six subjects, with four or five meetings a week. In addition to the six subjects (as listed below) there will be one or two lectures each week on the History of Socialist Thought.

Seminar Subjects and Leaders:

1. Civil Liberties—June 25-29th
Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union.
2. Unemployment—July 2-6th
David Lasser, Chairman, Workers Unemployed Union.
3. The Labor Movement—July 9-13th
George Marshall.
4. The Technique of Propaganda—July 16-20th.
Mary Fox, Executive Secretary, L.I.D.
5. The Negro and the Labor Movement—July 23-27
George Streater, Assoc. Editor of "The Crisis."
6. Building a Revolutionary Student Movement—
July 30-August 3rd.
Norman Thomas, Monroe Sweetland, Representatives from Young America, N.S.F.A., N.S.L.
7. History of Socialist Thought.
Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Exec. Director, L.I.D.

Laboratory Work with the Unemployed Union Locals:

During the first week, every student will be asked to make a survey of some sort of the neighborhood in which his local is situated. This may be a survey of unemployment, of sickness, or of charitable organizations. He will then be expected to form block committees, hold block parties, carry on general membership work, plan educational, recreational and dramatic programs.

NEW PAMPHLETS
of the
League for Industrial Democracy

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A Book of revolutionary significance. Written under the pseudonym of Miles, this book comes from the underground movement in Germany. It is a penetrating analysis of the reasons for Hitler's accession to power, the prospects for his overthrow, the role of the Communists, of the Socialists and other groups.

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A survey of the anti-war movement in the colleges, the fight against the R.O.T.C., the anti-war conferences, the circulation of the Oxford pledge, all of which culminated in the dramatic student anti-war strikes of April 13th

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JUNE 21—24

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Thursday evening, June 21

The Nature of Fascism, *NORMAN THOMAS*
*Political Democracies in a Capitalist Dom-
inated Society*,
Captive Countries—the Far East, *NATHANIEL
PEFFER*

Friday evening, June 22

Trends Toward Fascism in America, *HARRY
W. LAIDLER*, *JAY LOVESTONE*, *J. B. MAT-
THEWS*, *RABBI ISRAEL*

Saturday evening, June 23

*Fighting War and Fascism on the Cultural
Front*, *B. C. VLADECK*, *ROBERT MORSS LOVETT*
Skit and Dance

Sunday morning, June 24

Reports from Round Tables
Tactics Against War and Fascism, *NORMAN
THOMAS*, *LEO KRZYCKI*

Round Table Leaders:

ROGER BALDWIN	CHARLES SOLOMON
BRUCE BLIVEN	HUBERT HERRING
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG	GEORGE MARSHALL
FREDERICK V. FIELD	EMIL LENGYEL
ARTHUR FEILER	H. C. ENGELBRECHT
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