

STUDENT REVIEW

MARCH, 1933



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Light and Leading in the University

Corliss Lamont

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STUDENT REVIEW

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Editorials

STUDENTS are starving! Every day we receive numerous reports from campuses located in various parts of the country relating the same tale. "Students here subsist on one meal a day . . . students destitute . . . live on crackers and milk for weeks."

On a whole the reaction of the student body has been one of passive acquiescence to their "fate." It is not that these students are cowardly or stupid but that they see no way out. In this case we have a lot to learn from the experience of the workers. They have shown how workers all over the country have gained unemployment relief through revolutionary mass struggles. This movement of the workers is heading directly to the attainment of federal unemployment insurance.

As impoverished students of the working class, professional groups, and middle class we face similar problems. We have to assert our rights as human beings to live decently in a land of plenty. In the Soviet Union, a relatively backward country, but a country that is developing rapidly and in the direction of Socialism, students are given free board and stipends, not to speak of free and cheaper cultural benefits. This must be our perspective in the United States. We certainly have more dispensable wealth in this country. There is enough money to train us in the R. O. T. C. There is money for all sorts of war preparations and billions to be disposed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for "impoverished" bankers and industrialists.

The working class has shown the way! Their experience that militant mass action rather than benevolent philanthropy brings cash relief to those that need is a timely lesson. It is time that we too stop depending on insufficient charity from brother students and, on *each individual campus* organize mass struggles around concrete specific demands for immediate cash relief through governmental and academic channels for needy students.

THE Conference on Negro Student Problems to be held in New York on April 15, 16, and 17, will come as a considerable advance in the history of student problems. Of national scope, and backed by the National Student League, it calls for immediate action by Negro and white students alike against the problems now facing the Negro student in the high schools, colleges, and gradu-

ate schools of the United States. The history of Negro education here has been notably one of suppression, infringement of rights, and discrimination, on the campuses, in the dormitories, and in fields of mental activity. Conferences have been called before on this subject, but have dwindled away in resolutions. This Conference proposes an active program; it intends to have its voting representation composed entirely of student delegates; and it intends to conclude its immediate action only by beginning a wide and intense plan of activity in the schools attended by Negro students. This conference deserves the support of readers of the *Student Review*; they may help by electing delegates and by contributing financially. The success of the conference depends on the initiative and the representative qualities of its members. It will mean a beginning in the united student movement.

The Call to Action of the Conference on Negro Student Problems appears in this issue of *Student Review*.

THE fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx occurs at the same time that the revolutionary student movement in the United States, the National Student League, is approaching a new plane in its development. We have had a sort of mushroom growth. Our job now is to build a very strong, firm foundation for this movement. This task is slow and arduous. Our first form of existence, really our *raison d'être*, is action, leadership in the struggle for student demands. But to accomplish the highest forms of action we have to pass through a simultaneous process of organization and education, agitation and propaganda. This is not divorced from action, but develops through action and as a result leads to action on a higher plane. An essential and integral part of this process is the study of our theory and history, the study of Marxism-Leninism.

On this occasion let us set for ourselves a nation-wide task. We should organize study groups on each campus for the study and propagation of the Marxian system. But we should never divorce this study from reality. We should study Marxism "not as a dogma, but a guide to action." In this respect we offer the columns of *Student Review* to aid in any respect in this task of education. Write us for information. Send us questions. We will attempt to give as much aid and guidance as we can.

Karl Marx: Fifty Years After

MARCH 14 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Marx. This name together with that of Lenin is full of meaning to millions of oppressed and exploited peoples all over the world. Particularly today when we are suffering from a devastating industrial and financial crisis, does the name of Marx have renewed meaning. Wages slashed, banks crashing, seventeen million unemployed, imperialist war in China and Latin America, preparations for further wars going feverishly ahead, retrenchment in education, misery, poverty, and degradation—this is what the ruling class offers us as a way out of the crisis. No wonder then that the oppressed masses of all countries are looking to a revolutionary way out, the Marxian one. But on the path to learn the true meaning of the Marxian way out these masses are delayed and diverted by demagoguery and "scientific" chicanery.

Together with Hoover's learned predictions of "prosperity in sixty days," campaigns of apple-selling and "Buy American" slogans, we are, in turn, deluged by so-called scientific panaceas. Among the more modern cure-alls, we find Technocracy. The Technocrats conceived the prime evil of capitalism to be the so-called price system. Their resultant ideology, however, springs from a superficial analysis of capitalism. It is true that under certain conditions prices tend to rise and capitalists will increase production. It follows that as prices fall, production will likewise decrease. It would be ridiculous to think that a rise or fall in prices cause a change in the amount of production. Under specified conditions, high prices signify booming profits, and capital, therefore, will be invested in such industries which promise lucrative return. Should these prices fall, it will mean less profits, necessitating a decline in production. The basic regulator of production in a capitalist society is the search for profit. The Technocrats perceived the flaw of capitalism in distribution, rather than in production. They did not see that the mode of distribution relies solely and is minutely interrelated with production.

Still more essential to the Technocrat scheme of things is that they desire the technicians and scientist to control the economic system. How are they going to gain control? They deny the use of political methods. Still the question may be asked: how does the ruling class keep itself in power? How are the property relations of capitalism sanctified and controlled? They are manipulated by the state in the form of law, courts, judges, police and the army. Denying political methods of attaining control and supplying no alternative, signifies the fact that the Technocrats base their credo and cure upon ephemeral utopian grounds.

Following the astounding phenomena of rapid economic progress in the Soviet Union co-eval with the rest of the economic world suffering from a most devastating collapse, our academicians started to plan puissant reconstruction. The planners of a re-organized society were hampered, however, by their inability to transcend the pale of capitalism. They stressed the fact that capitalism must be stringently planned, and in the planning alone lay the well-being of the future economic state. Their method of intellectual bushwacking in dealing with such

phenomena evolves in abstractions of the most flimsy texture. It must be borne in mind that the crux of capitalist economy is the accrual of profit. Should an industry be planned, and should it be found that the people be benefited if the rentier class do not receive increasing profits, will the rulers invested with political power, i. e., the armed force of the state, calmly allow seceding industry to evade their scepteral power? To imagine the entire ruling class good-naturedly relinquishing their profits for the benefit of society as a whole, is a wild conjectural conclusion. Let us imagine, for the moment, that industry is controlled for the capitalists in their interests. The profits of the entrepreneur can only be realized by further exploitation of the workers. This is done by lengthening the working-day, wage-cuts, speed-up, and improved technique. Karl Marx in his theory of surplus value, demonstrates how profit is derived from unpaid labor. The worker produces his wages in a portion of the working day. The surplus labor time is the surplus value, part of which is realized in the industrialist's profits. In order to increase the relative surplus value, a super-complicated and ultra-efficient machinery is introduced so that a larger portion of the working day is devoted to the production of surplus value. We are therefore confronted with the twofold development in search for profits: the lowering of the standard of the worker and the increased production as a result of the newly developed technique to increase the relative surplus value. And exactly this development, which is a result of the profit motive, is the cause of crises. Therefore

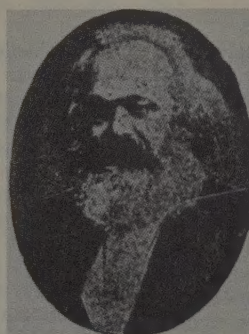
even in a planned capitalist society we would have crises if the profit motive is not abolished. We certainly won't abolish the profit motive by praying for it.

In opposition to these illusory and fragile theories and plans we have the Marxian system. Marx applied his philosophy of dialectic materialism to the problem of evolution of societies. He indicated that historical development is determined by the evolution of the productive forces.

"In the social production of the means of life, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will—production relations which correspond to a definite stage of the development of their productive forces." (*Preface to the Critique of Political Economy*.)

We have shown in our discussion how the continual struggle for profits causes the development of the technique of production, the productive forces. We find therefore, the development of mass production. The mass of workers grow. The working class is intricately related to production. The owners of the means of production are divorced from the process of production. The process of production becomes socialized. Simultaneously there arises a fierce combat in the form of competition among the capitalists themselves. Ownership evolves in monopoly. A class of superfluous owners grow together with the development of large-scale and socialized production.

"Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with it and under it. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point where they prove



KARL MARX.

incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)

This is the basic contradiction of capitalism, that between socialized production and capitalist appropriation, a contradiction which expresses itself most clearly during periods of crises. This contradiction expresses itself in the antagonism between the capitalist class and the propertyless producers. This class struggle is the clue to the way out of the capitalist crisis. The contradictions of the capitalist society are inherent in its very structure. The paralyzed capitalist class can no longer control the productive forces which it has produced. Therefore a revolutionary upheaval of capitalist productive relation is the only way out. This Marx demonstrated by an analysis of the structure of capitalist society and its laws of development (*Capital*). The only class capable of accomplishing this goal is the revolutionary working class. Hence those students who realize that the only solution of the crisis is the revolutionary Marxian one, can aid and participate in this revolutionary exodus only by lending their support as an ally of the working class.

The class struggle of the proletariat assumes a political form. The aim of this political struggle is the forceful overthrow of the capitalist state.

"It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that *social evolution* will cease to be *political revolutions*. Until then, on the eve of each general reconstruction of society, the last word of social science will ever be,

'Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction, It is thus that the question is irresistably put.'

(George Sand)" (Karl Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*)

After the overthrow of the capitalist state the proletariat and its allies under the leadership of a Marxist political party assumes control under what is termed a proletarian dictatorship.

"Between capitalist and communist society, there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A stage of political transition corresponds to this period, and the State during this period can be no other than the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."

(Karl Marx, *Criticism of the Gotha Program*.)

In a letter to Weydemeyer (1852) he further declared clearly,

"As far as I am concerned, I cannot claim to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society with all the strife against one another. Middle class historians long ago described the evolution of the class struggle and political economists showed the physiology of classes. I have added a new contribution with the following propositions: first, that the existence of classes is bound up with certain phases of material production; second, that the class struggle leads inevitably to the dictatorship of the proletariat; third, that this dictatorship is but a transition to the abolition of all classes and to the creation of a society of free and equal beings."

The role of the proletarian dictatorship is the abolition of the capitalist class and the creation of a classless, planned society. The socialized productive forces are controlled socially for use and not for profit . . . in short, a socialist society.

It is my contention, and facts bear me out, that the adherents of Marx today are the Communist International and the Communist parties in each country, all of which carry into practise the teachings and principles of Karl Marx. The Communist International accurately foresaw the present crisis, its extent and specific characteristics. While our learned economists and professors spoke of "prosperity around the corner," "a minor depression," and a multitude of other insignificant phrases, the Communist International pointed out that this crisis marked the end of capitalist stabilization and indicated the financial collapse which we are witnessing today. The Communist parties form the conscious vanguard of the working class and its allies in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of Socialism. This task is being accomplished in the Soviet Union.

Marxism is not dogmatic. It is a creative system of development. In this respect it is most essential to point to Lenin as the greatest exponent of Marxism in the twentieth century. Capitalism developed into a new epoch, the epoch of Imperialism. Lenin's teaching represents the Marxism of Imperialism. (See Summer, 1932 issue of *Student Review*.) Lenin developed in further detail the theory and practise of the proletarian revolution. Through his brilliant understanding and application of the dialectic materialism of Marx to concrete problems confronting the proletarian movement Lenin developed this philosophy. In nearly every field that Marx touched upon, Lenin made some significant contributions. Therefore, the study of Marxism today, in the epoch of Imperialism, necessitates an understanding and study of Leninism.

We may add that the very essence of Marxism is the unity of theory and practice. Marx personally participated in the organization of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), and became its leader and guiding spirit. An understanding of the Marxian system is incomplete unless accompanied with an active participation in the working class struggle to overthrow the capitalist system.

No wonder, then, that in our classrooms and text-books Marx is either completely ignored or falsified and "refuted" in a very petty fashion. Interesting in this respect is Professor Laski's article "Marxism After Fifty Years" in the March issue of *Current History*. He asks,

"Why should principles the *refutation of which is the ordinary stock-in-trade of the academic social philosopher* secure an immortality denied to Comte and Saint-Simon, to Proudhon and Fourier and John Stuart Mill?" (My emphasis—H. M.)

But Professor Laski presents an amazing "contradiction." On the basis of these principles "the refutation of which is part of the ordinary stock-in-trade of the academic social philosopher," Marx developed laws of society which are *real and accurate*. Laski later states,

"But his title to eminence does not rest upon the Russian fulfillment alone. The crisis through which capitalist democracy is passing at the present time accords with the forecast he made. The power to produce without a parallel ability to distribute, the growth of unemployment, the increasing severity of economic crises, the conflicts of economic nationalism with their resolution by wars which issue into civil violence, the inability of parliamentary democracy to satisfy the

demands of the masses [as if Fascism in Italy and now in Germany satisfy the demands of the masses! H. M.], their consequent sense of its importance to meet their problems, all these he marvelously foresaw. His insight enabled him to realize that the test of capitalist society was its ability to be continuously expanding, that once it became involved in its own contradictions it would go the way of all previous systems which failed to battle with, to adapt themselves to, their special environment."

Our professors cannot understand this phenomena. They are limited in their thinking to a defense and apology for the capitalistic system. They therefore very weakly "refute" and primarily distort Marxism, the revolutionary philosophy of the working class. When confronted with the acid test of reality and experience as a proof of Marx's teachings, our professors, or as Lenin called them, "the scientific salesmen of the capitalistic system," are amazed and attempt to find some more "fallacies." Some adopt a much more subtle method. They

claim that they are Marxists, pose as friends of Marxism. Then they revise Marx's doctrines transforming it usually according to contemporary bourgeois thought. Marxism developed in a struggle against these revisionists (Bernstein, Duhring, Kautsky, etc.). Among political groups today we find the Socialist Party since the crisis mouthing Marxian phrases. Yet in their political program and philosophy we find a basic revision of Marxism. In particular do they revise the Marxian theory of the state and class struggle. In academic circles we are treated with the revisionism of Professor Sidney Hook. He attempts a transformation of the dialectic materialism of Marx to the pragmatism of Dewey, thereby revising Marx. (See *Communist* of January, February, March, 1933.)

To learn Marxism we must go to the original. We must study Marx and the true Marxists. But as we have pointed out above, it is not enough to study Marx, for a true understanding of Marxism leads to action. And through the experience and training we receive from action we will be better able to understand and apply Marxism.

HARRY MAGDOFF.

A Call To Action

ACTION on the problems facing the Negro students throughout the country has become imperative. Recent developments in the American economic system are clearly undermining the whole educational structure. The Negro student body is particularly affected by these developments. Historically, the education of Negro youth in America has labored under discriminatory conditions and policies; in the present crisis, these conditions spell disaster for the Negro youth.

Always hampered by economic insecurity and privation, 'free' education has been practically limited to a struggling minority even in the past. Due to widespread economic discrimination low family incomes have permitted few to avail themselves even of free high school and college facilities. Dependence on white philanthropy, charitable endowments and religious bodies for educational funds has been the common rule for decades. Under these conditions educational opportunity and academic freedom for the students have been a mockery. Widespread dependence on scholarships and gifts have acted as hidden clubs for maintaining narrow religious dominance, discriminatory treatment, and distorted teaching of subject matter. In the Negro schools discrimination has taken the form of outright segregation, inferior equipment and buildings, narrow curricula, and poorly paid teachers. This has been matched by calculated individual discrimination in the mixed school extending over residence insults, social exclusions, and individual neglect by teachers.

Besides these immediate student conditions, the narrow educational theories applied to Negro education has reflected the general discrimination of a white ruling class towards an oppressed minority. Economic discrimination has been made an apologetic for providing a narrow vocational training. This has furthered the existing discrimination in the economic, political and social life of the Negro.

The present crisis, now four years in development and steadily getting worse, has intensified all these conditions.

Negro family incomes upon which a part of the student body depends are drying up even more rapidly than the incomes of whites of similar position; endowments, religious funds and public appropriations are being cut off. In particular, local, state and Federal policies of retrenchment are continuing their discriminatory habit of "taking it out on the Negro student." With restlessness growing among a student body faced with these intolerable conditions, academic repressions and administrative dominance towards the Negro student becomes more direct. Even more than for the white student, unemployment faces the Negro graduate. Even more than for the white student, education becomes less capable of fitting him to meet the tasks ahead.

We, who issue this call for a conference on Negro student problems, believe that the time has come for the students and their leaders to act on these problems. The first step must be the formulation of a concrete program of action by those who have the most intimate knowledge of these problems . . . the students themselves. Isolated individuals or groups find it difficult to understand the significance and ramifications of their problems. Consequently, they are unable to take effective action on them. The tasks of this conference are, first, to bring together students from widely separated areas, from Negro schools, from white schools, from mixed schools, with their varying problems; second, to give the students a general view of the nature of these problems; third, to formulate concrete objectives as the basis for a program of action; fourth, to establish such unanimity on these points as will give rise to widespread action supported by all students.

We call upon you to attend such a conference to be held in New York City, April 15th-17th, to cooperate in determining goals and developing a program of action. Whatever may be your individual beliefs, political or otherwise, *unity on these immediate issues is possible and necessary.* We call on all groups, student clubs and unorganized student bodies, to elect delegates to participate

in this conference, to present their own needs and problems, and to carry back a program for action to students on their campuses.

M. MORAN WESTON, *Chairman* (Union Theological Seminary)

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PAUL WENDORF (Columbia University)

MARGUERITE WHITE (Columbia University)

ZOE YORDEN (Evening High School)

1. For further information regarding the Conference (Delegates' credentials, housing information, program, etc.) communicate with the Secretary of the Committee for the Conference on Negro Student Problems, Sylvia O. Segall, 5000 Broadway, New York City.
2. All student clubs, student organizations, and unorganized student bodies, high school and college, may send delegates—1 delegate for every 5 of their members.
3. Fraternal delegates will be seated from all teachers and alumni associations, interracial groups dealing with student problems, etc. Interested organizations should communicate with the Secretary.
4. Funds are needed to meet the expenses of the Conference. The Committee urges that all contributions to defray these expenses be sent to: H. H. Gill, Treasurer, care Segall, 5000 Broadway, New York City.

Hunger Fighters

MONDAY, February 20, some four thousand workers, farmers and students tramped through the snow and slush of the St. Paul business loop, marching to the capitol to demand relief for the thousands of starving and unemployed people in the state of Minnesota. Some two thousand, students among them, marched the ten miles from Minneapolis to St. Paul. Two automobiles with placards boldly proclaiming the National Student League, University of Minnesota, demanding the abolition of R. O. T. C., appropriation of funds for needy students, unemployment insurance for students, no budget cuts at the expense of educational facilities, transported fifteen N. S. L. members from the university campus to St. Paul. There the students joined the Minneapolis delegation on foot and marched to St. Paul's new million dollar court house where all the columns of the march converged.

Four hundred elected delegates with scarlet armbands led the line of march. Three delegates representing the National Student League, marched with the youth section; others follow behind. Workers and farmers—the line was endless, was ever growing, growing, as new members fell in step and joined its ranks. Street-cars were halted, automobiles were tied up, crowds lined the streets and hung out of office buildings. The wind blew furiously, catching the placards full force and nearly wrenching them from the sturdy grips of their possessors.

Eighteen delegates were elected to present the resolutions to the legislature. The rest of the delegates, marked by their red armbands, swarmed the galleries, crowding and milling, each craning his neck to gain a glimpse of the speakers.

The main resolution presented to the joint session of the House and Senate included four demands of the workers and farmers:

1. Workers' unemployment insurance for all unemployed workers without exception, at the expense of the state and employers.
2. Immediate emergency relief to the impoverished farmers.
3. Immediate emergency relief for unemployed work-

ers pending the enactment of the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill.

4. Stoppage of all foreclosures and evictions of farmers and unemployed; a moratorium on all debts and taxes for the impoverished farmers and unemployment Insurance Bill.

A special section was devoted to student relief, embodying the four demands set forth by the National Student League:

1. Unemployment insurance for all self-dependent students graduating from college who are not placed in positions, or students forced to leave college for lack of funds.
2. Abolition of R. O. T. C. All funds now employed for this purpose to be made available for scholarships to assist students unable to finance their education.
3. No further budget cuts in educational appropriations or retrenchment at the expense of educational facilities.
4. Establishment of a state fund collected from the levies on incomes over \$5000 per year, to assist students in college to finish their education, this

fund to be administered by committees elected by the student body.

The session lasted two hours. Morris Karson demanded an answer from the legislature, but it seemed it was not possible to give an answer on such short notice. The matter must be referred to committees, to sub-committees for consideration—and perhaps next week, or the week after, or next month. . . . Karson declared that an answer must be forthcoming by March 4, when the workers would again march to the capital.

After the session, the delegates repaired to the old capitol building where they joined other workers and farmers who had waited after participating in the march. They all assembled for a final meeting, at which they declared the answer of the governor and the legislature unsatisfactory and emphasized the necessity of successful March 4th demonstrations to demand action. A State Committee of Action of thirty members, including an N. S. L. member, was elected to continue the struggle. There must be relief! There must be action at once!

The State Relief March was over—not an end in itself, just a beginning—the greatest demonstration St. Paul has ever seen and the broadest united front action ever held in Minnesota.

VIRGINIA FEHR.

The Fight For Schools

BALTIMORE, for a long time, through its press "prided itself" on being "free from the effects of depression." But things have been going on from bad to worse during the last month. The city administration has tried to effect "economy" measures, tax rates have been changed, and rumors have been circulating. For the last three months there has been discussion creeping into the papers about the possibility of closing the night schools, but during this period no one did anything about it.

About February 10th a member of the National Student League interviewed the director of the night schools. He learned that the city administration had definitely decided to close the night schools on February 28th. This economy was accomplished by the bankers in collaboration with the city politicians. By threatening not to furnish any more loans to the city unless the city budget was out, the bankers easily succeeded in having the Mayor cut the appropriations for education. The result is that all but one school (City College, for white students, which is due to be closed a month later) will be closed. This includes every Negro school. This means that 8,000 white students and all of the 3,000 Negro students will be deprived of any further education.

A giant mass meeting to protest against the city administration for this cut in students' appropriations for education was immediately called by the members of the National Student League in cooperation with the Social Problems Club and the Liberal Club of Johns Hopkins University. Despite the many technical difficulties involved in obtaining a hall, leaflets, etc., and the obstructionist tactics and manoeuvres of various groups and individuals we held an effective meeting.

In connection with the groups referred to above I wish to mention the Alumni Association of Night Schools. The conduct of this group deserves special attention. In calling the mass meeting we tried to engage the aid of the Association. They answered that they were planning a mass meeting later in the year, and although they wel-

comed our interest, suggested that we work with them rather than set up a separate organization. We pointed out the necessity of immediate action if anything was to be accomplished and if further retrenchment was to be forestalled. We realized that any "policy of waiting" was dangerous to the interests of the students and only served to play into the hands of those responsible for the impending cut. Although the Association persisted in its half-hearted policy we tried to work with them. At one of their weekly committee meetings they promised to help us in distributing leaflets. But after the meeting was over they shifted their position and refused in most cases to have anything to do with us. A few individual members of the Association, however, did distribute the leaflets, but they did so against the desires of their officials. The Association went so far as to tear down our leaflets from the bulletin boards. In addition to this they sent out a letter to all schools in which they "made no recommendations" but definitely stated that they were not sponsoring the mass student meeting and moreover were doing "everything that they possibly could to help the students." We then approached a member of the Association and asked him why his organization first seemed to support our work but was now opposing us. "There's radicalism in that leaflet," he said. We asked him where. He pointed out a statement which said, "Business interests are closing the night schools." We asked him to disprove it. We quoted the *Sun*. He couldn't answer our facts—they were true.

More than once the Alumni Association has been revealed as a reactionary group which played the role of policeman to the city administration. A leading city official praised the Association for working so quietly "that no one realized that they were at work." At the mass meeting, after the Alumni Association had attempted to defend itself, a Negro woman delivered a most damaging attack against the Association by exposing its Jim Crow policy. She related how she was told by the Association

not to have anything to do with us because "radical organizations were calling this meeting." And Mrs. Nutter, the Negro woman, answered from the floor: "And I told him that if to fight race discrimination and insults is radical, I am a radical." The Negro woman's speech was followed by a long-winded appeal by a member of the Alumni Association to quit the meeting and work with his organization. He tried to break up the meeting by demanding that we disband and work individually with his group. He insulted the former Negro speaker and was "booed" down by the students. The students by this time had come to realize the reactionary character of the Alumni Association of Night Schools.

The meeting brought definite results. A demand was raised by everyone that at least one Negro high school be kept open. A committee was elected to see the Mayor the

next morning and present the students' demands to him. Students promised to speak on our demands at their graduation rehearsals which were to take place the next night. The meeting ended with the creation of an Association of Night School Students.

The newly born Association of Night School Students, composed only of students and run by students, is preparing itself for a fight for the reopening of the schools. It has already united both Negro and white students in a Jim-Crow state, Maryland, to work together. United we are ready to carry this struggle to a successful end.

TESSIM ZORACH

EDITOR'S NOTE: *As we go to press we learn that over 1700 Negro and white students have joined the Association of Night School Students.*

Our Bewildered Professors

ELOQUENT testimony to the confusion, the timidity, and the superficiality of the American university professor of today appears in the four papers in the January Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors on various phases of the present crisis in higher education.* All four men agree that something is very much wrong; all agree that something must be done about it; yet not one of them has an adequate idea either of what is wrong or of the remedy to be applied. They are all liberal men, desiring freedom in the university, and having other notions of the function of education than training teachers to train teachers, or the production of successful business men. In other words, they recognize that the end of the university is something beyond itself, something broadly social, but that is as far as they go.

Professor Beard deplores the rule of the university by the trustees. He sees how the professor, "who had once taken part in self-government, became a kind of hired man," but he apparently fails to see the relationship between the structure of the university hierarchy and capitalist organization in general. Now it is interesting to know what this American pioneer in the economic interpretation of history has to offer for a solution. He would have the contestants for power in the university ask themselves: "What, after all, is the supreme duty of intelligence and the ultimate function of the university in the universe?" True, "university in the universe" makes alliteration, but does it make sense? "Function of the university in the universe?" "The supreme duty of intelligence?" If philosophy has taught anything in the past fifty years it has taught the pernicious meaninglessness of such questions. Why, we must ask, does Beard raise them? Why does he not ask, what is the function of—not intelligence, that is too broad and abstract—intelligence in America here and now: America torn by the economic crisis, given over to chicanery and demagogery, faced with misery on an unprecedented scale, wars for capitalist domination, and the threat of an open capitalist dictatorship? The only answer is: such abstractions are safe because they can be answered by equally meaningless abstractions. But the specific question requires a specific

concrete answer, which, in this case, would involve Mr. Beard in radical analysis which would lead him to the unpleasant (for the liberal) choice between the two horns of a dilemma.

But let us leave Mr. Beard to his meditations on the supreme duty of intelligence. What has he to offer the university professor in the present worsening situation? He thinks it "quite proper" that professors stand together on matters of academic tenure, freedom of speech, and the like. But:—

"They will grow into real power, however, when they come to think of themselves not primarily as teachers with jobs to hold but as guardians of the lamp of learning, when they, through their fellowship, draw together the broken and dissevered fragments of their several specialties, and arrive at some fundamental conclusions respecting the duty of intelligence and the function of the university. It is not by quarrelling with presidents and trustees that they will arrive at authority. It is by making again a unity of spirit and purpose in higher learning."

Teachers, in other words, suffering from salary reductions, with no assurance of the future, likely to be dismissed if they take a radical stand, are to leave off thinking of their jobs and pleasantly reflect on their position as "guardians of the lamp of learning." And Mr. Beard concludes this paragraph with the amazing remark: "Here as elsewhere those govern who can." In short, although history is to be interpreted economically, *spirit* can triumph over the forces of money, and the university—the home of spirit—is exempt from the forces governing all other social phenomena. Yet he can affirm the Hegelian-Marxist principle that to be effective "purposes must coincide with realities and potentialities actually before us. Otherwise they are utopian." We can only conclude that he has not grasped the realities before him and consequently has nothing to offer but idealistic verbiage.

The other writers are even more hopelessly confused; even more completely divorced from what is taking place around them. It is sad to reflect that these men are the "guardians of our youth," that these are the men who complain that the majority of their students are not at all worth teaching, that they should never have been allowed into college, and so on. They make the sad mistake of thinking that a professorship gives them an Absolute, from which they can utter judgments of apodictic certainty. By what accident did they attain their positions? Who has

* *The Quest for Academic Power*, Charles A. Beard.
Aims in College Teaching, Boyde H. Bode.
The University and the College, Hardin Craig.
Education versus Training, F. K. Richtmyer.

set them up as arbiters of the qualifications and destinies of their students? Or, perhaps, they speak thus because they have answered the great question of the function of the university in the universe.

The second paper "represents an attempt to maintain the traditional decorum of the college of liberal arts." Its author, a Mr. Bode, complains of the topic assigned to him, "the objectives of college education," for "objective" has to his sensitive ears an "uncultured flavor." And his conclusions could easily be inferred from his gentlemanly tone. Recognising that the college curriculum has been controlled by a utility which meant pecuniary profit, like Professor Beard, he completely closes his eyes to the genuine meaning of this in a competitive capitalist society. While seeing that "Our traditional conceptions of conduct and personal development are hopelessly out of tune with modern industry and business where the law of the jungle still holds sway" he takes refuge in the meaningless slogan of "intelligent living" as the end and aim of college education. If it were not down in black and white the thing would be incredible. With the tragic unemployment among university graduates, with the rapid growth of an unemployed intelligentsia in America and its resultant evils, such as increased ruthlessness of competition for the few available positions, professors have the audacity to assert that "college education should be concerned primarily with the task of assisting every student to develop an independent philosophy of life." For the breadline, Mr. Bode? An *independent* philosophy of life will do no good there.

The third paper need not detain us at all, but the fourth brings the series to a fitting close. Its sub-title is *A Consideration of Purely 'Cultural' Courses and 'Preparatory' Courses*. Mr. Richtmyer is for the *cultural* courses. He admits that specialized training may enable the student to get a job more easily, but insists that "the student should not be particularly concerned with getting a job. . . ." Apparently he is to live on his culture. For the sons of the wealthy this is good enough, but for the majority of college students today, for whom a job is a matter of life and death, it is atrocious irony to be told by their teachers that they should not be concerned about it.

As to the end of education, it is touchingly idealistic to say, as Mr. Richtmyer does, that the student should be given "a stimulus and a guide to greater intellectual activity" and that four years of Latin may be of more lasting value even to a shoe-store clerk than two years of bookkeeping and business methods. But what relevance has it to our present economic and social crisis? The author plainly thinks in as much of a vacuum as he conceives the schools and colleges to be in. The author is spiritual brother of the salvation army preacher who informs the bums in a Bowery flop house that if they seek the Kingdom of Heaven all things will be given unto them. The spirit before the body has always been the cry of the well clothed and the well fed. Plainly, capitalism is not the only curse of our universities. Religion and its attendant idealism have done their work only too well.

These articles confirm the growing belief that college teachers today are the leaders of no one. Students go to them for their factual information, seldom for their ideas. On the whole the rulers of the nation reject them—though Professor Moley becomes Mr. Roosevelt's adviser—and they reject the masses. And their own ranks are divided between the liberals and the conservatives. Their fate is almost amusing to contemplate. Like the sad middle-class citizens of Petrograd whom John Reed so dramatically depicts, they will be in their studies, playing bridge, or discoursing nobly on the universe and the supreme duty of intelligence, happy not to be involved in the base turmoil in the streets without. Or perhaps, some of them will be at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of University Professors. In a smoke-filled college hall they will be debating the question, which some of the bolder spirits will have again resurrected, whether *treason* should be included with *immorality* as something to which academic freedom cannot be held to extend. And the progress of the discussion will be hindered, because every few minutes the speaker will have to pause, his words drowned out by the noise of machine guns in the streets outside, in the battle being waged between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the control of the state.

PAUL SALTER.

Light and Leading in the University

"IT is manifestly cause for regret and, perhaps, for introspective inquiry that in the world's present emergencies so little of light and leading has come out of the world's universities. . . . Whether from timidity or perplexity the fact is that very slight assistance appears to have been proffered by the men of universities." Such is the complaint of Dean McBain of the Graduate Faculty of Columbia University in his latest annual report.

Timidity or perplexity, which is the basic cause here? I should like to suggest, as a conclusion drawn from my experience as a teacher and a student, that timidity is the basic cause; and that even in cases where perplexity is put forth as the formal reason, it is likely to boil down to timidity in the last analysis.

Let me explain what I mean: Take, for example the recent statement by Dr. Shirley Wynne, Health Commissioner of New York City, that 25 per cent of the school children in this city are now suffering from malnutrition. This poses a very simple question: Shall we or shall we not see to it that the school children of New York are properly fed?

But to the average college professor this is a most per-

plexing problem. It is significant to note how he will go about answering it. He will devote two years to study and to the writing of a treatise entitled *Malnutrition in Ancient Rome*. That is not all. He will assign two of his most brilliant graduate students working for Ph.D. degrees to special theses: one entitled *Aspects of Malnutrition among the Aztecs*, and the other, *The Eskimo and Malnutrition*. Curiously enough, at the end of the two years and in spite of all the wonderful facts unearthed by himself and his graduate students, the professor is still very much perplexed as to what to do about the malnutrition of the school children of New York.

It seems to me that such perplexity is often due to timidity, to the desire to avoid having to take a stand on important and pressing issues. To be perplexed is sometimes very convenient. It keeps you out of trouble with the powers-that-be. The professor can always say: "The factors in this matter are so varied and so involved that I really can't reach a definite conclusion about it." Very convenient indeed! No President or Board of Trustees is going to object to that!

I do not mean that frequently college teachers are not

really perplexed, as we all are, about questions which arise. But I do feel sure that in many cases this conscious or unconscious perplexity is due to timidity. And then there is that other large group of teachers who have perfectly clear solutions of some important problem in their mind but who feel that silence is the better part of discretion.

That they are not unjustified in feeling afraid is shown by the frequent cases of dismissal in the past. A prominent college administrator who is certainly no Bolshevik, Chancellor Capen of Buffalo University, admitted just the other day, that "in many universities the scholar whose specialty includes matters that are subjects of public controversy runs the risk of suppression or dismissal. His security lies in what is grossly miscalled discretion."

"Discretion!" What happens to those who are indiscreet, who really try, in Dean McBain's phrase, to supply a little "light and leading"? Remember what happened to Nearing and Dana; Cattell, Beard, and Robinson; Stern, and Auerbach; Gallagher, and Johnson; and a score of others similarly dismissed—enough really for a whole new university. And for each of these outspoken teachers you may be sure there were a hundred who were discreet and silent.

One of our leading liberals, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, was at one time in danger. I remember three or four years ago when he came out at a meeting in New York for a new conception of God; not for a denial of God—which is what every child in Russia would do—but just for a new idea of God. I happened to run into some Smith alumnae at this time, and I can assure Dr. Barnes that not only his teaching position, but his life, was in danger. These alumnae were writing letters and telegrams, and getting other alumnae to write more letters and telegrams, protesting against the presence of such a dangerous man at Smith. But President Neilson stood by his guns. Indeed, President Neilson is just about the only American college president I know of whose record on academic freedom is absolutely clear.

Take another case, that of Donald Henderson. For four years he has been supplying "light and leading" at Columbia, frankly and courageously standing up, day in and day out, for the achievement of Socialism as the only way out of the terrible mess in which this country and the world find themselves; and taking part, too, in the daily struggles of the students and workers.

What is his reward? A prison sentence of thirty days (suspended, but still on the books) for going up to speak at C. C. N. Y., where, while quietly waiting to see if he was to address the group which had invited him, he was arrested for disorderly conduct.

Then, instead of a defense of Henderson, we find *Spectator*, the college paper, printing a column-long, vicious attack by "Stroller." The attack on Henderson concludes by asking why one who is "doubly injurious to the reputation of Columbia be allowed to stay on?" "Doubly injurious,"—imagine it! Donald Henderson is *doubly a credit* to Columbia because both in theory and in practice he has been an able exponent of one of the great systems of thought and society: Marxism. Every university, if it is to keep abreast of the times, should have an exponent of Marxism on its faculty—not some white Russian who considers it his function to discredit this philosophy, but a teacher who can present it sympathetically and accurately, that is, one who is himself a sincere Marxist.

Sometimes, when students have been unable to find men of "light and leading" within their college, they have tried

to get such men to come in from the outside to talk to them. One such instance I should like to mention from my personal experience. It occurred back in 1924 at Harvard: we had decided to ask Scott Nearing, Eugene V. Debs, and William Z. Foster, who was not nearly so radical then, to speak for us. But the authorities in the Harvard Union nipped our plan in the bud, though we made a good fight. One day, an Assistant Dean of the College slipped his arm through mine in a friendly way and said, "Don't you know that Harvard is starting a \$10,000,000 campaign fund in a few weeks?" Two of us finally appealed to President Lowell, whose recent resignation has caused such glowing eulogies. He said that he might be able to give us a lecture room for our speakers if we guaranteed that no reporter, even of the college paper, would be present, or receive any information about the speeches. Obviously, he did not care to run the risk of antagonizing the would-be donors.

To return, then, to Dean McBain's plea for men of light and of leading in the universities. It is like many other sincere pleas that we hear. President Hoover wanted to abolish poverty, President Wilson wanted to abolish war, lots of people want to abolish the tariff, and educators want more "light and leading" in the universities. But in all these cases the objective contradictions of the present system thwart these very desirable wishes. The colleges are not providing men of light and leading because the authorities do not want "lights" around; nor do the alumni and donors. For, when once a "light" is turned on, there is no telling what it will uncover. Today, most of the teachers who might be "lights" burn dimly in an atmosphere of repression and discretion.

But the situation is not entirely hopeless. Teachers can organize and protect themselves much better than they do at present. If tomorrow, or the day after, every teacher in the country stood up and said exactly what he thought—about capitalism, about religion, about birth control, about evolution, about the tariff, about Russia—though the authorities would naturally want to fire them all, they would not dare touch them in the face of such a mass expression of opinion. The teachers would win a victory for academic freedom that would last a long time. With that kind of a united front for freedom of opinion within the colleges, and an effective united front outside the colleges, our teachers could really become men of "light and leading" in the world's great crises.

CORLISS LAMONT.

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Striking For Students' Rights

New York University

NEW York University has vindicated itself at last. A three hour strike on February 2th marked the entrance of a hitherto submissive student body into the ranks of those who are willing to struggle for their rights as students.

The N. Y. U. *Daily News* had been conducting a campaign to force the university authorities to grant medical attention to an injured athlete. In doing so it found itself attacking the university's board of athletic control—a sacred thing in any American college. During the last six months the N. Y. U. *Daily News* had been pursuing a rather liberal policy as evidenced by its editorial support of Student Congress Aagainst War, its own campaign against the R. O. T. C. on the campus and its attack on compulsory athletic fees. This of course served to build up in the administrative offices an antagonism against the *News*. The Eli Kleinfeld case was merely the last straw which broke the back of administrative patience. Kleinfeld was a boxer, so injured in practice that he lost the use of his arm. The university, after some months, discontinued medical treatment because it felt that he was incurable and in the words of an official, "the depression had hit the university." Kleinfeld himself, however, felt that all methods of cure had not been exhausted and that the school should pay the cost. The editors of the *Daily News* agreed with him and began to place the facts before the student body. The university's athletic board, with insulted dignity "broke diplomatic relations" with the *News*.

None of the above reasons entered into the official charges against the *News*. In the Kleinfeld case the *News* was merely "impolite," "inaccurate," etc. Ten additional accusations were dug up from a variety of minor complaints which are part and parcel of the regular life of every college paper: "not enough space" given to this or that club, etc. The *Daily News* was suspended for three

weeks. Towards the end of this period the removal of four members of the managing board, including the editor, is surely in the offing.

These charges were added, of course, in order to make the array of sins look imposing.

Chancellor Brown was clever enough not to remove the *News* staff himself. Through Dr. Quigley, his representative to the Student Senate (a body of nine students) he had no difficulty "convincing" these fellows, who are trying to warm up to the administration, that they ought to act on the charges brought. Prof. Badger, chairman of the Board of Athletic Control, was in constant communication with the chancellor and on his own admission wanted these charges put through the "proper channels" though, he said, he could have attained his purposes much more speedily through the Chancellor directly. Chancellor Brown, forced to issue a public statement one hour after the strike, announced that he was pleased to sustain the decision of the Student Senate.

The strike was directed against the official action of the Student Senate and unofficial action of the Chancellor's office. Although it did not call upon the Chancellor to publicly set a precedent for overriding a decision of the Student Senate, it did express our condemnation of what no doubt Chancellor Brown had tacitly consented to. Moreover, the determination to strike came not as a result of the testimony at all. The students who struck did so in order to force a fair and open trial. The reinstatement of the *Daily News* was demanded as the preliminary condition for the trial.

The strike itself was eminently successful. It brought two thousand students out on the public square. Many classes were dismissed by sympathetic teachers. Almost all classrooms discussed the strike and in a vote taken by one instructor in each of his two classes it was revealed that three-quarters of those who came to class were in favor of the strike but were much too afraid of cuts. A delegation of City College strikers and a group of

Columbia University students including Donald Henderson addressed the strike meeting.

The N. Y. U. Daily News Defense Committee, which conducted the fight from the beginning was initiated by members of the National Student League. It found ready response in the form of organizational support from some ten other campus groups besides many students who at that time belonged to no group at all. Petitions to recall the Student Senators who voted against the *News* are being rapidly circulated and at this writing it appears as if the requisite number of signatures will soon be obtained. This will force the calling of open meetings of all students at which, from all indications the vote will go against the present administration.

J. H.

City College of New York

IN October, 1932, the administration of the College of the City of New York was found guilty of the suppression of academic freedom by an audience-jury of fifteen hundred students who attended a mass trial of the officials. Several months later, twenty-three of the students active in the trial were called before the Board of Higher Education to defend their actions. After lengthy deliberation the Board notified nineteen of the students that they were to be suspended for thirty days beginning the first day of the Spring Term. This announcement was made one day before term examinations.

Immediate protest against this action was hindered by exams, registration, and then by the unusually cold weather. However, mass meetings were held and a strenuous effort was made to bring home to the student body the true meaning of this arbitrary action of the Board. The important fact that these students were the leaders in the fight against retrenchment in education and against the R. O. T. C. was emphasized.

The National Student League members at City College had a strike as their goal during the agitational activities. Student sentiment, however, remained more or less dorm-

ant for two weeks. A mass meeting held February 24 had an unexpected enthusiastic effect on the student body; a strike call met with wholehearted response from the assembled students. A strike committee volunteered and a meeting was held immediately. They decided to call the strike for the following day. After an afternoon and night of frenzied preparation the committee was ready for the strike.

Next morning, about fifty students were on hand at seven o'clock to picket and distribute the strike call. As the day advanced, the ranks of the strikers grew until at noon there were nearly fifteen hundred students out on strike. The strikers congregated around the flag-pole which served as a rostrum for student speakers, frequently forming ranks to march around the school and shout their slogans. About forty "loyal" students formed a committee to break up the strike; the net effect of their activities was to strengthen the ranks of the strikers. By 2:30, there were twenty-five hundred students on strike, or at least, attending the mass meeting. The strike was then suspended until the commencement of evening classes.

In the Evening Session the strike started out slowly, but within two hours eight hundred strikers had rallied to the cause. Again the campus was invaded and a strike flag was raised. The strikers marched and listened to speakers until ten o'clock, when the strike was officially over.

The strike was a failure as a strike, drawing only about 15 per cent of the students from their classes. It was a success in that it was one of the greatest protest demonstration ever held on the City College campus. It was a success in that the administration did not dare resort to its previous policy of calling police on the campus to break up student meetings, that vicious infringement of academic rights which had occasioned the mass trial. It was a success in that it aroused most students on the campus to a realization of the situation; every student, striker or not, is discussing the strike. A basis has been laid for greater and more effective protests against the violation of student rights.

CLYDE JOHNSON.



Student Action Speaks

George Washington University

Effective leaflet and petition distribution and timely newspaper publicity killed a movement started here recently for the formation of an R.O.T.C. unit. "Facilities insufficient," the prexy decided, after due consideration. Other groups might well emulate the success of the George Washington N.S.L. unit in their anti-war campaigns.

New York District

In line with the portion of our program which calls for participation in working class struggles, the New York District sent a telegram to the Chinese Legation in Washington protesting the incarceration of Huan Ping, militant secretary of the Chinese Federation of Trade Unions. A few days later, the following reply was received:

TELEGRAM RECEIVED HUANPING ARRESTED BY KUOMINTANG TIENTSIN BRANCH TRANSFERRED NANKINGWARD FOR SENTENCE HERE NO POWER TO INTERFERE STOP PERSONALLY KNOW HIM WELL IN CASE HE SERVES CHINA FAITHFULLY WILL TRY WIRE NANKING GOVERNMENT FOR HIS SAFETY

CHANG HSIAO LIANG

Huan Ping, who was held on the charge of being a communist, has since been released.

Yale University

More than 75 students at the university heard Donald Henderson of Columbia, Executive Secretary of the N.S.L., speak at an anti-war meeting on the campus. The meeting was called by the new N.S.L. group as one of its first activities since the recent formation. Fifteen students comprise the nucleus about which a large and active unit is expected to develop.

Columbia University

The Social Problems Club, which led in the fight for the vindication and reinstatement of Reed Harris, expelled editor of the daily *Spectator*, last year, voted last week to affiliate itself formally with the National Student League.

The Montevideo Congress

It is interesting to note that of all liberal, pacifist, radical and revolutionary organizations, the Student Congress Against War sent the only American delegate to the Montevideo Congress Against War, to be held March 11. Carl Geiser, active member of the Fenn College N.S.L. branch, and former editor of *The Cauldron*, the college publication, was elected at the Student Congress Against War, held in Chicago last December.

New N.S.L. Groups

Lincoln University, Nebraska; Case School of Applied Science, Chicago; Yale University, New Haven; and Albany, N. Y., are centers of new N.S.L. groups organized this year. The spread of the National Student League through the colleges and universities in the United States portrays definitely the actual need and approval of its program and activities.

University of Michigan

Since a report was made public here concerning the condition of more than 500 undergraduates who were living in actual need of food, the N.S.L. group has been active in pointing out the inadequacy of the so-called "Good Will Fund" which was instituted for the amelioration of these students' sufferings. Now, coupled with this lack of food for needy students, is the threat facing

most of these same students, through their failure to meet tuition notes due this month. The Dean of the University has "advised" them to "go home," but the N.S.L. chapter is calling these students together to force a moratorium on their debts for a year. In their three-point program, the chapter is demanding the following:

1. That the Board of Regents request the State Legislature to appropriate funds for needy students' relief immediately;
2. That the salaries of staff members above \$5,000 be cut;
3. That the Athletic Board appropriate money from its football fund.

University of North Carolina

After having suffered several appropriation cuts in the last few years, this state-supported institution, regarded as the educational center of the South, is now facing the worst crisis in its history. Faculty members have received salary cuts to the extent of forty-five per cent. The latest appropriation slash by the State Legislature may force the closing of the medical school and definitely cause a severe pruning of the university curriculum.

University of California, Berkeley, California

Because of the inaction of the A.S.U.C. Executive Committee, the Social Problems Club circulated a petition condemning the budget slash proposed by Governor James Rolph. The cuts will deprive graduate students of teaching fellowships, and affect poorer students who are unable to pay the increased fees required for laboratory courses. The A.S.U.C. had twice refused to lead student protest.

Detroit City College

During the auto-workers' strike in Michigan last month, seventeen students, carrying placards proclaiming their support of the Briggs' strikers, joined the marching pickets. They had been on the picket lines for some time when they found themselves surrounded by State troopers and deputies. Pushed into an office, they were threatened and harassed for several hours, and finally driven away from the scene of the strike.

St. Louis, Missouri

Twenty-five Negro student nurses went on strike at City Hospital Number 2. The strike was declared against the mistreatment of Negro patients and medical persons by appointees of the St. Louis Hospital Commissioner.

British Anti-War Movement

Anti-war activity is well under way in England. In preparation for the National Students' Conference Against War, to be held on March 5, in London, four colleges and universities (Manchester, Bristol, University College and London School of Economics) have already set up active anti-war committees, which were elected at large meetings on the campuses.

Southern California S. C. A. W.

The Southern California Student Conference Against War brought together over 150 delegates representing 44 different school organizations from 20 colleges and high schools from 17 cities on January 22, at the University of California, Los Angeles, for a common struggle against imperialist war. Over 300 students and professors attended the two day sessions, and over 1500, the

evening meeting of the conference, endorsing the decisions of the students for a militant fight against imperialist war. Students of various political, social and religious faiths unanimously accepted the program adopted at the Student Congress in Chicago and pledged themselves to cooperate with the National Committee for Struggle Against War and the International Committee set up at Amsterdam last August.

Opposition against the Amsterdam Congress pledge came from the leaders representing the Army and Navy Club, Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A., but was completely squelched when rank and file members of these and other liberal and radical organizations put forth the correct analysis of war and the system which breeds it. One of the delegates from the L. I. D. and another from Y. W. C. A. stated that they were in accord with the program and principles set forth at the conference but that they believed the organizations which they represented would not accept everything adopted during the conference.

A permanent organization was set up with a committee of fifteen to supervise and carry out the work in Southern California. The Committee was empowered to draw in others who wish to cooperate. Besides this, the Conference passed resolutions against militarism in colleges; against suppression of academic freedom; for the recognition of the Soviet Union; voted acceptance of May 30th as a day for struggle against war through demonstrations and mass meetings; the adoption of the pledge and program of the Amsterdam Congress; the other resolutions and complete program of the Chicago Congress;

and the pledge to carry out the proposals for immediate activities outlined in the program of that Congress.

George R. Kirkpatrick, socialist and author of *War—What For?* spoke on the danger of an impending attack on the Soviet Union and the role of the American millionaires in the world war. Leo Gallagher, fighting labor attorney and former professor at Southwestern University, urged the students to militantly accept and carry out the programs of the Amsterdam and Chicago congresses. Gene Gordon, journalist and campaign manager of the Southern California Committee for the Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, presented the Communist position on imperialist war. Professor Albert Einstein, who had promised to speak, failed to show up, as the reactionary head of California Tech, Dr. Robert Millikan, "persuaded" him not to appear. The reason given was that Dr. Einstein had a previous engagement to speak on the same subject the "next day." A pacifist letter from Einstein was read to the audience by Prof. Rolf Hoffman of U. C. L. A. Police en masse attended with the red squad to "halt interference" with the speakers. Upton Sinclair "pinch hitted" for Einstein, giving a typical socialist view on war. Edwin Booth of San Bernardino Junior College reported on the conference stressing the need for unity of the students and working class for an effective fight against war and the R. O. T. C. in the colleges. Alfred Van Tassell spoke on the program adopted by the students in the Chicago Congress. Leren Miller, Negro journalist, who had just returned from the Soviet Union, told about the efforts of the Russian masses for peace and appealed for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Student Forum on War

Latin American Wars*

I GREATLY regret that I am unable to attend the Anti-war Congress in Montevideo; but I want you to know that I am with you in spirit and that I shall watch your deliberations, and look for their fruits in action, with profound concern. Even in the so-called "good years" of capitalist inflation, subsequent to the Great War, the political and economic life of America Hispana was in a precarious condition. You were the victims, then, of capitalist peace; today, in the world crisis, you are the victims of capitalist war. The conflicts now raging or preparing between Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, etc., are, from the standpoint of your own interests, criminal and senseless. The nationalistic passions of your peoples are exploited by an alien imperialism which is ignorant of all human values, and understands only its greed for oil and copper.

All this you know, even better than I; and it is needless for me to repeat it. But knowing it, what are you going to do about it?

You are assembled in a congress against war. But congresses against war have been held before: there was even a permanent peace tribunal in the Hague, in 1914. Throughout the ages of history, good men have congregated to protest against war; and throughout these same ages, war has never ceased, because the roots of war have never been touched. The machine, by its intensification of the will of man, has made the threat of war more general. In the past, because of limited mechanics, war destroyed

only cities and nations; today, it menaces mankind and human culture. In this crisis, it is no longer enough to protest against war. We must extirpate the roots of war.

These roots lie in the capitalistic system. There is no need to go into the rights and wrongs, the claims and counterclaims of rival governments; the premise of them all is the capitalistic system. There is no use deploring the ignorance and despair which gradually prepare the poor of every land to rush into war as into an escape from the Hell of everyday existence; the root of that ignorance and despair is the capitalistic system. If you would declare effective war against war, you must unequivocally declare war on the capitalistic system.

Friends, citizens of the various nations of America Hispana, you know that I am aware of the complexities of your position. You are divided from one another, not alone by mountains and deserts, but by proud and persistent nationalisms; and by differences of race and culture—the differences of Indian, Negro, Mestizo, Crollo. But you are profoundly gifted peoples: your resources of the spirit are as great as the resources of your lands. You must employ these powers of your minds to achieve—not homogeneity, but harmony, unity: otherwise, both your lands and your culture will be taken from you.

The imperialistic powers exploit you and excite you to wage fratricidal wars, because they have allies in your midst: because of your own capitalists, and their servants, and their governments. If you effectively fight the domestic enemy (the ally of foreign capitalism), the foreign enemy will be helpless against you: even as he was helpless against revolutionary Russia, once the domestic enemy had been driven out. I know that your task is more difficult even than Russia's, because you are not politically

*Message to Montevideo Anti-War Congress.

united. But essentially, it is the same problem. And when have difficulties been able to discourage men of clear vision?

The important thing is to see clearly how war must be fought. Once you achieve this clarity, you will not be stopped.

I call upon this Anti-War Congress to strike at the heart of War, by going on record as a sworn enemy of the capitalistic system. I call on you to declare yourselves open, revolutionary fighters for a social-economic system based on the communal ownership of all natural and industrial resources. This is a political problem. Face it. Work out your own revolutionary salvation, your own Marxism, according to your own intricate conditions and according to your own cultural genius. And do not disband this Congress, until you have arrived at some basic, minimum political program of action, by which all of you may return home, and work at home, in the common revolutionary task of our age.

Comrades, in this task, the intellectuals and workers of the entire world are with you.

WALDO FRANK.

Answers Pacifist

THERE appeared in the last issue of the *Student Review* a letter from F. J. Skelly, student editor of the *Pioneer* of Cooper Union, in which he voices his criticism of the National Student League program on war. Although he admittedly speaks only for himself, some of the objections which he raises are sufficiently widespread to call for a detailed answer.

Mr. Skelly first takes issue with the statement that the struggle against war is a part of the general struggle against present day society. He cites, as refutation of this premise, the fact that "Warfare has existed since the time of primitive tribes who lived in a decidedly non-capitalist era." This is an historic truism which no one would care to take issue with, but to deny, as Mr. Skelly does, that there has been any fundamental change in the causes and results of wars since primitive times is to ignore the obvious. Present-day wars, the wars which we propose to struggle against, are no longer the scraps between primitive tribes, or even battles between rival medieval monarchs; they are the conflicts between rival groups of imperialist powers, operating on a world scale. When we assert that the struggle against present-day wars is part of the struggle against capitalism, we are merely drawing correct conclusions from our historical analysis which views war in any epoch as the expression of deep-rooted economic and social antagonisms. But the character of these antagonisms changes greatly in the course of history.

Today, the antagonisms which periodically sharpen into wars result from the international competition for markets and for the division of exploitable regions between the rival imperialist nations of the Earth. These struggles, both in their armed and in their "peaceful" phases, have come to be the central feature of modern capitalist activity. Witness the fact that in every important nation from one-half to two-thirds of the national income is expended on wars, past and future. A program which seeks to oppose present-day wars must, therefore, fight the entire system. Such a program need not be retroactive against the scrimmages of the past.

As proof that the present "Sino-Japanese incident" is not a part of the international scramble for new markets and new areas of exploitation Mr. Skelly triumphantly exhibits the information that Baron Takima Dan, head of the Mitsui Corporation, was murdered because he opposed the undertaking. Unless the Baron was an extreme-

ly unusual capitalist, his particular corporation probably had little to gain in Manchuria. As a more plausible explanation, Mr. Skelly brings forward "the ever-growing pressure of Japanese population." Although colonization may play some part, it nevertheless figures merely as one means of strengthening the hold of Japanese imperialism on the markets and resources of Manchuria. In refutation of the claim that over-population is the cause of Japan's action may be cited the fact that the number of Japanese colonists in Southern Manchuria and in Korea, areas long controlled by Japan, remains extremely small, despite the special inducements offered to colonists.

As an alternative to the over-population theory, Mr. Skelly suggests that wars are often due "to the follies of military jingoists who feel that the nation should be armed." Here we have a typical example of that school of thought which regards history as the end-product of the mental processes of rulers and generals. A similar approach led Mr. H. G. Wells to explain British imperialism as the result of there once having been a prime minister (Disraeli), with an "oriental imagination."

Perhaps the most incredible part of Mr. Skelly's letter is that in which he justifies imperialist war as "merely one means of forcing backward nations to contribute their share to the progress of the world." The fact that Mr. Skelly is here confusing the plundering of a backward country by advanced countries, with an imperialist war between contending sets of advanced countries, is beside the point. But Mr. Skelly justifies the plundering on the ground that it enables "the world to enjoy the benefits of Manchurian mineral deposits." Here Mr. Skelly is confusing the world with the small number of financiers and stockholders who are the only ones to derive any considerable benefit. It is true that for limited periods small sections of the underlying population have received a taste of the loot, but even for these favored few it was only a temporary advantage. In the long run they, as well as the remainder of the population, pay all the costs and lose out. Against these doubtful and temporary advantages may be balanced the tremendous "disadvantages" to the peoples of the exploited countries: disease, enslavement, and sometimes, wholesale extermination. But perhaps these are beyond the pale of Mr. Skelly's "world."

Having denied that present wars are dependent on capitalism, Mr. Skelly dismisses support of the Soviet Union as a part of the program against war, on the grounds that Soviet States are just as likely to come to blows. But, this same objection would, from Mr. Skelly's standpoint, apply to any system of society, since the causes of wars are, according to Mr. Skelly, quite independent of society itself. From his position the only possible conclusion is that, since wars have always been, they always will be. The medieval peasants regarded both wars and the periodic visitations of the plague as the manifestations of divine wrath. A rational, realistic view of both occurrences would show that they can be eliminated if their causes are known and removable. Lack of sanitation is the cause of the first, a class economy and the lack of planning and organization of the social and productive relations lead to the second. Through sanitation and medicine we have conquered the plague. Today, the development of machinery and the growth of a world economy create the scientific basis for a planned classless society in which war will also be a thing of the past.

Mr. Skelly asserts that the danger of a capitalist intervention against the Soviet Union is "without foundation" since "we don't shoot good customers." Here again Mr. Skelly, like all pacifists, shows inability to learn from history, else he might recall that England and Germany were each other's "best customers."

EDMUND STEVENS.

College Youth in the Red

Affirmation

"CABELL?—uncertain vestige of an anachronistic upper middleclass, sucking the last blood from an outgrown bourgeois ideology. Hergesheimer? Wilder? Cather? All the same. Where will these economic cowards be when class lines are rubbed out, when literature becomes the rightful possession of the many, instead of the few?

"Mencken?—absurd little apostle of 'good taste' (Good taste while miners are machine-gunned! Good taste while babies are tear-gassed in Washington!) Critic? Reformer? He wavers between a milky Liberalism and a bourgeois Catholicism. What matter Pilsner and Brahms when the proletariat is seething? The Bill of Rights you say? Surely, he prates endlessly about the Bill of Rights—but does he know that the Bill of Rights is so much pap handed down by the capitalist masters to the inarticulate masses?"

And so they run, these amazing categorical finalities: I heard them all summer, from a group of youths equally amazing to know. They astonished me, perhaps, because I had never before encountered the doctrinary species. I hear them again, in another tone, perhaps their loudest:

"Depression? Marx, decades ago, clearly pictured the universal collapse of the capitalist system, a debacle from which there will be no recovery. England, Germany, France—read Lenin!—in the last stages of a militant capitalism. The World War was nothing—nationalism is growing into imperialism—the next war will involve every capitalistic nation in the world; there will be no sides: every country will fight for one thing, markets for its own inflated productive system. Italy? Capitalism mustering its last brute strength. America?—read Marx again—we are at the end of exploitation. 'Opportunity' that 'golden opportunity' that has killed the last hope of the proletariat, is gone. The big fortunes are made, industry is already choking itself with competition."

Note those cunning phrases: "bourgeois ideology," "militant capitalism," "inarticulate masses," "capitalist masters." I was, frankly, fascinated, horrified by their grim economy when I first heard them. They had the intuitive stability of scientific concepts. (Had I not heard them a thousand times afterwards, I should probably still regard them with a certain wonder.)

No, the first imaginative force of those incantations soon gave way to a boring inflexibility. What continued to impress me was the inevitable and complete dogmatism of these youths. There was a fierce insistence to strain everything through a sieve of Marxism-Leninism. Let alone economics, politics, current affairs, they pounced with equal vigor on education, religion, marriage, divorce, birth control, population, architecture, poetry, drama, critics, novelists—in short, the whole business of *Kultur*. They had completely founded even their most habitual ways of thinking upon Marxist-Leninist cornerstones.

The earnest young men I refer to are, generally, humorless, have shiny foreheads, and quivering forefingers, and wait eagerly until you finish talking in order to say something completely irrelevant to your remarks. And yet they are amazing. To talk to them is to talk another language. To peck at their huge doctrines is to scratch a stone wall. They seek only fresh straw to feed their ferocious fires. I quail before their terrible certainty.

THEODORE IRVIN.

Negation

"It is little you know," says Jurgen, "of the religion of Eubonia."

"We have it written down in this great book," the priest of Vel-Tyno then told him, "every word of it without blot or error."

"Then you will see that the King of Eubonia is the head of the church there. . . . Learned Gowlais says so directly; and the judicious Stevegionius was forced to agree with him, however unwillingly, as you will instantly discover by consulting the third section of his widely famous nineteenth chapter."

"Both Gowlais and Stevegionius were probably notorious heretics," says the priest of Ageus. "I believe that was settled once for all at the Diet of Orthumar."

"Eh!" says Jurgen. He did not like this priest. . . .

JAMES BRANCH CABELL.

IT is difficult to dismiss the most trivial of *litterateurs* with a single crashing verdict, and as difficult to convince the author of the flimsiest of arguments that his theory may be refutable. Mr. Irvin has accused the Marxists of falling back upon their cornerstones for authority, and immediately retreats to his for illustration. The examples he chooses: Cabell, Wilder, Mencken, Cather, Hergesheimer, are landmarks. There are acrobatics of technique among his authors which the best-versed Marxist may applaud; phrasings which will delight the reader of any political shade; and ingenuities of construction which will probably be invaluable to candidates for College Board examinations. Whether they will ever be more than showpieces, whether their mythologies will ever be part of the American Myth, is debatable. It is not a defense of references that Mr. Irvin wants, we assume; nor does he invite an attempt at defending dogma, which is something we would not have the rashness to essay.

It seems that Mr. Irvin begs for comfort rather than refutation. We have shared his predicament: it was infinitely tiresome to have to listen to our elders make their conversation turn around a word we had never known. It made no sense. It was selfish; it bewildered us; and the only gesture to call attention to our misery was to lie on the floor and kick. Mr. Irvin has undoubtedly fallen upon evil times: doing his best to remain aloof, he has had a group of Marxists try to explain themselves through their lowest common denominator. Mr. Irvin has, in short, been badly surprised. He resents the shock of novelty. He assures us that he was fascinated by the "cunning phrases;" unfortunately, he confesses his ignorance of the ideas behind them; and repetition of the unknown could only exasperate him.

Perhaps this confession is the heroic gesture, admission of ignorance. We regret the shininess of the foreheads of Mr. Irvin's friends; we regret that they were dogmatic. It is possible that they had been more attentive and more sympathetic to Marx than to Mr. Irvin.

The author of *Youth in the Red* evidently shares with Mr. Cabell's Jurgen a hatred for the mouthing of authorities, especially when he does not understand them. We are sorry that his hatred and his admission have not impelled him farther than to "quail" before the certainty of the "huge doctrines" to which he has been introduced. It is not the acknowledged attitude for scientific approach.

MURIEL RUKEYSER.

The Cuban Bloodbath

ONE of the most tragic struggles in the annals of history is being carried on today in the Island of Cuba, between a blood-thirsty tyrant,—supported by one of the best armed and disciplined armies in America—and the students, practically unarmed but willing to sacrifice their lives in defense of the liberty of their country. The struggle began in March, 1927, when President Machado addressed a message to Congress, recommending that his term of office be extended. This tinkering with the Constitution was received with great indignation by the Cuban students who assembled at the University of Havana on March 30 of the same year, to protest against the constitutional reform. Never before in the history of the University nor even during the time of Butcher Weyler had armed forces entered our Alma Mater, but Machado did not hesitate to order the police to break up the meeting. The students did all in their power to prevent this, but they were outnumbered and our Alma Mater was attacked and insulted by the agents of the Dictator.

The students named a Directorate which formulated and circulated a protest throughout the entire Island against the tyranny which was gradually developing. With the same iron-handed methods of the Havana police, the government tried in vain to prevent the protest from being circulated in other parts of the Island. The Members of the Directorate were imprisoned and upon their release were brought before a Disciplinary Council composed of certain professors who were afraid to lose their positions should they fail to obey Machado's orders. The majority of these students were found guilty by the Council and expelled from the University for a period of from 14 to 15 years.

It was impossible for these students to remain in Cuba. Each day their lives became more and more unbearable. They were continually pursued by the secret police under the orders of Machado and were in great danger of being assassinated. Finally they left the Island, some going to Mexico and to Europe while others entered the United States.

Julio Antonio Mella was among the group of students who sought refuge in Mexico. He was a born leader, the greatest ever produced by the University of Havana. Well aware of his brave character and determination, Machado decided to get him out of the way. On January 10, 1929 Mella was cowardly murdered in Mexico City by Magrinat Lopez Vatinas and Raoul Amaroe. His last words, uttered at the Red Cross Hospital in the presence of the American writer Carleton Beals and the well known Mexican artist Diego Rivera, were as follows: "I was murdered by Machado. I die for the revolutionary cause."

At this time, any one arrested for expressing his opinion against the government mysteriously disappeared without leaving the least clue. This was the fate of Claudio Brouzon, a labor leader arrested for distributing pamphlets attacking Machado and the imperialistic corporations who supported him, on the eve of the arrival of late President Coolidge at Havana to inaugurate the sixth Pan-American Conference. A few days later, a shark was caught and upon dissecting it a human arm and piece of cloth were found. His wife identified the arm as her husband's, and a laundryman identified the cloth as belonging to the labor leader. Those acquainted with these facts were immediately deported, but the scandal had already leaked out, and it made clear the horrible fate met by the students, laborers, and professionals who had dis-

appeared. Francisco Laguado Jaime, a young Venezuelan poet who had sought refuge in Cuba from the tyrant Juan Vicente Gomez of Venezuela, was also thrown to the sharks at the request of Machado's colleague in Venezuela.

On September 30, 1930, the students assembled on the campus of the University to protest against these crimes and to pay homage to the great Cuban philosopher, Dr. Enrique Jose Varona, on the fiftieth anniversary of his career as professor at the University. The army attacked the gathering and wounded the following persons: Pablo de la Torriente Brau, a young writer; Figueroa, a labor leader; and Rafael Trejo, a member of the student Directorate. Trejo died the following day. His parents are at present in prison, charged with having given refuge in their home to companions of their son, who were being sought by the police. The above date marks the close of the evolutionary phase of the movement and gives way to the period of direct revolutionary action.

On December 21, 1931, student Felix Ernesto Alpizar, a member of the Directorate, left my home. A few minutes later he was shot down by the police at the corner of 23 and B Streets in Vedado and although seriously wounded, managed to escape and reach the Calixto Garcia Hospital where he was given first aid. Polo Miranda and Maco Cancio, two of his companions, immediately went to the hospital to remove him to a safer place because the police were searching for him. Unfortunately they were met by the police upon leaving the hospital and after being brutally beaten by the Chief of Police Carrera, they were separated. Cancio and Miranda were taken to jail and nothing more has ever been heard of Alpizar.

A few days after Alpizar's disappearance, I was arrested by detective Clemente Carreras, one of those who took part in the murder of Alpizar and later an accomplice in the murder of Congressman Miguel Angel Aguiar, for distributing literature protesting against the disappearance of our companion. While I was a prisoner in the Principe Fortress, an act unprecedented in the history of our country occurred. On December 30, at 8 P. M., two hundred convicted prisoners armed with clubs and knives were brought to the gallery where I was confined together with 107 other students, labor leaders and professional men. We were beaten and Miranda (Alpizar's companion), Triana, Arguelles and Seijas received several fractured ribs; another companion of mine, Manuel Varona, received a puncture of the lung and Cesar Andino a puncture of the liver. The latter two were on the verge of death.

On January 19, I was released. Shortly thereafter the Government attempted to reopen the centers of learning in order to make it seem abroad that normal conditions existed in the schools of Cuba. With this object in view, the government sought the signatures of students to a petition demanding the reopening of the University and schools. Of the total number of 12,000 students, less than 50 signed the document. These traitors were duly punished by their companions. On May 16, an automobile was found in front of my home bearing dead tags* and the police immediately accused me of being the owner of said machine and of having used it to punish the traitors. A search was begun for me, in Havana, but I escaped being murdered by the police—thanks to the protection

*Well known symbols of the terrorist students. We will have an analysis of this movement and this article in the next issue of *Student Review*.

afforded by my companion Argelio Puig Jordan who hid me in Havana for several days and later accompanied me to a farm or otherwise I would have surely been killed. During the early part of December Puig Jordan and two other companions, Luis Orlando Rodriguez and Domingo Canal were shot at by several soldiers, one of whom was the sanguinary Major Arsenio Ortiz, whom the honorable Luis Hechavaria, President of the highest tribunal of Justice of the Province of Oriente accused of having committed 44 political murder in 90 days. My companion Puig Jordan died in the Military Hospital at Camp Columbia on December 26 last, as a result of the wounds received in the encounter with Ortiz.

One of the students who highly distinguished himself in the struggle for our student ideals in the Province of Oriente was Floro Perez. Upon being pursued by the police he fled to Havana in order to continue the struggle there. During 1932 he was continually in touch with me but on September 4, he was arrested by the police, together with his brother Antonio, Juan Bautista Napoles and Wycliffe B. Grafton. The latter was released the next day because the police believed him to be a British subject because of his name. On September 6, the bodies of my companions, the Perez brothers and Napoles, were found in different parts of the Island. The body of Floro Perez bore evidence of having been barbarously tortured: They had extracted his teeth and eyes, and he had been otherwise mutilated.

One of the most atrocious crimes committed by the despotic Machado regime was the murder of Juan Mariano Gonzalez Rubiera. This boy, only 17 years of age, my companion during my imprisonment in the Principe Fortress, was arrested under the false charge of having fired at a policeman. He was taken to detective headquarters where the cowardly Chief of Police Ainciarte beat him with a black-jack and then turned him over to detectives Prendes and Castano so that they could torture him. These monsters fractured one of his arms, tore the nails from his toes, broke his wrists and fiendishly tortured him in order to compel him to reveal the hiding place of his companions, but they were unable to get a single word out of him, not even did he utter a cry. After being tortured, he was taken to the corner of 16th and B Streets in the Almendares Subdivision and riddled with bullets. The police declared that he had attempted to escape but the photograph of the body (shown on this page—Editor) published in the newspaper *El Pais* on December 31, clearly shows that his feet had been securely tied. At this point I must state that the mother of Rubiera appealed

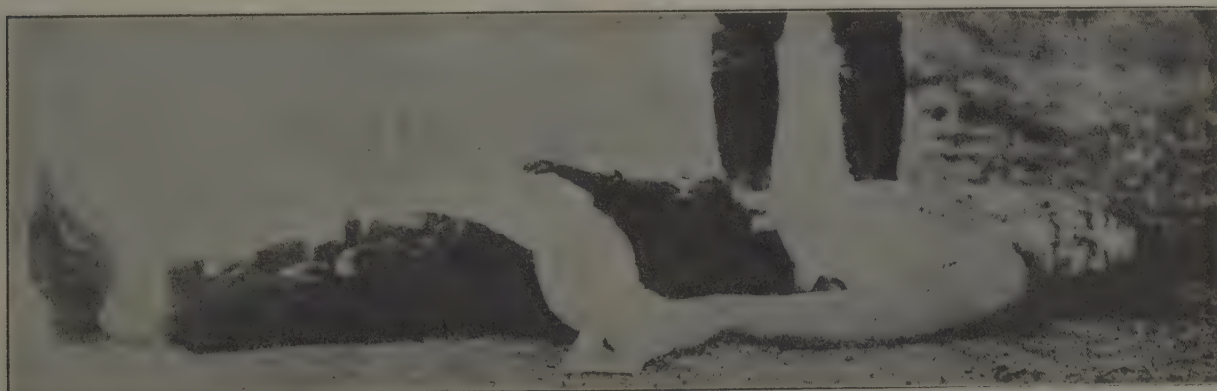
to the American Embassy seeking protection for the life of her son at the time he was being held in the police station, but the embassy refused to become interested in the case. The Legations of Great Britain and Uruguay offered their good offices to save the life of the student, but it was too late, because the body had already been found in Miramar Subdivision.

On January 4th last, the police arrested student Angel Alvarez at the home of Dr. Gustavo Cuervo Rubio, professor of the University of Havana. Alvarez was my brother's best companion in the struggle against tyranny and one of the persons who assisted me in escaping from Havana when the police were hot on my trail, to murder me. Taken to a detective headquarters, he was identified as one of the most widely sought students due to his activities against despotism. The police had been looking for him under five different names, without having the least idea of Alvarez's real identity. It is not difficult to realize the torture he suffered at the hands of detectives Mendez and Lamas upon being taken to detective headquarters when it is recalled that these two men were the ones who barbarously tortured student Rubiera. At midnight he was taken by detectives Sampol, Prendes and Penate to the corner of General Lee and Santa Emilia Streets where he was shot in the head and left unconscious upon the pavement. From there he was picked up and taken to Emergency Hospital where he died shortly thereafter. At the time Alvarez was detained, several prominent Cubans visited the American Ambassador and requested him to use his influence to save the student's life. The Ambassador immediately spoke over the telephone with Secretary of State Orestes Ferrara in Alvarez's behalf. After the conversation over the telephone, the Ambassador guaranteed to his visitors that the life of Alvarez would be protected. Notwithstanding this fact, Alvarez was tortured and murdered the very same day the Ambassador guaranteed his life, without the latter protesting to the Cuban Government, responsible for the crime.

These facts give an idea of the horror of the struggle between the people of Cuba and the traitors who exploit the country for their own benefit and that of their associates, the American financial interests.

Up to the present there have been fifty-seven students and over a thousand workmen and professional men assassinated, but the people of Cuba will continue the struggle for liberty and justice until they realize their ideals of true freedom and independence.

RAUL CHIBAS.



The bullet-riddled, trussed-up body of Juan Mariano Gonzalez Rubiera, shown above, clearly disproves the official statement of "shot while trying to escape."

You Can't Teach!

YOU ask, "What are my chances for getting a job as teacher?" From a thousand cities will come back the answer, "Not a chance."

Everywhere in the United States, education is on the decline. Schools close, class registers increase, school budgets are cut, teachers' salaries are slashed, and teaching positions decrease. In New York, alone, there are about 15,000 unemployed teachers. About 5,000 of them are on the eligible lists for the elementary schools. Many of these 5,000 eligibles have been waiting three and four years for appointments. But the New York Board of Education has already announced that there will be no appointments for the coming year. Realizing that their chances of getting appointments in the near future are very slim these teachers are fighting for the indefinite extension of their lists.

Even at the normal rate of appointment the 5,000 licensed teachers would be sufficient to supply the needs of an expanding school system for ten years. But the New York school system is not expanding. On the contrary, it is contracting! The 1933 budget for education was cut \$20,000,000 and in 1934 there is the likelihood that the cut will be more drastic. No wonder that these unemployed teachers are fighting that the extension of their lists be indefinite!

In addition to the 5,000 who are licensed and waiting for jobs, there are another 10,000 who have trained themselves to teach but are not on any list. To this 10,000 are being added 2,000 more each year from the colleges. The vast majority of these young hopefuls will never even get licenses, still less, teaching positions. It is definite that no examinations for license will be held for at least another year. In the last examination, given in 1932 more than 90 per cent were failed. This explains the vast number without licenses.

In other words, the student who prepares himself to teach has less than one chance in ten of passing an examination for license (if one is given) and the prospect of a ten year wait for an appointment if he is lucky enough to pass. In recognition of the futility of training teachers today, the Board of Education closed down all the teachers' training schools in New York last month.

In other cities the situation is similar, and in many places, worse. In Newark the training school graduates are finding it almost impossible to get even day to day substituting. In many other New Jersey cities it is questionable whether one would even care to accept a teaching job as many cities are bankrupt and teachers are not being paid. The University of Missouri employment office reports that there are several times as many teachers on the waiting lists for jobs as in 1928 and the agency is placing only half as many as then. Where there are jobs to be filled experienced teachers can be had for the same wages as the beginner. One school board in South Dakota, for example, had the bright idea of advertising for bids for teaching jobs. A woman ready to work for sixty dollars a month got the job.

Not only are the training schools and colleges preparing teachers for unemployment but many are being forced out from the teaching ranks as appropriations for education are being cut down. In Dayton, Ohio, last year, at the same time that the teachers got a wage cut, 130 of them were thrown out of work. Even in the large cities, where educational budgets have been cut much less than in the rural districts, schools have been closed. In New York,

summer schools will not open this year, day classes for adults have been eliminated and evening schools are shortening their programs. In the other major cities evening schools are being dropped and adult education is being wiped out.

Even before the crisis, unemployment was prevalent among school teachers. Even in the past the bankers and real estate interests, in cooperation with the municipal governments, managed to keep the tax rates at a low level. But now they have launched the most unsound economies through their plans of retrenchment. By this program they have increased unemployment. They have forced "rationalization" upon the classroom. The average New York teacher today is compelled to take charge of 40 to 48 pupils as compared with 37 a few years ago. Schools are operating on double session, and building programs have virtually stopped. In every phase of the educational system the stagnation resulting from the false economies of retrenchment is seen. Everywhere teaching positions are diminishing.

However bad conditions are in the urban centers they are even worse in the rural communities. According to the U. S. Department of Education, the concentration of rural schools has now reached such dimensions that every day 2,000,000 children are conveyed to centralized schools. The "little red school house" is ceasing to serve the local communities. Mississippi, for example, spent its last funds for its rural schools when the nominal school term was half over. School bus drivers, who transport pupils to these centralized schools, as well as teachers, remain unpaid. Many school buses have had to be discontinued for lack of oil and gasoline, making many teachers unnecessary. By February of last year all rural schools in Tennessee were closed with the exception of those in some of the larger counties. In Arkansas, 36,000 rural school children were forced from their studies by the closing of 756 public schools. In that state so many schools closed last year that the average rural school term of six months was cut to four. In 20 Alabama counties 85,762 rural children have no schools to go to, 2,500 teachers have no place to teach. Rural schools in sixteen more counties may close any day. According to the Labor Research Association there are about 180,000 unemployed teachers in the United States.

Some students still suffer under the illusion that it is worthwhile to attend training school or college for its own sake, even if there are no jobs to be had in the teaching field. They believe that their college educations will aid them in procuring jobs in other fields. They are naively mistaken. Retraining for another profession takes years and moreover, the professions are just as overcrowded. For the first time in its history the Dental Association is paying relief to dentists who have no practices. Last June the New York school system had to eliminate 85 per cent of its engineers, draftsmen, and architects. The head of the Medical Society of New York State reports that doctors have taken to driving taxis and similar jobs to keep alive. And department stores have their pick of Ph. D.'s at twelve dollars a week.

Teacher unemployment is on the increase. The college student graduates directly into the ranks of the unemployed. Wage cuts, layoffs, and dismissals from the school system aggravate the problem. It becomes ever clearer that only a change in the social system can effect a real and permanent change in the unemployment situation.

Until such a change takes place, nevertheless, teachers must eat and live. With them, as with all other workers, it has become a question of jobs and bread.

Teachers are awakening to the realization that only through organization and struggle will they be able to maintain their living standards and obtain jobs. In New York, one organization, the Unemployed Teachers Association, is advancing in the correct path. Already this young but virile organization has achieved several notable victories. It succeeded in extending the life of a license list that expired last December. Only last month its members were able to defeat a vicious share-the-job scheme

that would have cut the salaries of substitute teachers in half. By correctly uniting the employed teachers, the parents, the children, and the unemployed teachers in a common fight against retrenchment, the Unemployed Teachers Association was able to force the Board of Education to recommend a new wing for an overcrowded school in Brooklyn.

Whether he likes it or not the educational graduate is faced with two alternatives: he can silently take his place on the breadline, or he can participate in mass action of unemployed graduates for jobs and relief.

JOSEPH LEBOTT.

Communications

To the Editor:

This is an appeal to the student youth of America, for the nine innocent Negro Scottsboro boys awaiting the new trial won for them by the International Labor Defense and millions of workers and their sympathizers who waged the heroic struggle for their release throughout the world.

The Scottsboro boys can face the horrors of their death cells with a ray of hope—this new trial which is being carefully prepared. Only four weeks ago in an Alabama court, the International Labor Defense attorneys forced production of a letter written by Ruby Bates, one of the State's star witnesses, which proclaims the innocence of the boys.

In the hopes of the Scottsboro boys—hopes for life, for freedom, are mingled fears—fears of the same hostile mob which railroaded them before. Fears bring quickened heartbeats when one reads of the decision of Attorney General Thomas E. Knight to oppose the change of venue for the trial from Montgomery County to Birmingham, where, with a large Negro and white working class population, it would be more difficult to organize legal or gang lynching of the innocent Scottsboro boys.

At this hearing on the motion for the change of venue, on March 6 the International Labor Defense attorneys will show evidence of the preparation of "vigilance committees" in Scottsboro, Huntsville, and throughout Alabama, to lynch the boys.

The International Labor Defense calls upon all students and teachers to raise their voices in defense of the Scottsboro boys! Send protest resolutions and telegrams from every social problems meeting on your campus, to Governor B. M. Miller, Montgomery, Alabama, demanding unconditional release of the Scottsboro boys and safeguarding of their lives!

Send delegates to the labor jury that will gather in Scottsboro from every section of this country, to render their own verdict, a verdict of life and freedom for the nine innocent Scottsboro Negro boys! Send contributions—which are desperately needed—for their defense today, to Scottsboro New Trial Emergency Fund of the International Labor Defense, Room 430, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

BELLE TAUB,
Secretary,

Scottsboro New Trial Emergency Fund.

To the Editor:

Heywood Broun is a Socialist. His writings, and his ideals in so far as I can gather from his articles are in accord with those of the Socialist Party; therefore I object to your analysis of Broun on the grounds that it is in reality a condemnation of the party, not the man.

If you were to do him justice you would refer to the work he has done outside of the Socialist Party.

I agree with you on the score that Broun is not a revolutionary radical, but he does not pretend to be. He is just a good-natured, indolent, easy writing fellow. And therein lies his interest for me. His political commentaries are usually vapid, but I appreciate his columns when he writes of books, plays, baseball, or just nothings. You can certainly find relaxation in *It Seems to Me* when Broun is not campaigning or raising the Socialist banner high.

He himself has not been entirely passive in the last two years. While *Shoot the Works* was in progress he worked to finance and put it across. He also persuaded many people to hire workers in his "Give a Job till June" campaign. I think these have been whole-hearted attempts on his part to ameliorate the condition of some of the unemployed.

New York City.

DIANA SORKIN.

Editor's Note: The letter below is not "pied," it is a faithful reproduction of a letter received, presumably from a technocrat.

To the Editor:

To reply with one item of thought against your criticism on Howard Scott and Technocracy, requires the least modicum of sensibility that the communists are suffering from putrid-ratus.

The system of Technocracy is not a question to discuss the dominance of controlling the industries, but helpful regulatory technique.

No, you useless witch-doctors are about pushed to the end of your rope. You have not the prospective fitness for any functional capacity in a new society. And for that reason the present evidence is the rage of hate against industrial management, devised scientifically for workers behalf; such as will eliminate variably all sorts of parasitism, including communist politicians.

Why, display such madness of hysteria of disunity among the workers, when workers alone are the only element which they must directly apply their study of industries, instead on superstructural political institutions.

Politics today are bereft of all semblance of relationship to influence any authoritative control of industries.

The present noted retardiness among the workers can be deplorably attributed to the communists for this reign of confusion. Also foreign countries are suffering from the same experience, especially Germany. . . .

This is a reply to your editorial against Technocracy from which it seems there reigns very much discomfiture and displeasure.

Cleveland, Ohio

ALEX BORIS.

Books on Review

THE *Coming Struggle for Power* has been hailed by many reviewers as a profound and original work. Profound, it is, but it is not original in their sense. Strachey's work presents the theoretics of Marxism-Leninism in a persuasive and verbally novel guise, without weakening or prettifying them. It articulates these doctrines into a compact analysis of the present course of social development—into a powerful and integrated demonstration that communism alone can cut the Gordian knots of the imperialist epoch. This task, one of extreme difficulty, has been magnificently performed by Strachey. *The Coming Struggle for Power* is perhaps the best presentation of the communist argument for the intellectual or bourgeois neophyte. It is peculiarly adapted to an Anglo-Saxon tradition too pragmatic to digest directly the philosophical basis of Marxism, that is dialectical materialism.

The first broad section of Strachey's work describes the transformation of competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The Marxian doctrine of primitive accumulation is handled brilliantly. England creates the landless proletariat which capitalism needs by plundering the communal pastures; it forces this proletariat to provide the capital for its own exploitation (the Draconian statutes of Elizabeth keep wages down in the face of the soaring prices which followed the discovery of the Mexican and Andes mines). But laissez-faire capitalism, having made a revolution in the name of freedom (read freedom of the market), glides inevitably into the fetters of monopoly capitalism. Imperialism and imperialist-nationalism appear as the twin phenomena of monopoly. The nation becomes the political arm of a cartel of imperialist exploitation; its organic function is to transform economic into political war as need arises.

The course of this description of our epoch takes us through an analysis of the suggested solutions of contemporary bourgeois economics. Classical economics embraces the idea of returning to the old competitive market; speaking with the voice of the expropriated small middle class, it plaintively demands that "the wheel of history be turned back." On the other hand are the advocates of national planning; the socialism of the national planners merely throws "a mantle of respectability over the appetites of . . . trusts," for the state is not a force outside society, but an integral organ of the ruling class. National planning, and its logical outcome, Kautsky's super-imperialism, are the thin disguise of an oligarchy of imperialist exploitation.

Stepping aside to show how capitalism, having placed fetters on production, has likewise chained science and letters, Strachey returns to the main course of his argument, and discusses the nature of the two political bulwarks of capitalism: fascism and social democracy.

"The fascist method essentially implies the attempt to create a popular mass movement for the protection of monopoly capitalism." "The creation of a fascist party is then a desperate expedient only resorted to by a capitalist class in the face of the most urgent danger from the workers." Fascism builds its mass movement on the quicksand of the petty bourgeoisie, a class incapable of forging for itself an independent political line, a class alternately vacillating between the proletariat and finance capital. The irony of this alliance of the petty bourgeoisie with the monopoly capitalism which must destroy it, results from its inability to be independent. Fascism is nominally revolutionary, though it does not seek to perform "the only genuinely revolutionary act," the substi-

tution "of the rule of one class for that of another." But it is revolutionary in the sense that it seeks to destroy weak capitalist governments and capitalist parliamentary form in order to entrench the rule of capitalism. Thus where "an existing capitalist government is neither weak nor supine, and is quite ready to fight the workers itself, there is no need for the organization of a special fascist movement."

The other bulwark of capitalism is the social democracy, or, as Strachey calls it, "the socialism of the here-after." "The secret of political social democracy is to use the appeal and dynamic of revolutionary socialism, but to use it in order to implement a programme of the most mediocre liberalism . . . to mobilize it for trivial and in the end reactionary purposes." Social democracy serves capitalism by castrating the potentially revolutionary mass labor party and the trade unions. It blunts their resistance against the rising fascist movement; it prepares them for the passive role of ornaments to the fascist state dictatorship. Social democracy arises in a period of stabilization "when capitalism continues to function without sharp intolerable crises." Serving the same function as religion, it substitutes for the reality of socialism the "fantasy life" of socialism; it transmutes the brutal capitalist reality which must be overthrown, into a dream socialism, which can be enjoyed just so long as the proletariat refuses to confront the objective conditions of its existence.

Communism, the movement of working class liberation, thus faces the fact that social democracy has won over "those very organs of working-class revolt, which the workers have gradually and painfully created over nearly half a century . . . almost completely to the side of capitalism." The tasks of communism thus involve unrelenting struggle against this emasculated pseudo-socialism of phrases.

Strachey's work concludes with an excellent analysis of the almost ideal objective conditions for communist revolution in his native country. Knowing their objective source, he finds it easy to answer the rhetorical appeals against revolution which the Independent Labor Party, the Labor Party, and the capitalists exude with the growth of each revolutionary wave in the British proletariat.

Strachey's eloquent and reasoned analysis clarifies the road ahead which the international proletariat must travel and explodes the stuffy and comforting sophisms of the British Labor Party and the English middle class.

NATHANIEL WEYL.

Correction

In a letter in the February issue concerning working conditions at Columbia University, it was stated that over one thousand students are employed on the campus. The statement should have read "students and workers."

Letters need not be in accord with editorial policy to be published. *Student Review* welcomes criticism of its articles and editorials. Communications must be to the point and should be less than 300 words.

A Letter To Our Readers

The *Student Review* is a cooperative venture. It rose and developed because of the needs of a rapidly-growing National Student League, until it has become an educational and organizational weapon of the revolutionary students in the United States. Only as such an organ, and through the initiative and energy of each individual member, can the *Student Review* keep on growing.

We could hardly enumerate the editorial and financial difficulties of our magazine, and we appreciate the problems and hard work confronting the individual reader and unit of the National Student League. But the surpassing of these difficulties and our development thereby is a test of our revolutionary strength and ardor.

We therefore call on all of our readers to help us to attain a new plane in our growth, to step on the road of winning the majority of the student body to our program. To make this step we propose the following, by no means herculean, tasks to every reader of our organ and member of the National Student League to be accomplished this month:

1. *Sell 5 copies of STUDENT REVIEW.*
2. *Enroll 3 members into the National Student League.*
3. *Secure at least one annual subscriber to STUDENT REVIEW.*

By leading militant struggles on the campus and with a little personal effort we can each fulfill this task.

No excuses, no rationalizations—ACT!!

Who's Who This Month

VIRGINIA FEHR is the president of the N. S. L. Chapter at the University of Minnesota.

CORLISS LAMONT, formerly instructor of philosophy at Columbia University. His article in this issue is condensed from his speech at the "University Ouster Symposium" held in New York.

THEODORE IRVIN is a student at Johns Hopkins University.

RAUL CHIBAS is an exiled Cuban student living in Washington, D. C.

PAUL SALTER is a philosophy instructor in one of the New York City colleges.

TESSIM ZORACH, a student at Johns Hopkins University, is secretary of the Baltimore Chapter of the National Student League.

JOSEPH LEBOIT was, until this semester, a teacher in a New York City public school.

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