

STUDENT REVIEW

Official Organ National Student League

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STRIKES



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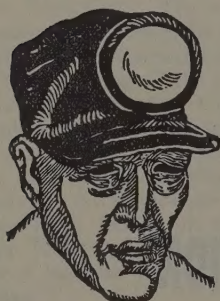
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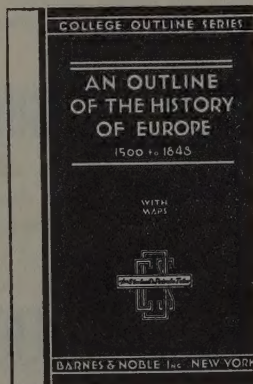
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The STUDENT REVIEW

Organ of the National Student League

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Editorials

AS, month by month, the workers of America are subjected to an ever more oppressive burden, unemployment figures are either suppressed or so skillfully juggled that students, many of whom are affected along with workers, must calculate the economic trend from other evidence. Here is the picture:

Freight car loadings are much below figures for 1931. Automobile production, despite Ford's announcement, was, during the week of April 16, seven points below the previous week and 30 points below the same week of 1931. Steel mill production showed a similar "easing," as the New York *Times* phrases it. The combined index shows such a consistent fall from week to week that the press now becomes exuberant when the decrease of one week is slightly less than it was the week before.

In the same period, Home Relief Bureaus in New York City are closing out relief, and Emergency Work Bureau employees are being discharged. Not only does this mean many additional unemployed, but it means condemning to starvation, hundreds of thousands who have long been out of work. In New York City, "block-aid" has been introduced with the ballyhoo of the capitalist press and the blessings of such moguls as J. P. Morgan and Norman Thomas. Not only is "block-aid" a campaign against unemployment insurance, but it is a determined effort to shift the responsibility of relief to the workers.

In the face of these conditions, thousands of workers show their resentment. Those who demonstrated on April 21 against the reduction of relief were met by relentless police brutality throughout the country. In New York, where 10,000 voiced their protest, 15, including several women, were injured and two were beaten almost to unconsciousness in the basement of City Hall. In Philadelphia, many were injured and 17 arrested. Police violence was met, however, with a new militancy on the part of the unemployed.

Business men found no consolation in the financial pages of their newspapers during this last month. Remedies for the crisis urged by their leaders are more and more feverish and silly. The talk of "national planning" has subsided for a while. Dr. Stuart C. McLeod of the National Association of Cost Accountants proposes a cut in administrative staffs. Gordon Selfridge, London department store owner, suggests "creative thinking, imagination, and the elimination of softness." Thomas W. Balfe, vice president of a wholesale grocery store, sponsors the idea of voluntary chains. It may be of interest to point out that cuts in administrative staffs are inevitable and, far from improving conditions, add just another burden to that section of the middle class which many students have been preparing themselves to join. The other proposals need not detain us; they reveal the increasing intellectual bankruptcy of capitalist economists.

It is becoming fairly obvious to many students that capitalism, the system of unplanned competition and exploitation of workers, is in a trough from which it cannot rise. Any improvement will be a flash in the pan and will not affect the fundamentally depressed condition of business as a whole. The only "constructive" idea the ruling class offers is bigger and better clubs for the cops. On the other hand, more and more workers, and many students with them, are acquiring some constructive ideas of their own.

THE most significant event which has occurred in the college world in a decade" is the way one Columbia alumnus, Dr. John R. Neal of Knoxville, Tennessee, characterized the Columbia strike. "The students of Columbia," he said, "have fired a shot which will be heard around the college world." Probably few of the 4,000 Columbia students who crowded on the Library steps realized the historic role they were playing. When "Tex" Goldschmidt stepped to the platform before the expansive lap of the gilded Alma Mater and asked for a strike vote, the issue foremost in the minds of many students was that a principle their liberal teachers had taught them to value highly, that of free speech, had been ruthlessly violated by the University administration.

This issue agitated the student body of the country for almost two weeks. From Maine to Texas—literally—letters and telegrams of protest came pouring into Columbia. As a result, many Columbia students began to sense the profound character of their action.

Harris has since been reinstated. The student demand for an investigation of the dining-room has been granted. Other demands were advanced in campus election and the students moved on to new battles with a sense of power they never

knew before. Their protest, their strike, had made the Administration back down! Administrations throughout the country doubtless see the Columbia strike and the national student protest as a warning. If they are disposed to act automatically without reference to student rights and student interests, they may some fine morning, see from their windows, as did President Butler, thousands of students demonstrating in protest. Most heartening of all to us is the knowledge that the factor of national student solidarity can now be counted on. The students of this country have learned the elementary lesson that in unity there is strength. There remains only the task, and the important task, of giving this solidarity organizational form through the establishment of new chapters of the National Student League.

PRESIDENT HOOVER has signed an anti-injunction bill which thereby became law. The bill provides for a ban on Federal injunctions in labor disputes except in cases of violence or intended violence. While this exception is open to very loose interpretation by any judge who is asked for an injunction, the bill does provide that both sides be permitted opportunity to present evidence before an injunction be issued. Thus the striking union will have a few days grace. Furthermore, a jury trial is assured violators of the injunction, thus belatedly establishing (on paper) ordinary civil rights for members of the working class. The bill also provides that workers have the right to organize and to negotiate the terms and conditions of their labor. This right has long been recognized in theory. The new law tries to prevent denial of it by prohibiting contracts which violate the right of workers to organize in unions, in other words, by prohibiting use of the "yellow-dog" contract.

In the words of Attorney General Mitchell, quick to reassure his capitalist employers, the effect of this bill on the American working class will be negligible.

"In a number of respects it is not as clear as it might be, and its interpretation might involve differences of opinion . . . It does not purport to permit interference by violence with workmen who wish to maintain their employment and fairly constructed, it does not protect such interference by threats of violence." It is no accidental circumstance that the state, a creature of the ruling class, refuses to legislate against its master. And should it accidentally do so, the Supreme Court of the United States, with its power to veto legislation of Congress, remains to safeguard employers' interests.

Granting, however, that the bill be "constitutional," it is clear that injunctions can still be issued by state courts; that troops can be used to break up strikes; that employers can employ gunmen to fight strikers and hire stool pigeons to spy on workers; that capitalists can fire workers for joining unions with or without the "yellow-dog" contract and can place these workers on the blacklist. The shooting down of unemployed men of Detroit by Ford's henchmen, the use of state troops against insurgent miners in Pennsylvania anthracite fields, the shooting of a labor organizer in Kentucky during the same week of the debate on the anti-injunction bill, are but a few instances of the methods used by capitalists against the workers.

Although A. F. of L. leaders will hail the new bill as a great working-class victory, we recognize it as merely another sop to the working masses thrown out by representatives of petty bourgeois interests on the eve of a presidential election.

THE noose for the Scottsboro boys and endless years in prison for Tom Mooney. These are the verdicts which

the ruling class of this land of liberty have rendered against their working class victims. The National Student League has already called for a National Scottsboro week during which students will protest against the proposed legal lynching of the nine Negro boys by the state of Alabama, and will circulate petitions among students and faculty members for their release. Similar steps should be taken in the near future to fight against Governor's Rolph's denial of a pardon for Mooney.

Rolph's refusal was a foregone conclusion, and yet it struck indignation into the minds of thousands. Mooney's conviction was palpably a frame-up. Even at the trial the weight of evidence showed Mooney to be innocent. Today evidence of perjury at the trial makes his innocence even clearer. Jurors and the trial judge have announced their conviction that Mooney is innocent of the dynamiting charged to him. Yet four governors have denied him pardon, the fourth, Rolph, partly on the "legal" advice of one Lewis F. Byington, who declared at a dinner two months before Rolph's decision was made public that Mooney would rot in jail before he, Mr. Byington, would permit him to get out.

In the words of Tom Mooney himself, as long as he remains in prison, he is a symbol of what ruling class justice is.

"BLOODY Massachusetts" of Sacco-Vanzetti infamy is again the scene of workingclass persecution. Since October, 1931, Edith Berkman, young organizer for the National Textile Workers' Union, has been held by United States Immigration authorities at Boston for deportation to Poland. Edith Berkman has been informed by physicians that she has spots on her lungs, indicating incipient tuberculosis of recent origin. When a delegation of students from Harvard, Boston University, Tufts College and Wellesley College, went before Commissioner of Immigration Anna C. M. Tillinghast, to demand that Miss Berkman be released and allowed to regain her health, the commissioner replied that Edith Berkman was not ill, and except for "a slight cold" was in excellent health and a contented state of mind. The commissioner denied the girl's counsel the hospital records of the Berkman case, and to an offer for bail which was advanced by the delegation, she insisted that the case was closed.

As the matter stands, Miss Berkman has been five months in the Immigration Station at East Boston, and two months in hospitals, first in the Carney Hospital from which she was removed in the night under heavy, armed guard, against her will, without knowing where she was being taken or why, now in the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital. At the latter hospital, she was held incommunicado for two days. As for her "contented frame of mind," her friends and counsel insist that she is unhappy and anxious, and a later report says that she has begun a hunger strike.

The Immigration authorities have been informed by the Polish Consulate that under existing Polish laws, all persons who left Poland before 1921 and who have not since sworn allegiance to the Polish government are not considered Polish citizens and are, therefore, denied passports. The commissioner has been forced to release other Polish workers, for whom passports could not be secured. She knows that Edith Berkman falls in this category and that the Polish government will not issue a passport for her. This means that the Department of Labor is condemning the girl to imprisonment for an indefinite period of time—which may not be a long time if the tuberculosis makes headway. When asked how long Miss Berkman might be detained the commissioner answered, "We once kept a man here for two years."

Miss Berkman has committed no crime. She was an active and important leader in the Lawrence textile strikes of February and October 1931. After being arrested and released on bail, she continued to lead and organize the striking workers of Lawrence. Then, upon the demand of a committee of prominent citizens (read American Woollen Company) bail was revoked and she was again imprisoned.

Edith Berkman is being persecuted only because she is a leader of the working class. Using the weapon of deportation, the government attempted to break this strike which was seriously threatening important capitalist interests. Even more significant, we believe, this case is an example of the ruthless oppression meted out to foreign-born workers who try to organize and to struggle for decent living conditions—and approximately 60% of the workers in the textile industry are foreign-born. Here the Department of Labor works hand in hand with the industrialists—against the workers. An alien workingclass leader becomes automatically an undesirable alien. Any unity expressed between foreign-born and native workers in struggle is immediately crushed—for here again the old adage holds, "Divide and conquer."

Edith Berkman must be freed! Her health and safety depend upon her release. And even more important—every blow struck in her behalf is so much more gained by the foreign-born workers in the United States. The right to organize into unions of their own choice, the right to strike, the right to picket—these must not be denied any worker, be he foreign-born or native. Edith Berkman is for us today a symbol of capitalist oppression. We must not let her join the long list of workingclass martyrs. Students all over the country must work for her release, hold protest meetings, collect money for her defense. Edith Berkman must be freed!

"WE SHALL COME BACK!"

When we left Kentucky, we told "I'm-the-Law" Smith that we would come back.

It is now time to consider seriously if and how we should go back. That there is more work to be done is undeniable. The miners and their families are still enduring starvation. Children are still dying of flux. Miners are still imprisoned, beaten, shot and murdered. The reign of terror which we read about before our visit to Kentucky and which we definitely experienced when we went there, continues unabated, while the Senate Committee on Manufactures remains silent.

The cordon of steel which shuts out relief and support, shuts starvation and gun rule within. The opinion grows that the destruction of this cordon of steel is to be the task of the student movement. There have come insistent demands that the National Student League arrange another trip. From National Student Leaguers throughout the country, from unaffiliated student clubs, and from individual students there have come inquiries about the possibilities of another trip.

The National Student League asks, therefore, whether a mass visit of hundreds of students into Harlan and Bell counties sometime during the month of June is the desire of the student body. Student clubs and those individual students who would join such a mass trip to the Kentucky coal fields should communicate with us at once. Further plans will await the response of students. Telegraph or write immediately.

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

by the National College League.

LEWIS BROWNE, who does a column for the Hearst papers, recently declared that he was worried about the younger generation—it was getting conservative. Mr. Browne wrote that in his day (during and directly after the war) the serious student was radical. He was opposed to capitalism, imperialism, puritanism and dogmatism.

"But then," writes Mr. Browne, "with the election of Harding and the return to normalcy, all that changed. The heady wine of idealism turned to vinegar; radicalism gave way to cynicism. H. L. Mencken supplanted H. G. Wells, Sinclair Lewis took the place of Upton Sinclair, and the college intellectual ceased to frown and began to sneer . . . But now even that spirit is outmoded. The current crop of serious seniors neither frown nor sneer, but simply look pious. The change is already obvious at Yale and Harvard, and it is swiftly spreading to the less fashionable academics.

"One is reminded of the Oxford Movement in England a century ago; there is the same high talk of the validity of medieval scholasticism, and the same befuddled groping in the dark of mysticism.

"The brighter youths have rediscovered St. Thomas Aquinas and like to quote the French metaphysical poets. Others have taken to romanticist fiction. They recoil from the naturalism of a Dreiser or the satire of a Lewis; they prefer the sentimentality of a Willa Cather.

"They yearn for ritualism in religion, monarchism in politics, snobbery in social life, aestheticism in art and medievalism in culture.

"All of which means that our young folks are in flight. In terror of the future, revolted by the present, they are trying to escape into the past. They have returned reactionary—and I don't like it."

To the extent that this is true, we don't like it either, Mr. Browne. And it is true for a large number of the brighter students, not only at Yale and Harvard, but at many other colleges. Humanism, mysticism, aestheticism, and romanticism are very much in vogue, and these groups are surprised and a little shocked by the activities of the Social Problems Clubs which go on about them, and about which Mr. Browne is apparently ignorant.

Unlike Mr. Browne's friends of the early 1920's, members of these clubs are not "idealists." They are realists who see clearly the workings of the economic and social machinery of the day, and the relation of those to the "ideals" which are taught them by their teachers. Had Mr. Browne's friends been as realistic, the student movement would have dated from 1921 rather than from 1931.

WITH the announcement of Japanese War Minister Araki that additional Japanese troops are being sent to Chientao, Manchurian-Soviet border, the war danger becomes increasingly grave. That Japan is planning war on the Soviet Union has been clear for some time. It has now been given absolute credence by some sections of the American press. It is now admitted that since January, American manufacturers have been shipping vast quantities of nitrate to Japan and France, both of whom have shown consistent hostility to the Soviets. Such a war will mean, within a short time of its inception, a world conflagration. And American students, along with French, English, German, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese students will find themselves shouldering guns and marching off to slaughter and to be slaughtered.

A great deal hangs at present on the attitude of the American government toward such a war. Japan, it is believed, will not proceed against the Soviet Union if this country disapproves. Recognition of the Soviet Union would be

interpreted as expressing disapproval, and thus would serve to postpone the invasion of Soviet Russia by Japan.

Students have a double motive for urging recognition. The war should be postponed to give the Soviet Union freedom to pursue its magnificent course in building a socialist society. In addition, that world war which would involve us all should be held off as long as possible.

We may be sure that recognition of Russia will come only if the American people demands it loudly enough. Students should join the workers of the country in making this demand upon the American government.

IMMIGRATION officials recently arrested and held for deportation, M. W. Wei, a Chinese student at the University of Southern California. Wei had attended a meeting of the International Labor Defense in Los Angeles and had written a doctor's thesis on "A History of Communism in China." The Department of Labor prepared to deport Wei to China where the Kuomintang is prepared to give him the same bloody welcome it has meted out to thousands suspected of revolutionary tendencies.

Thanks to the International Labor Defense and to efforts of students and faculty of many universities, Wei has won the right of voluntary departure and the right to live. It has been announced that he will go to the Soviet Union.

Students have not dropped the issue, however. They insist that Wei be allowed to remain in this country, study any subject he may care to, and publish whatever may be his conclusions. If this demand is not granted, students will inquire of the federal government, as they have of the Kentucky government, "What price civil liberties?"

THREE students of Havana University, Ruben de Leon, Rafael Escalona, and Ramiro Valdez, members of the student council of the University and active in left-wing opposition to the Cuban government, have been sentenced by a military court martial to eight years imprisonment for "illegal possession of explosives." They were arrested on January 25 by civil authorities and were put in the hands of the military police on February 16, after the Cuban congress passed a law placing all civilians charged with violation of the explosives law under military jurisdiction.

Because students were most active in the opposition to the Machado Government and its subservient attitude towards American imperialism, Havana University was closed by the government more than a year ago. Empowering military authorities to act in civil cases (an action directed against the Havana students) was clearly a step in the direction of fascism and constituted a violation of the Cuban constitution. Under the jurisdiction of the military, the student prisoners were held for two months incommunicado, and were denied their civil rights of seeing friends and attorneys.

WHETHER the students were guilty of possessing explosives and whether they planned violence against Cuban government officials was a case to be decided not by the summary procedure of a military tribunal, but by a civil court with judge and jury. The Cuban Government, confronted with the necessity of defending American imperialist interests in Cuba, was unreservedly willing to scrap its constitution. It will admit the unconstitutionality of its decree only if the students and workers of Cuba and the United States express an organized opposition to its action.

If a civil court finds these students guilty, it will not be conclusive proof; Cuba, like the United States, knows how

to frame those who dissent from the ruling class. If the students are actually guilty, American students should recognize where the responsibility belongs. It is the imperialism of Wall Street bankers and American investors which has produced the intolerable conditions in Cuba and other Latin-American governments. If a few students set out on a course of individual terrorism, which we disapprove, as against an organized student and workers movement, which we approve, it is nevertheless because of those conditions.

Students in the United States should use every means to secure the freedom of our fellow-students in Havana. A civil trial should be demanded, of course, but unconditional freedom should be our objective.

IN city and state colleges, the students are facing drastic increases in tuitions and fees. In Detroit last year a tuition fee of \$100 was without warning charged against the students, and just recently an attempt was made to increase it to \$200.

In New York City now the city fathers are planning to charge tuition in the several city institutions of higher learning. Mark Eisner, chairman of the Board of Higher Education, has appointed a committee "to determine whether colleges might develop sources of revenue which would operate to reduce the annual budget requirements," and a committee of the Brooklyn Real Estate Board has suggested as an "economy measure" the "shifting of part of the burden of supporting city colleges by requiring students to pay tuition."

In Detroit, an organized protest of 2,000 students forestalled the hundred dollar increase. In New York City, the students of Hunter, City College and Brooklyn College are preparing to join forces in protest against the institution of tuition fees and the increase of other fees. At Hunter, a Provisional Student Committee, with the approval of the International Student Club, has issued a leaflet, recalling how library fees were demanded without warning at the beginning of last term, and calling a meeting of Hunter students to lay plans to forestall the offensive of the Board of Higher Education. *Frontiers*, official magazine of the Social Problems Club of City College of New York, declares that "Organized protest against existing fees must be our answer to these preparations for squeezing the poorer students out of college."

With an American student movement prepared to defend the rights of workingclass students, the politicians will find that they must tread warily. The era of tuition-charging and fee-raising must be also the era of militant student demonstrations and student strikes.

THE national executive committee of the Student League is in communication with the Russian Students Union concerning a visit, by American students, to the Soviet Union this summer. Arrangements are being made for their reception by the Russian students, and for an itinerary which will include the most interesting aspects of the young socialist republic.

American students who are planning to go abroad this summer should write to the National Student League headquarters for further information which will be available within a few weeks. The costs of the trip will be kept as low as possible, in order that the trip will be within the means of a large number of students.

It is considered probable that the delegation of National Student Leaguers may confer with the Russian Students Union on plans for an international student league.

Kentucky Makes Radicals

UNDER the auspices of the National Student League, eighty students with inquiring minds set out for the Kentucky coal fields. We were equipped with a set of questionnaires and plans to interview miners, coal operators, representatives of the Red Cross, local officials and the townspeople. We never got to see the miners whose conditions we had prepared to study; they were concealed from us by an army of deputy-thugs, who ejected us from Kentucky. We were insulted by the Governor of Tennessee and ignored by the Governor of Kentucky.

Did we affect in any way the conditions of the 15,000 or more miners in Harlan and Bell counties? Obviously the miners are still faced with hunger and starvation. Their children continue to die of flux because they lack sufficient and proper food. Attempts of the miners to preserve and broaden their National Miners Union, the only instrument for improving the conditions under which they live and work, are still met with the bullets and black-jacks of the coal operators and their faithful servants, the state and county administrations. The two miners who accompanied us as guides remain in a Bell County jail where they were thrown after they had been snatched from us, branded as "dangerous agitators, criminal syndicalists, members of the National Miners Union."

An active campaign to collect from students and members of college faculties funds for the relief of the miners was started as a part of the preparations for the trip. This campaign has continued in many colleges and universities, and has been given a decided impetus, both on the campus and in the city, by the publicity which attended the student trip. The widespread newspaper comment, although it was concerned for the most part with the sensational aspects of the trip, with the fact that students had embarked on "a novel expedition" rather than with the condition of the miners, had value in that it helped attract the attention of other workers and students to the existence of these conditions. It may also be said that we encouraged the miners by showing them that thousands of students recognize their plight and will fight to help them. But important as such encouragement may be, we recognize that any concrete betterment of the conditions of the miners, such as the collection of more relief, remains for future reckoning.

One result of the trip, however, which we consider of tremendous importance, is that we, the students who made the trip, learned through our experience to see into economic and political realities and to comprehend a lesson which our instructors in economics and our professors of sociology had never taken the trouble, if they knew it, to impart to us.

When the group set out from New York we represented a variety of political and economic beliefs. The National College Committee of the National Student League issued its invitations to all students, irrespective of such beliefs, content with launching a general student laboratory in political science. As centers of this form of activity on the campuses, the Social Problems Clubs, Liberal Clubs, etc., were the first to respond, electing their delegates and setting to work immediately to raise funds to defray the expenses of their delegates. Those clubs which constituted chapters of the National Student League had already had some contact with workingclass struggles. Many of the clubs, on the other hand, were no more than liberal discussion groups, and a number of the delegates were unattached students who had had no contact with either liberal or radical clubs. Several of the N.S.L. clubs, it may be pertinent to indicate, elected, by way of an experiment, students-at-large to be delegates. As a result, the students had in common only the fact

that they were students, a rather indefinite interest in labor problems and a somewhat vague liberal sympathy with the working class.

The majority of us felt very little apprehension that we would be stopped or mistreated. Any difficulties we might encounter would come, we believed, from the hired gunmen of the mine-owners. If the sheriff and the county attorney were in league with the gunmen, as had been charged, we would appeal to the governor. If he failed us, there was always the federal government.

The story of our disillusionment is the story also of our "education." The process by which we arrived at the underlying realities of the social and economic order is well defined in those steps which we took following our expulsion.

II

THE protest which the students left with Governor Horton of Tennessee dealt almost exclusively with the fact that the constitutional rights of peaceful travelers had been violated. To Governor Laffoon, however, the students said:

"It is the desire of the students to lay before you the facts of their expulsion, the significance of this treatment insofar as it reflects the general conditions in Harlan and Bell counties, and to call on you as chief executive officer of the state of Kentucky, to restore freedom of travel . . . on state highways . . ."

Their statement came more to the point, however, when they pointed out that this denial of their right to see conditions in this focal point of industrial unrest was

"prima facie evidence that the governmental machinery of Harlan and Bell counties is being unlawfully employed to prevent the existence of conditions in the mine fields, which cannot stand the light of study, from being disclosed to the outside world The unlawful actions of the Bell and Harlan county authorities towards our students must apparently be but a small part of the terrorism to which the miners are submitted when they organize and strike against intolerable conditions. There can be no other conclusion from the forcible prevention of any endeavors at outside intercourse with the miners. A cordon of steel has been thrown about the Southeastern Kentucky coal fields. We would not have been kept out if there were nothing to hide.

"It is your bounded duty as chief law-enforcing officer of the State of Kentucky to put an immediate stop to this armed terrorism against peaceful visitors as well as—we have every reason to believe—against the miners of Southeastern Kentucky."

When Governor Laffoon, after posing benignly with the students while the cameras clicked, refused to take any action, the students made the first step which might conceivably lead to action. They appealed this time, not to any arm of government, but to their fellow students and teachers throughout the nation.

"To the students and teachers of the United States," their manifesto began, "We ask that you protest with us the reign of terror which oppresses the miners in the coal fields of Southeastern Kentucky. We appeal to you also to join us in demanding from the Senate favorable action on the Costigan resolution providing for a Senatorial investigation of the situation in the Kentucky coal fields.

"Our experience in Bell county during the past week has shown us that constitutional rights exist there only for those persons approved by the coal operators. For the independent person or for one who runs counter to the wishes of the coal operators, the constitution offers no protection or rights."

The students then issued a message to the miners of the Kentucky coal fields. In addition to serving through its publication in the press* to call public attention to the Kentucky situation, the message has the distinction, it is believed, of being the first public document to receive broad circulation in this country which united students and workers through an expression of common interests and pledge of solidarity. The statement said:

"We came to Kentucky to study conditions under which you live and work. We brought funds with us, collected from students and teachers, for the relief of striking miners and their families. Walter B. Smith and his deputies, and a mob incited to the point of violence, prevented us from seeing you and bringing relief to you.

"Some of us were beaten. All of us were subjected to force, gun rule, and intimidation. We now realize to what terrorism you are subjected. We realize that your living conditions, which the coal operators are afraid for us to see, must actually be at the starvation level. We know that the treatment they gave us is mild compared with what you are getting. We express solidarity with you and pledge ourselves to aid you in every way possible."

Every effort was concentrated from that point on in bringing about the senatorial investigation provided for in the Costigan resolution. While such a hearing could not be counted on to bring the federal government into any fruitful action in the Kentucky affair, it was felt that the conditions of the miners and the extent of the coal operators' terrorism would at last be spread out before the public. Perhaps the "cordon of steel" could be weakened and relief work expanded. If the pressure against the miners were released even for a short while, the National Miners Union could become stronger and effect in the end some improvement in starvation wages and intolerable working conditions.

The students proceeded at once to Washington where an informal hearing before Senator Edward J. Costigan was arranged. The Senator, an eagle-eyed praetorian, gave the student delegation the first show of cordiality they had received in many days. At his right sat Senator Logan of Kentucky, a southern politician. At Senator Costigan's left sat Senator Royal S. Copeland of New York. Senator Logan was disposed to heckle, but he left early. Senator Copeland, representing a state from which a large number of the students resided, was able to remain for only a few minutes of the two-hour hearing.

The delegation proceeded to put upon the minutes of Senator Costigan's committee the entire story of their visit to Kentucky and their ejection by Walter B. Smith, Deputy Lee Fleenor, the killer, and the other faithful servants of the coal operators. Their story, however, had taken on by now a meaning which the earlier recitals had lacked. Rights guaranteed by the constitution and rights which the federal government was obligated to uphold had been flaunted, they said. The abrogation of these rights was not a piece of spontaneous or impromptu lawlessness on the part of any individual; it was, on the contrary, a policy adopted by a ruling class which felt its power threatened by a working class growing restive under intolerable conditions. The testimony was summarized by the chairman of the student delegation as follows:

"These facts indicated clearly to us that the unlawful activity of coal field officials was not unpremeditated or planless actions along mountain roads. They were their normal methods of procedure throughout the county of-

fices and even in the courthouses of the coal towns of Middlesboro and Pineville. These officials were at all times dominated by coal operators or coal mine attorneys who in more than one instance took command from sheriffs, and in Middlesboro, actually became the mouthpiece for the judge. We are therefore forced to conclude that the bitterness and disregard of constitutional rights . . . must be many times worse in situations involving the miners themselves. Miners have no recourse now except a federal investigation . . . In preventing us from entering the mining district the operators have clearly shown that they are desperately trying to keep from the outside world the knowledge of living and working conditions of thousands of miners, citizens of the United States and entitled to federal protection where county and state officials have so ruthlessly violated their rights."

While this hearing was proceeding, Herbert Robbins of Harvard and Margaret Bailey of N. Y. U. were waiting in an anteroom of the office of President Hoover. They had with them a statement which said that the students are "compelled to believe that the plight of the miners who live their lives in Kentucky under the domination of these same officials and deputies, merits the fullest Federal investigation."

The secretary of the secretary of the secretary of Mr. Hoover accepted the statement with the remark that it would be placed in the hands of the Department of Labor.

III

To summarize, we had our "rights" violated (already we had begun to use quotation marks). We had seen evidence, where the miners were concerned, of sterner violations and a graver situation. We had taken our story to two governors, three senators, the president of the United States. A friend had taken it to the attorney general. Only in the case of one lone senator was there any show of interest in a situation which we recognized as intolerable, unconstitutional, and, in terms of our earlier values, inhuman.

Individually, in groups, and, at length, as a body we discussed the situation in the Coal Fields.

It was clear that the miners are virtually imprisoned, deprived of the freedom necessary to maintain their organization, denied any intercourse with those outside who would be their friends. This isolation, we saw, is maintained by a cordon of steel, an army of killers and a legal machine which effectively prevents this intercourse.

The forces which serve the mine-owners are the combined power of the Coal Field ruling class. In Southeastern Kentucky, the combination includes the county attorneys, sheriffs, judges, and the entire law-enforcing machinery. Thugs employed as deputies, including such killers as Lee Fleenor, comprise the strong arm. It is reinforced by Cleon K. Calvert, an attorney for the Wallins Creek Mine Co., and his American Legion boys; by Herndon Evans, editor of the Bell county newspaper, and the local press; by organized charity, and the Red Cross, of which Evans is director; and by the church and the clergy.

To this list we added Governor Ruby Laffoon who was forced to hear us—he received 3,000 telegrams during our visit to Kentucky—but who refused to take action for the safety of the miners, citizens of the state of Kentucky, or for citizens of the United States who might choose to invoke their constitutional rights to cross a state line.

Of the powers beyond the boundaries of the state which served the interests of the Kentucky coal operators, we immediately listed Sheriff Riley of Clairborne County, Tennessee, who had shown a fine spirit of cooperation toward the Kentucky gang. He had arrested 17 miners and N.M.U. organizers and lodged them in prison at Tazewell. It was Sheriff Riley who had kidnapped Joe Weber, N.M.U. or-

*I am informed that this statement, issued to all newspapers, was printed widely in the Southern press.

ganizer, when he was enroute through Clairborne county to Kentucky. There was also Governor Horton of Tennessee, who refused to take action against the Clairborne County oligarchy, and who believed, and said as much, that any one who exhibited any interest in the plight of the miners must automatically be a dangerous red. In Knoxville, there was the Journal which had attacked the National Miners Union, had consistently espoused the cause of the coal operators, and treated the demands of the miners entirely in terms of a "red menace." Although we were not molested at Knoxville—unless by molestation we include constant surveillance by plain-clothes detectives—the law enforcement officers of the city had raided on a number of occasions the officers of the Workers International Relief, arrested the relief workers and driven the organization underground.

In the failure of the federal government to defend that constitution which its officials had sworn to uphold we came to the core of the matter. The coal operators of Harlan and Bell counties include Ford, Morgan (U. S. Steel), Insull and Peabody. The government of the United States of America had no desire to take any steps which might embarrass the coal operators. The solidarity of the ruling class, employers, investors, and governments, was revealed with all its implications.

Constitutional rights are a fiction. Democracy is a myth. The figures who sit in the seats of authority are not concerned with the denial of what we were once pleased to call civil liberties. And when the interests of the working class conflict with those of the employing class, the combined forces of government, press and church, come forward to suppress the workers.

EDITOR'S NOTES Representatives of the Workers International Relief declare that in spite of the many obstacles which are put in the way of relief work, funds and provisions are taken through to the miners and their families.

The fascist regime in the coal fields, with its so palpable a denial of constitutional rights, its deafness to the interests or demands of the governed, might be, in its severe form, only a local situation. But we recognized it as a policy to which the ruling class will resort in any situation where the working class has grown restive.

At the same time, we saw more clearly that the only power which can crush such a blood-and-iron rule is the organized working class. We saw that the sort of social and economic order which we had so passionately desired will come only because a working class demands it.

We recognized, therefore, that our interests lie with those of the workers. This did not follow merely as a piece of abstract logic. It came because in our struggle with a section of the ruling class, we found ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with workers. The bonds which bound us to them were the warm human bonds of common interests and a common objective.

This was a profound lesson, but a heartening one. To the eighty students who participated in the expedition, it was almost an obvious one. Our problem became one of how to translate this message to our fellow students.

The message is one which is involved, not only in the Kentucky incident, but in every struggle against reaction and conservatism, in every fight for the interests and rights of students and workers. To spread this message is a major task of the student movement.

At this historic moment the student movement is making its first rapid strides forward. The economic situation is one which forces the student toward collective action. Campus clubs of old standing and newly organized clubs are coming to understand this common aspect of the struggle, and, with the National Student League as their standard, they are working towards a united revolutionary student movement.

ROB F. HALL

Professor Carver Survives His Revolution

IN the year 4 B.D. (before the debacle of 1929) the American people were informed about the existence of an Economic Revolution which was "something new in the history of the world." This great revolution, they were told, was occurring only in the United States. Europe had experienced only a series of political revolutions, which were produced by the Great War. These, however, "brought no economic effects deeper than those that follow the ousting of one gang of politicians from the government of an American city and the substitution of another." Russia had suffered a Bolshevik revolution, but "the most that this revolution did was to accelerate a process that was already going on"—namely, a movement toward the private ownership of land. This was brought about by "economic forces in spite of, rather than with the help of, the new political power with its communistic notions."

So this "Economic Revolution in the United States" was something entirely different. It was "a revolution that is to wipe out the distinction between laborers and capitalists by making laborers their own capitalists and by compelling most capitalists to become laborers of one kind or another." Such a revolution was the outcome of a number of causes, not the least of which was "the higher strategy of the American labor movement, which is so far in advance of that in any other country as to make a comparison impossible." American laborers, "refusing to be deceived by shadows of

political control, were using the solid ground of capitalist ownership to lift themselves into positions of well-being that amount to affluence." Another causal factor was the noble altruism and benevolence of American capitalists, thanks to whose guidance this country was establishing a "balanced economic system." A third factor in this revolution was the "great American ideal of equality under liberty." The pursuit of this ideal was producing "the amazing material prosperity that is coming to this country." This prosperity was coming to us "precisely because our ideals are not materialistic. All these things [blessings of prosperity] are being added to us because we are seeking the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, as they are always added and must of logical necessity always be added unto any nation that seeks whole-heartedly those ideals of justice that are the very essence of the Kingdom of God."

Such is the theme of *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States*, from which the quotations are taken. In 1925 this book heralded the coming prosperity that was to silence the subversive doctrines of Marx and render useless those "professional reformers who take advantage of the discontent engendered by hard times." In their place were to be "first-rate economists and far-seeing business men who do not know that they are reformers, but who, after all, are the real reformers," and who "have generally believed in the possibility of equality under freedom." In short,

this great book refuted all proposals to change existing order and announced the glorious era of the New Capitalism.

The author of that remarkable book is not a preacher, as his biblical language may indicate. That is, he is not a preacher in the usual meaning of the term. Although he once wrote a book erecting the "productive life" (acquisitive and predatory activity) into a cult, he is another kind of apologist. He is one of those whose task is to invent subtle sophistries in justification of interest, rent, and profit, and to drill those arguments into the minds of youth to the end that they may become members of the exploiting class, or docile robots in their profitable service. These apologists are called "first-rate" economists. One of the foremost of them is Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, the Cassandra whose book announced the Economic Revolution under the New Capitalism.

Since that came to a rather abrupt end the book has become somewhat antiquated. Although discredited by subsequent events, the author survives the revolution he instigated. One might think that shame would drive him to seek the seclusion of his academic hole never again to emerge before the reading public. There he could avoid the annoying reverberations of the great collapse that ended his revolution. Perhaps this is what he has been doing. Now, however, trusting that people have forgotten his prognosis, he comes out to assure his disappointed followers that although the bottom has dropped out of their ship it is still afloat. He may have preferred to remain in obscurity, but he is forced out by the spectre of Communism, which has begun to haunt him again. His latest literary effort (in the *April Current History*), demonstrates both his intellectual bankruptcy and fitness to survive as a "first-rate" economist.

In this article the sage of Harvard tries to explain to his misled "revolutionists" why capitalism is able to survive the force of the rising tide of Communism, "the most fundamentally upsetting of all these [radical] movements." The reason, he argues, is the inherent superiority of capitalism and the fallacy of Marxian theories. Capitalism is superior because it offers rewards for the unpleasant work which must be done and is based on free contract. Communism, on the contrary, must rely upon commands and punishments, and is a system of authority and obedience. Marxism is wrong because (1) Communism came first in Russia instead of America, (2) there is no increasing concentration of wealth forcing the masses into greater and greater poverty, (3) workers are best paid and most comfortable where capitalism is most highly developed, and (4) Marxians fail to understand the true nature of capital and to see that because of its productivity and usefulness it is "a means of lifting labor to higher and higher levels." This compilation of outworn refutations of Marx is followed by an assertion of the almost-forgotten classical theory that the welfare of the masses depends upon the relative rates of increase of population and capital—the "wages-fund" doctrine of the early nineteenth century.

The professor's argument is as flimsy as his Economic Revolution, which he neglects to mention. He fails to observe that under capitalism "rewards necessary to get the unpleasant work done" go to those who do the least of it, if any, and that an increasingly large percentage of people are denied both work and its reward. Both capitalism (i.e. the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) and the dictatorship of the proletariat are based upon authority, the difference being in the seat of authority. Under capitalism it rests with the capitalists; under the dictatorship of the proletariat it rests with the workers. Force is used by both. Under capitalism it is used by the ruling minority to oppress the majority and to maintain social inequality. Under the dictatorship of

the proletariat it is used by the majority to establish social equality and guard against counter-revolutionary maneuvers of an expropriated minority. To say that capitalism is based on freedom is to ignore the fraudulent natural and non-existence of civil liberties in capitalist countries.

The professor's use of the fact that a revolution came first in an undeveloped capitalist country to prove the fallacy of communist theory, is an indication of his ignorance of that theory. Evidently he has never heard of Lenin's application of Marxian doctrines to the era of imperialism. Marx lived and wrote in the period of industrial capitalism. Lenin applied his doctrines to the later period of imperialism, when the various capitalist countries had ceased to be isolated units and become links in the single chain of world-imperialism, and explained that the world revolution would begin, not necessarily where industry is most highly developed, but where the chain of imperialism is weakest. In 1917 this was in Russia and other nations of Eastern Europe. The next break may be in India or Germany, depending not on the development of capitalist technique in any individual country but on the weakness of the links which form the imperialist world-chain. Our Professor ought to know the theory he attempts to disprove.

He asserts the fallacy of the Marxian doctrines of concentration of wealth and increasing misery. However, instead of attempting to make a logical refutation supported by concrete data, he dismisses them summarily in a single sentence. The former doctrine is amply supported by the facts compiled, for example, by Dr. Laidler in his *Concentration and Control of American Industries* (1931). Dr. Laidler finds verification of the latter in the bread lines, reports of relief agencies, statistics on malnutrition, and innumerable other phenomena that no one but a "first-rate" economist can fail to observe. The assertion that workers are most comfortable where industries have become most capitalistic is absurd in view of the hunger, misery, and starvation which stalk through the capitalist world. The only place where laborers are worse off is in the colonies which bend under the yoke of imperialism. If, as the professor maintains, imperialism has done so much to raise the living standards of colonial workers, why are they continually revolting against their benefactors, the foreign capitalists, who must send their marines and battleships to drive out "bandits" and insure the election of their own political vassals to office? Such problems never disturb his academic mental tranquility. His remark about capital being "a means of lifting labor to higher and higher levels" is as ludicrous as his swan song for the New Capitalism. He apparently thinks that what has happened since the end of his Economic Revolution should not be counted.

Thus, like a spring snow under the rising sun, the main points in the surviving prophet's apology for capitalism vanish before the light of facts. These points are interspersed between assertions refuted by their own absurdity. For example, "Our system is handicapped by the fact that anyone is free to strike against it, to foment discontent with it, or even to advocate its overthrow." Perhaps he has never heard of the labor injunction, the coal and iron police, the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, the recent Detroit massacre, or the political prisoners now rotting in capitalist prisons. Again, the writer assures us that "those who attack capitalism are prone to define it in terms of non-essential features," but fails, because it is impossible to prove that periodic stagnations culminating in the present world-wide collapse, unemployment, poverty and misery, class oppression, economic imperialism and war are only "incidental" features. Like the other apologists, when he speaks of capitalism he has in mind a system that would not be recog-

nized by the capitalists themselves and does not exist except in his own imagination. Such absurdities as those, together with antiquated Classical theory, constitute the professor's naive defense of an economic system that is already in an advanced stage of decay. Numerous others might be cited, but there is neither space nor need for them.

The contradictions inherent in capitalism ended Professor Carver's "revolution" before it accomplished the marvelous results of which he dreamed during his academic slumber. Instead of a "balanced economic system" it has left unemployment, poverty and misery, hunger and starvation, stagnation of agriculture and industry, business failures, financial disorganization, chaos in public finance, conflicts between exploiters and their victims, rivalry between imperialist powers struggling for world markets, and war preparations

—all of which have reached levels unprecedented in history. People starve in the midst of an abundance so great that food must be destroyed to keep prices up. Able-bodied men walk the streets while factories remain closed because of the lack of markets. Such are the blessings wrought by the great Economic Revolution of 1925.

The genius who told us about it survives to tell us about the stability of a collapsing economic system. Prof. Carver will survive as long as capitalists remain to subsidize his "disinterested research," which supports their economy. When his function becomes archaic he can still dream of his lost capitalist Elysium. Let us hope that in the meantime he does not dream of another "Economic Revolution in the United States."

DON HEYWORTH

May Day

OUT of its traditions and its struggles the American labor movement has given to the international working class and to the students, a fighting day of major political significance.

May 1, 1886 saw in Chicago a great outpouring of workers who laid down tools at the call of organized labor. It was a tremendous strike, one of the most effective demonstrations of class solidarity in the experience of the labor movement, a culminating point in the history of the struggle for an eight-hour day.

The events of the few days immediately afterwards served to strengthen and to intensify the meaning of the day. The demonstration held on May 4 at Haymarket Square was called to protest against the brutal murder of six striking workers and the wounding of many others at the McCormick Reaper Works on May 3. The meeting was peaceful and was about to be adjourned when the police again launched an attack upon the assembled workers. A bomb was hurled into the crowd and a sergeant killed. The battle which followed left 60 wounded and seven policemen and four workers dead.

This was the signal for a concentrated offensive by the employers, determined to regain the position lost during the strike movement of 1885-1886. This massacre at Haymarket Square was followed by one of the blackest railroadings, and lynchings in labor history—the hanging of Parson, Spies, Fischer and Engals, and the imprisonment of the other militant leaders of the demonstration.

Three years after the Chicago hanging, in 1889, the Second International inspired by the example of the American workers, adopted a resolution making May 1 a day of international demonstration for the eight-hour working day.

In 1891 at Brussels, the International reiterated the original purpose of May 1 and expanded it to include a general demonstration in behalf of demands for improving working conditions and the maintaining of international peace. Still deeper political meaning was given May 1 at the Congress at Zurich in 1893 which declared that it must serve as a demonstration "of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to . . . international peace."

At the Paris Congress in 1900, May Day was transformed into a day on which all workers laid down their tools and walked from the factories in an international proletarian demonstration. It was a day of hope for the working class, a day of international solidarity, of world unity and struggle. As the employers launched their counter-offensive, it became a day of fighting in every industrial city in the world, a day

upon which the proletariat challenged by the police, showed its will and its power to battle with the ruling class.

May Day exists as a tremendous challenge to the present order. And now the authorities hand-in-glove with the leaders of the reformist parties, do their best to split the unity of the working class and to turn the revolutionary will into "harmless" channels. They try to devitalize the day by turning it into a day of rest instead of demonstration. To the reformist leaders, May Day is only an international labor holiday, an international festival on which they arrange pageants, plays and games in the parks, and jaunts to the seaside. It is their practice to prevent a strike by holding their picnics on the Sunday nearest May 1 so that there shall be no stoppage of work, and no possible inconveniences to the employers.

President Hoover evinces a great interest in May 1 and attaches it to the government calendar by declaring May 1 a celebration of Child Health Day. While 2,000,000 children under 18 slave in mills and factories, while 180,000 boys and girls under 16 are forced to leave school to go to work, while nine innocent Negro children rot in the Montgomery jail, while millions of children throughout the country are malnourished, underfed, even starving—the government declares May 1 Child Health Day. It is the same government which is taking the bread from the mouths of children, cutting wages to starvation level, closing down relief, turning over billions to banks and trusts in the Finance Reconstruction Corporation, and refusing unemployment insurance, putting additional billions into the war machine and preparing these children for war. Hoover, who was silent at the murder of 16-year old George Bussell and young Joe York in Detroit, of 19-year old Harry Simms in Kentucky; who did not lift a finger against the slaughter of 120,000 women and children one day in Shanghai—Hoover declares a Child Health Day!

But on May 1 the working class finds that it has nothing to make merry over, nothing with which to make merry. And students find themselves being forced out of school into the ranks of the workers, into the ranks of the unemployed, and soon perhaps, into the ranks of an imperialist army.

We are not fooled by Child Health Day, we are not fooled by chatter of peace, by the smokescreens of pacifism. The peace slogans of the pacifists and the socialist serve to lead the masses step by unresisting step into bloodshed as they did in 1914. We know that already the imperialists are at the gates of the Soviet Union, the only country where children do not starve. Side by side with the workers, therefore, we march against imperialist war, in defense of the Soviet Union.

Columbia University Strikes

WHEN Reed Harris became editor of *Spectator*, there was little reason to regard his election as an occasion for rejoicing. For so many years, *Spectator* had confined its attention to campaigns for a new fence around South Field or for bigger and better support for the football team, that no one had any intimation that the new *Spectator* staff was to show a serious concern for serious matters.

In November the newspaper attracted attention with an attack on commercialism in football. There was much buzzing around about forcing *Spectator* to prove its charges, and Captain Ralph Hewitt of the football team threatened to sock Harris in the eye. Harris offered to substantiate his charge if the Athletic Association would open its books for his perusal. The demand for proof was thereupon allowed to languish. From the controversy *Spectator* drew this very sage lesson, that colleges should have not a small group of pampered stars and high-priced coaches, but a system of intra-mural sports which would involve the majority of students.

From the football battle the new *Spectator* went forward to other battles. While Clarence Lovejoy, secretary of the alumni association, and other prominent and generous alumni, cried out for Harris's scalp, the new editorial proceeded to cast aspersions on sanctified institutions and to behave in such a sensible manner that one prominent alumnus complained that they were too "grown-up."

In the ensuing months, *Spectator* attacked R.O.T.C. and urged the removal of military units from the campus of C.C.N.Y. and other colleges. *Spectator* urged freedom for Tom Mooney and unemployment insurance for workers. The basis on which student jobs are awarded by the appointments office was attacked, as was the censorship of Hunter College *Bulletin*. Anti-semitism, an issue which is very much alive at Columbia, and which is usually carefully avoided by *Spectator* editors, was considered, discussed and attacked. The national and local leadership of the Republican party was scathingly denounced, and President Nicholas Murray Butler received, as a result, letters from his fellow Republicans. National politics, irrespective of party, came in for the same treatment. The sacrosanct senior society, the Nacoms, of which Harris had been a member, was attacked, much to the distaste of those alumni who took seriously the mystic mumbo-jumbo of the secret organization. Although several persons high in administrative circles of the college heartily disapproved the student trip to Kentucky, *Spectator* supported the expedition with some enthusiasm and plenty of space. (The Alumni Bulletin, on the other hand, expressed intense opposition.) Finally, *Spectator* reopened an old sore in demanding an investigation of the John Jay Dining Rooms. Charges had been made that prices were too high and that student waiters were mistreated and underpaid. It had been suggested as far back as the year before that the student dining rooms, ostensibly operated for the service of the students, were actually operated for personal profit.

In almost all of these matters there was plenty of publicity. Although one would hardly call President Butler a shrinking violet, he is said to resent publicity, any publicity, that is, which does not rebound to the credit of the institution he directs. Judging from the "letters to the editor" columns in the downtown press, it is not hard to guess that President Butler and the administration received considerable mail, on their own, from protesting alumni and donors.

From some quarters of the student body and the faculty, there came the criticism that Harris and *Spectator* (and the

the Columbia students who figured in the Kentucky expedition) had been "tactless" in drawing Columbia into such undignified prominence. Those who made these complaints loudly protested their impartiality and insisted that objections were based purely on the manner in which Harris made his charges. It is significant, however, that the complainants were persons who either disagree fundamentally with the positions which Harris took or who stand very close to the administration.

The day after the dining rooms case was reopened, Harris was called before Dean Hawkes and informed that his "registration had been cancelled." Harris was taken before the committee on instruction, sitting at that time, for reasons which no one has been quite able to understand, inasmuch as every one, including the Dean, stated that the committee had no powers to veto or modify his expulsion order. This fact gives considerable credence to Harris's statement, since denied by the Dean, that the Dean remarked that there must be "the appearance of a hearing." "I talked with President Butler today," the Dean is quoted as saying, "and he agreed with me that Mr. Harris's registration should be cancelled."

A statement was issued almost simultaneously from the office of the Dean which said: "Material published in *Spectator* during the last few days is a climax to a long series of discourtesies, innuendoes and misrepresentations which have appeared in the paper during the current academic year and calls for disciplinary action." President Butler replied to all inquiries that he had no knowledge of the expulsion.

Student resentment ran high when school reconvened on the following Monday, and the announcement of a mass meeting, called by Social Problems Club on the library steps drew about 4,000 students. When Arthur Goldschmidt of the Social Problems Club asked for a strike vote, the response was overwhelming and plans were laid for a student strike on the following Wednesday. On Tuesday when a second mass meeting was called, an opposition which can be characterized with accuracy as fascist put in its appearance. It was confined to "the football crowd" who engaged in throwing eggs at the student speakers. The students called on the egg throwers to put their arguments in words, and under the challenge of "yellow," one football man took the platform and said "I think it's a lot of boloney." Another, more articulate, declared "We all know what Harris said is true. But he didn't have to say it in public." At the yells and boos of the students, he fled in confusion.

A student strike committee, representative of the student body but under the leadership of the Social Problems Club and the National Student League, immediately issued a strike call, which was printed and put into the hands of the students. The call reviewed briefly the militant editorial policy of Harris, pointed out that Harris had supported student rights and had taken the workingclass point of view on many current economic issues. It put forward as demands the reinstatement of Harris, a student-faculty investigation of the John Jay Dining Rooms, and a similar investigation of the college athletics. "The school strike is a positive step towards insuring that the student newspaper shall be a student newspaper," said the strike call. "It is a demonstration of student interest in student affairs. It means the furtherance of the issues for which Harris has fought and for which every student is now urged to show his support."

This was obviously a free speech fight, but the Social Problems Club was attempting to get to the deeper political

significance of the issue. It was not only the right of free speech, but the right to defend student rights and to campaign for their interests that was at stake. It was because Harris had done this that he was denied the right of free speech.

In the meantime, the position of the administration was changing. A delegation of conservative students had been informed by the Dean that Harris was expelled for "personal misconduct." (The phrase was more recently trotted out when the editor of the University of Wyoming paper was expelled.) Student delegations sent by the strikers were a little later informed, both by Dean Hawkes and President Nicholas Murray Butler, that the reason Harris was expelled was because of an allegedly "libelous" paragraph which appeared in *Spectator* anent the conduct of the John Jay Dining Rooms. The paragraph ran as follows:

"Waiters asserted that the personnel in charge of the dining room evidently were working only for profit, serving poor food, attracting organizations not strictly student in character, and otherwise changing the character of the organization from one of student service to one of personal profit!"

The students were not deceived by this change of front. They pointed out that the expulsion was based on the character of Harris's editorial policy, as originally admitted by the Dean. The "libelous charges" which had now been brought into the picture had originally been printed in *Spectator* of the year before under the direction of the former editor, against whom no action had been taken. Neither the Dean nor President Butler were willing to explain why this paragraph might cause the expulsion of Harris while it was apparently harmless in the case of the previous editor. Finally the student committee declared:

"The question of the truth or falsity of the charges affecting the John Jay Dining Rooms is not involved. The right of an editor of a newspaper, in acting on information which he considers reliable, to make charges and demand an investigation in a matter of public interest, is a fundamental aspect of the right of free speech and free press."

The strike was conceded to be a success. In the college, where there are 2,000 students, it was estimated that 1,500 were on strike, reinforced by approximately 2,000 in the other schools of the University. Tags inscribed "On Strike" were worn by the strikers, and pickets carried appropriate placards. A continuous mass meeting was held on the steps of the library, with Columbia speakers alternating with students from other colleges in the city who had been invited to participate.

While a part of the opposition group continued to throw eggs and heckle, precipitating several minor fist-fights, a wiser section of the opposition organized the Spartan Club and called a rival meeting to endorse the action of the Dean. Their appeal was primarily an appeal to loyalty towards the Dean, their attack an attack against "Communism." They insisted, along with some of the right wing strikers, that this was purely a Columbia fight and criticized the strikers for allowing students from other colleges to participate.

Their rationalization was characteristically fascist. One of them later told this writer that he supported the Dean because he believed in discipline. "The only way to run a corporation or a university or a government is to have discipline and authority invested in one person," he said. He was, like most of his fellow supporters of the administration, an athlete, living at the Manor House and otherwise enjoying the fruits of an athletic career. Like his fellow athletes, he had a vested interest in the administration.

The Social Problems Club had no apologies to make for inviting the cooperation of sympathetic students from other colleges in the city. The club, already affiliated with these

students through the National Student League, knew the value of intercollegiate undertakings. By acting in concert with the students from other campuses, they were helping to break down that narrow and snobbish campus-chauvinism, so analogous to nationalism, which hinders students from perceiving their common objectives.

It was obvious to the club that this was not purely a Columbia fight. The year before, students had been disciplined at C.C.N.Y. for opposing R.O.T.C. A few months earlier there had been the row which was occasioned by the censorship of the student "Bulletin" by the administration of Hunter College. In the high schools of the city a most rigorous campaign of suppression was going on—it still goes on—during which Social Problems Clubs had been disbanded, student leaflets seized, and several times students had been arrested for distributing to their fellow students leaflets demanding lower lunch room prices or leaflets on similar issues.

Since the depression had become so much more severe, educational administrators along with other agents of authority, had begun to bear down all the harder on student protest movements. The club recognized that the students of Columbia had a mutual interest with other students in fighting back at such suppression. Their task was to demonstrate this to their fellow-students at Columbia and the invitation to the other colleges in the city was expected to help achieve this end. In the meantime, the Social Problems Club and the National Student League utilized their organizational affiliations and informed all member clubs of the facts of the case. Immediately, the case took on national significance and telegrams and letters of protest assailed President Butler and Dean Hawkes in great quantities.

Toward the close of the strike day, the announcement came that sixteen members of the faculty had signed a petition, directed to Dean Hawkes, urging the reinstatement of Reed Harris. Only one member of the faculty, Donald Henderson, instructor in economics, had openly allied himself with the strike movement. And while the fifteen new friends were hailed by the students, there was considerable disappointment among the student ranks. They were fighting, they felt, for principles which their professors and instructors had constantly held up before them as valid ideals. The faculty had professed liberalism. And here in a concrete situation in which liberal aims were involved, the liberal professors as well as the conservative ones were found wanting. "I know nothing about the case," John Dewey told two students who asked for his signature on the petition. No one will ever know how many students went home sadly disillusioned when they heard that Dr. Dewey had refused to sign. The very fact that certain members of the faculty known to be sympathetic to the student protest, had not dared to join them openly, was a significant comment on free speech at Columbia.

That evening at a meeting of the Columbia chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, a vote of censure against the administration of the college was moved, and failed of passage by 36 to 41. The balloting, by demand, was secret. The Dean sailed two days later for Oxford, England.

By Monday of the following week, the administration had granted the second demand of the student strike. There was to be a student-faculty board to investigate the John Jay Dining Rooms. The committee as appointed by the administration included three members of the faculty, the new editor of *Spectator*, a member of the Spartan (pro-administration) society, and the president of the Social Problems Club. The investigating committee had been at work less than two weeks before the major demand of the strikers was granted. Harris was reinstated.

was arrested and questioned on November 16 in Los Angeles. It was an illegal seizure by United States Immigra-

Although Harris promptly resigned, the Social Problems Club hailed the victory as "magnificent." The students' triumph on the two major demands of the strike was pointed out as evidence of what students could accomplish when they stood together. "The lesson we have learned is a valuable one," the statement of the club said. "When issues involving student interests and student rights are concerned, the students can win only by organizing and fighting as a unit . . . The students should feel gratified at this victory and organize for new ones." It was also pointed out that Harris in resigning committed a mistake—that he should have seized upon the opportunity to continue the fight for student rights that characterized his editorial policy.

As a result of the expulsion of Harris, there had been revealed the serious inadequacy of the safeguards for student rights. Not only was the administrative set-up autocratic, with disciplinary authority vested in a single individual, but student government was sorely unrepresentative. Those students who occupied the choice offices on student board were mere figure heads, lacking in leadership and entirely unresponsive to student demands and student interests. They had been elected because of their personal friendships, fraternity affiliations, or because of social and athletic prominence. Office-holding represented a sort of fraternity dynasty, and the majority of the students had for a number of years completely boycotted the student elections.

The Social Problems Club urged the entire student body to participate in the coming elections, pointing out that if the elections remained in the hands of small fraternity cliques, it was because the majority of students, discouraged or apathetic, had refrained from voting. The club urged an end of elections on the basis of personal friendships and social prominence. Candidates should declare themselves on vital student issues, and the club put forward as current issues the following demands: 1. reinstatement of Harris (this was before his reinstatement); 2. a free campus press, free from interference or censorship by the administration; 3. complete academic freedom for students and faculty members; 4. a student-faculty board to serve as a final court of appeals in disciplinary cases; 5. a similar board on the dining rooms.

While only six candidates declared themselves in favor of these demands, all the candidates felt under compulsion to offer a platform for a revitalized student board. Only one of the Social Problems Club candidates was elected but a new precedent was set. Columbia was at last committed to intelligent elections.

Because of the political education involved in the entire affair, the executive committee itemized those lessons which it had considered especially important. It was felt that these lessons might serve other student organizations confronted with similar situations:

1. Only through organization can students effectively defend their rights or fight for changes which their interests demand. Without the Social Problems Club and the National Student League, neither of the two strike demands would have been realized.

2. The student body, given adequate organization and leadership, is not apathetic, as is usually charged, when its interests and rights are involved.

3. The tasks of leadership include the recognition of student interests. The leadership cannot formulate local

demands on local issues unless it is responsive to what is happening in the minds of the majority of the students. Local issues are many times more important as a means of rallying student support.

4. A strike is the most advanced form of student protest. It must be undertaken only after the most careful preparation.

5. A student organization grows and expands through its activity in prosecuting local issues.

6. While a fight may seem purely local, the broader aspects must be emphasized and general student support, from other colleges, enlisted.

7. Every fight produces its own opposition which eventually forms a counter organization.

There was a general recognition both by faculty members and students that a new day had dawned in student life. A new and almost anomalous tradition was to take its place beside the ivy-covered stories of the champion crew, and the old college fence. Students had used the weapon of the working class in defense of a student right. How Randolph Bourne would have liked to be alive to see it!

On the Student Front

THE attempt to forestall militant student opinion has become a more arbitrary and feverish activity of the administrations in the last few weeks than ever before. Interference with the campus press, liquidation of social problems, liberal, and literary clubs, threats and expulsions, wholesale suspensions and even arrests are characteristic. The sanctified and legal means of expression, "free press," "independent speech," "unrestricted student opinion," which have been traditional illusions with the student, have now become political problems for him.

We are now faced with the absolute need of systematic reports from the various colleges in order that a consciousness of the solidarity of all the colleges may be created. This is necessary if we are to develop conscious planning and that close mutual cooperation and coordination which we need in the work. So far this has been only weakly developed, and our connections have been very irregular. In spite of all difficulties we must be in a position to publish in every number many first hand reports, even from the most varied and remote districts, from which so far very little information has obtained publicity.

Another task which our periodical has, is to strengthen and to stimulate the political activity within the far-scattered campus groups. Here again we must have regular reports on the life, activities, experiences, successes and failures of the various clubs, chapters, conferences, conventions, etc. which are functioning in the districts. The more accurate the reflection, the more regular the information that we can get, so much the stronger will we be as an organizational concentration point for all those forces which are ready for action in a student movement. We appeal to our friends to help collect around our magazine permanent groups of contributors and correspondents. This is the only way we can expect to become a powerful force for the achievement of that close unity and cooperation between the front of the militant students in all the colleges on the one hand, and the struggling workers on the other.

The fear which the authorities have of a mounting student activity, and the desperate efforts they make to crush it, finds

sharp expression in an attempt of officials of the University of Southern California to send one student to execution.

Ming Hua Wei, a graduate student at the University, was arrested and questioned on November 16 in Los Angeles. It was an illegal seizure by United States Immigration Inspectors who had no warrant. Not only has Wei been held in jail, but during his long imprisonment he has been denied even the privilege of reading historical books. The Federal officials have put every obstacle in the way of Wei's release on bail; return to China means certain death for Wei. Newspapers have practically ignored the Wei case! It is the students under the leadership of the Social Problems Club of which Wei is a former member, who have initiated a student protest movement against this high-handed infringement of political liberty, and most significant of all, have organized a Student Defense Committee which is fighting for his release.*

In line with this general trend towards militant organization, a Student Labor Union has been formed at Wisconsin. The exploitation of the student has become intensified with the general depression in the conditions of the working class. Flophouse meals, no pay for overtime, have at last aroused the overworked and underpaid student to organization. The Student Labor Union is prepared to use the usual methods of labor unions—strike and boycott—in its demands for a decent wage.

As visions of a comfortable life and an assured income vanish, the student begins to feel sharply the drains of college fees and taxes, the purpose of which he begins to question. Students begin to disapprove of a so-called student government controlled by combined alumni-faculty-fraternity cliques, a student government which amasses great sums of money and squanders it on all kinds of trivial expenditures, while hundreds of students who must go through college on a shoe string and one meal a day are milked each semester. The fees vary. The students of California protest against the \$10 A.S.C.U. form of extortion; Hunter College and Brooklyn College, the S.A.B. fee; New York City College (Evening) demands free text books and supplies for its unemployed; the University of Pennsylvania demands lower tuition fees and so on through campus after campus.

In Detroit under the leadership of the National Student League 2,000 students of the Detroit City College held a mass demonstration on the campus and before the City Council to protest a 100% raise in tuition which is being contemplated by the Detroit City Council. The Council has slashed from the budget all tax appropriations for the City College of Detroit and ruled that all Colleges must be self-supporting. As John E. Thomas, assistant superintendent of schools said, this will double the rate for Detroit students and outsiders. This budget slash means also a big raise in activities fees, laboratory fees, etc. Hundreds of students will be forced out for lack of sufficient funds. 50% of the students are working their way through college and it is estimated that 4,000 of the school's 8,000 day and night students will have to quit school. Last year a raise in tuition was carried through with the cooperation of an obsequious "student council" which was "convinced that it had won" a "victory" because the raise was only half of what had been proposed. The National Student League in Detroit has pledged itself to carry on a militant fight until the Board of Education definitely decides that there will be no raise in tuition. Threats of expulsion have already been

made by Dean Coffey against some of the leaders of the student strike.

All over the country, these same students show their solidarity and identity with the working class. Members of the National Student League in Chicago, Washington, Detroit and New York have participated in demonstrations, have been beaten and arrested side by side with workers.

In the conference plan of the New York district for the month of April, the close relationship between students and workers is clearly presented. Besides the conduct of a strike on the free press issue in Columbia, a student issue, and other campus activities, participation in a Scottsboro Week is planned for every college. An effort will be made to focus mass student attention on the legal lynching in Alabama. Plans are being pushed to raise defense funds. And so while on the one hand Research and Education departments are organized, on the other, a district Industrial Committee to make a concrete coordination with workingclass activities has already begun to function.

In Arkansas, something of significance is being accomplished in student and proletarian dramatics. From Harold Preece of Commonwealth College comes information of a college group with N.S.L. students who have "formed an experimental theatre on the conviction that drama can have a deeper motive than the portrayal of Lady Thistle-down's adulteries. They are producing recitations and plays from material of their own and the farmers' lives about them. Their stage is the bare floor of the dining hall, the settings improvised from any handy material, the lighting, a kerosene lamp. But they are producing something more than neighborhood plays to be seen and forgotten. A recent performance was "Can you hear their voices?" The mountain neighbors of the college were invited to see it and they came three hundred strong.

The play is based on the condition of the starving farmers who took food from the stores of a nearby community. The 'patriotism' of the audience did not prevent them from appreciating the scenes of starvation. These actors dramatized something which Polk county farmers had experienced. Their cows had died during the drouth of 1930; their crops had withered; their homes were still mortgaged. When in the final act the rebellious farmers wrecked the Red Cross offices and determined to march on the store, the audience broke into spontaneous applause. The performance was a topic of conversation in the neighborhood for weeks, and members of the college were besieged for the date of the next play.

A share-cropper who happened on the campus the day after the performance, thoughtfully removed his corn cob pipe, spat, and said, 'Pears like the pore folks ever'where will have to do like them fellers in the play.'

**GRADUATE BRANCH OF THE
New York District of
National Student League**

Classes:

1. **Marxism**
Sundays, 6-7:30 P. M.
2. **Critique of Bourgeois Culture**
Thursdays, 8-9:30 P. M.
3. **Lectures**
Every Second and Fourth Sunday of the
month at 8 P. M.

at NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
Headquarters: 102 W. 14th St., New York City

*EDITOR'S NOTE: As a result of the efforts of the students defense committee, the International Labor Defense has been able to announce that Wei has won voluntary departure.

Program of the National Student League

PREAMBLE

The economic forces which have brought about the present world crisis and which are spelling the disintegration and the decay of capitalism are at the same time destroying the narrow insularity of the American college student. While in the past, circumstances permitted and even enforced for the college student an isolation from the world of social and economic events, today the problems presented by the crumbling of a declining system are so immediate that they require and must receive his consideration.

The problems are those of immediate income and future employment. They are the problems of impending wars which are inevitable under our present economic system. They are problems presented by the impossibility, for the mass of students, of successful adjustment to an outworn and decadent culture. These problems are the consequence of the growing economic struggle which refuses to be stopped at the campus gates, and which, once within the forbidden confines, demands a revaluation, on class lines, of the economic and social interests of the student.

In this revaluation, the student's early perspective of a comfortable life with an assurance of a steady income is being dispelled by the staggering total of world unemployment. All his efforts to prepare himself for a career are wasted as the avenues of professional employment are closed to him. In New York City alone, 8,000 licensed teachers and substitute teachers are unemployed or employed only at infrequent intervals. The professions of law and medicine are "over-crowded," and employment in the engineering professions is so light that one engineering school invites its unemployed graduates back to classes. The dean of a school of journalism stated several years ago that although there were only 80,000 positions in the fields of journalism, advertising, and publishing combined, all of which were filled, at least 80,000 students were preparing for this work in various professional schools.

Unable to secure employment in the better paid professions, an increasing number of students are confronted by the modern travesty on education. New York department stores, requiring a college education of their employees, pay them less than \$15.00 a week. In the commercial and banking fields the small percentage of last year's graduates who were able to secure jobs are faced with long hours, monotonous work and low pay.

Within the college, students who work their way in whole or in part find extreme difficulty in procuring jobs of any sort. While in "normal" times more than 60%, according to an estimate at a typical college, earned part of their expenses, now a large percentage is in desperate need of the fewer jobs available in the offices, restaurants, and homes adjoining the campus.

Thus many students are realizing that in spite of having been trained in the habits and in the service of the present dominant class, their real interests lie with that class which is striving to build a new social order, a social order wherein this education will be more fully utilized. These students are drawn therefore, through the twofold interest of their immediate needs on the one hand and the larger need for a new social order on the other, to the uncompromising position of supporting the workers in the class struggle.

This conclusion is strengthened when they measure the approach of new wars which are continually threatening.

Imperialist wars under this system of capitalism inevitably flow from the economic rivalries within the capitalist class. These rivalries take the form of a struggle for raw materials, markets, and spheres of investment and influence.

Into the war situation, there has been introduced with the foundation of the first socialist republic, the Soviet Union, with tremendous implications in the analysis of the war danger. The contrast between the success of the Five-Year Plan and the progressive improvement of the conditions of the peoples in the Soviet Union, the impoverishment of the workingclass and general economic breakdown in capitalist countries, is a fact which is inescapable to the capitalist ruling class. The governments which represent this dominant class are planning, therefore, a war against the Soviet Union.

Pacifism, a position which does not recognize the inevitability of war under this system, creates the illusion that war may be avoided by liberal resolutions and idealistic platitudes. The liberal and humane attitudes themselves are used by the ruling class to cloak war preparations. This was the part played by the pacifists in the last war. Those pacifists who had become so profuse in their professions of sentiments against war turned quickly when war approached to a noisy and enthusiastic program of support. What happened to individuals was an indication only of what was happening to the pacifist movement as a whole. The pacifist movement was thus revealed as a conscious process of capitalist imperialism. The League of Nations, disarmament conferences, the Nine Power Treaty, and the Kellogg Peace Pact all emerged, not as peace instruments, but as techniques for making war more profitable, and for partitioning defeated competitors. The course of student activity against war lies not in acceptance of pacifist phrases but in support of the working class as the only force historically destined to eliminate war through revolutionary class struggle.

The student realizes that democracy under capitalism is a myth and that political equality does not and cannot exist side by side with vast economic inequality. He sees the principles with which he was indoctrinated as a student become more obviously inconsistent with the increasing use of every conceivable type of extra-legal rule, "class-justice," and the daily violation of what he was taught were the elementary principles of civil liberty and "democracy." Especially is the myth of "democracy" and civil liberty exposed in the system of Jim Crowism, segregation, and lynch law. The ruthless use by the governing class of the principle of "divide and rule" is the greatest single obstacle to the success of the Negro and white students in their common struggle. The Negro students in addition to bearing the brunt of race discrimination also find themselves in an economic position even worse than that of the white student. Only by working side by side on the basis of full social and political equality can the Negro and white student build a strong, militant movement.

It is for the purpose of giving this orientation to the mass of American students that students have formed the National Student League. The League proposes to encourage and lead the activity of those students who are at present wandering, sometimes aimlessly, in this general direction. It

proposes to combat the shortsighted leadership and false policies of all those student organizations which are sometimes unconsciously but actively misleading the student by creating reformist hopes and democratic illusions. In this connection the League for Industrial Democracy deserves special mention. Dominated by a thoroly middle-class, non-student leadership which is completely out of touch with students and their problems, and based on a philosophy of social reform and pacifism, this organization is a major obstacle to the development of a revolutionary student movement. Realizing that in large part the student membership of this organization is dissatisfied and disillusioned with such leadership and such policies, the National Student League appeals to those members of the League for Industrial Democracy who are sincerely interested in the building of an effective student movement to join with it in this task. The National Student League will arouse for activity all students whose purpose shall be to carry into effect the program outlined below.

PROGRAM

1. We propose to prosecute an unending fight for academic freedom, to the end that neither instructors nor students shall be "gagged" in classrooms or out and that they may not suffer discipline for their political and religious beliefs. This is necessary in order that we may continue to exist, and it is vital to us as students so that the channels of information are kept open to us. This is also necessary if we are to disseminate information on workingclass struggles among our fellow students.

2. We propose to organize and lead the students in their struggles for better economic conditions on the campus. This becomes increasingly necessary as both private and public agencies attempt to economize at the expense of education and the student.

3. We propose to ally ourselves with and actively to support the revolutionary student movement in other countries, especially those student movements in the American colonies allied with workers' and peasants' movements.

4. We propose to fight against racial and national discrimination in college and out, recognizing that race hatred and national prejudice are tools used in carrying out the age-old strategy of ruling classes: "divide and rule."

5. We propose to expose and fight against the growing trend in America towards a fascist rule; to educate students against national planning and social control programs, which under capitalism can mean but one thing, i.e. the direct control of governmental machinery by business interests. We propose to point out that such techniques, instituted to bolster capitalism, are at the same time measures which increase and continue the oppression of the working class.

6. We propose to expose the cultural and social decay taking place under capitalism today. The rapid disintegration of the middle class in America is hastening the breakdown of the social fabric and is spreading the degeneration incipient in all phases of our culture. We propose to explain this cultural decay and show its relation to the progressive collapse of our economic system.

7. Because the Soviet Union is the only country in the world which has been able successfully to establish a planned economy, an accomplishment possible only in a working-class society, because they have been able to eliminate crises, unemployment and mass poverty, the Soviet Union stands out as an inspiration and guide to us who in other parts of the world are experiencing and witnessing the social and economic evils which accompany capitalism. The manifold cultural developments in the Soviet Union contrast markedly with capitalist decay. Upon the student movement, therefore,

devolves the historic obligation of popularizing the achievements of the Soviet Union and of working for the recognition and defense of the U.S.S.R.

8. We propose to struggle resolutely against imperialist war, against preparations for such wars, and against the attempt to utilize the schools and colleges for war whether this takes the form of outright military training or the more subtle forms of jingoistic propaganda.

9. We propose to expose the sham of "democracy," the failure of "representative government" to represent the interests of the working class under capitalism, the widespread denial of elementary rights of free speech, press, and assemblage to workers, and the violent repression of working class struggles.

10. We propose to participate in the struggles of the working class by popularizing working class issues, by lending active and financial support to their struggles, and to concretize this support wherever possible by joining picket lines, collecting relief, participating in demonstrations, etc.

11. We will actively support the demands of the millions of unemployed workers in this country for unemployment insurance. This insurance must be paid by the government from funds secured through taxes on the higher incomes, from capital levies, and from funds now wasted in our huge war budget of over two billion dollars.

DEMANDS

It is logical that from our principles there should flow certain demands which represent the needs of the students both as students and as prospective producers.

1. We demand that there be no interference in extra-curricular activities by university authorities. College publications must not be subject to censorship by the administration, faculty bodies, or the trustees; the staffs of such publications must not be disciplined for the political or economic views they express. Student clubs must be beyond faculty or administration censorship and must be permitted to affiliate with such outside organizations as they choose.

2. We demand full social and political equality for Negroes and other racial minorities. We demand that colleges and universities abolish all forms of discrimination in admission requirements, dormitory privileges, athletic privileges, use of swimming pools, attendance at social functions, employment opportunities, etc. We demand that Negroes shall have the right to enter freely, and on equal terms with white students, all colleges and universities in the country.

3. We demand for women educational and professional opportunities equal to those offered to men.

4. We demand the elimination of the "Star" system of sports, prevalent on most campuses, which restricts participation in such sports to a small proportion of the student body. We propose in its place a system of intramural sports with an opportunity for all students to participate in athletic activity.

5. We demand that in every city with a population of 25,000 or over that there be established adequate free city colleges.

6. In those schools where they exist, we demand the correction of such abuses as exorbitant tuition fees, dormitory fees, text book fees, cafeteria rates, and laboratory fees.

7. We demand increased appropriations for city and state colleges in order that laboratory and class room facilities shall be equal to those afforded to the students of the better class of private schools. All text books and supplies in such colleges shall be free.

8. We demand unemployment insurance for all students graduating from or leaving college who are not placed in

positions. This insurance must be payable immediately after the student leaves school and must continue until he has found employment. The rate to be paid shall be based upon current cost of living to insure a minimum standard, and to be paid from funds collected by the government through taxes on high incomes. A national student unemployment insurance bureau shall be established to administer this.

9. We demand that a free employment agency, to be administered in cooperation with the student unemployment insurance bureau, be established.

10. We demand that a state fund collected from levies on high incomes be set up to assist students in colleges to complete their education. The extent of this need is to be ascertained by a census in city and state colleges which shall be taken by member clubs.

11. We demand the abolition of the R.O.T.C. and all other forms of military training and war preparation in the schools and colleges. All funds now employed for this purpose shall be made available for scholarships to assist students unable to finance their education.

12. We demand the abolition of all forms of compulsory religious services and chapels in all those schools and colleges where these practices exist.

ACTIVITIES

In order to work in the direction outlined by the program and to achieve our demands we shall indicate the major lines of activity. Several specific forms which these activities will take are suggested.

1. We propose to continue the publication of the *Student Review*. Inasmuch as it will serve as the most effective bond between the members of the *National Student League*, and as our most powerful organizing weapon in the student movement, we must give it our complete support.

2. The League will support on a national scale the activities and campaigns of its members and their organizations. As occasions arise the League will serve as a speakers and information bureau for its members.

3. The League will participate in the organization of local campus struggles on economic, political, educational, and social issues.

4. The League will carry on educational activities covering all phases of its program and demands. Lectures, symposiums, debates, study classes, and open forums will be utilized.

5. The League will engage in various phases of social and economic research to further its aims. The results of this research will be published in the *Student Review* and in pamphlet form when desirable.

6. The League will cooperate with other organizations which are working toward the aims and in the direction outlined by the program. It will give special attention to the organization of high school students along these lines.

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.

The name of this organization shall be the National Student League.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1.—The National Conference of the National Student League shall be held annually and shall be the highest governing body of the National Student League.

Sec. 2.—Representation to the National Conference shall be on the basis of two delegates for the first twenty-five members or fraction thereof and one delegate for each additional twenty-five.

Sec. 3.—Where no local clubs are affiliated, representation for individual members in each college shall be on the basis of one delegate for each ten members.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1.—The National Executive Committee shall be the highest governing body between sessions of the National Conference. It shall be elected annually at the National Conference.

Sec. 2.—The National Executive Committee shall consist of 15 members, five of whom shall constitute the National Resident Bureau.

ARTICLE IV.

City or District Committees of the National Student League shall be established wherever there is more than one college in a given section. Their form of organization shall be modelled on that of the National Committee.

ARTICLE V.

Sec. 1.—Individual college students, graduate students, and instructors are eligible for membership in the National Student League.

Sec. 2.—Student organizations may affiliate as clubs to the National Student League if they accept the program of the League.

ARTICLE VI.

Dues shall be one dollar per year to be paid in quarterly installments. Dues to the amount of two dollars per year may also be paid so as to include a subscription to the *Student Review*.

ARTICLE VII.

Sec. 1.—Twenty cents of the annual dues of each member shall be paid by the National Treasurer to the District Office; the balance shall be retained by the National Office. An annual report of the income and disbursements of the District and National Offices shall be rendered to the National Conference.

Sec. 2.—Twenty-five per cent of the proceeds of all local and District affairs held under the auspices of the National Student League shall go to the National Office. The remainder shall be retained by the District Office or local club.

ARTICLE VIII.

Amendments to this Constitution shall be made at the National Conferences. Amendments may be proposed by the National Resident Bureau of the National Student League. If approved by a majority of the members of the League by special vote, the amendment is adopted.

National Conference Report

THE setting for the first National Conference as far as the objective situation is concerned, was favorable. The pressure of the economic crisis has forced the student into a class alignment; has made student participation in workingclass struggle an actual factor in the revolutionary movement. Student solidarity against a decaying society which is no more cognizant of the students' constitutional guarantees, right to protest, to organize, right to a decent job, a decent wage, decent living conditions, than of the workers'—is becoming a more intensified reality. And this, the unity of student with student, of student with worker, is the only basis on which a *revolutionary* student movement can be built.

The conference was called as an initial step towards building a national structure for the League. It formulated a clear and unequivocal program, and it made concrete organizational plans for the carrying out of its function. The conference worked, however, under a severe handicap. Lack of funds prevented many affiliated clubs from sending delegates. A number of colleges where we have clubs were in session during the conference, and therefore could not attend. Also, many of the most active leaders of the N.S.L. were members of the Student Delegation in Kentucky. Especially, we must not overlook the fact that there exists a gap, which we must cover, between our organizational strength and the much greater ideological permeation and actual influence which we have among the students. Despite this weakness, the conference was successful in its main purpose, to establish the N.S.L. on a national basis.

A report from the Provisional National Executive Committee by Joseph Cohen of Brooklyn College, opened the conference. He included an account of the origin and development of the National Student League, a review of the objective situation and the principles of student organization drawn from this. A summary of the activities of the Provisional Executive Committee concluded his report.

Reports from the various colleges indicated that, among other places N.S.L. branches had been established in all the colleges of New York City, two Southern colleges, three upper New York State universities, and in various colleges in Pennsylvania, Ohio Illinois, Michigan, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Arkansas, Minnesota California and South California. A number of the local chapters (the City College of New York, the chapter at Pittsburgh, and colleges in Michigan, Wisconsin and California) publish their own student paper, either in printed or mimeographed form.

Sectional conferences were planned for the Mid-West, the South and New England. The conference in Chicago to be held April 17, is the first of these. A Southern conference is also to be held. The New England conference is to be held at Boston, Massachusetts on May 14 and 15.

As the most important item on the agenda, a national program and constitution were adopted at the conference. These are printed elsewhere in the *Review*. A National executive committee was elected including: Donald Henderson, Columbia; Rob Hall, Columbia; Helen North, Hunter College; Joseph Starobin, City College of New York; Homer Barton, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Joseph Cohen, Brooklyn College; W. H. Davis, University of North Carolina; Morris Pavlow, University of Tennessee; Isidore Faler, Carnegie Institute of Technology; Eva Greenspoon, Crane Teachers College; Herman White, University of Chicago; Herbert Robbins, Harvard; Leo Gen-

zeloff, University of Wisconsin; Samuel Coe, University of California; Bella Shafer, Detroit City College. The first five members mentioned above constitute the Resident Bureau. The conference scheduled the coming Christmas holidays as the date for the second National Conference.

College Notes

REPRESSIVE measures by college administrations against student leaders of discontent—at this particular time—can hardly be regarded as accidental. The present crisis cannot fail to give rise to a wide variety of political expressions. When the present rule of big business will regard its position as less secure, even more repressive measures will be taken against those who criticize—let alone those who rebel. Recent actions of this sort at New York University give further clues to the highly important political nature of such events as the Reed Harris affair. Some six weeks ago a meeting was held in the New York University School of Education (sic) Auditorium against the repressive action of several New York high school principals against student clubs demanding better lunch room conditions. It was one of “self-activity,” “student-participation,” things which the education professors so unqualifiedly endorse. At this meeting the high school students criticized school managements—sacrilege indeed.

The following week events moved with dispatch. A teacher of the High School of Commerce “discovered” one of the leaflets which advertised the meeting. Eager to serve his god and country, the teacher sent the seditious literature down to the principal. Adding a touch of the unusual to his wearisome job as “educator,” the principal put the matter into the hands of the Board of Education. After all, they know best. One of the district superintendents of schools, a Mr. Campbell, sent a letter to Dr. Withers, dean of the School of Education of N. Y. U. The gist of it was as follows: “We understand that you allowed your buildings to be used for the purpose referred to in the enclosed leaflet. How do you expect us to react to young men and women coming to us from N.Y.U. for jobs when your school condones such conduct as this?” In other and more direct words they threatened to discriminate against all N. Y. U. students coming to them for jobs unless the criticism was stopped. At this point it should be recalled that less than half a year ago this same Dean Withers in an impassioned address before the American Association of University Professors appealed for bigger and better “student-participation” in all school activities! True to form, such notions were relegated to the realm of forgotten ideas,—as they necessarily must be when they run counter to the interests of the ruling class. Dean Withers sent the letter to other N. Y. U. administrators and the Social Problems Club officers were called down for a “hearing.”

The administration of N. Y. U.'s Washington Square College is of well-deserved liberal repute. Dean Beaumont, “does not always agree with the 10th floor” (Chancellor Brown) but was much impressed with the seriousness of the event. In substance, he said the following: “You see,” came the suave reprimand, “You fellows shouldn't criticize the high school administration. After all, it isn't your business. You know that we people here at Washington Square College are very liberal,—yet, we are averse to indiscretions.

Let me give you this bit of friendly advice. This country is in the midst of a crisis. And, there are certain people on the 10th floor (Chancellor Brown—who welcomed Dino Grandi for the government—Ed.) who have definite ideas about how to handle the crisis and are now sensitive to any sort of criticism. Watch your step, boys! I wouldn't like to expel any of you, but if I have to,—well, I have to!"

It is not the difference between a liberal and a conservative merely one of time? A conservative is always with the ruling class; the liberal, when he "has to." Nicholas Murray Butler could work for peace in 1907 and in 1927 but not in 1917—when he severely repressed those who did not support the war. In crises, all liberals must take their stand. The political line-ups are at these times more definite. You must be either "for" or "against." Dr. Butler in the 1932 crisis has gone "against." So have other school administrations. The Columbia students in their strike and the Kentucky delegation have gone "for." So have other student bodies.

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Communications

Pineville Jail, April 15.

To the Editor:—

My experience as a student in Columbia College from 1923-1927 substantiates in every detail the most important charges made against it by Reed Harris, *Spectator* editor, whose recent expulsion by Dean Hawkes exposed the hypocrisy underlying the pretensions to untrammelled investigation made by America's most "liberal" big university.

I matriculated at Columbia after having made some slight reputation as captain of a crack New Jersey high-school football team. I knew, of course, that virtually all American colleges compete with one another in the proselytizing of high-school athletes by offering "scholarships," but I chose Columbia even though it happened not to be one of the half dozen universities, representatives of which had promised that my college course would not be "disturbed" by financial problems if I played football. I wanted the best education I could get, as well as a job that would permit me to work my way through college, and I was told I could get both at Columbia. I didn't know whether Columbia professionalized its athletes, and the question didn't concern me, particularly because football had become a secondary interest for me.

Within 24 hours after I matriculated, "Doc" Cook, freshman football coach, introduced himself to me and asked me if I intended to play football. I replied that the necessity of working my way through would leave me little time for anything but study and a job. He thereupon asked me to be at the office of Dean Hawkes the following morning.

There Dean Hawkes—who now is quoted as saying that Harris was expelled for writing "untruthful" statements in regard to the professionalization of football players at Columbia—himself offered me a "scholarship" of \$250, and hinted broadly that the scholarship was renewable. I accepted the "scholarship." Dean Hawkes, therefore, when he says that he knows of no Columbia football players who have been professionalized, willfully and consciously lies. For not only does Hawkes know of this professionalization, but he alone has the final authority to determine who shall and who shall not be the recipient of an athletic "scholarship." No athlete at Columbia is professionalized without Hawkes' knowledge and approval, and I knew no football player of Varsity material at Columbia who was not professionalized.

The morning after my interview with Hawkes, *Spectator* carried the report that I was one of the two or three men whose positions on the team were assured even before practice started. The announcement will be found in the September 25th (or thereabout) 1923 issue of *Spectator*. I made the team without difficulty and at the end of the football season was provided with a part-time job by the University Employment Office.

At the beginning of my sophomore year, I was called in by Dean Hawkes and told by him that I was again to be "honored" with a \$250 "scholarship." Again I accepted. The head coach at that time was Percy Haughton, an unusually able and likable man. Within a week after I reported for practice I was placed on the Varsity squad. After a second week of general practice, the linemen—I was a tackle—were assigned for special training to a line-coach whose name I have forgotten but whom I remember as a sadistic butcher who is now probably the commander of some American Legion Post. A half hour of the line-coach's instruction convinced me that his reputation was based entirely on his intimate acquaintance with the more vulnerable points in the human body. By following his directions ex-

plicitly it was possible to do everything but disembowl one's opponent in the first few moments of play.

I turned in my uniform at the end of the session, explaining that I didn't think winning a football game was important enough to warrant the risk of taking a man's life. (The question of my being able to stand the gaff was never raised, for I had played throughout the freshman season with a badly broken nose.)

Fully aware that I had decided to stop playing football, Dean Hawkes did not offer me a "scholarship" in my junior year, despite the fact that I had by that time really earned the right to a legitimate scholarship—having become an Honor student and a member of the Debating Squad. It becomes clear, then, that my \$250 scholarships were coterminus with my football-playing.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. SCHACHNER

(Daily Worker Correspondent in Kentucky)

To the Editor:—

We desire to cast some light upon certain misstatements made by Mr. Harold Luxemburg in an article in the current League for Industrial Democracy *Monthly*. This article attempts to claim for the L.I.D. the achievements of the Columbia strike and thus to bolster up the reputation of that organization, so rapidly waning among students throughout the country.

The truth is that in the Columbia struggle, L.I.D. representatives on the campus played no part whatsoever, or disgracefully opposed us. The one notable exception was Mr. Harold Westwood of the Columbia Law School, who spoke from our platform several times and whose cooperation we heartily appreciate.

The Harris fight was planned and led by the Social Problems Club with the cooperation of the National Student League. A strike committee of ten students, representing a broad body of students, both undergraduate and graduate, led the struggle on the day of the strike. Only Mr. Luxemburg and one other L.I.D. member were on that committee. Mr. Luxemburg knows these facts very well. But he states that eight L.I.D. members were on the committee. Mr. Luxemburg's sole contribution to the strike was his advocacy of a slogan raised by campus reactionaries who supported the Administration against the striking students. Mr. Luxemburg, the Chairman of the city Intercollegiate Council of the L.I.D., insisted that students from other colleges, who were volunteering support for the struggle, be forbidden to cooperate in what he called a "Columbia fight." He persistently opposed efforts to bring the struggle to the attention of students on campuses throughout the country.

A statement of these facts is being sent to the L.I.D. *Monthly*.

Executive Committee,
Columbia Social Problems Club.

ED. NOTE: *We are glad to present this further evidence of the attitude of the L.I.D. leadership. We appeal to rank-and-file members of the L.I.D. throughout the country to protest against the actions of their leaders and to join us in building a revolutionary student movement which will fight against the policy of isolating students on their respective campuses.*

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When I was a lad I served a term as general scab for a mining firm,

I broke the union and I broke the strike and I served my boss with all my might.

I served my boss so faithfully that now I am Attorney for Bell County.

He served his boss so faithfully that now he is Attorney for Bell County.

I learned to slug and I learned to shoot and I learned to lick my boss' boot.

I licked his boot so thoroughly that I hope to be the Governor of Kentucky.

He licked his boot so thoroughly that he hopes to be the Governor of Kentucky.

Tune: Coming Round the Mountain.

Oh, we'll bring the Constitution when we come.

Oh, we'll bring the Constitution when we come.

Oh, we'll bring the Constitution

Now is that a revolution.

Oh, we'll bring the Constitution when we come.

Oh, to Hell with the Constitution when you come.

Oh, to Hell with the Constitution when you come.

Oh, to Hell with the Constitution

We must guard our institutions

For you're just a bunch of Rooshians

When you come.

Tune: Long-Haired Preachers.

Great big gun-thugs come out every night.

Try to tell us what's wrong and what's right.

And when asked how 'bout citizens' rights,

They will answer while figurin' their sights.

You'll get rights by and by,

In that glorious state of K-Y.

What says Smith to that myth,

You'll get rites in K-Y

When you die.

That's no lie!

NEW MASSES

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In the May issue: "The War Is On!", a call to the intellectuals to organize against it; "The Students See Kentucky" by a leader of one of the delegations; "Gorky The Shock-Brigader" by Romain Rolland; "The Detroit Massacre" by Felix Morrow.

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"1919" by John Dos Passos

THE spectre of the "lost generation" is with us again. It has been raised by John Dos Passos in "1919" (Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.00). Those of us who do not share the disillusion, the narrow hedonistic philosophy of the "lost generation," wondered what the justification would be for a new book on a subject already exhausted by such writers as Hemingway, Remarque, Renn, and Aldington. From a man like Dos Passos a war novel might be expected to take on a new tone.

But again the old refrain is sounded; again the old moral pointed. Again hollow cynicism, mockery, defeat. Whiskey, women, lice, typhus, and shrapnel—these are the key notes.

The personalities of "1919" are familiar. We have heard their stories before. We know about the debutante Red Cross worker who is seduced by an Army captain. We know about the newspaperman with "red" tendencies who loves hopelessly the woman artist who gives herself to soldiers. We even know about the sailor whose life is just one cheap dive after another.

The intellectuals and idealists who were caught in the vortex emerged, if they emerged, uprooted. Some became opportunists and defeatists; others, revolutionists. Confronted with the brutality of a system, feeling directly a challenge to explain it, some took refuge in calling it a meaningless system, betraying themselves into positions of impotence. Others saw the true meaning of the war, and losing their old faith, acquired new ideals. This dilemma of the middle class intellectual which Dos Passos posits in "1919" is of interest not because he has found a new clue—but rather because he can phrase and disclose the dilemma in a new and exciting pattern.

"1919" shows Dos Passos best as a creator of a relatively new form, as a literary designer and architect. Quick snapshots of historical figures—Woodrow Wilson, Paxton Hibben—are combined with passages written in the manner of Joyce—which serve as the subjective motifs of the novel.

The design is intriguing. It is, unfortunately, the chief merit of the novel. For as the design grows in importance, the ideas become blurred and uncertain, their development more uneven. The main body of thought should lie in the stories of the characters. Instead the dominant themes proceed from the personality of the author and are expressed in the poetry and essay passages. As a result, Dos Passos' purpose—to give a broad and comprehensive account of a decade—is defeated. We have, instead, snapshots of exquisite poetry, many pointed headlines, a penetrating picture of Jack Reed, a memorable study of Randolph Bourne, a brilliant, stinging indictment of the Unknown Soldier memorial.

Rich in dramatic climaxes, vivid in atmospheric effects, the novel is a disappointment because it does not present itself as a unified whole, because hackneyed thematic material cannot be concealed by an elaborate framework.

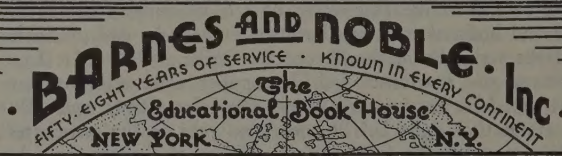
Dos Passos' approach is not the approach of Hemingway. We see in "1919" a certain relationship between worker and intellectual. We feel that a definite solution, a revolutionary solution, is suggested. But the solution does not grow organically from the characters involved. It is superimposed. In using trite, bourgeois personalities Dos Passos was tricked into a treatment of trite, banal themes. Revolutionary implications do not proceed from a novel in which the main events have to do with sexual intercourse, harlots, and bars. Only Dos Passos' technique transcends the petty lusts. And we can well afford to leave these to the Hemingway school.

CLARA STERN

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE,
by Henry W. Littlefield. Barnes and Noble, \$.75, 185p.

Those students who have been wearily dragging themselves thru a years dull course in the history of modern Europe, will be thankful to such books as Mr. Littlefield's. A glance at this *Outline* will satisfy most students that the text they have been using all term is for the most part just a padded outline. This little book makes no pretensions. It does not concern itself with giving "explanations" which other texts proffer. It merely recounts, very dutifully, as it were, outstanding events of the period from 1815 to 1932. What the actual life and struggles of the vast majority of the people in these countries really were, is no more the concern of this book than of most other history books for American students. This however is a distinct advantage, since this book is intended to cut yet shorter the short cut to knowledge so popular in our history classes. Any information which the weighted texts omit, naturally is not required in an outline of that material.

A book like this is to be sincerely recommended. Those very features which make farcical history courses in American universities—make a book of this sort very apropos. Read this book and you know what to say when you meet with "Villafranca", "Sadova", "Troppau", on the license-to-teach examinations. At least you will know as much of the important events which make up human history as your teacher. Mr. Littlefield's *Outline* will give us as much insight into history as is required to pass a course at college—minus the tortuous classroom sessions. It indicates the why and wherefore of social change as much as most any other college text-book in the field and with much less verbiage.



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C. C. N. Y. Committee on Fees calls a meeting of students for May 12 at 12:20. The Social Problems Club will have speakers stating the details and social implications of the Scottsboro case. May 19 at 12:30 P. M.

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Unemployment increases and our fellow students of last year or the year before have already discovered that the student and worker face a common fate under a system of exploitation and starvation.

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