

STUDENT REVIEW

**APRIL
1933**

6

NEBRASKA STATES THE CASE

FROM SCOTTSBORO TO DECATUR

SMASHING THE CAMPUS REVOLT

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Editorial Comment

FOUR flagrant breaches of academic freedom have occurred in the last month. These cases serve to demonstrate not only that a petty spirit of intolerance and reaction generally rules the American university, but that this spirit is increasing.

The student suppression has grown in a parallel line with the growth of student radicalism and student questioning of the premises of capitalist society. In 1928-29, the American college turned out a batch of blind defenders of the ideological premises of capitalism; it turned out a corps of technical experts and personnel managers who provided the brains which kept the wheels of industry and exploitation revolving. Today, this is no longer the case. Students are turned loose in a world which is unable to use their training and intelligence. Accordingly, they begin first to question, then to change it.

The American university is meeting this student struggle by brutal and arbitrary suppression. It is proving that the facade of impartial and scientific study is propped up by actual resort to force. This force is being used against N.S.L. students not because of their academic questionings, but because they refuse to recognize the academic separation between theory and practice, because they express their intellectual dissent by leading student struggles which attack the foundations of capitalist education.

In carrying out this fight, we are participating in a general struggle of all suppressed groups against their rulers. The unemployed movement, the trade unions, the revolutionary political party—likewise fight against a suppression of radical opinion, a suppression of struggle for bread and the elementary conditions of economic welfare for the masses. Thus our student fight is one flank of the American class struggle.

FIFTEEN thousand striking Chicago high school and college students are living proof of the bond of mutual interest that connects teacher and pupil. Today, as never before, instructor and student find themselves forced together by the pressure of increasing retrenchment in education. Both are learning that the only way they can fight against encroachments on the educational system is side by side. In Chicago, the financial attack on the teachers has assumed an extreme form; for seven months, teachers and other school employees have gone payless, to the amount of \$52,000,000.

The teachers have not been inactive. Demonstrations of thousands of penniless teachers have awakened their pupils to their plight. And now the students have declared themselves. As we go to press, news dispatches report that 4,500 students left their classrooms in Englewood High School and marched through the rain, waving banners that indicated their alignment with the teachers; 6,000 students marched out of Crane Junior College and High School; 4,500 pupils in Calumet High School quit the school building to swell the ranks of the striking

students. Grammar school pupils in the Negro section also joined the demonstrators. Police squads summoned by school authorities were unable to force the strikers back to their classrooms.

With this new move the struggle of the Chicago teachers nears victorious completion. Supported by their militant pupils, the teachers' demands cannot but be granted.

Unite Against Fascism!

REPORTS trickling through the Nazi censorship indicate that an unprecedented wave of terror has been unleashed against all those forces representing the future of the German people. The atrocities committed against the Jews are merely the spillings over of a campaign of murder and mutilation whose purpose is to destroy every independent organization of the German working class. The terror against all honest and principled representatives of German thought and culture is a terror against truth which every reactionary movement is historically fated to resort to. The militarization of youth, the indoctrination of the schools with a religious training designed to teach the propertyless that the celestial arm joins the secular in guarding the fences of property—these are the more routine manifestations of a continuous war against human advancement. But these are only the flanking manoeuvres of a drive against the political and social existence of the German working class and against the German Communist Party. The fate of the Communist, Socialist and of all other political prisoners, deeply concerns the revolutionary student body of America.

The 150,000 mark contribution of the Jewish capitalist, Herr Jakob Goldschmidt, to the Hitler party is one of many evidences that these wholesale persecutions are part of a war of social classes—that they do not arise from racial antipathies. The sham of race war is necessitated by a real objective so reactionary that it can exist only behind shams. This real objective is the destruction of the political and social existence, that is to say the class existence, of the entire German proletariat. It is the unashamed and naked dictatorship of the ruling class in the political sphere, paralleling and complementing its complete and predatory power over the economic conditions of life of the German masses.

National Socialism is carrying on a vigorous battle against Jewish and radical minorities in the universities and high schools. The Nazi-led university pogroms, the terrorization and ejection of Jewish students, the transformation of the German university with all its traditions of scientific attainment into a beer hall—this has been in the past the work of Adolf Hitler's party. Today the university terror is being intensified. A few weeks ago, two girl students had their arms broken by Nazi storm troops when they attempted to distribute communist literature. At the same time, the children of prominent communists are being arrested and made to suffer for the political activities of their parents. Parallel

with these acts of terror, corporal punishment is being re-introduced, religious and military training in the schools rendered obligatory, the percentage of Jewish students admitted is being regulated by law. National socialism is transforming the German university into a drill ground.

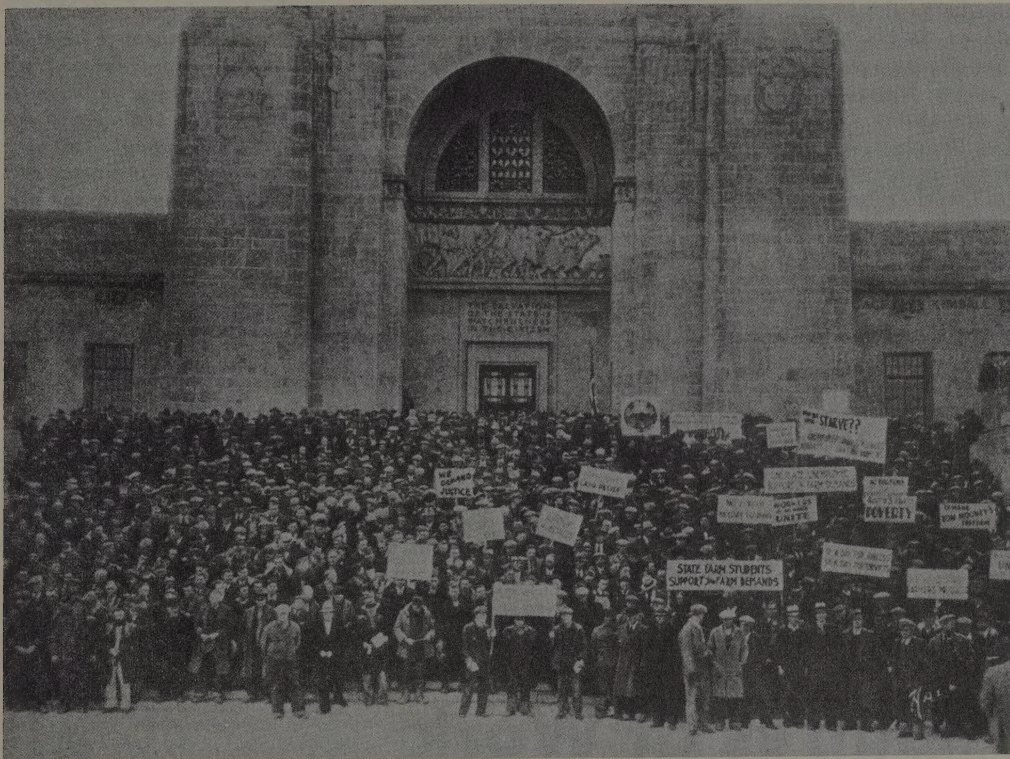
To all students, regardless of their political opinions and regardless of social origin, we appeal on a program of unrelenting struggle against this destruction of every cultural ideal and every cultural heritage. However imperfectly this heritage and these ideals are presented in our universities, we shall fight for their preservation as against the cultural nightfall of the Hitler movement. If the progress of the last centuries is not to be halted; if conditions of complete cultural and political servitude are not to be added to the bondage under which the masses now live, we must mobilize every force at our disposal against fascism on the broadest possible basis of unity. This unity does not, however, imply that we shall not make clear at all times that the reversion to barbarism which Germany is now witnessing is merely the inevitable ripening into rottenness of capitalist society. In fascism, we see merely the last stage of an epoch, a stage in which the sham of democracy and the swindle of political equality is cast aside, in which capitalism is forced to show its true character in the form of general and barefaced exploitation. Such a metamorphosis proceeds on the one hand from the internal crumbling and disintegration of the governing structure of capitalist society; it is on the other hand the capitalist response to the revolutionary awakening of the workers. The world-wide advance of the fascist counter-revolution implies for us the necessity of fighting shoulder to shoulder with the masses, to struggle against terror and international war, to build out of this struggle the foundations of a free society.

This is our analysis. We do not ask the student body of America to accept it without question. We do ask that all American students join us in a mighty protest against fascist barbarity in Germany, that in the name of culture, they attempt to stem the fascist war on culture.

On every campus, N. S. L. units will join with other student organizations in meetings and demonstrations against fascism. The students must take the lead in organizing manifestations, together with all cultural organizations, regardless of their political position, against German consulates and branches of the American Hitler organization where such exist. We ask students to flood the American Embassy with telegrams demanding the release of all the dissenters from the Hitler regime now imprisoned.

N. S. L. units must not only lead in this work of mobilizing all cultural forces. They must likewise participate actively in the demonstrations and anti-fascist activities of all revolutionary political and trade union organizations. We must aid in unleashing a revolutionary protest which will reverberate to Germany and give renewed courage to the imprisoned and mutilated army of the German October.

Nebraska States the Case



AGRICULTURAL
STUDENTS JOIN
FARMERS' MARCH
ON CAPITAL
IN NEBRASKA
TO DEMAND
MORTGAGE
UNEMPLOYMENT
AND TAX
RELIEF

ANY keen observer would note that the collegian of 1933 is quite a different specimen from his forebear of 1929. A different atmosphere pervades the campus and is reflected in a different attitude in the student body. Gone is the babbitty assurance of yesterday, and in its place is a sensation of bewilderment, of hesitancy and uncertainty, of loss of integrity. Of course, the change is rooted in the economic change which has transformed America. Four years ago your collegian had but to perform the set rites to acquire a degree and a job. Today he faces indefinite unemployment upon graduation (if he can afford to finish school), and the economic outlook, plus the despairing letters from home have placed fear in his eyes—that most primitive fear of economic insecurity, the most overwhelming force for wholesale disillusionment in the world.

Hitherto the student has had little care for his philosophy, his cultural subjects, his social studies. They represented for him only so many credit hours, beastly bores to be endured temporarily in the gala whirl of life. Now in his crisis he finds these acquisitions hollow husks, rationalizations and escapes, wherein is nothing to feed his hungry personality or to afford anchorage in the bitter realities of the present world. His text-book culture is pitifully external and false.

Despite their stripped, trembling condition, many students try to carry on, not knowing what else to

do, and hoping vaguely that perhaps things will right themselves in some mysterious fashion. But increasing numbers are deserting the books—the idiocy of the things now are so apparent. In the last few months dozens of students have told me that they can no longer study. I hear professors complain that they are unable to get from their graduate students the respect or work (meaning aimless mental ditch-digging) that they used to get. A feeling of lethargy, of stagnation, of intellectual futility permeates the walls of learning. I have been struck by the likeness to cattle huddled dumbly in a field, awaiting the breaking of an imminent storm.

But the faculties take the prize, and perhaps it is the exhibition they are making that has most disillusioned discerning students. The professors have dropped the mask. They no longer bother to appear as sedate scholars of infinite dignity and erudition. They are frankly wage-slaves and job-holders.

Many professors who have taught for years without even noticing the real world are now flustered and unstable. Our idealist philosophers, our romantic historians, our shallow, white-washing economists can neither find themselves nor satisfy their debunked students. Their incoherency in the face of the crisis is distressing. At best, they were clock-watchers who elaborated their nothingnesses till the next pay-check came around.

Worse yet is the professor who knows what is go-

ing on, but through sheer cowardice dares not admit it openly. One timid historian whom I know understands fully the imperialistic basis of war, and its origin in capitalism, but he defends his silence by asserting that he needs his daily bread and butter. One of our economists, who in the sanctuary of his office lives on Marx, in his classes drones inconsequentially on—he explains he has grocery bills to pay. It took a major depression to reveal the prostitution of our educators. Personally, I teach my classes Marx and the class struggle, and enjoy immensely the detectives who are set on my trail. If I last the year out I won't return next fall anyway—I couldn't stand it!

Another aspect of the collapse of our universities is the condition of fraternities and sororities. Alas, these training grounds for "coggy" little habbitts are in a bad way. The necessity for financial retrenchment has compelled them to curtail their outlay for lavish entertainments, and they don't know what to do with themselves. They share the general deflation that has come to America's ruling class—whose progeny they are—and their futility and awkwardness in this transitional era are simply pathetic. In them the university of yesterday attained the consummation of its purpose—the regimentation and "bourgeoisization" of our educated youth—and when their type fails to fill the bill in the crisis, the

university organization designed to manufacture them shows itself sterile and bankrupt.

Two years ago I used to fear a proletarian revolution, because I reasoned it would destroy too much of our "culture." Today I insist that only a proletarian revolution can do the job. I quote the Manifesto—"to the bourgeois the disappearance of class culture is identical with the disappearance of all culture. That culture, the loss of which he laments, is for the enormous majority a mere training to act as a machine. . . . The proletariat cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air. . . . The communists openly declare that their aims can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

I have come to this through recent revealing experiences. I find students starved for information about the new society, I see their faces light up when history is explained the Marxian way, and I have become conscious of the creative, cultural forces in the masses, releasable by proletarian emancipation. A block off the campus the Workers Unemployed Council is forcibly stopping an eviction, and I seem to feel the prophecy of strong, cleansing winds of revolution that will sweep through these musty academic halls some day soon.

CHARLES EDWARD GRAY.

Red Theatres at Work

BETWEEN May 24 and May 30, 1933 there will take place in Moscow, capital of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the most important theatrical event of recent times—the first International Workers Theatre Olympiad. From Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, England, Austria, and other lands, including even Japan and China, unless the governments succeed in preventing them, many of the best workers' theatres will make their way to Moscow to participate, side by side with some of the outstanding Soviet workers' theatres, in a mighty review and demonstration of the achievements of Soviet culture, as well as of the revolutionary cultural movements of the capitalist countries.

The rise of the workers' theatre is one of the most interesting social-cultural phenomena of the last few years. All over the United States—as indeed all over the world—workers, farmers and students have begun consciously to build a theatre that concerns itself with their own lives and struggles, a theatre that views the world from the point of view of the revolutionary working class, a theatre rooted in the philosophy of Marxism. The workers' theatre rejects as false the conception of the theatre as a classless, "pure" art in a world divided into classes. It points to the bourgeois theatre's general obsession with sex neuroticism and trivialities, and the avoidance of major social themes, as the negative phase of a definite class outlook. It points to the reaction-

ary viewpoint of most of the plays that do deal with important themes (such as war, economic struggles, race prejudice; the family, love, and art under capitalism), as the positive phase. The workers' theatre consciously takes its class position in the struggle to emancipate the working class.

The workers' theatre has, naturally, reached its highest stage of development thus far in the Soviet Union, where the workers' and peasants' government gives it every encouragement and support. There its tremendous vitality, high artistic level, and mass proportions are attested to by every visitor, including artists as critical as Eugene O'Neill. Further, the Soviet government aids every one of its nationalities to develop its own theatrical culture, "national in form and proletarian in content"—nationalities formerly oppressed and "Russified" under capitalism. Anna Louise Strong, reviewing the Olympiad of National Theatres of the Soviet Union held in the summer of 1930, wrote in *Theatre Arts Monthly*:

"It was clear that even the least distinguished theatres were worthy achievements of their national culture, and sometimes even the creators of that culture. . . .

"It was also clear, even without the medium of language, that one oft-repeated theme ran like a red thread through all the national theatres—the refrain that we, we also, we Uzbeks, Turks, Tartars, Jews, Turcomen, Georgians, have known in the past

oppression and bred from our loins heroes who struggled for freedom, till now our struggle merges with the greater struggle of all the workers of the world. Thus the long suppressed pride of race and nation is blended into a wider loyalty to the Soviet Union, and to the cause of the workers of the world."

The workers' theatres of the capitalist countries that will participate in the Olympiad, portray themes urgent for the immediate future of their own revolutionary movements. A few examples will indicate this concretely: In Czecho-Slovakia, 419 workers' theatre groups organized in the Czecho-Slovakian Workers Theatre Union (DDOC) have as their main dramatic themes the struggle to stop the shipment of Czecho-Slovakian munitions to Japan and the exposure of imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union. The French workers' theatre portrays the fight against war, attacks the Versailles system, urges the solidarity of the French and German masses in the common fight against capitalism. In Germany, even before the March elections, the German Workers Theatre Union, in the face of police terror, agitated against the Versailles system, against war preparations, for defense of the Soviet Union, and against fascism. Now its work continues under conditions of complete illegality and intensified fascist terror. The murder of working class leaders and fighters has extended to the field of the theatre, as well as elsewhere, with leading theatre workers and writers undergoing imprisonment and torture.

In other countries, the workers' theatre functions similarly. Theatres of this sort, with the experience of revolutionary presentations in the capitalist countries behind them, will compete in Moscow.

The workers' theatre in the United States is the companion in arms of these theatres, at least in its most advanced sections. The old type of labor dramas with its dreary productions of "accepted" classics or defeatist labor plays, is more and more giving way in the present period of sharp class conflicts to the new workers' theatre, revolutionary both in technique and in themes. The workers' theatre of today is becoming a theatre of frequent, short productions with inexpensive, easily portable props that permit traveling from hall to hall. It can perform on a regular stage, and when necessary, on level ground, and even in the streets. Its style is vigorous, dynamic, powerful. Its themes are propagandistic but never defeatist.

For example, the story of the Scottsboro boys is told in a gripping mass recitation that rises to a final, highly emotional, highly dramatic appeal for Negro and white workers to unite to smash the Scottsboro frame-up. A vivid picture of the rising movement to free Tom Mooney is presented in another short piece. Strikes, struggles against war, capitalist crisis, Socialist construction in the USSR, the life of the unemployed and the fight for unemployment insurance are some of the themes. The very name of this type of theatre proclaims its characteristics. It is known as agitprop theatre—theatre of agitation and propaganda.

More recently there has begun to develop another type of workers' theatre, with productions generally approximating the Broadway type as regards dramatic form, but with themes representing the revolutionary point of view. These stationary theatres, so-called, have begun work in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. They are composed of theatre professionals and students. It should be remarked that students play an active part in the work of a number of agitprop theatres, too.

The American workers' theatre movement, from the new, crude dramatic circles of untrained workers and farmers to the highly skilled groups that have been functioning over a number of years, or that have theatre professionals among them, has formed a national organization, the League of Workers Theatres—more briefly, the LOWT. The LOWT publishes a monthly magazine, *Workers Theatre*, which has many readers among students and instructors. *Workers Theatre*, with headquarters at 42 East 12th Street, New York City, prints news and articles on the college theatre.

Students interested in seeing the workers' theatre in action will come upon notices of its performances in the press, and particularly in the revolutionary press of many cities. A specially good opportunity will be afforded by a number of Workers Theatre Spartakiads (competitions) to be held by various sections of the LOWT in several cities during April-May. New York will have its Workers Theatre Spartakiad at Manhattan Lyceum on April 29, from 2:30 to midnight, with sixteen groups participating, including several in foreign languages. Other cities have not yet set their dates, but information can be had from the LOWT.

An article in a previous issue of *Student Review* has already noted that the newly risen workers' theatre, particularly the agitprop theatre, has had some influence on the college theatre. Furthermore, there are college theatres which are independently becoming more and more social in their repertoire, portraying workers' and farmers' struggles and portraying them sympathetically, just as to a slight extent Broadway has harbored some such efforts, though not very successfully (1931 and *We The People*).

This trend in the college theatre should receive the encouragement and conscious stimulation of the revolutionary-minded student, whose duty it is to make his fellow students aware of the reactionary aspects of the plays produced at his college. He should point out that the theme and treatment are tinged with jingoism, fascism, race prejudice, or anti-labor sentiment. In addition, he should attend the performances of the workers' theatre groups to gain a clearer conception of the revolutionary possibilities of the theatre as a social force. For those students who are interested in the revolutionary theatre, the place to begin is in their own college dramatic associations. If that requires a long struggle, the beginning can be made, on a lesser scale, in their social problems clubs. In any event, the beginning must be made now.

BEN BLAKE.

Smashing the Campus Revolt

Donald Henderson

COLUMBIA has once again shown that her liberalism is an empty shell. Donald Henderson, instructor in economics at Columbia University, and until a month ago, Executive Secretary of the National Student League, will be dropped from the faculty at the end of the present semester. Although no statement has been made by the administration, the issue is sufficiently clear.

So long as an instructor's heresies are confined to gentlemanly philosophic radicalism, the University smiles tolerantly—But, as in the days of Robinson and Cattell, when his actions come into conflict with the interests and opinions of the Administration, the tolerance disappears and its true reactionary character stands revealed.

The activities in the case of Donald Henderson, which were so repugnant to the Alumni, were his participation in the organization of a revolutionary student movement, to which he gave leadership for a period of over a year. In the course of his work as head of the National Student League, he played an active part in the Kentucky trip, the Columbia strike and in other campaigns. More recently, in fact, just before he received word that he would be dropped at the end of the year, Donald Henderson had taken a prominent part in the fight of the students of City College against the ruthlessness of their administration. The pill which the "gentlemen" of the Columbia Club found hardest to swallow, was Henderson's arrest last fall, when he was guest speaker at a meeting of the City College Liberal Club, which was forcibly disbanded by the police. At the subsequent trial, an unofficial representative of the Alumni Association was constantly present and in friendly communication with the presiding magistrate, himself a Columbia Alumnus and son of a former Columbia dean.

The facts of Henderson's dismissal are clearly presented in his own public statement:

"Due to a widespread interest in the question of my status at Columbia I feel it desirable to give the facts of this situation. In December I was informed by Professor R. G. Tugwell, head of the Economics Department, that I would not be reappointed for the coming academic year.

"This is my fifth year of teaching at Columbia, and my seventh year of University teaching. Like other instructors, my contract is on a yearly basis. Until a year ago last Fall there was no question of my reappointment. During the summer of 1931 I became more active in the revolutionary movement and received considerable publicity in the newspapers in connection with these activities. That fall, (18 months ago) I was advised by Professor Tugwell to look for another job. He stated at that time that in case of lack of success in finding another position, I would not be dismissed. I made definite attempts to find another position. In the Spring of

1932 my activities in connection with the Kentucky Student Delegation and particularly the Columbia strike resulted in extreme pressure being brought to bear for my removal.

"In fairness to Professor Tugwell it should be said that he stood up against this pressure, insisting that my contract for this year, which had already been recommended, be approved. Last summer my activities, as well as those of Mrs. Henderson in the case of discrimination against Negroes, resulted in 'a flood of letters from prominent alumni,' to quote the words of Professor Tugwell, demanding my removal from the staff.

"Last December Professor Tugwell informed me that I would not be reappointed. *At the same time*, Professor Tugwell suggested that in view of the fact that I would have difficulty in getting a position at another university, he would attempt to secure a fellowship for me. Following this 'suggestion' Professor Tugwell recently offered me an appointment by the university as 'Research Assistant,' at a salary \$700 less than my present one. The condition attached to this offer was that the year be spent in the Soviet Union.

"The facts in this situation raise clearly and definitely the issue of academic freedom. Under these circumstances the offer of a research assistantship by Columbia University can have no other intention than to obscure the issue."

Write or telegraph, demanding Henderson's reinstatement, to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University, New York City.

Alexander Buchman

AS a direct result of his activities in the struggle against retrenchment at Case School of Applied Science, Alexander Buchman has been dropped out of college. Buchman is a leading member of the Case National Student League group which called a campus meeting to protest against a reduction in faculty personnel of 23 per cent and to demand lower tuition fees. The majority of the students present were dissuaded from action by the administrative officers who attended the meeting, but the N.S.L. members, led by Buchman, stood their ground.

Immediately afterwards, at a special conference of the Board of Trustees, it was decided that Buchman should be required to apologize publicly for an article written *more than two weeks before*, in which "personal remarks" were made about President Wickenden of the School, or be dropped from the rolls. The "personal remarks" consisted principally of criticism of Dr. Wickenden's views on various subjects. For instance: "Dr. Wickenden . . . advocates restriction of invention as a crisis solution, and in the equally sterile appeal that 'In the crisis of life' (does he mean the economic crisis?) 'we are

thrown back on faith and faith alone.' These appeals are utter flights from reality, and absolutely deny the scientific method, let alone ordinary logic."

Buchman courageously refused to repudiate the article, and was immediately dropped from Case. There can be no doubt that this dismissal is wholly due to his militant leadership of the fight against retrenchment.

Send protests to President Wickenden, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio.

Jack Cohen

BECAUSE he ventured to say that "recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States would be a worthy contribution to world peace," a rabbi, speaking before the International Club at James Monroe High School in New York City was rudely interrupted by the faculty adviser and prevented from finishing his speech. The adviser charged that the rabbi was a "communist propagandist" who was misleading high school students. Although permission to hold the meeting had already been obtained, the adviser abruptly declared it adjourned. Considering the minutes of this meeting incriminating, the adviser ordered them suppressed.

The principal broke up the next meeting of the club. In protest thirty members of the International Club met outside the school and drew up a resolution which was sent to the principal, demanding an apology from the adviser to the speaker and to the club, and further demanding that interference with free speech be ended. The principal answered by granting the adviser dictatorial powers.

Incidents of suppression and intimidation followed in rapid succession. At the next meeting the faculty adviser prevented the reading of the minutes of the previous one. When Jack Cohen, the club leader and an N.S.L. member, opposed this unparliamentary procedure, he was threatened with suspension. At the same meeting, a girl student was suspended for "sneering." A few days later, militant club members, among them Jack Cohen, were privately interviewed on the question of "academic freedom" and expelled from the club because of their stand. Four students were arrested for distributing leaflets calling for a protest meeting. When 700 students at this protest gathering sent a delegation of 100 to interview Dr. Hein, they were refused admittance. Their demands are: (1) unconditional reinstatement of Jack Cohen; (2) no dictatorship in the International Club; (3) no members of the student organization to be barred from any extra-curricular activities; (4) no persecution of students because of participation in the fight for academic freedom.

The faculty has attempted to break the militant backbone of the school by expelling and disciplining the club's leaders. But the struggle is going on, drawing in larger masses of students.

Protests should be sent to Dr. Hein, Monroe High School, 172nd Street and Boynton Avenue, New York City.

Dr. Kenneth E. Barnhart

WORD has reached us that Dr. Kenneth E. Barnhart, Professor of Sociology at Birmingham-Southern University, has been dropped, ostensibly for reasons of economy. (Speaking more accurately, Sociology has been eliminated from the curriculum. Dr. Barnhart comprises the entire Sociology Department.)

Dr. Barnhart has been accused on various occasions of the following crimes by members of the Board of Directors, the President, and other Professors:

- a) Being a "Nigger Lover."
- b) Teaching Communism and Evolution.
- c) Probing "too far" into the question of prostitution, the Negro housing question, and general social welfare.

Dr. Barnhart is the most popular professor on the campus. The "economy" of Birmingham-Southern University involves saving \$2768 which is Dr. Barnhart's salary, and losing \$5040 which is the total tuition payment for sociology courses. This saves the large sum of minus \$2272!

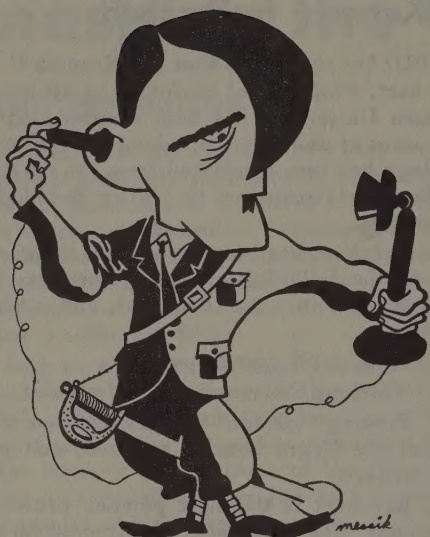
Professor Barnhart has adopted a realistic method of teaching, unifying theory and practice in his pedagogy. He has encouraged his students to investigate at first hand the miserable conditions under which the black population of Birmingham subsists. In his paper, "A Study of Homicide in the United States," he points out that "one reason that the Negro (death) rate is higher in Birmingham than the White (death) rate is because many Negroes are killed by policemen for 'resisting arrest.'" This is pretty strong language for the South.

Dr. Barnhart is not a communist; he is a member of the Methodist Church. When one of the big-businessmen-trustees, a certain Mr. Jackson, asked Barnhart whether he taught communism, the latter replied: "No, I do not teach communism at the College. I try to present both sides of all debatable questions to my classes. Students read so much more against Russia than they do in favor of it, that I often tell them something of its features that are commendable."

Not only is Dr. Barnhart the most popular professor at Birmingham-Southern, but he possesses three degrees, a record of research and scientific attainment, as well as a record of publication in technical and scientific journals. He has been a university professor for eleven years.

The facts clearly indicate that Dr. Barnhart was not expelled because of economy measures. Since he came on this faculty five years ago, twelve men have been added, none of whom has been dismissed. In addition, as Dr. Barnhart puts it, "It seems queer economy to cut out the teacher with most students, which is proof that it is the most popular department on the campus."

All protests from interested groups and individuals should be sent to President Guy E. Snively, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama.



Appearance and Reality

A GROUP of men are seen setting fire to the Reichstag. They are dressed in the brown shirts of the Nazis. You would naturally assume that they are Nazis. But you are wrong. You are probably a Marxist, a vulgar materialist who believes the evidence of his senses. These men are really Communists. They disguised themselves as Nazis so that their act might discredit the Hitler regime which, as everybody knows, loves the Reichstag.

The Hitler police have actually caught a "Communist" who participated in this crime. Capitalist press dispatches from Amsterdam report that this "Communist" was expelled a year ago from the Dutch Communist Party for being a spy. The British capitalist press reports that he is a member in good standing of Hitler's Nazis. But if you believe these stories you are a vulgar slave of common sense, a philistine, an enemy of the Fatherland.

Every true German, who has no trace of Jewish blood in his veins or a Marxist idea in his head, knows better than to trust the evidence of his senses. The noblest German philosophers have taught that appearance is not reality. A man in a brown shirt may look to you like a Nazi; in reality he is a Communist.

Only the other day, for example, several American citizens were beaten up in Berlin. The assailants wore brown shirts; but you are wrong again. They were not Nazis, they were Communists wearing Nazi uniforms. This is no joke; it is an actual fact; we have the word of the official Nazi press bureau for it.

This confusion between appearance and reality is often hard on the leaders of the German ruling classes. The last of the Kaisers had a difficult time telling himself apart from the Almighty; and Luden-

dorff has had his own troubles trying to find out whether he is Jesus Christ or Napoleon Bonaparte.

But these are the normal risks that go with Idealism. You can never tell when vulgar common sense is likely to deceive you. You may be watching a parade of twenty thousand men in brown shirts. It is possible that they are Nazis; but on the other hand, maybe they are not. Maybe they are Communists disguised as Nazis.

This has had some serious consequences. Berlin is in a great state of confusion. Nobody is quite certain of his own identity. Our intelligence service reports the following strange scene observed in the offices of the Chancellor:

A man, dressed in a Nazi uniform, is frantically ringing the telephone. He has the face of a middle-aged horse, a Charlie Chaplin mustache, and a long lock of hair over one eye. At last he gets his number. He yells into the phone in a hysterical bari-tone:

"Hindenburg! Um Gottes willen, who am I? I am wearing a brown shirt, but am I Ernest Thaelmann, or am I really Adolf Hitler?"

JOSEPH FREEMAN.

Reviewing the "Class Struggle"

THE *Student Outlook* published in its March issue a symposium of Socialist Party leaders, communist "fellow travellers" and heterogeneous "radicals" on the subject of class struggle.

The discussion was preceded by a characteristic editorial comment which read in part: "Few terms in the revolutionist's handbook have been so abused as 'Class struggle.' In some places it has become a shibboleth which if not pronounced with proper intonations disqualifies one from radical activity. In other groups its use causes horror and repulsion. To effect some consistency in usage *The Student Outlook* has asked several leaders of the radical movement what they meant by 'class struggle.'"

So the class struggle is only a "term," and not, as we had once supposed, the core of all revolutionary socialist doctrine, the central, living reality of history. To emphasize this, the editors of *Student Outlook* carefully wrap it in quotations before using—at times even refer to it as a shibboleth. The above editorial comment compresses within its brief lines all the illogicality which springs from the synthetic intellectual position, from the sponge-like absorption of incompatible doctrines, which characterizes American reformist socialism. The fact that in certain circles the class struggle has become, not a "shibboleth," but a touchstone of revolutionary sincerity, while in other milieux it is looked at with horror, does not imply that these two "groups" (i.e., workers and capitalists) fail to understand the meaning of terms—it springs on the contrary from the fact that the class struggle is a living reality,

from the fact that the contending classes cannot and do not view present society in the same terms. *Student Outlook* wishes precision in the use of the "shibboleth," class struggle—a shibboleth which is already part of "the revolutionist's handbook," something to be popped out on occasion, and conveniently forgotten on other occasions; a shibboleth, because all words which are pronounced without being understood are shibboleths, just as all revolutionary talk which does not entail revolutionary practice is barren. In demanding precision of meaning, *Student Outlook* advances as an argument something entirely irrelevant, namely, that different groups (or classes) approach the fact of class struggle with opposite emotional reactions. This difference of approach is inevitable.

To wish a common attitude toward the class struggle is not to desire precision; it is the attempt to wish away the existing fact of class struggle.

It becomes evident from the character and quality of the contributions to this interesting symposium that clarity will not be achieved through more refined definitions, but that the abuse of the term, class struggle, in the reformist camp has itself an organic class character and explanation.

Norman Thomas, after stating that: "Of course, I believe in a class struggle between an owning class and a great mass of workers with hand and brain," proceeds as follows:

"Energy for a successful prosecution of the class struggle by the workers comes not primarily from those who are already pretty well squeezed down, but from those who are being squeezed down,—out of the middle class, out of the group of professional folks who have had a middle class psychology. . . . We must make white collar workers, especially technical workers, engineers, and the like realize that their ultimate and most important interest lies on the side of the workers and the establishment of the classless society. . . . Immediate self-interest is apt to be divisive even within the working class. Hence the need of stressing not only class loyalty but the way capitalism poisons the whole body politic. Thus we must emphasize the practical vision of the cooperative commonwealth." (*emphasis mine.*—F. L.)

It is characteristic of today's distorters of Marxism that they attempt to speak in the name of Karl Marx. Norman Thomas begins by "of course" accepting the class struggle only to peel away successively all its revolutionary implications. The energy for the prosecution of class conflict is to come primarily not from the workers but from the expropriated middle class. The revolutionary role of the proletariat is denied; the Marxian view that the proletariat necessarily contains within it the force, the will, the desires which must forge the new society is rejected. Norman Thomas substitutes the idea of a popular movement led by the expropriated middle class. Such a movement cannot be revolutionary; it either fights the battles of capitalism, as does the Hitler movement, or it prostitutes the revolutionary impulses of its proletarian following to a program of meagre reform.

As Marx says: "Of all the classes that stand face to face

with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

"The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle-class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat." —("The Communist Manifesto," L. I. D. edition, preface by Norman Thomas.)

The reformist nature of Mr. Thomas' analysis is more clearly brought out by his suggestion that an appeal to class interest is essentially divisive and hence dangerous, and by his proposal that "the practical vision of the cooperative commonwealth" be stressed. At a moment when all the forces of German capitalism are united in a war of extermination against the political existence of the German working class, Mr. Thomas draws the lesson that an approach which stresses the ruthless, inevitable reality of class war be scrapped in favor of phantom images of the cooperative commonwealth.

The reformist position was expressed somewhat more crudely by Florence Bowers, a prominent Socialist Party lecturer. "Why use 'class struggle' when it is so much easier to show the average American worker, middle class professional and farmer, that the wealth of this country is *not* in their hands? A simple, direct, sincere statement of the facts in the case accomplishes the same purpose, doesn't it? They are only confused and turned aside by theoretical socialism. . . . It seems to me that instead of loading down our backs with the class struggle we should set our feet upon it and proceed at once to talk to the issues of today." Having wiped its boots on Marxism, the Socialist Party is now to "set its feet" on the class struggle.

Karl Borders continues to emphasize the rapid radicalization of the middle classes as opposed to the "so-called proletariat."

The upshot of the symposium is that all of the socialists (with the exception of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr who not only distinguishes himself by being politically literate, but adopts a Marxist position as well), reject the class struggle as the revolutionary method of social transformation, and that each (again excepting Dr. Niebuhr) stresses the "revolutionary" character of the middle class as opposed to the revolutionary leadership of the working class. Of these people, Lenin once said: "They take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, including the class struggle (without the dictatorship of the proletariat), including a 'general' recognition of 'Socialist ideals' and the substitution of a 'new order' for capitalism; they repudiate 'only' the living soul of Marxism, 'only' its revolutionary content."

FERDINAND LASOON.

From Scottsboro to Decatur

WE borrowed a car—a car a bit too conspicuous, perhaps, and a car with the prime error of having New York license-plates—and left for Decatur. They were being tried; we wanted to see that trial. It was not to be read in newspapers, we thought, but something to be seen. There was no assurance that we would get in the courtroom, since our credentials could not compare in assurance with those of the *New York Times*. But there would be other people like ourselves down there, reporting, and anxious above all things that the Scottsboro boys be free, and the issues that had grown to immensity out of their unique case be won. However, the car we rode in had New York license-plates.

The road to Decatur is lined with wide fields, with billboards, hitchhikers, and stretches of mountains and farms. In Baltimore, at five in the morning, the streets are asleep. In Washington, morning comes on the city swiftly—papers are sold on corners, decrying the move to have Negroes on the Scottsboro jury. Just south of the bridge, we come to the first railroad station marked in one corner "White Entrance" and in the other, "Negro."

From raw March in New York City, we enter the warmer South. In the back of our minds we remember the slogans: "There is terror in Alabama," "Free the Scottsboro boys."

Virginia is long and green, and peaceful with Spring. The fields look moist and fertile; horses stand quietly in the pastures; pale cows stretch their throats for the rich grass. It seems impossible that the stories we have heard of fear and hatred are not exaggerated. This is, for two of us, our first trip South. The other grins a bit when we go pastoral. We drive very fast and steadily, eager to reach Decatur and the trial.

The second night was long. The country seemed to rush into greenness by morning, as we crossed Tennessee into Alabama. The roads wriggled steeply down the sides of the mountain-chain, and we looked over the first plainlands of north Alabama. Wooden houses stood tentatively on posts; little dark children sat on the porches, still half-asleep. We drove down the highway into Scottsboro. Farmers were up, and deputy sheriffs. The town is built around a large square, the dark houses face the Jackson County courtroom. A soft, finely-wooded hill leans over the town. It still seems hard to believe that this place is the town that has been so bitter with the trial. That Fair Day two years ago seems very far away from us. Two stony-looking tall men turn and stare after the car. One of us had been threatened with lynching three weeks ago in Scottsboro, for being in town to do newspaper work; and our car has a New York license.

Scottsboro, Huntsville, Paint Rock, are names which have become legends in the Scottsboro case. We go through, following the railroad tracks part of the way, wondering just where the fight on the train took place, just where the white boys jumped

off. We lurch over the tracks at Paint Rock, where the train was stopped. A bus passes us, crowded with white children on their way to school. Some little Negro children, just the same age, turn and watch the bus, and continue walking in the other direction to their school. We go on. Farmers crowd herds of cows out of our way. An old man flicks his whip at a mule. Some Negroes, walking at the roadside, do not turn, as the white boys do, to ask us for a lift. They have been taught better. In the South, Negroes walk. We had taken a student at the University of Virginia down the road a way. He had not heard of the case; he said he supposed the Negroes had problems. He was a junior in a university. A homeless boy we had given a lift knew. People were talking in Chattanooga. He knew about Negro problems. He had had a fight with a Negro boy a while back, and had been given ten days in jail. He had been drunk. The Negro was given six weeks. We told both of these boys what we knew about Scottsboro. To the University boy we gave a copy of the *Call to Action* for the Conference on Negro Student Problems.

But that was all different. That was in the North. We would not give copies of the *Call* to people in Decatur. We were there to report.

The signs pointing to Decatur and Scottsboro were strange to see on a roadside, after having seen the names in newsprint for so long. We had a feeling that we were entering strange land, but the fields were very peaceful. The Negro houses looked like some of the houses in the Central Park Hooverville, but they were surrounded with wet fields instead of the rubble of New York City. We thought that the Hooverville people might envy these, the Negroes too, who could have country and air and fishing, even when they were poor. This was our first trip South.

Decatur is approached over a concrete bridge. It is built along two streets, Bank Street, which has cafeterias and grocery stores, the post-office, and a small block lined with empty stores, with a gas-station on one corner, and a drug-store across the street—a Negro drug-store. On the other street is the courthouse of Morgan County, which stands next to the jail, an undertaker's establishment, more cafeterias, a picture-house—the usual array. The rest of the town includes private houses, a bungalow-model library, a few soft-drink bottling factories, the building that has been recently converted into National Guard quarters, and a candy-stand slapped up across the street from the court-house. Decatur is doing good business on the trial. We found that out soon, and completely.

The judge had called a recess that day. We looked for the newspapermen, stopping in a small colony on the outskirts of the residential district. We went across the bridge again, and were told we could find more reporters in the Magnolia Drug Store. The car had New York license-plates. That was our big

mistake. Standing in front of the Magnolia Drug Store, which is across the street from the filling-station, we noticed a blue roadster which approached the street-corner, turned in a wide arc, and retired down the street. We drove out that afternoon to the red-and-tawny cliffs behind the town. We had not slept since we left New York, and the cliffs were sunny. The South, we thought, is very peaceful. Decatur will be quiet during the rest of the trial. We were glad of that. Disturbance would not help the Scottsboro boys at all. If the town stayed quiet, they would be surer, certainly, of a fair trial. That night we went back to the drug store, and one of us went in, while the other two waited. A roadster came to the corner, turned its headlights on us, swung in a wide arc, and disappeared. Various cars came, separately and at intervals, trailing a bright path of light over our car, and pulled down the block.

Court opened early the next morning. National Guardsmen stood, dapper and khaki, leaning on their bayoneted guns at the head of the stairs. More Guardsmen surrounded the entrance and the path from the jail to the court-house. We went to the jail to get press passes from the sheriff. Sheriff Bud Davis is a huge man, and looked twice as large in the confinement of the jail room. The building itself is rickety, with holes where bricks have fallen loose, and a chewed-up wall. The Sheriff's pass took us beyond the bayonets and into the court-room. Morgan County has come out in full force for the Scottsboro trial, but the court seats only four hundred and fifty. We approached the trial with the seriousness that most history-books have failed to evoke. It was the gravest thing that had happened in a long time. Here we were to see at last Leibowitz, who had been defending the boys with skill and courage; and Attorney-General Knight, a little man, darting questions; and Heywood Patterson, who was up first for trial, a tall, quiet, dark boy, sitting over in the corner, forcing himself to listen through the tedium of most of the technical work, sometimes genuinely excited by the proceedings. Here the history of the American Negroes was being made: the fight for jury service, for equalization of rights, and for his life, and the lives of those others.

I was down there to report the trial. I shall not report it here. You will have known about it already from the news accounts. I felt that no news articles could have reached the value of those few days I spent in Decatur. But the story developed into something different for me, and from being the article of an individual who went down to Decatur, this becomes the protest of a student, interested in student problems, and involved in Decatur because of that.

The two days at court went naturally for us. We sat in at the sessions all day every day. Sometimes we went back to the drug store, which was a Negro drug store, down the street, and the cars would come, and swing long headlights across us. We had a feeling we were being trailed. But then, we had New York licenses. Some of the New York people had had the sense and the money to change to Alabama tags. We had not. There was talk of a meet-

ing in Decatur, like the one recently held in Birmingham, that broke the Jim-Crow rulings to protest in favor of the Scottsboro boys. The Jim-Crow laws had become a very real thing to us since we crossed the Mason-Dixon line. But nothing was done about that meeting. In court we talked to William Jones, the editor of the *Afro-American*, about the Conference, but we distributed none of the *Calls*. There is a fine white school in Decatur, but we saw no Negro high schools or colleges that could have sent delegates. Decatur believes in "keeping the niggers in their place." But we had seen no terror, and it looked as though the Scottsboro boys would not have to fear the dreaded lynching that so many people had prophesied.

On Friday night, we sat in the car in front of the drug store. The town was very quiet. One of us went into the store, and the other two, who were tired and had nothing to do but wait—Decatur retires at eight—gradually fell asleep. We were awakened by voices around us, very loud, very gruff and authoritative. "All right," we were told, "you're the people we're looking for. Go on—drive on down to the station." I asked where the station was, and drove the man down. It was hard to see him, in the dark of the car, and just waked from sleep. Another car, full of police, followed us.

We reached the police-station, and went into the large, brown hall filled with chairs. A dais with a judge's bench was lit by a hanging light at the far end, and we were told to sit down. "Will you open your bags?" they demanded. We wanted to know on what charge we were there. "Never mind," they said. They were very sure of their position. Decatur is a small town, and does not have the chance to show its authority often. "Open them,—if you want, we can get a search warrant." The man was pale and fleshy, and his flat cap made him look a bit ridiculous. He was one of about six. We opened the bag. It was my bag, and there was nothing in it but clothes, and some copy paper, and about thirty *Calls* to a Negro Student Conference, to be held at Mac-Millan Theatre, Columbia University, New York City. They looked relieved. This was what they wanted. This was *proof*. We were in the station all that night, waiting for the "chief," waiting for them to make some charge against us. A few men came up to me, one by one, and I explained what the *Calls* were. They listened. "Weren't times hard for the white students?" Of course they were, they said, one by one—anybody would admit that. "And if white students couldn't get employment, what was going to happen to the Negroes?" Well, whatever happened, no white woman had any right being seen in Nigger-town, no, or even being in a car in those streets. Interested in niggers—what nationality was I? American! he repeated blankly, incredulous. Was this my first trip down South? Well, if that was so, I'd find out how much things were different. I'd find out that niggers weren't to be talked to—why, he continued, he'd just as soon slap a nigger in the face as call him mister. Yes, he said, you'd better not go into Georgia. Down there they're giving folks like you eighteen to twenty years. He turned from me.

"Nigger!" he shouted, and grabbed the sleeping boy by the collar. "Nigger!" he said, "what were you doing with these?" There had been some Workers Ex-Servicemen League cards found in a suitcase. "And you . . ." to another Negro—"Trying to stir up more trouble. . . . You'll be trying to make laws for yourself, some of these days." "No sir," said the man, very quietly, "No sir."

"Well," the officer said, "now look here. We're honest, law-abiding citizens, and we didn't want this trial anyway. The fair name of Morgan County's not going to be spoiled by no nigger-trial held here, and none of you thieves are going to come into Decatur and raise hell by talking to the niggers. Don't you know better, you white folks, than to talk to niggers? You just stay out—what do you care anyhow, what happens to a lot of nigger-boys?" He was being very honest, very sincere in his feeling. He really wanted to know, behind all his feeling as a police officer that here were prisoners to be "handled properly."

We were in the station until about four-thirty. The police were getting in touch with the Attorney-General, to find out what was to be done with us—with the "chief," to find a good charge to place against us. We asked what we were charged with. "Contempt of court," they told us. "You're cited for contempt." We had been arrested for associating with Negro reporters, and for the fact that I carried in my suitcase *Calls* to a student conference to be held at Columbia University.

We left the station-house and got in the car. Gas was running low—among the disabilities of the car was its gluttony for gas—and we didn't want to be stuck. We drew in to the curb. One of the ubiquitous police-cars passed, and someone shouted, "Go on, get out of there." It was like Decatur to catch us for a framed-up traffic violation at the end of this evening. We pulled out, and drove slowly through the town. Birmingham would be the place to go, we thought. Birmingham would be civilized and decent—and we might be able to get legal advice about our "contempt of court" charge.

But they were out for us. We drove very slowly—someone had warned us that the mobs were around. And Decatur had been restless enough and explosive enough during the last few days to be ready for anything. One of us had been run out of Scottsboro at a gun's end; Decatur knows its precedents. Morgan County was not going to have its fair name tarnished. We stopped before a small knot of men to ask whether it was all right to park in the town, and to inquire of an officer the way to the Birmingham highway. The sky was turning peacock-green at the edges. Everything seemed quite peaceful. But we knew better, after that night in police court.

The one who had left us to ask the law came back. He grinned. "We're under arrest," he said. Twice in the evening. Southern hospitality. There had been hundreds of flies dead in the globe of the court-lamp, clustered blackly around the bottom. The story went that in Cullen County there were six Negroes left—the rest had been killed. That, of course was a story. There is another one that

Decatur stands third in the United States homicide list. This may be unfounded, but at five in the morning, arrested fifteen minutes after our first release, it appears very near truth. A thick man turned a flashlight in our faces, and asked about our credentials, and the ownership of the car. Another came. We could smell the whisky almost before he opened the car door. "You know what I think," he said hoarsely, "I think this is all so much rot—where's the other guy?" He was coming out of the court. The man went up to meet him. Together they returned to the car.

"Well," he said, "this man is a plain-clothes man who says he wants to help us." "Yes," said the man, and the whisky fumes leaped on the air, "I'm sick of all this chasing around, and talking about red literature. What have they got on you? Nothing at all. And that whole gang, ready to beat you up, ready maybe to string you up. Lookyere, I'm sick of it." Well, we wanted to know, would he put us on the road to Birmingham? Sure he would, and he'd send us to a gas-station down the road where they'd give us gas on credit, in his name. Here, he said, turn here. We turned, and he got out. The sky was almost grey at the edges.

The road to Birmingham stopped at a cross-road. To left and right was highway. How could we know this was not a trap, after the night's events? How could we know what the plain-clothes man wanted? A lynch gang could be posted outside the town with no danger at all to the fair name of Morgan County. And they *had* threatened violence. We turned in the road, and headed back for town. Decatur was not inviting, just then. But they had made mistakes all night—telling us we had registered at the hotel under false names, accusing us of having been in Scottsboro two years ago, putting us on the wrong road to Birmingham. We headed for the place where the reporters were staying. Cars turned corners. They had wanted to beat us up, we had been told—for carrying *Calls*, for talking to Negroes on the streets and in the shops of Decatur. There were a bad five minutes before we got to the hotel, before we left our typewriter as security for a safe night's lodging—the sky was quite light then, and the streets empty.

By morning, the story of our arrest had got around. We were advised that the best thing to do would be not to appear to face our charges, so that the issue might have less publicity, and not interfere with the process of the case. It was true that publicity given to us might have influenced opinion about the case—but to remember that we had been held for nothing, that we were innocent of any misdemeanor, and wanted more than all things to see the Scottsboro boys freed!

The court had kept the *Calls*. They are not going to be circulated in Decatur. Decatur is a town of contented cows, and men with faces burned the color of the bright cliffs, whose foreheads are innocently white where their caps have rested, and who hate anyone, white or black, who makes the slightest move to help the Negro, to assure him protection or relief or friendliness. Decatur's students will not have

representatives at the Conference on Negro Student Problems.

We found the clear highway leading to Birmingham, which is civilized, which would mean flight from the barbarian country of green fields and wide farms. A truck followed us, suspiciously close, trailing us doggedly. Soon it passed us and seemed to lead the way. We kept it in sight. At the next town it slowed down. They might have phoned after us, we thought. We drove on, quite steadily, keeping

the truck in sight. The only things we had left in Decatur were some copy paper and some *Calls*. We had taken a lot away, things we will not forget, resentments that will not heal.

The truck finally turned off into a side-road. The drivers might have been farmers, going home. It was Farmers' Day in Decatur. We remembered Fair Day in Scottsboro. But the truck was gone. The road ahead of us lay clear to Birmingham.

MURIEL RUKEYSER.

No More Tea Parties

The Conference on Negro Student Problems initiated by the National Student League will be held April 15, 16, and 17 in Macmillan Theatre, Columbia University, New York City.

INTER-RACIAL conferences, councils and what-nots are old, stale stuff to the Negro student in America. They were ancient back in the days when Papa Noah drank too much good wine and laid himself out stiff and naked under the hot sun that glared down on a territory not so far, I believe, from Mount Ararat. Back then, according to the Biblical legend, the sons of Noah had a conference, inter-racial, strange to relate, and one of them, just whom I have forgotten, caught hades. It was, according to the hoary legend, his fate forever to bear the burden of the other sons because he had chanced to see his venerable father several sheets to the wind.

For many years the most prominent leaders of the Negroes were men in the pulpit. It is no accident that even today the working class church is the center of many a protest meeting and much real, if somewhat clouded, struggle toward self-determination of the Black Belt and a full realization of nationality.

Prominent in the inter-racial scene is the work of the church. Of course, this work is dominated by the white bodies, as they hold a far superior economic position. Of course the philanthropist and the reformist have long since taken advantage of the situation and have rushed into the arena with donations for the white churches that go in for Negro work and for Negro councils. It costs vastly less to promise pie in the sky than to pay good hard dollars for a living wage, which would bring social equality in its train, here and now.

The inter-racial conference and the inter-racial council, which has its tentacles all over the South, have come in the train of the philanthropist. It is, in actuality, only a committee of leading whites who take a few bootlicking Negroes, exploiters of the mass of colored people, into their conferences and then, solemnly enough, pass out rules for the further than against lynching, as Communism is the exaggeration. In the great city of Birmingham three white ministers make up the Inter-Racial Commission. Other inter-racialists solemnly tell Tuskegee

Institute that it must fight against radicalism rather than against lynching, as Communism is the greater menace. Just how seriously the school takes this directive may be seen from the fact that the death of Cliff James, one of the Alabama sharecroppers, must be laid directly at the door of the institution and especially at the feet of Dr. Dibble, his family physician, who not only refused him medical attention but also turned him over to the white law, which clapped him in jail and let him die for want of medical aid. As the Negro student knows, talk of inter-racial co-operation means that the whites do the operating and the Negroes do the co-ing.

Now we approach a new phenomenon. A call to Negro and white students for the Conference on Negro Student Problems has gone out all over the country. Delegates are to assemble and to map out a militant plan of action. Under the leadership of the National Student League, which, many a Negro student will tell you, is not exactly liked by the capitalist system which now keeps students jobless and hungry, this new step is to be taken.

History only can give its results. Certainly, the Negro will come to this Conference eagerly. Of course he will expect much. In return, he will be willing to give much. If there are difficulties—and they are sure to arise—he will expect them to be settled by democratic methods. In this he will not be disappointed. He has, concretely, a right to expect demands for complete social, political and economic equality with the right to self-determination for the Black Belt. He has the right to expect demands for every school of every grade to be forced open to every student of every race, nationality or religion. He has the right to demand equal opportunity in his search for jobs and equal pay for equal work in every position everywhere.

These things are not all dreams of the far tomorrow. They are immediate tasks of the National Student League, which must go forward to break down the dollar-inspired myths of racial differences and clear away the wreckage caused by the fake inter-racialists backed by the churches and philanthropists. In this work the students are helping build the classless society of tomorrow. It is a great task, but one which can and will be performed.

HANK FULLER.

Student Action Speaks

Cornell University

It was initiation night in two fraternities; and election night at the Liberal Club. The two fit like the triumphant conclusion of a jig-saw puzzle. The Liberal Club meeting was flooded with fraternity men determined to elect their candidates and to transform the Liberal Club into a Beer Club.

The meeting hall was packed with the forty odd old members of the club and some hundred and fifty of the new converts to liberalism. Following the lead of their shepherds, the fraternity men insisted upon their right to elect their own candidate for president as soon as the speech of the retiring president was over. The next two hours found the two factions engaged in violent debate over the problem whether the newcomers had the right to vote. The issue was solved finally by a rush of fifty of the fraternity men to join the club. And the trouble for that night was over.

The next meeting was held in one of the largest halls of the university, six hundred students crowding in to watch the fun and hundreds being turned away at the door. Many new members joined the club by way of securing, so to speak, a ringside seat. When the preliminary speeches were over, the cry for elections filled the hall. By this time the N. S. L.-ers and Liberals had increased their membership in the club enough to balance almost exactly the seventy-five fraternity members.

In an effort to gain additional support, Thomas Dixcy, leader of the new group, read off his slate which should, he thought, appeal to most of the members of the club. By now, Mr. Dixcy was asserting that he really wanted the Liberal Club to carry on. His slate, though excluding N. S. L.-ers, had listed, for example, the old guard's presidential candidate, an L. I. D. man, for vice-president. With Dixcy casting the deciding vote for president in favor of the L. I. D. man, the election for the evening came to an end. The elections of the other officers were to be held in the future.

At the next meeting of the club, the old guard

showed up in full numbers. The Dixcy group had only a scattering present but was equipped with an imposing number of proxies which, after heated debate and seemingly infinite discussion, were declared illegal for present purposes, by the chair. The elections proceeded from that point without much trouble. As a final result of the elections, the executive board is composed of liberals and N. S. L. members.

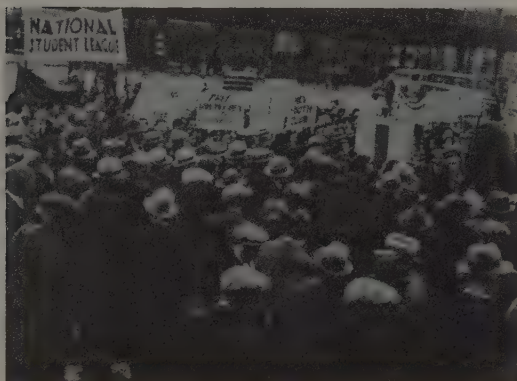
Temple University

The N. S. L. unit here has begun a fight for free medical aid for students. At present, in order to receive aid at the clinic, students are compelled to pay 50c every time they see the doctor. The group organized a Committee for Free Medical Aid which issued leaflets asking the student body to take part in the work. The Committee will present signed petitions demanding free treatments for students in the University clinic, to the president.

University of Missouri

"Preparedness by adequate armament supply was the gist of a resolution adopted three to one by a student conference of Missouri universities and colleges which met at the University of Missouri recently for the purpose of discussing 'Causes and Cures for War.'" So reads a news report of the Missouri anti-war conference. If such a resolution were passed by a truly representative student conference it would be a pathetic sign of the mentality of the students responsible. However, when it is learned that the Missouri conference was 'packed' by members of affiliated military organizations whose registration fees were prepaid and who had been given definite instructions by their officers to vote "military," the resolution is seen in its proper light.

The conference was held late in February. Speakers presented the pacifist point of view, the N. S. L. position on the cause of war, and the militarist point of view, which was elaborated by an officer of the R. O. T. C. Voting in amazing unison the military delegates limited the discussion to eight minutes and then proceeded to pass "anti-war" resolutions amended beyond all recognition. After this farce had been brought to a conclusion, a delegate arose and proposed that all students interested in fighting militarism meet after the adjournment of the conference to "draw up our own resolutions and establish an apparatus to continue the struggle against the militarization of college students." These delegates drew up resolutions advocating opposition to imperialist war, opposition to compulsory military training, establishment of a local student anti-war committee, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and the World Court.



STUDENTS AND
WORKERS UNITE
IN ANTI-FASCIST
DEMONSTRATION
IN NEW YORK

Bourbon Rule in the Black Belt

MEMPHIS is a hard town. Levon Carlock, nineteen year old Negro worker, knew this, his sixteen year old wife knew it, all their friends and acquaintances knew it. Memphis is a tough spot for any poor man, and triply tough for a Negro. Politically, economically, socially, Memphis is the stronghold of slave-bossing reaction, with one of the most tightly knit and crooked of the Democratic political rings in practically complete control.

But Levon had no personal enemies, he was a well liked lad and a good worker when he could find work, he had never been arrested, he went his way. His way had carried him to the city last year from a share-cropper's farm in the Mississippi Black Belt, where he had worked almost since he could toddle. It was impossible to eke out a living on the land any more. His young wife came with him.

He had work off and on, a day or two at a time. He worked in gas stations, wherever he could find work. He didn't go to school. He had got, intermittently, to the sixth grade in the little Jim Crow schoolhouse at Senatobia, near where he had helped his father pick cotton and row corn.

Poor kids don't get much schooling in the South, Negro children get less. And what they do get they must trudge miles for each day in most cases, to the poorest equipped schools with the poorest paid teachers of all the miserly paid teachers in the country. Books must be paid for, and enough clothes to face the weather in. These are serious problems where the share-cropper's share, as one of them pungently expressed it, "Is mostly the work part."

Thousands of croppers never see real money in their own hands. It is a refined—but not very refined—system of modern peonage, a slavery arrangement which has as one of its unwritten laws that education is bad for slaves.

"Ah don't like these smart niggers nohow," one ardent K. K. K. landholder said. "If these niggers get too much schoolin' they right off begin thinkin' they're somebody. Jest make it bad for themselves thataway."

And Dr. Charles Diehl, president of Southwestern University, (for whites only), in Memphis, said in a recent speech that higher education should be denied to those who do not have the character and training to make later use of it in the business and professional world.

"Education is costly and ought not to be wasted," Dr. Diehl blandly said, automatically ruling out those who are unable to pay because they have no share in the profits. "This giving something for nothing indiscriminately to everybody that wants it does not lead to strength of character." It was this same Bourbon representative who recently dropped Professor McLean from the faculty after the police chief had accused McLean of being a "communist." The professor denied the charge, which was seemingly based upon the fact that he had opined that "the crisis is deepening." Higher education must be guarded.

It is significant that while in the entire nation during 1929-1930 (latest available statistics) there was expended for common school systems \$2,220,000,000, the sixteen "former" slave states, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, more than a third of the nation, where Jim Crow reigns supreme, spent \$465,248,482 on their public schools, slightly more than one fifth of the nation's expenditures. Even more significant is the fact that of this sum spread throughout those parts of our country where the Negro people constitute the majority of the population, less than one-ninth was spent on education for Negroes!

Statistics could be rolled off by the page, vital statistics. Let us suffice here with the fact that in the eighteen states plus the District of Columbia, where segregation and discrimination is law, but 68.8 per cent of the Negro children of school age were even enrolled in schools, and among these the daily attendance average was less than 50 per cent! For the whites in this area the percentages are: 81.8 per cent enrollment and 63.6 per cent average daily attendance.

Does this mean that education is not wanted? This is what those who are now forcing through greater and greater slashes in the school budgets will tell you. But if you ask enough questions of those who know the answers from life, if you scrutinize the Southern farm counties and slave cities closely enough, you will find landlords who require entire families, women and children included, to pick cotton and tobacco and tend the corn. Otherwise, starve.

In 1929-1930 there were more than 1,300,000 children between the ages of seven and fifteen working on farms, according to official estimates, with an added two million between the ages of sixteen and seventeen. There are, without even considering the fact that this is probably a considerable underestimation, legions who have been added to this group in the past three years. Add also the homeless youth who have been driven by hunger off the farms, out of the schools and colleges.

Education for all? And as for the so-called higher education: there are military academies and private colleges for the sons of the wealthy, finishing schools for the daughters. But education isn't good for slaves! "This is not an idle saying; it is enforced. The system of terror and lynching is an integral part of this enforcement.

Levon Carlock couldn't go much to school. He was not outstanding among the tens of thousands of other Negro working youth in the South—until the night of February 24-25. On that night, as Levon went to meet his wife who worked until about three A. M. as night maid, he was swooped down upon by six Memphis police who dragged him into an alley, beat him unmercifully, then put five bullets into his head and body. They got a white woman, a prostitute who daily beckons from a parlor window

in the neighborhood, to say that she had been "raped." But witnesses have testified that he was at home, nowhere near the alleged scene of attack, at the time it is supposed to have taken place!

A coroner's jury, refusing to call known witnesses, said that Levon was "attempting to escape," that his murder was "justifiable homicide." And they let it go at that, an "example to niggers to keep in their place." Levon Carlock was that example, one of the scores who are sacrificed to keep the system of exploitation, oppression, slavery extant as long as possible.

But there is a new kind of education below the Mason-Dixon line, one that will not be denied by terror. It comes in small pamphlets, it comes by word of mouth and in night meetings behind carefully drawn blinds, it appears suddenly overnight in the form of leaflets miraculously left in mail boxes,

under doorsteps, tacked on fence posts. "Negro and white, unite and fight," it says!

The International Labor Defense is bringing this message, is taking the lead in the struggle with the Scottsboro case, with that of the Alabama sharecroppers, Angelo Herndon, Levon Carlock. And the International Labor Defense is not alone. Students are taking up the fight in their schools, working youth on the streets, the farms, the highways. It is education of a new order, grasped eagerly by the sharecroppers, tenant farmers, workers, youth—by those who are said not to want education! It is education which hunger and cold but serve to impress, which terror but emphasizes. It is educating a nation, teaching an army, a ragged, heroic, disciplined and determined army which will conquer the forces of slavery and lead the way to freedom.

BORIS ISRAEL.

The Higher Learning in Texas

THE State Legislature, aided and abetted by the Student Assembly and Student Judiciary Council, is playing havoc with Texas University. Snuff-dipping lawyers from the creek bottoms and immaculate fraternity gentlemen from "refined homes" have formed a united front upon one issue: the raising of matriculation fees. The erudite statesmen with muddy boots and crap-shooting Brahmins desire to eliminate the campus rabble who seem to be "turning Bolshevik." It is not a truism that politics makes strange bed-fellows?

The question of raising student fees was first broached by his Excellency, Mr. Arno Nowotny, Assistant Dean of Student Life. An outlaw publication, *The Spark*, issued by a group of radical students last year, gave Mr. Nowotny an acute case of the shivers. Immediately, he threatened to have a tax of two hundred and fifty dollars placed upon out-of-state students.

Unquestionably, Dean Moore and Nowotny are behind the present move to raise tuition fees. They have found the Assembly and Judiciary Council, both elected by the student body, to be very pliable tools. The Student Assembly passed a polite resolution of protest; and at the same time it forbade students from lobbying against the tuition increase without its permission. A committee of the Student Assembly acted like scared rabbits when it confronted the legislative committee considering the increase. The Assembly wound up by giving the legislature a vote of thanks. *The Daily Texan*, official organ, asserted that the students were bothering themselves with something that was none of their business, and that the legislators knew more about such things, anyway. This is a direct reflection of Dean Moore's attitude that the students had no right to concern themselves with the wages paid laborers on University construction jobs.

The Judiciary Council cites, as an argument in

favor of taxing non-resident students, that twenty per cent of the discipline cases which it considers involves the latter group, whereas it constitutes only eight per cent of the student body. This accusation is laughable when one considers the petty character of the University rules. For instance, a girl may not receive a telephone call before one p. m. A girl who attends a game over the week-end must make her arrangements through the Dean of Women. Moreover, an undergraduate student must live in a place approved by the Deans, even if he be fifty-nine years old and carry a crutch.

Obviously, an attempt is being made to prejudice Texas students against their classmates from other localities. The fraternity gentlemen are doing their part by writing letters to *The Daily Texan*, urging an increase of fees in order to eliminate the hoi-polloi. The social standards of the University must not be lowered by the presence of students who wash dishes and mow lawns in order to obtain money for expenses. Under cover of this militant provincialism, it is hoped that a bill, increasing proportionately the fees of resident and non-resident students, will be enacted by the legislature.

In the meanwhile, Sidney Kaplan, a resident student who seems to have been led astray through reading the works of Lenin, is issuing a little magazine entitled *The Texas Tab*. The *Tab* is not complimentary to either capitalism, increased fees, or fraternity gentlemen. The local patriots declare that the Red Flag may be run up over the campus any day now, if the University does not place a criminal syndicalism statute in its little green book of rules.

Fees may be increased, but Mr. Nowotny might do well to attempt altering the economic system if he expects to eliminate radicalism from these forty acres.

HAROLD PREECE.

Which Way Out for Cuba?

"Through mass action under the leadership of the working class to the Anti-Imperialist Revolution or through individual action to the establishment of a Government led by the Bourgeois-Landlord Opposition?"

RECENTLY the majority of the daily newspapers carried prominent dispatches indicating the beginning of armed movements against Machado, the tyrannical president of Cuba. Even such a staid paper as the *New York Times* which could never be accused of partiality to a movement of an oppressed people against tyranny, suddenly gave front page space to articles of Russell Porter, its special correspondent, who proved conclusively that the Government of Cuba ravaged and assassinated people so as to maintain itself in power. It was quite evident from his articles (although he did not say it) that this terrorization policy was carried out in order to allow the making of payments on the large loans made by the Chase National and National City banks. "Every cent of our loans shall be paid," said Machado. To guarantee this all products of first necessity are taxed, wages slashed right and left, last belongings of the starving peasantry confiscated and every sign of resistance to this hunger drive, bloodily crushed. The list of students, workers, and peasants murdered at the order of Machado is far too long to reproduce here. It is enough to mention the assassinations of the last few weeks: Trejo, Alpizar Hidalgo, Floro Perez, Linares Santiesteban, Bernardo Beinharts, Juan Leon, Juan Gonzalez Rubiera, Pio Alvarez, Mariano Gonzalez, Laureano Juardinov, Milto Milian, Boris Baksman and dozens of others, especially workers and peasants of the interior.

It is important for the American students to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the situation and the work of the students in Cuba, in order to aid them in their struggle against the United States bankers and their lackey Machado. Because of the complicated situation it is also necessary to know exactly what role the students are playing and where their present struggles lead them. It is here that we find it necessary to indicate our fundamental disagreement with the article written by Raul Chibas in the March issue of *Student Review*. We find no disagreement with its facts but, in our opinion, its implied conclusions should be examined more carefully and rejected.

The Cuban student movement is divided into two parts—the Directorio Estudiantil (The Students Directory Council) or La Derecha (the fight) and the Ala Izquierda (or the left wing). The former, as its second name implies, is connected with the so-called Revolutionary Opposition Block. The latter accepts the principles of the class struggle and subordinates its activity to the general leadership of the working class in its fight for the Anti-Feudal and Anti-Imperialist revolution. During the great student struggles of 1926, '27 and '28, led by Julio Antonio Mella, the students built up organ-

izations which were headed by the Directorio Estudiantil. When the revolutionary students were driven out of the university by Machado, the Directorio was left in the hands of compromising elements and became the organ of conciliation, and eventually abandoned the struggle. The left-wing students developed their own revolutionary organization, and began publishing their organ *Linea*. Whereas the Directorio half-heartedly supported the struggle of the discontented bourgeois-landlord groupings against Machado, the Ala Izquierda raised the banners of student struggle under the leadership of the working class against Machado and the Imperialists and in support of the establishment of a "Workers' and Peasants' government" in Cuba.

In August 1931, the Bourgeois-Landlord Opposition Bloc attempted to carry through an armed revolt which, however, was quickly suppressed. Certain intellectual leaders of the opposition block decided to make use of the revolutionary energy and hatred of Machado of the petty bourgeois student masses and organized a terrorist organization called the ABC. It was and is the aim of the ABC to secure, through the use of very left-sounding words, the support of the radicalized masses, and to answer to the assassinations of the Machado government by developing a campaign of individual terrorism, leading to the assassination of Machado or at least frightening him and his bands into compromise with Menocal, Mendieta and other leaders of the opposition. The Directorio took a position of support to the ABC, the Ala opposed it.

In the course of the campaign which is still going on (the ABC states that it will go on until Machado is displaced) a number of leading assassins in the service of Machado and American imperialism have been killed. At the same time, however, hundreds of students were assassinated,—killed "trying to escape," thrown to the sharks, hung, or beaten to death together with other hundreds of workers and peasants, while the jails were loaded over capacity. Every "execution" carried through by the ABC calls forth a new attack against the student organizations, the trade unions, the peasant Leagues, and their leaders, the Communist Party of Cuba and the Young Communist League. The "executions" of the ABC are far from bringing relief to the people of Cuba, for Machado finds new hangmen, while the best, and usually most heroic fighters among students, workers and peasants are needlessly sacrificed.

The Bourgeois-Landlord Opposition Bloc is against mass action. The reason for this becomes quite clear when it is remembered that its leaders are landowners, manufacturers and merchants, who

MASS FUNERAL
OF MILTO MILIAN
WHO WAS
MURDERED AT
DEMONSTRATION
COMMEMORATING
DEATH OF
JULIO MELLA
EXILED STUDENT



are seeking Machado's place for the purpose of taking over his power of oppression and exploitation. But it would be poor policy to declare this openly. Therefore, in order to fool the masses, the ABC which is the left-wing of the Opposition Bloc, tries to convince the students, workers and peasants that mass action is impossible under conditions of Machado's terror, that mass action only invites death. For, mass action is anathema to the leaders of the opposition *because it may lead to the masses fighting for power against Machado, against the bourgeoisie and landlords of the Opposition Bloc and against their joint master, Yankee Imperialism—for a Soviet Cuba!*

Then again individual, heroic action appeals much more than difficult organization activity, to the petty bourgeois student followers of the ABC and to certain sections of the peasantry which is not yet trained to act in solidarity and unison. That the opposition of the bourgeois-landlord anti-Machado leaders to mass action is no idle word can be gleaned from the fact that on the Battleship Y..... officers with nationalist sympathies indicated to the Communist sailors that they would do away with them first in case of a revolution. In Camp Colombia certain nationalist officers betrayed Communist soldiers to the commanding officers and two soldiers were shot.

The Ala Izquierda is continually developing *mass actions*—student demonstrations and strikes all in support of the struggles of the workers and peasants. But while the leaders of the bourgeois-landlord opposition organizations have betrayed the struggle of the Cuban people and have sold themselves (both actually and figuratively) to Wall Street, the students, workers and peasants they influence really believe that these leaders defend their interests. For this reason, the Ala Izquierda does not combat the members of these organizations but

their leaders. The Ala Izquierda invites all students, regardless of their affiliation, to join hands in struggles against Machado and in support of the fight for a Cuba free from imperialist oppression and from the rule of the landlords and capitalists.

In the meantime, history itself had further given lie to the affirmations of the leaders of the ABC and the Directorio as to the impossibility of mass actions in face of terror. In Santa Clara, during the demonstration in commemoration of the death of Julio Antonio Mella, on January 10th, a large demonstration in which the Ala Izquierda took part, was broken up by the police and Milto Milian, a 19-year old student and member of the Ala and of the Young Communist League, was killed. Five thousand came to his funeral marching in closed ranks. The police did not dare to attack. This imposing action gave courage to the workers, peasants and students. Following immediately mass actions of the unemployed broke out and today a strike is going on in a large tobacco factory. How evident is the correctness of the line of mass action against individual action! Just a few months ago a bomb was thrown in the Central Park of Santa Clara probably by supporters of the ABC. The result was the most ferocious attack against the masses,—arrests and murders, while the whole population was terrorized and did not dare to struggle.

Another example is seen in Matanzas where a shoe strike leader was killed. Over four thousand came to his funeral. The masses gained courage. They saw that in an organized manner they could smash terror. In Santiago de Cuba there was a ten-minute general strike on January 10th. In Sancti Spiritus there was a student strike on the same day.

A crass example of the error of the policy of individual action is to be seen also in the past elections in Cuba. The ABC appealed for sabotage of

the elections. The Directorio supported this policy. The reason given that "under the rule of Machado no democracy is possible." The Ala Izquierda took part in the United Front Election Campaign called by the Communist Party, realizing full well that the elections could be turned into a powerful weapon for the mobilization of the masses against Machado in spite of terror and in face of the illegality of the revolutionary organizations. The Ala Izquierda indicated to the students that to abstain from voting would be to second the policy of Machado, to impede the mobilization of masses and to prevent a show of strength of the revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals. The Ala accused the Directorio and the ABC of objectively supporting the exploitation, oppression and terror of the Machado government by their stand. The proof of the correctness of the line of the Communist Party which the Ala followed in the elections was not long in forthcoming. The Communist ticket, though having to rely altogether on a "write-in" vote, in the city of Manzanillo polled four thousand out of the ten thousand votes cast, and elected two councilmen. In Santa Clara, where the result was not announced, a very large vote was polled. This imbued the masses with enthusiasm. Struggles increased as a result.

Surely, one of the best examples of the catastrophic results of the policy of the ABC and the Directorio, (and in this case, the Ala is guilty of passive acceptance of this policy), is the question of the re-opening of the university and the high schools. More than two years ago these were closed by Machado as a result of mass student struggles. The attitude inspired by the ABC and the Directorio was "you can't have education while you have Machado." They carried on a struggle against the opening of the university. This resulted in depriving the students of a meeting place and preventing them from coming together to discuss their problems, to organize mass actions against Machado. It is quite evident that in spite of his demagogic attempts to open the universities (done so as to throw sops to foreign opinion) Machado is fully satisfied to keep them closed and prevent the students from gathering together. Now the Ala is correcting its error. It is raising the demand of the opening of the university, demanding at the same time immediate release of all arrested students, the withdrawal of troops from the university grounds, freedom of organization, etc.

Today, armed groups are beginning to fight against Machado's troops in the interior of the island. The armed detachments, although mainly led by the bourgeois-landlord opposition, are composed of impoverished workers, peasants and revolutionary students who are filled with hatred for Machado and who believe they are fighting for a Free Cuba. Of tremendous significance is the fact that now these isolated armed struggles are paralleled by a wave of strikes taking place under the leadership of the Confederacion Nacional Obrera de Cuba, the revolutionary trade union center, and the Communist Party; in unemployed demonstrations; in peasant struggles; in student strikes led by the Ala (although on an entirely insufficient scale as yet) such

as that at Sancti Spiritus, and in mass demonstrations increasing in power and intensity (Matanzas, Santa Clara, Santiago de Cuba, Habana, Manzanillo, etc.)

The students, living in a much sharper political situation than those in the United States, face the immediate problem of whom to support—the Bourgeois-Landlord Opposition Bloc with its program of overthrow of Machado (although not averse to compromise with him) and the maintenance of the state of servility and subjection to American imperialism with resultant misery for the toiling masses, including the students; or the fight led by the Communist Party with its program of confiscation of all imperialist property, abrogation of all imperialist debts, division of all land among the peasantry, establishment of the eight-hour day and establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government in the form of Soviets.

In this situation "sitting on a fence" becomes very difficult. The students are choosing their sides. Greater and greater numbers follow the lead given by the Ala Izquierda in support of the revolutionary fighting program of the Communists. The Ala is calling upon all students to join hands in the fight against Machado and imperialism and is building a strong united front for this struggle. The Ala is trying to overcome its past sectarian errors, its opposition to the united front, its failure to fight for immediate student demands. Today, together with political demands for the support of the Anti-Feudal and Anti-Imperialist revolution, it calls for the struggle for immediate demands realizing that this will allow for the winning of still greater numbers to its side. It calls for free tuition and living expenses for poor students; clothing and food for children in public schools; the legality of the student and all anti-imperialist organizations, etc. The Ala carries on a fight against those elements who would make the students take the leadership of the revolutionary movement, and instead, mobilizes the students for the support of the fight led by the working class.

FERNANDO FERNANDEZ.

FOR STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS

***Are You Interested in
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For information write to:

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Books on Review

TWO NOVELS OF STRUGGLE

BARRICADES IN BERLIN, by Klaus Neukrantz, International Publishers, \$.75.

STORM OVER THE RUHR, by Hans Marchwiza, International Publishers, \$.75.

IN the Soviet Union, under the tremendous impetus of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian novel has naturally enough attained its greatest heights. It is, however, a mistake to believe that only after a victorious revolution and the taking over of power by the proletariat can conditions be created favorable to the development of a proletarian culture.

The two novels with which we are about to deal are proof of this point. Each is an example of a proletarian form developed in a capitalist society, developed directly out of the day to day struggles of the German workers. Each tells the experiences of the German proletariat as a class on its Road to October.

The more finished of the two books in a technical sense is *Storm Over the Ruhr*. The novel begins in the hectic spring days of 1920. Kapp and Luttwitz had drawn around them bands of ex-officers and reactionary cadres left over from the imperial army. With the aid of the supposedly republican Reichswehr, they drive the supine Social-Democratic government from Berlin without a struggle.

Immediately the German workers rise in protest, calling a general strike. The Social-Democratic Party is placed in the difficult position of either leading the struggle or thoroughly exposing itself before the masses of the German working class. At the same time, the Communist Party and the left wing of the Independent Socialist Party demand that the workers arm themselves and resist the military bands of the bourgeois reaction, bands which the "socialist" government had not only failed to crush, but had done everything in its power to encourage.

The Kapp Putsch crumbled in the face of the General Strike manifestation of the German working class. It was replaced, however, by the equally reactionary government of Dr. Kunow. At this moment, the Social-Democratic trade union leaders called off the general strike, while large forces of armed police under the leadership of the "socialist" leader, Gustav Noske, were sent into the proletarian districts to quell the strike action of the militant rank and file workers, a strike action which the workers resolved to continue until their demands were satisfied.

The workers replied to this betrayal by the formation of a Red Army. Marchwiza's novel carries the reader into the battles that followed and through the strangulation of the proletarian rebellion by the socialist-led police. Four years after the events here recounted, Minister Noske was candid enough to style himself "the bloodhound" of the German revolution.

The political scene is admirably analyzed under the magnifying glass of Marxism-Leninism. The emotional implications of class war, the heroic stature of the masses in action—these are combined with a portrayal which shows clearly how German capitalism has maintained power, how the Social-Democracy smashed the German revolution, and snatched state power by force and fraud from the German working class.

Klaus Neukrantz says of his novel, *Barricades in Berlin*: "Neither the personages nor the deeds of this novel have been invented." We realize after the first few pages the superfluity of this statement—the characters in this book are living and fighting; Neukrantz himself is the product of the death struggle of proletarian and capitalist.

Barricades in Berlin describes another working class upheaval. The "socialist" police commissioner of Berlin forbade for the first time in forty years the May Day demonstration of the Berlin workers. But the proletariat resisted. The workers poured into the streets, erected barricades, and fought for days against the police. This book describes intimately and emotionally the experiences of the masses in this struggle. It describes the "pacification" of red Berlin with the aid of the machine guns and grenades of the police department; the work of counter-revolution is commanded by a leader of the Social-Democrat party.

These two novels are doubly appropriate today when the German proletariat, momentarily beaten and mutilated, prepares for a titanic struggle to achieve powers for itself, to create the socialist society. These novels describe the opening battles, they are the first lines of the epic of proletarian struggle against the forces of fascism and social-reformism. As such, these fighting novels should be in the library of every student. They are more than novels. They are documentary landmarks of the struggle of the German workers for proletarian power.

LEONARD DAL NEGRO.

SLAVERY TODAY

FORCED LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES. By Walter Wilson. International Publishers. \$1.00.

THIS book is a penetrating analysis of the extent and forms of compulsory labor in the United States.

Beginning with the Marxian position that all labor under capitalism is in a fundamental sense forced labor, Mr. Wilson proceeds to analyze the three main types of forced labor in America.

The federal and state prisons turn out annually approximately one hundred million dollars worth of goods under the most brutal and unregulated conditions of labor, in most cases without any remuneration to the prison workers. And these prisons are filled for the most part with young workers, imprisoned for crimes against property — young workers caught in a capitalist system which offers them as the only alternative to starvation a chance to be exploited on the labor market.

Convict labor merges imperceptibly into peonage and the chain gang. Here the class aspect is clearer; the forms of exploitation more brutal. The system of vagrancy laws under which "a nigger can be arrested for anything" is both a means of keeping the Negro population of the South in the condition of a subject nation and likewise a source of profits, an "industrial reserve army" for contractors in the Southern lumber camps, in the swamps and on the work of road building.

The section on peonage and the section on the colonies are especially interesting. The share croppers of Alabama and the peons of Cuba are exploited according to approximately the same ancient forms, forms accurately described by Marx in his chapters on "primitive accumulation." The essential thing is to deprive the worker of his land and his property. In the South, this is achieved through a system of payment in kind, of forcing debt burdens on the Negro farmer—and enforcing this system by peonage decisions (Bailey v. Alabama 219 U. S.) and by using lynch law to terrorize the black worker. In Haiti, for instance, the same results were achieved by the confiscation of all lands for which valid titles of ownership did not exist. This expropriated most of the aboriginal population.

Having demonstrated the prevalence of forced labor in the

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U. S., Wilson turns to analyze the charges of convict and forced labor in the Soviet Union, and demolishes them.

The impression with which this book leaves one is that even America with its advanced state of capitalist development rests to a very large extent on a virtual slave or peon population, rests, that is, on feudal conditions and on conditions where labor is extracted not through the mechanism of "the free market" but through the mechanisms of brute force. Thus the democratic structure of American capitalism rests to a great extent on slave and feudal relationship.

The only fault which the reviewer can find in this readable and clear work is its failure to analyze the role of the company town in the forced labor set-up. Mr. Wilson's book is a valuable addition to the library of every student who is interested in the labor movement.

NATHANIEL WEYL.

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE

IN PLACE OF PROFIT, by Harry F. Ward. Charles Scribners Sons, \$2.50.

CAN human nature change? Dr. Ward answers this question affirmatively in his analysis of the new social incentives operating in the Soviet Union. Freed of the pressure of private property and of the haunting fear of economic insecurity, the Russian people are working and creating with incredible new vigor. The task of building Socialism has released unheard-of abilities in the intellectuals as well as in the mass of workers. A new and thriving culture is growing up in the place of decadent capitalist art.

Dr. Ward has been far more successful than other Soviet travelers in understanding the relation of the present proletarian dictatorship to the future society in the process of construction. He explains, too, the remarkable power wielded by the Communist Party over, yet *with*, the builders of so-

cialism. He quotes copiously from the founders and present leaders of the Communist Party to show that they know where the country is heading and how it is going to get there. To the confusion of those who believe that the Communist concept of life in a classless society is an impossible Utopia, Dr. Ward shows that today, in the throes of transition, the Soviet Union is well on the road to the "regeneration" of human nature.

Although his brief attempt at economic analysis is quite faulty, Dr. Ward more than makes up for his error by his thorough analysis of the whole Soviet scene, illuminated by his own first-hand observation of homely, human incidents. Lynd Ward, the son of the author, adds to the attractiveness of the volume with a set of drawings.

H. P.

THE TRUTH COMES OUT

THE SUPPRESSED MOONEY-BILLINGS REPORT.
Gotham House, Inc., 243 pages, \$1.50.

IN publishing this book, Gotham House, Inc. has performed a splendid service. Its publication thwarts the attempts of the Wickersham Commission, the Hoover administration, and the Senate reactionaries to suppress a document which establishes more definitely than ever the innocence of Mooney and Billings. Its timely appearance, in view of the reopening of his case this month, comes as a devastating answer to the recent decision by Governor Rolph of California not to pardon Mooney.

While the report contains very little data that has not been known to those who have followed the Mooney-Billings case, it substantiates beyond any shadow of doubt the details which prove Mooney's and Billings' innocence. As such the report is an incisive indictment of California justice in particular and American justice in general.

Charged with the study of "lawlessness in law enforcement," a sub-committee of the Wickersham Commission submitted this report to the National Commission on Law and Enforcement. When the Commission report appeared on August 10, 1932, this portion on the Mooney-Billings case was suppressed. The Commission refused to make this portion public on the grounds that it was "beyond its province to investigate individual cases with a view to making recommendations as to their disposition." Ironically enough, the Commission pointed out that the "impropriety" of discussing the case was enhanced by the fact that Mooney's pardon plea was then pending (and an election was in the offing).

M. B. SCHNAPPER.

Contributors

HANK FULLER is a Southern newspaperman.

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FERNANDO FERNANDEZ is a Cuban student whose identity cannot be revealed for obvious reasons.

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