

STUDENT REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1933

TEN CENTS

The Crisis In City College



PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

Program of the National Student League

**FOR YOUR FOREIGN
and
DOMESTIC TRAVEL NEEDS
Consult Us**

*A*rrangements made for tours to EUROPE, the SOVIET UNION, and all parts of the world, as well as domestic CRUISES to Nova Scotia, the West Indies, Bermuda, Cuba, South America and RAIL, AIR, BUS travel within the United States and Canada on first-class lines.

Our long and thorough experience warrants you the best service.

TORGSIN ORDERS

sent through us are executed by mail or cable
AT THE LOWEST RATES.

WORLD TOURISTS, Inc.

175 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-6656-7-8

EXCURSION BOATS AND BUSES CHARTERED
FOR ORGANIZATIONS AT LOWEST PRICES.

JADE MOUNTAIN

Chinese and American Restaurant
BETWEEN 12 AND 13
Welcome to N.S.L.ers.

*The Film Photo League and
Present*

**HISTORY OF THE SOVIET FILM
Part II**

- (a) Mechanics of the Brain
- (b) Master of Existence
- (c) Problem of Fatigue

Saturday, December 9th, 7 and 9:30 p. m.
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 West 12th Street

Tickets obtainable at New Masses, 31 East 27th Street, and
National Student League, 114 West 14th Street.

15 per cent reduction to N.S.L.ers ADMISSION 50c

LATEST PAMPHLETS, BOOKS

On Economics - U.S.S.R. - Socialism - Communism,
etc.

20 per cent discount on most new books
WORKERS BOOKSHOP :: 50 East 13th St.,

All Comrades Meet at the

◆ **New Health Center Cafeteria** ◆

Fresh Food. Proletarian Prices. 50 E. 13th St. Workers' Center

READ

The Only Uncensored Student Newspaper in
New York.

READ

The True Story of College Activity.

READ

COLLEGE NEWS
A Metropolitan Student Weekly

**FIRST NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
THEATRE PARTY**

"PEACE ON EARTH"

A War Play by
ALBERT F. MALZ and GEORGE SKLAR
at

105 West 14th Street
December 9, at 8:30 p. m.

Tickets 60c and \$1.00

Obtainable through your local Chapter or at
N. S. L., 114 West 14th Street

**SCIENCE and
HISTORY**

FOR GIRLS and BOYS

By William
Montgomery Brown

I claim that this is the first book of its kind for the youth of the world and that is the only book which meets their greatest cultural needs in the revolutionary century.—W. M. B.
A \$1.50 book for 25 cents, five copies for \$1.00, stamps or coin; paper bound, 320 pp., 27 chap.
Money refunded if after examination the book is not wanted and is returned in good condition.

The Bradford-Brown Educational Co., Galion, O.

The

Student Review

Published by NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

114 West 14th Street, New York City

Editor: Adam Lapin

Editorial Board:

Jerome Coleman Simon Certner ~~Sal Becker~~
 Leonard Dal Negro Ted Draper

Circulation Manager: Karl Amat

Subscription: Eighty-five cents for one year (nine issues). Foreign:
 Add ten cents for postage.

Make checks and money orders payable to KARL AMAT.

Volume III

DECEMBER, 1933

Number 1

Editorial Comment

THE United States Congress Against War, unfortunately convening at a time when the colleges were not in regular session, gave the American working class a clear-cut program of action against imperialist war. The students must now realize that their anti-war activity means nothing if it is separated from that of the farmers and workers.

The military incubus stifles our universities, intent on crushing the militant vanguard of the student anti-war forces. In the struggle against impending war and militarism in education, the student body of the College of the City of New York has long been a menace to reaction. As such it has been more cruelly victimized than any other student body in the administrative offensives now being universally directed against the growing social awareness of the college student. Twenty-one students have been expelled and nine suspended for daring to assume leadership in a majority movement to abolish the R.O.T.C. at City College. Thirty students have been forcibly removed from the scene of struggle in open defiance to a movement which has received the overwhelming sanction of the students; for only a few weeks prior to the expulsions, three students had gained office in the Student Council elections by the powerful mandate of two-to-one on a platform pledged to struggle against military training.

The City College case must become a boomerang which will ultimately destroy college jingoism. As a symbol in the national struggle against militarism in education, it must give unity and purpose to the American students. Especially at the present time when sharpening imperialist rivalries hurtle towards a conflict more destructive than the human race has ever suffered, must the student become more aggressive, more determined to preserve his freedom of expression unfettered by administrative censorship and to oppose the inculcation of a war psychology in our colleges.

The Roosevelt government has given a new stimulus to campus militarism. A million dollars has already been appropriated for distribution to the R.O.T.C. Two of our leading liberal universities have already been affected. In Wisconsin, R.O.T.C., formerly optional, has been made compulsory. In Cornell, it has been continued as

compulsory despite the unanimous protest of students and faculty.

Students must answer these war maneuvers by action, organized mass action. When isolated from the main current of struggle against imperialist war, college anti-R.O.T.C. activity tends to degenerate, to become petty; it focuses its energies upon the compulsory features of military training, mistaking the forest for the trees. The National Student League pledges its support to the permanent organizations set up at the United States Congress Against War—the American League Against War and Fascism and its Youth Committee—so that the unity of students and workers in the struggle against war may become more than a mere programmatic statement.

■ ■ ■

IN the next few weeks students will be compelled to react in one way or another to the N. R. A. Text books of long established usage will be revised; the "eternal truth" of last semester will be the wrong answer this term. The ideal of "rugged individualism," which heretofore was challenged only by the "un-American" skeptic, has been officially replaced by a new gospel—the doctrine of "partnership between capital and labor." Already in N. Y. C. a drive has begun to enlist all students in the consumers card campaign. Mr. Grover Whalen has already spoken in one college at an administration sponsored meeting, urging unqualified support.

So far the N. R. A. has not brought any measure of relief to the problems of the student body. The Board of Education in N. Y. City, at the same time as it proclaims its intention of revising all textbooks to promote N. R. A. propaganda, announces also its decision to reduce the present school appropriation by \$131,000,000 in the face of increased over-crowding. Public colleges the country over may not increase enrollment over last years figures. Thousands of rural and city schools which shut their doors last year, will not open this fall, while those schools which have remained open are attempting to shorten the school year. This represents a conscious move to restrict higher education to only those who can afford to pay, the sons and daughters of the richer class. Of the millions of dollars which have been "lent" out to "revive" industry by Federal agencies, nothing has found its way to the large number of poor and needy students. No new free scholarships have been established, though the "New Deal" has found sufficient funds for new appropriations to militarize and jingoize students through the R. O. T. C.

■ ■ ■

Though in some instances wages have actually risen under the N. R. A. it is significant that *real-wages* are decreasing. The price level of commodities, and especially those that figure in every day consumption, has since March 1933 outjumped the increase in wages. A wage rise is very deceptive, and not sufficient basis on which to proclaim recovery. The N. R. A. had promised a 6,000,000 re-employment by Labor Day. Only 1,500,000 have been reemployed thus far, while the 30 per cent increase in retail commodity prices makes a mockery of the rise in nominal wages.

The N. R. A. presumably gives workers the right to organize. This is true only to the extent that it allows those workers who are class conscious enough to fight for the right to organize, the "liberty" of organizing into conservative and reactionary unions. In the steel industry workers are not even permitted an A. F. of L. union, while in the Ford plant in Edgewater, Left-Wing unions are prohibited but the Right-Wing unions are given free range. The injunction has already been granted twice within the last two weeks in New York against strikes, on the basis of the N. R. A. The resignation of Miss Mary Van Kleeck of the Russel Sage Foundation when Roosevelt set up the special board to arbitrate (break) strikes, helps to emphasize the reactionary nature of the N. R. A.'s attitude towards organized labor. The workers in Gen. Johnsons' factory have sent a formal complaint to Washington to protest against N. R. A. violations; the vice-president of the N. Jersey N. R. A. has a strike on his hands for refusing to grant increases in wages; the lawyer for the firm in this case is one of the directors of the N. R. A. in N. Y. City and also head of the Board of Higher Education there.

Test the N. R. A. yourself. Have conditions on the campus improved? Is your university administration paying lower than code wages to its cafeteria employees? Is the N. R. A. aiding big business against little business? Are the factories near your town hiring more help? Are they not dodging the code provisions in relation to wages? Read the financial news and watch commodities rise higher than wages.



STUDENTS in America have been observing with intense interest the progress of the Cuban revolutionary upsurge, particularly because it offers a brilliant contemporary testimony to the political susceptibility of the student in a revolutionary milieu. Like their brothers in other colonial countries dominated by foreign capital, the Cuban students have been constrained to reveal their class loyalties, to take sides in the class struggle. Some, of petty-bourgeois origin, ruined by the disastrous collapse of the sugar industry, have found expression for their discontent in the A.B.C., a reformist organization which has resorted to demagoguery and terrorism in an attempt to stem the tides of working class rebellion. Others, embittered by the exploitation of the Cuban masses under the yoke of American imperialism have proclaimed their unity with the impoverished farmers and workers, joining the Ala Izquierda, the only true revolutionary student movement. Braving torture and death to achieve a more equitable and rational social existence, they have dedicated themselves to a relentless struggle for Cuban liberation. The Ala Izquierda alone of the student groups set in motion by the play of economic forces has continually exposed the "revolutionary" De Cespedes and Grau San Martins as mere bourgeois-landlord puppets of a Wall Street politico-economic dictatorship; it alone has had the courage to call upon the students to forge an indissoluble bond of struggle with the workers and farmers for a free Cuba—free from the oppressive domination of Yankee imperialism and its inevitable concomitants, exploitation and hunger. Students in America can aid their heroic Cuban comrades. Under the halo of the Platt Amendment, thirty U.S. warships menacingly encircle Cuba, ready to intervene at the first sign of a mass

proletarian and agrarian uprising—all in the name of \$1,500,000,000 invested by American capitalists in sugar properties, government bonds, public utilities, railroads and banks. We who feel the talons of American capital at home must raise our voices in powerful protest against U.S. intervention in Cuba in the interests of our oppressors. We must demand the liberation of the Cuban masses as a necessary step towards our own eventual liberation. We must say to the national government: Nullify the Platt Amendment! Withdraw all warships from Cuban waters! Cancel all Cuban debts to Wall Street bankers!



A TELEGRAM has just arrived in our office informing us that the entire football team and coach of the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque have, as members of the National Guard, been called out to break the strike of the coal miners. These miners have been conducting a bitter struggle to compel the mine owners to grant a living wage and recognition of a union of their own choosing. In order to force the men back into the pits, martial law has been set up in the coal area, union leaders have been hunted down and thrown into jail and meetings of the miners have been violently attacked. The action of the football team of the university shows the danger of widespread utilization of the student body to combat the labor movement—and requires an immediate and unequivocal answer by the students of the country. Protests must be wired to the university and state authorities condemning this open strike-breaking action.



AT last, our program is ready. Read it, discuss it, and fight with it. It has grown out of almost two years of doubt and despair, struggle and triumph, inflamed tempers and night-long debate. Our program grew out of our history. Now, in turn, our history must grow from our program.

When the N. S. L. could boast one National Convention, a Columbia strike and fifty or sixty names scribbled on envelopes in Donald Henderson's pockets, our first program was printed in the May, 1932 issue of the *Student Review*. In the spring of that year, accompanying the prodigious growth and activity of the National Student League, a host of new questions arose. But everything was too new, our activity too diversified for any articulate expression of an N. S. L. policy. We had no clear-cut positions to justify our demands, or rather, we had the hundreds of different positions of our hundreds of members.

By the fall of 1932 the need for a program became more acute. Serious questions troubled us: What is the National Student League? Are we just a few radicals hopelessly removed from the interests of the student body? Why do we call ourselves "revolutionary"? Why do we take part in working class struggles? What position can we take in the election campaigns?

These doubts and questions reflected themselves in the activity of our groups. In some places, the N. S. L.

groups took the extreme left position on everything, flaunted Communist slogans and phraseology and succeeded in isolating themselves completely. In a few others the indecision and confusion gave rise to a feeling of hopeless futility and thence, of course, to inactivity. However, wherever the N. S. L. persisted in fighting for its demands, wherever the student body supported these fights, the N. S. L. groups developed a program, born of their struggle.

By the time that our Second National Convention was called, these and similar questions overshadowed all our work. All the discussion at the convention was concerned with these questions. The cry arose—We must have a program. The convention attempted to formulate one. The minutes of this convention were then given to the Resident Bureau of the National Executive. It was its task to shape a program from a welter of conflicting ideas.

In the months that followed, gradually, there grew up in the N. S. L. a clearer picture of the National Student League. In those months we learned how powerful our organization is and will be; we learned what is needed for pressing our cause within the farthest ranks of the student body. Slowly, point by point a National Student League position was worked out on each of the problems that face us.

At the Enlarged Executive meeting July 8th and 9th, these general ideas on an N.S.L. line were finally formulated on paper. Well here's the program. This is what we are, this is what we believe. More, this program is our pledge to the student body of America,—and our guide for future action.



THE National Convention of the N.S.L., Christmas in Washington has for its primary purpose the organization of two national student offensives; against war and militarism in the colleges, against retrenchment in education. The previous conventions were preoccupied with the problems of program and the more elementary phases of organization. The problem that faces us now is that of utilizing program and organization as machinery in the leadership of student struggles and activities.

Whatever the response of the L.I.D. or of other organizations to our call for unity, this perspective will remain the same. The convention will be a powerful lever toward the organization of student revolt and discontent, activity in defense of student interests.

An Open Letter

To the Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, to All Members and Chapters of the L.I.D.

SEVERAL weeks ago the National Student League addressed a call to the League for Industrial Democracy for joint action on the City College case and the Armistice Day Anti-War demonstration.

This call, published in *College News*, the New York metropolitan weekly, on October 2, recalled the joint anti-war pledge of all youth delegates to the Student Congress Against War, and emphasized the urgency of immediate action on the above-mentioned issues.

The call further proposed that the executive groups of both organizations meet to formulate plans of action on these and other student issues.

The call read in part:

"The fifth year of the economic crisis, the school year of 1933-34, discloses the student body with such narrowed professional opportunities in all fields as to spell simple annihilation for the thousands of 1933 graduates, and throw deep despair into the hearts of hundreds and thousands of juniors and seniors.

"Every city and state has seen the locusts of political corruption, camouflaged as economy, efficiency, and co-ordination, ravage almost every free public institution, leaving in their wake shut down schools, reductions in the number of classes and teachers, deterioration of facilities, and increased fees for school tuition and services.

"In the richer universities, supported by the generosity of business and financial community leaders, the drive against scholarships, student loans, student employment, and instructorial salaries, is accelerated to such a pace that thousands of students, harassed at home by the collapse of business enterprise, are unable to complete their college work.

"Spurred on by the National Recovery Administration, 'Public Works' appropriations of \$238,000,000 for building a navy second to none, the organizations of tremendous militarized youth reserves in Civil Conservation Corps, the student body witnesses a wave of intensified militarization of the schools, the extension of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, the introduction of new kinds of military exercise in optional and compulsory forms.

"These expenditures for militarization are of especial significance when we consider that the world today is charged with a host of antagonisms among the Great Powers and their allies. These conflicts exist not only among themselves but also between the capitalist world as a whole, and the Soviet Union, and with the emergence of Fascist Germany threaten at any time to be realized in a war of intervention.

"Moreover, in connection with the policies of the Roosevelt government, the students as part of the nation as a whole, are being deluged with super-patriotic propaganda, this king-pin of national policy, which is always closely connected with militaristic concepts and practices.

"Resistance to these measures on the part of the student body involves the question of Academic Freedom, the constitutional right to freedom of speech, assembly and press. Here the administration of public and private colleges alike have viciously defended the principles of jingoism and economy by summary expulsion, suspension and even arrests of militant students. The calendar

New York, Nov. 15.—Following a telegram protest campaign and intensive plans for a counter-demonstration instigated by the National Student League, the lecture of Hans Luther, Nazi ambassador to the United States, scheduled for Nov. 15 at the McMillen Theatre, Columbia University, was called off, according to a statement issued by college officials today.

of the past school year shows hardly a week free from such situations.

"Today more than ever before there is necessity for unity between white and Negro students since the latter face difficulties not only peculiar to themselves as part of an oppressed minority, but those of the white students also, in intensified and particular forms.

"There is need for persistent vigilance against allowing American students to be used as gendarmes for the suppression of minority and colonial peoples.

"There is the problem of creating such unity between the American student body and the American working class that no Fascist or semi-Fascist demagoguery can rend it asunder. The need for this unity is obvious since the students in their struggles against retrenchment and against militarism and academic suppression face precisely those forces of big banking, commercial and governmental interests with whom the workers themselves are in constant struggle. The American students must be educated by concrete struggles and action so that they will not betray other sections of the American masses in their daily and historic tasks."

The League for Industrial Democracy replied to this appeal with a short note, which, while it concedes the necessity for joint effort in the student movement today, postpones any definite activity until after the L.I.D. convention in Washington, D.C., late this December. Certainly, such an attitude was extremely disappointing and has weakened the C.C.N.Y. fight and the preparations for the Armistice Day actions.

To us the Washington Conference is of the greatest interest and significance. Many members of the League for Industrial Democracy expect this conference to consider the formulation of a new student movement, distinct, presumably from the Socialist Party and free from the control of the adult organization of the L.I.D.

As we look at it, this tendency is the result of a progressive dissatisfaction on the part of a major section of the L.I.D. with its own leadership and program, when confronted with the objective and earnest realities of the modern American campus, and the existence and criticisms of the National Student League.

What is the attitude of the N.S.L. towards the L.I.D.?

The N.S.L. has maintained that it is impossible to build a really broad and indigenous student movement if that movement be counselled and directed by people entirely out of contact with student problems and conditions. We have insisted further that the L.I.D. could not present a real solution to student problems as long as it was controlled by organizers and leaders of the Socialist Party.

It follows that no student movement can be effective which relies on recruiting members in the name of a particular political creed, and method of action on the political field, rather than through a program based on the conditions and desires of the student in their inner school relationships and campuses.

Lacking any orientation to student problems the L.I.D. has been incapable of explaining the relationship of students to other groups in society. The N.S.L. has approached the question of this relationship from the standpoint of the student's interests and needs. On this basis the similarity of interests between students and workers becomes apparent.

Both face the restriction upon freedom of organization and expression that is the promise of fascism, but we have warned against the conception frequently voiced in the L.I.D. that American students can lead or dominate the working-class movement. We have constantly pointed

out the instability of the class basis of the American student, and his narrowed opportunities as a student, and the necessity of his support of the American working class as the backbone and bulwark of any real struggle against fascism and war.

It follows further, and here the N.S.L. has criticized the L.I.D. most sharply, that our methods and tactics must correspond to the foregoing conception of the present problems and historical role of the student as a social entity. In order to educate the student to an accurate approach to his problem it is necessary to engage him in struggles, which by their own logic will lead to broader conclusions. (And effective struggle means militancy, clarity and decisiveness in tactics, not capitulations to soft-soaping authorities, not subtleties in drawing distinctions which hinder militancy and impede the learning process.

This in short, is our approach to the American student body, and it was because the L.I.D. failed to accept this approach that the N.S.L. was formed. We feel that a large proportion of the members of the L.I.D., on the basis of their own experiences, are approaching the N.S.L. position.

And it is this tendency toward unity which provides an essential element for a broad American student movement. It is from this angle that we view your convention.

The National Student League stands for complete organizational unity of all those student forces in America that accept the foregoing analysis of our tasks. The N.S.L. greets your convention warmly, and we feel that it can become a milestone in the achievement of that unity.

Fellow students of the L.I.D.: What has been the result of a disunited student body? Only bitter and pedantic factionalism, only unclarity and divided forces, only duplication of energies. A divided student vanguard has permitted the circulation of false and romantic notions concerning the role of the student in American society. It may pave the way for the emergence of a fascist student union.

The advantages of a unity are strength, in numbers and program. Unity of all students will isolate the die-hard romantics and the deliberate factionalists.

Therefore, the N.S.L. proposes, that your convention do not proceed to the setting up of a new student organization. The program of the N.S.L. is an adequate basis for the unity of the student movement. We propose that your convention favor the immediate union of all militant students in one organization on the basis of this program. To this end we propose that there be arranged elections from top to bottom not on the basis of factions or the bargains of potential splitters, but on the democratic vote of every student member. We propose:

1. That the Arrangements Committee of your convention provide a prominent place on its agenda for a discussion of the proposal.
2. That representatives of our National Executive Committee be invited to the convention.
3. That full publicity of this proposal be given to all L.I.D. chapters.
4. That fraternal L.I.D. representatives be sent to our convention.

The N.S.L. on its part is willing to convert its National Convention to be held at Howard University, Washington, D. C., December 26, 27, 28, into a unity congress of the American student movement.

National Executive Committee.
National Student League.

The Crisis in City College

AT City College twenty-one students have been expelled. Nine have been suspended for six months. The three clubs that discussed student problems have had their charters revoked. The undergraduate newspaper, the *Campus*, has been banned. Four of its editors have been expelled. Policemen sit in the shade of the trees on the campus and with proud equanimity use the lavatories in the chemistry building. Faculty members walk rapidly and cringe at their own shadows. It is only the policemen who are self-confident and sure of themselves. It is they who have inherited the college.

These simple facts must be shouted long and clear by the most persistent student orators. But this will not be sufficient. All the paraphernalia of student protest should be swung into action. The files of protest letters and telegrams in Dr. Robinson's office must bulge as never before. Student bodies in far-flung corners of the country will make themselves heard in protest only when they realize that the three major conflicts in American colleges are being waged at C.C.N.Y.

Certainly this is the most serious struggle for academic freedom that has ever taken place in America. It represents also a sudden strong wave in what must yet become a nation-wide student protest against war preparation in the colleges. Nor is it an exaggeration to say that the fate of free higher education in the whole country will in a sense be decided in the struggle at C.C.N.Y. The student body of the nation can be made to feel that its destiny is irreconcilably bound with that of the City College students. Perhaps the primary requisite to this student consciousness is an understanding of the situation.

Jingo Day

For a month in advance the anti-R.O.T.C. forces had talked of Jingo Day. Every year the anniversary of the founding of the college had been observed with military exercises. Every year there had been leaflets and editorials in the *Campus*. This year the administration withdrew the drill from Charter Day but set aside May 29th as a special day for the exercises. The *Campus* dubbed it Jingo Day and the name stuck. The Anti-War Committee, the members of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Social Problems Club which is the National Student League chapter talked and made plans but did no work. It was thought that prominent speakers would turn up if they were sent a cordial post-card and the address of the college. Needless to say there were no prominent speakers. Even the leaflet was neglected.

During the night it had rained. All that morning there were spasmodic showers. Only at the last minute was it hurriedly decided that the demonstration could be held. At 1 o'clock classes were dismissed for the day. A few placards and a large paper streamer were grouped around the speaker's stand. The place chosen was appropriate. It was alongside the place where the R.O.T.C. was being lined up for the drill. About five hundred students on their way home stopped to listen to the speakers.

The police told us to move a block away. The meeting moved in lines of four. The march served to consolidate the students.

We continued our meeting near the Lewisoohn stadium. We felt a bit more sure of ourselves. One of the speak-

ers suggested that we march around the campus and then enter the stadium. Earlier in the day the Dean had issued an invitation to all the students to attend the exercises. At the gates the first line was stopped. We began to march again. At every step we were blocked by police and detectives.

Only the campus remained clear. We marched around the flag-pole. The policemen were after us. They pushed the first few in the line off the campus. The others broke off and began a snake-dance. The police were helpless. The entire campus was covered with our weaving lines. A speaker jumped up on the pedestal and advised the demonstrators to enter the stadium.

The students were blocked at the entrance. They pushed their way into the vestibule. The doors were locked behind them. And the miscellaneous characters on guard, with police reinforcements, began to use their fists freely. Some students charged the occasional use of black-jacks. Reasoning did not help. Offers to put away the placards, requests to see someone in authority, all these did not help. They had their orders, they said.

After a few words from a student on the shoulders of a few of his friends we withdrew across the street. Another student mounted the parapet of the building across the street and began speaking. The meeting began to form again. The students crossed the street and cleared the entrance to the Stadium. The young men crowded closer to the speaker. They were angry now. Students do not like the fraternity of police on their own campus. The resentment of the perspired young men with the unbuttoned collars began to seep into the speakers. Even the speakers were angry now.

And then came the comic opera. The ubiquitous Dr. Robinson, the man with the four degrees and the dignified little goatee, drove up in his car. Col. Lewis, the portly head of the military science department, was waddling along to his ceremonies. The students considered the worthy Colonel the symbol of militarism in the college. For a long time he had meddled in their affairs. Now they had been driven out of the stadium. They had been chased over the four corners of the campus by police, detectives and soldiers from the regular army. So the students booed the Colonel. The man with the four degrees did not hesitate a moment. His duty was clear for him. He dashed out into the middle of the street and twirling about like a dervish he began swinging his umbrella at the students. Dr. Robinson was not touched. No one even attempted to strike him. One of the students, now expelled, courteously returned his umbrella.

There is no describing the anger and resentment of the students. In that brief moment their relation to the administration became clear. For years the radicals had maintained that the administration and the war department worked hand in hand. But when Dr. Robinson hit the students over the head with an umbrella, he betrayed his solidarity with the war-makers. That was unmistakable language.

The Press Version

The first stories in some of the newspapers approximate the version given above. The *World Telegram* states

in its fifth edition, "They heckled Dr. Robinson as he entered the Stadium with his wife and guests, and the President wielding a sturdy umbrella, pounded and routed the students." Dr. Robinson was not heckled, but the story is substantially true.

Later in the day and the next morning the papers changed face with astonishing unanimity. The seventh edition of the *World Telegram* had edited its original story to state that, "A squad of policemen rushed to the rescue of Frederick B. Robinson, President of City College, this afternoon, when he was set upon by a milling throng of pacifist students. . . ." The *Evening Post* is more lurid, ". . . they charged, some waving banners denouncing war and military science, and others brandishing bare sticks from which similar banners had been torn. As they came on, Dr. Robinson took a firm grip on his umbrella and raised it, swinging it before him."

These stories became newspaper axioms. They were repeated in editorials and parenthetical clauses. I have spoken personally to the reporters of metropolitan newspapers. Not one of them believes these stories. The reporters state that Dr. Robinson called up the city editors of all the newspapers. He cajoled, he pleaded, he threatened. He demanded that stories he considered unfavorable be changed. He supplied his own version of what had happened. Dr. Robinson's version was used.

The Faculty Investigation

During the next day of school (Memorial Day intervened) several students were suspended. On the following day a faculty meeting was held to take up the matter. A committee including the suspended students came to the Dean and insisted that the suspended students be present at the faculty meeting. Dr. Gottschall, the Dean, promised that if the faculty would consider expulsion the students could appear before it. Dr. Otis, liberal Professor of English, was then approached. He said that he would move for the appointment of a committee to investigate the matter, to get at the bottom of what had really happened. The faculty appointed a committee of three.

In the mean time, Mark Eisner, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, had issued a statement, "Students who are found guilty (*of participation—A. L.*) can expect that their college days at City College are over."

The committee sat at a table in the large sombre faculty room. At their left was a stenographer, at their right a sergeant-at-arms. The table was half covered with an enlarged photograph of the students marching around the campus. As a student came in he was identified by the committee. If his face was not in the picture, the back of a head or a pair of trousers served for identification. It was risky to lie. Two instructors identified a number of hesitant students. There were questions about the extent of participation, about past activities, about whether you boomed. The umbrella episode was scrupulously avoided. No attempt was made to obtain the student's version of the Jingo Day demonstration. Were you there or were you not there—that was the question.

Later in the day the investigated students would read the evening papers. There they would find, day by day, a growing list of suspended students. All in all 31 were suspended. At a faculty meeting the committee submitted a report, and the faculty unanimously ratified the recommended expulsions and suspensions.

The Background

If this narrative is in any way what it should be, the reader will be overwhelmed by too many doubts, by too much confusion. He will want to know why a none too heroic demonstration was followed by an unparalleled series of reprisals. The answer lies in the situation at City College.

None of the students come from wealthy homes. Now things keep getting worse. I have known students in my classes who ran up enormous absence records because they couldn't get carfare to come to school. There are many who go to classes hungry. The extent of unemployment among parents must be startling. Most of the students either work or look for work. Many of them are forced to see that the future holds no promise of professional comfort, that education no longer means the road to easy money. Only the merest contact with working class ideas is necessary to ignite their everyday experience. They become revolutionary. Whatever knowledge they accumulate in the classroom serves as fuel for their new approach.

The group of radicalized students is only a minority. But the great majority is confronted by the same campus problems. There is the constantly recurring attempt of the real estate interests and the politicians either to put the college on a tuition basis or to abolish it. Here the common economic status of the students makes for solidarity. All can agree on vigorous protest measures, on organization, on demonstrations. Similarly, the student body is convinced that it does not want war or the local manifestations of the war-makers—military science. These are the two points of conflict; on the one hand is an administration controlled by the same interests that wish to put the college on a tuition basis and to preserve it as a training post for future soldiers. On the other hand is the student body that is forced into opposition to these interests and consequently to the administration. Out of these clashes arises the problem of academic freedom that has never existed at City College as an abstractly formulated principle. Academic freedom has always been the first causality in the conflict between students and administration. And that is just when students want it most.

The history of the suspensions and expulsions at the college has not been a history of youthful exuberance on one side and aged administrative obstinence on the other. It has been a continuously deepening conflict between social forces. Students who participated in a campaign against tuition fees are likely to grope at the social implications of the clash. They participate in other student protests. Their horizon widens. They begin to see that they have pitted themselves against forces that are not primarily collegiate or local. They begin to realize not only the existence of the class struggle but their relation to it. The process of radicalization at City College takes place primarily in these two ways. Consciously radical students tend to make the struggle deeper, to reveal its seriousness.

The constant strife that had troubled the college for the past two years had been approaching a crisis since the beginning of the spring term. The term began, auspiciously enough, with the suspension for thirty days of nineteen students who had participated in a public trial of the Director of the Evening Session and of Dr. Robinson. The trial had been occasioned by the dismissal of Oakley Johnson from the teaching staff, and the sus-

pension of ten students for protesting his dismissal. The wave of protest meetings was climaxed by a strike at the end of February. Soon after another series of protest meetings hailed the threat that summer schools would be closed. The summer schools remained open.

These activities found their expression in school politics. In the election of officers for next term's Student Council one member of the National Student League and two unaffiliated liberals ran on a thoroughly militant platform including the abolition of R.O.T.C. An opposition ticket was immediately produced with the slogan of "keep the college out of Union Square" and "keep the college colors lavender and black". The left wing candidates won by a tremendous vote, doubling their nearest opponents in each case. The "radicals" were well on the road to controlling the whole machinery of the student government.

At about this time it became clear that the administration had decided to clamp down, in earnest. It began cautiously. Dean Gottschall asked the *Campus* not to conduct a student poll on war, fearing that the tax payers would be shocked at the results. Then the Student Forum, L.I.D. chapter, which had applied without response from the Board of Trustees for almost two years for permission to publish a paper, finally secured Student Council sanction. When the paper was put out on the strength of this permission which had regularly been considered sufficient, all of the copies were confiscated.

Suddenly the charter of the *Campus* was revoked. Obscenity was the charge. The *Campus* had started the movement against jingo-day. It had several times opposed the policies of the administration. It had opposed R.O.T.C. Later four of its editors were expelled. Colonel Lewis was accused of having written letters to the trustees demanding the expulsion of the editors. This charge was never answered. The editors of the *Campus* were vacillating liberals, but the administration was on the war path. Wholesale expulsions had become the order of the day.

The Faculty

A distinguished professor of history was concluding his course on the World War. He said that it was for the young men of the nation, for the young men in this very class, to prevent another catastrophe. He said that the young men must not compromise, must not vacillate as the men of his generation had done. They must be fearless and unremitting in their struggle against war. . . . This professor was one of the three who was expelling students for being just that.

Let not the thought enter your mind. The professor is no scheming hypocrite. He really meant that students should fight against war, outside of the classrooms, outside of the college. The professors expelled us but let it not be thought that they are reactionaries and Hoover Republicans. Most of them are liberals. Many of them voted for Norman Thomas in the last election, endorsed the Student Congress Against War in Chicago, supported the student trip to Kentucky. But they have effected an everlasting dichotomy between the college and world. Only in this way can they evade their responsibility and have peace and quiet.

Dr. Gottschall states in the Faculty Report that the paramount obligations of college students are obedience and loyalty to the college. And the Faculty unanimously approved; not to study but to be obedient. The Report

continues . . . "Because of their obdurate and defiantly insubordinate attitude, your committee has no choice but to recommend the dismissal of these young men." Because we did not cringe. Joseph Starobin, who did not participate in the demonstration May 29th, was expelled because he "was not ready to pledge himself unqualifiedly for the future to obey the directions of administrative offices . . ." etc.

The faculty has tried to set aside matters of principle. It has tried to simplify the problem by raising the slogan of unqualified obedience. But in abolishing the three discussion clubs the faculty report recommends the founding of an Open Forum which "should be confined to matters outside the organization and administration of the college." The faculty does not object to discussion of militarism in Patagonia. It will prohibit a discussion of R.O.T.C. at City College. Many professors would be profoundly shocked if they met a similar state of affairs elsewhere. There was a time when City College professors would oppose the administration. They have become old and comfortable. Their reactionary position at the college corrodes their vision of the world and of world problems. There will come a time when they will no longer be perturbed by the fate of the Kentucky miners and war will not seem so horrible.

The Protest Demonstrations

While the faculty and its committee were doing their duty during the hot uncomfortable days, the students were not idle. The routine was almost invariable. A meeting would start a block away from the College grounds. The police, for one reason or another, would move it further away. The first demonstration was moved to a distance of three blocks from the buildings at the bottom of a sloping hill. Many of us wondered whether the students would bother to come. The first student-speaker asked his audience to look back for a moment. The long sloping strip of road was covered with students. And at every other meeting, whenever it was held and whether there were prominent speakers or not, we saw the long steady stream of students walking from the Gothic Arches and the Ivy.

The element of satire was never absent. The cartoon in the *Daily Worker* of a considerably fattened Dr. Robinson followed by a doughty Amazon of the D.A.R. in an umbrella charge was used for a leaflet, and later painted on a huge placard. It was decided to stage an umbrella parade. By some unaccountable stroke of brilliance, the arrangements committee bought tiny pink parasols. The "Sturdy Sons of City College" received them with acclamation. While the parade was being stopped by the police from entering on college grounds, a group of student reactionaries let down a barrage of what the faculty report termed "objects chiefly of vegetable character. They broke into a mad dash when accosted by a group of our supporters. After that they confined their vigilance to neighboring house-tops, an occasional pail of water or a splash of yellow on the sidewalk the only sign of their existence.

The parade was broken up by the police into a dozen scattered fragments. Suddenly a speaker mounted the same parapet at Townsend Harris Hall that had been used on Jingo Day. From all sides students poured into the narrow street. Before we had a chance to consolidate the crowd the police broke up the meeting. Later some of its remnants were gathered together and a strike was called for the next day—the last day of school.

(Continued on page 20)

A Southern Utopia

IN the south we have many forms of fakery and bull-doing. Churches and schools, parading as great humanitarian institutions, poison the minds of our working people and keep us asleep. Especially has this fakery been practiced on the poor mountain whites of the southern highlands. We are beset with dozens of so-called missionary schools proclaiming themselves the saviors of the poor mountain white trash. They advertize themselves in the East and North as great philanthropic and charitable institutions.

As a southern mountaineer, I've grown up in our ways and customs. I've seen my people exploited—led hither and yon by false prophets of justice. I've seen sons and daughters of white workers swallowed up in the greed-philosophy of the self-centered missionary schools. I've seen the deadening and numbing effect these schools have on the workers. There are scores of such false institutions in the south—Berea, Lincoln Memorial University, Berry—but of the whole despicable lot, the Berry Schools at Rome, Georgia are the most undermining and most dangerous to the white workers of the south.

I do not pass judgement on Berry School without knowledge. In fact, I spent four years there, and but for the fact that I constantly rebelled against their whole program and philosophy, I would now be the typical Berry student—striving to be "somebody," make money, a name, like Henry Ford, who is the greatest single supporter of this school, and a figure constantly held before Berry students for emulation.

Martha Berry, descendant of slave-owning southern aristocracy has founded the institution—a monument to the name of Martha Berry. Gigantic native stone buildings, erected by Henry Ford's millions, tower to the skies like old European feudal castles. The school property consists of dozens of such buildings and twenty thousand acres of land. All have been donated by people who were touched by the sob stories which Martha Berry is so capable of giving about the "poor little mountain boys and girls." Berry has three divisions of schools, the Berry College, the Martha Berry School for Girls and the Berry High School for boys. When in full session Berry schools have about 1200 sons and daughters of working people. It is easy to see why men like Ford have an interest in the kind of education they get.

But with all its vast wealth—monumental buildings, artificial lakes, private Dream House (for Miss Berry's use when she wants to invoke the Almighty)—there has recently been serious discontent among summer working students at the boys high school. In spite of the fact that no student at Berry is ever supposed to think, the entire high school student body of around a hundred, recently walked out on strike (August 29). The School was not in session then, but students stay in the summer and work four months to pay for eight months tuition in the winter.

The immediate cause of this student strike was the disgracefully low wages paid to working students. The wage there this summer has been 10, 11, and 12 cents an hour, depending on how hard a boy worked, or the pull he had. Formerly the school had paid on the basis of 15, 16 and 17 cents an hour, but "hard times" made the student wage come down. However, the tuition remained the same and prices in the school store where all students

must buy supplies, had gone up considerably. This summer the students were not going to be able to make enough through the four month's hard labor to pay tuition for eight month's school, although they work two days each week during the regular school year.

Resenting this gross injustice, the students began laying plans for remedying their plight. They set up a Students' League and organized for a strike. And despite the fact that school officials deny that any trouble took place, on August twenty-ninth every student at the high school refused to work and marched to the auditorium in mass demanding an audience of the principal, H. G. Hamrick.

Here I shall quote from what two of the strike leaders told me:

"Monday morning we all went to the auditorium and sent after Hamrick. He came in and we put the big question to him: could he arrange our tuitions so that we could go to school eight months on four months labor as students had always done here? Hamrick began asking questions about our strike and a letter we had sent him. No one would tell anything. He then told us it was impossible to have an answer by Wednesday night as we demanded. The students were rather tender and granted him more time. He came to a conclusion more quickly and quietly than we had expected. He met the executive committee that day and gave us some information later that night. He brought Mr. Kowen and Dr. Green, president of the college, with him. Mr. Kowen gave a long talk. He told us it wasn't the school's place to change things. He said we would have to look out for ourselves. The students told him they were not expecting the school to look out for them, all they wanted was a decent deal and a chance to make enough money to go to school on, this year. Hamrick told us that Miss Berry was away in the North—begging money for us to go to school on and would not come home just because of a thing like this. Then old man Kowen, the hog with the goat's beard, as he is called, said: 'Boys, the thing is a small question compared with what we have to deal with.' Then one boy said, 'You consider it a small question when none of us have sufficient clothes to wear! Then there is our tuition which we won't be able to make at ten cents an hour. We want to go to school. We don't have clothes to go through the winter months on.'

"Old Kowen says that is a small thing! Maybe it is small compared with the thousands of dollars they have been getting. There have been large sums of money spent for lakes and flower gardens that won't be worth a nickle to the boys and they never get to use them. They are not even on the campus. And there is Miss Berry's elaborate "Dream House" which no student is ever allowed to visit, and where Miss Berry goes to pray, and where special *rich* visitors are taken. Such things as these are more valuable to Berry School officials than is a boy's tuition and clothes for winter!

"We asked them to make efforts to meet our demands. They refused there in the meeting. As soon as we left them we had a private meeting. Here we decided to strike for what we had asked. We were to strike but not to destroy any property. We went on strike Tuesday

(Continued on page 19)

PROGRAM

of the National Student League

PREAMBLE

THE present economic crisis brings the student body face to face with certain problems which require immediate attention; these are in the main problems of present income and future employment; at the same time the danger of impending wars adds to his sense of insecurity.

His right to an education is threatened by the wave of economies now sweeping our schools and colleges. Dwindling resources at home and fewer opportunities for part-time work at schools are forcing many students to give up their studies. Many who do complete their education have little chance to use their training and skill under existing conditions. For every graduation day sees thousands of students joining the unemployed or entering unskilled occupations. This holds true despite the fact that millions of people are in vital need of these services.

For certain sections of the student body, particularly the Negro students, these problems are even more accentuated. Because of their status as members of oppressed minorities they are confronted with the added problems of discrimination and segregation.

In dealing with these issues, students find old methods of approach no longer relevant. To meet present conditions new weapons and new forms of action are required. Their immediate situation demands that students organize to defend their present interests. Their future prospects force them to realize that along with the impoverished intellectuals they must even now align themselves with the working class for unity in the struggle for common interests; and to recognize that although it is possible to win certain immediate improvements, only change in the very basis of society can offer any permanent solution to their mutual problems. Impelled by a sense of common cause with the workers, students have participated in working class activities.

We further find students directing their energies more and more towards united action in defense of their immediate interests. In many cities students have organized resistance to retrenchment in education. In numerous polls they have voiced their opposition to war. This has found further expression in struggle against R.O.T.C. and other forms of war preparations. In conducting these activities students meet administration resistance in the form of suspensions and expulsions, as well as other drastic attacks on academic freedom. Experience has shown that students can meet these situations through militant mass action.

The National Student League is the organized expression of these requirements. It organizes and leads the students in securing their demands through mass action. The interests of the N.S.L. are those of the large majority of the student body. It combats all forms of discrimination tending to divide the student body. It appeals to students of all races regardless of religious or political affiliation to join in struggle for their immediate demands.

POLICIES

Against Retrenchment, for the Right to a Free Education

Faced with decreasing sources of revenue, state and municipal governments are balancing their budgets at the expense of education. This has been brought about by the organized pressure of large property owners, bankers and wealthy tax payers. The revenues of private institutions have also been reduced.

Hundreds of schools have been shut down altogether, while others have been crippled by drastic reduction in their teaching staffs. At the same time attempts are made to raise present charges, to introduce fees where none have existed, and to reduce the number of scholarships. These economies have the effect of restricting education more and more to a privileged minority. Here, as elsewhere the burden of retrenchment falls on the shoulders of those who can least afford it.

Students can effectively resist this policy only if they are organized. Faculty members, economically dependent on administrations, are unable to offer consistent opposition to retrenchment, and must therefore rely on a united student body to lead the fight.

In its campaign against retrenchment in education the N.S.L. makes the following demands:

1. No increase in tuition charges and fees.
2. No economies at the expense of education and educational facilities.
3. No reduction of teachers' salaries and teaching staffs.
4. Free four-year colleges in every city of 100,000 or over.
5. Federal aid to education.
6. Special taxes on concentrated wealth to support schools and colleges.

Against Race Discrimination; For Equal Right for Minorities

The Negro students are confronted with special problems arising from their status as part of an oppressed people. In the South the Negroes are barred from the institutions provided for whites and herded into separate schools which are woefully inferior and inadequate. In seventeen states and in the District of Columbia only one fourth as much money per capita expended for white students is allowed for Negro students. In the North where no such discrimination is supposed to exist, Negroes are excluded from a number of schools and are deprived of the use of many facilities in others. The lot of the Negro students who wish to work their way through school is made doubly hard by the fact that they are usually barred from all but the most menial and least remunerative forms of employment.

Because of this it is important that Negro students be organized. Inasmuch as the white students are in a better position because of their comparatively greater freedom, it is their duty to take the initiative in the struggle to break down these barriers of race prejudice and discrimination which tend to divide the student body, and weaken its fight. Only through the unity of Negro and white students can their common ends be attained.

Jewish, Catholic and foreign-born students are subject to similar forms of discrimination both in the allotment of jobs and in admittance to educational institutions.

As a basis for the solution of these problems the National Student League fights for:

1. Equality of students of all races, colors, creed and nationality.
2. The abolition of segregation in education, admission of Negroes to all institutions, educational and social.
3. That pending the establishment of complete equality throughout the educational system, equal appropriation per capita be allotted to both Negro and white.
4. Equal impartial opportunities for employment.
5. Destruction of all illusions of race supremacy as fostered by our educational system; discarding of school tests derogatory to the Negro.

Against Suppression of Student Thought and Action

With the development of militant student activity, academic freedom takes on new meaning. It no longer signifies the mere right to discuss and talk, nor is it any longer the exclusive concern of isolated discussion circles. It now means freedom to act in defense of student interests. Academic freedom now concerns all students. The fight for academic freedom is accordingly an integral part of our activity.

We therefore resist the wholesale expulsions of students and faculty members, the banning of student clubs and newspapers, the abrogation of student self-government and all other methods used by administrations in an effort to stem the rising tide of student opposition.

The National Student League Fights

1. For freedom of speech and freedom of criticism for students and faculty members.
2. For a student press free from censorship.
3. For the right of students to petition, hold meetings or conduct strikes, on or off campus.
4. Against forcing students under duress to sign away their freedom of action.
5. Against compulsory religious services.
6. For democratic student government.

Against Imperialist War and War Preparations on the Campus

The school is as vital a link in war preparations today as it was in 1917, when educational institutions supplied the army with half a million trained men. Many schools and colleges have military training on their curricula. In some of these institutions this training is compulsory. Elsewhere special inducements are offered to make students take it. Jingoism and propaganda for national defense are disseminated in the classroom, as well as in the R.O.T.C. courses. Expenditures for armaments grow daily in spite of peace pacts and disarmament conferences. More than a quarter of a billion for new ships. Hundreds of thousands of young men have been herded into reforestation camps, where the daily routine of military training prepares them for war-time activity. The mounting expenses of future wars ostensibly as part of a public works program can be explained only in the light of the troubled international situation.

Although no wars have been officially declared, armies are even now engaged in conflict in scattered parts of the globe. For even these conflicts which are apparently local in character are produced by economic rivalries between world powers who today fight each other indirectly through vassal states, but who tomorrow force peace-time rivalry for markets between the great im-

perialist powers to the breaking point. Unable to dispose of a surplus of commodities to an unemployed working class at home, each power is attempting a redistribution of colonial markets at the expense of the other.

Whatever the results of the impending imperialist war, a small group of bankers and manufacturers stand to profit while the great masses of people both on the battle-field and at home have nothing to gain but hardship and death. Students play an important role in war. Frequently they are the technicians and officers. It is for them to realize that their interests do not lie with the makers of war, the manufacturers and bankers. In the fight against war students must not put their faith in peace pacts and pledges not to fight. Experience has shown the futility of opposition to war which relies on moral suasion and is not prepared for organized mass resistance. Only by an alliance with the elements of the population that are opposed to war can the student wage an effective struggle. The N.S.L. realizes that the working class is the most powerful organized force opposed to war.

Whatever the consequences the N.S.L. is determined to carry on an uncompromising fight against all wars whose object is to enrich a small class of bankers and manufacturers. We realize, however, that for an oppressed people to repudiate the resort to arms in the face of an armed oppressor is a declaration of suicide. The N.S.L. therefore, supports the struggle for liberation of colonial peoples. We further pledge ourselves to oppose all preparations against the Soviet Union, whose policy arises from the new social order it is developing.

We Demand

1. The abolition of R.O.T.C. and all forms of military training.
2. Transference of state and governmental appropriations from funds for military purposes into funds to be used for needy students relief and for educational purposes.

Campus Activities

Members of the National Student League participate in all campus activities. They do not confine themselves to a Social Problems Club or an N.S.L. chapter. They are never isolated from the student body. Members with a special interest are active in clubs devoted to their particular subject. Those who have the ability work on the college newspaper. In the classroom as elsewhere N.S.L. members are known as such and they popularize their program. One of the most important N.S.L. activities is participation in student self-government. Here it attempts to elect candidates by applying the program of the N.S.L. to the local situation. It cooperates with other groups, always on the basis of program and principles. The object is always the same; uniting the student body in the struggle for its interests.

Although N.S.L. members also participate in sports they make clear their opposition to the institution as it exists today. They consider the over-emphasis on competition between the large colleges harmful because it prevents the mass of students from taking part in athletics. It further breeds a rah-rah spirit which inhibits their understanding of their own problems and those of society.

The National Student League fights for:

1. The abolition of the star system of athletics.
2. The institution of intra-mural athletics.

The Student and the Working Class

In conducting their campus struggles students find themselves confronted by the dominant economic groups

and their subservient political machinery. They find themselves opposed by the power of the state, when the police are used to break up student demonstrations and strikes. The press falsifies its account of militant student activities. All this follows from the fact that the demands of the students are in direct opposition to the educational program of the bankers and industrialists. Since their program of retrenchment tends towards the abolition of free higher education and their interest in war preparation toward the militarization of colleges, students find themselves engaged in increasing conflict with these groups.

In this clash the students have a powerful ally in the working class which is engaged in the constant struggle against the identical economic interests. Workers support student struggles because they also desire a free higher education for themselves and their children. They also oppose war and war preparations. For effective action against the administration and the forces that control it, the support of so large and powerful a group as the working class is essential.

After graduation students will find themselves bound to the workers with ever closer ties. They will face a world wherein the demand for their services will be far surpassed by the supply of applicants. Many of them will join the growing army of the unemployed. Those who get jobs will be economically dependent on the will of employers who may arbitrarily discharge them. They thus share the insecurity of all wage earners. For those students who must support themselves while in college, these problems have an even more immediate bearing, for they are at present subject to wage-cuts, arbitrary dismissals and overlong working hours.

The only effective answer to those conditions is the unity of all who are concerned. The students must therefore ally themselves with the working class which bears the brunt of these conditions, and join its fight for security and a decent living.

This we can do by joining in the demands for social insurance for unemployed workers and college graduates, and by giving active support to the militant organizations of the workers and farmers.

Students must align themselves with the workers if they are to win their immediate demands, and they are drawn to the support of the working class by the larger need for a new social order, since the working class is the main force in bringing about this change.

Student Fascisti

A FEW months ago I took a trip through Italy, benefiting by the seventy-per cent reduction in railroad fare for the fascist exposition in Rome. Here was the chance to see the "New Italy," the "Great Fascist State," to see the "New Glory of Rome,"—and so I did. The exposition was impressively housed, done in good modernistic. Soldiers in swank uniforms guarded the door, very young strong chaps. Inside, the halls went in certain directions, one couldn't wander, one had to see everything. Straight ahead of the entrance was a long, very high hall, at the head of which a narrow staircase led to promising mysteries at higher levels. There stood a soldier, feet spread as if resisting a push, a gun with bayonet slung on his back. From a trick light below his feet

his shadow was cast on the back wall, magnified ten to fifteen times. A towering malignant savage-looking shadow. We really gasped at the effectiveness of it.

We went through rooms: newspapers, pictures of fascist heroes, the bloody shirts of martyred Fascists, letters of Il Duce, pictures of Il Duce, silhouettes of Il Duce in iron, chromium, in tin, in gold, in what not; Il Duce as a boy, as a prisoner, as a refugee, as a husband, a father, a son; on motorcycle, on horse, on what not. Someone even though they found a picture showing him in the bathtub, and one suggested for completeness that there ought to have been one taken at an even more intimate (and perhaps expressive) moment.

A beautifully effective room, marked in neon lights, "Presente," a circular room, a dim and dark, a church-like atmosphere, with guards. The word "Presente" repeated itself thousands of times. The Italian visitors all gaped—and I must admit that I was almost impressed.

As we left a friend with whom I was travelling said: "But what *did* they really accomplish?" Someone else remarked: "What impresses me most is the fact that with such a beautiful shell they could find no more in all Italy to put into it—and it is supposed to show the accomplishments of Italy in fourteen years."

In Perugia, an age-old hill town, I happened to hit up with a group of students, who, although they understood little of my Italian and I little of their French, were very friendly. We went to the G. U. F. house for supper. (G. U. F.—Gruppa Universitare Fascista, is the student organization which, although a political organization, is the only student organization recognized, and which controls all the benefits for the students. It is part of the political propaganda organization of the Duce and functions admirably. There are reductions on the railroads, in the theatres, movies, restaurants; and even in the houses of prostitution the G. U. F. identification card gets a reduction. Is it any wonder then that Mussolini is the god of the students?)

We discussed a lot that evening—but not what interested me in particular, i. e. politics and political situations, for these students had no interest whatsoever in such things. "Oh, Mussolini knows more about it than we do, he'll tell us what to think," was the answer one fellow gave me when I became too persistent.

Perugia has one of the finest collection of primitives. It is small but well-arranged and well selected. None of the twenty-odd students I questioned had ever been in it, in spite of the fact that they were entitled to free admission. They weren't interested, and said so, even somewhat boastfully.

I read, while in Italy, a very curious appeal from Mussolini. The great god descended to write a strong message to the youth begging them to take a more active interest in the "great Italian tradition of arts and letters." The new "culture," the "renaissance of Italy" so long prophesied and promised seemed to have failed dismally. The youth were not inspired by Fascism. Mussolini finally discovered that propaganda such as he had used did not make literature and art. Italy he admits has produced nothing lasting, and he requests that it should. But even a man with as much power as Mussolini cannot create out of nothing.

EUGENE MINDEL.

Syncopated Education

SO he went there. Verve and enthusiasm. You are through with high school, you are in college. Wake up, Pipes; little freshman caps; flag-rushes; greased poles; hazing pictures in the *News*; frat bids; get-together rallies; pep talks. Here are teachers, real men! We too are men. Assert ourselves, great freedom, individual development, culture. "The engineer must be at home in a dress suit as well as in a pair of coveralls." New president is swell; slick talker; he knows his oats.

The gloomy dean. Got a Ph. D. way back in god knows when in Goettingen. Some floozy thesis; worked with Walther Nernst, by god; back in '93. Phi Psi, old guard scion. Practical man, knows his math. He's a good egg, he makes the guys write themes when they skip assemblies. But when he got one calling him, very politely, of course, very politely,—a sonofabee, he hikes right up to the Eng prof and finds out who wrote that theme. But it all blew over. There were the regular elevatin' themes, they develop culture, they broaden the engineer, they give him that necessary polish. Essay on "Why I came to—." Cook up something: "...lofty ideals; excellent technical background; individual contact with teachers; real mental training. Real college life, four years of pleasant work ahead. Engineers needed, good pay." Good pay! Well. Oh, those English classes! Cultural background for the engineer; Those old-school department heads. "But they can't kick 'em out, they've been here so long." Oh yes. And those sticks of profs. The old guard, swivel chairs, masonic pins, phi bete keys, hard collars: real professors. Yes, those English profs, they have their Ph. D's and the proper accent for cultural training. They see the dean now and then, go to a movie occasionally, and read *Time* every week.

Now there was Stoddard. But he was a bit left-guard. They had to drop him. Really,—the college is afraid of personalities. They gotta keep up the old guard decorum. Evolution and all that sort of stuff, you know. Yes. Well, left-guard Stoddard was ok, he read the *Nation* and he knew some psych even if he did read Schmalhausen. But he wouldn't stand for a review of JJ's *Ulysses* or much of D.H.L. Yes, he thumbed the *Little Review* with the rest of the muck-rakers. "Why are you reading *Lady Chatterley*?" "So,—you'd like it too?" No. So, turn the crank, write out the highly elevatin' dribble. William Lyon Phelps says . . . No wonder the little squirt of a debate teacher got sore at that article on birth-control: he was the last of fourteen. Three cheers for modern eugenics. Cabell was his speed, and the *Post* (see it every week—ads are interesting—reflect American progress) for a good story. Maybe not art, maybe not *literature*, but damned interesting.

Sophomore year, branching out. Now we have culture: a stimulatn' debate course. Give yourself exhibitionistic balance. And the pure and untainted science of higher mathematics. New personalities, men. The phys prof, he compiles handbooks. Damned good ones too. Head of phys department collects oboes and shows Einstein up. That little green hotdog stand on the campus with the

etherdrift apparatus. By god, started with Michelson. Yes siree, outside activities make the man. Yes sir, lab book copying, exam cribbing, home-work copying: the scientific method. Pure science and practical science must present a workable balance. Yes yes. Engineers are being trained here, come to our mill: exhibit A.

Junior year, you start to specialize. And more and more culture, even the engineer has got to have it, oh yes. "To improve the cultural background, to broaden the engineer—, we have outlined a new series of college assemblies beginning with the Rev. Dilworth Bluffton, who will tell you his impressions of that interesting country, Soviet Russia." So Dilworth spills his cant. Goddam good copy, that. But Dilly knows his stuff, Prexy speech-maker said, and besides, doesn't he speak at all the womens' yapfests? Sure. So Russia is a great experiment. "Engineers, a gur-ate experiment, a humanitarian proving-ground. And I want to leave just one thought with you young men, you future engineers, you men who guide man's destiny——."

This is pure science! God what a mess. Equations: elevating. Cribbing. Dyke, cribbing on every damn test and going around bragging about an A average. He plays football, too. Real man, credit to the school. Oh he'll make Sigma Xi all right. Or Potter, who course-grabs like hell to get out of all the finals. And Shields, who reads the whole newspaper every day, Winchell, Heywood Broun, and all. And King, who always talks about the cute babe in the bookstore. And the rest of the gang. A date; stewed; necking; movie; dance; hellish beer; exam; experiment; the bastard made me do it over; I see by the papers; Prexy to address Women's Sorosis; chem prof working on ion control for his M.S.; giant testing machine (bigger and better) to be installed; new courses planned. There's that young lab instructor. Three kids already, so he aintn' for a professorship. Stick it out ten or twenty years and something gotta happen. But all of them arn't so bad. There's Doc Kidder. He knows Chopin and Stravinski, and he once read Marx in the German. But he gets sore as hell if you don't call him doc. All in all they are ok. They go home at night and grade papers; listen to the radio; play a little contract. Then knock off till tomorrow. Big little Mr. Zero's.

A great capitalistic funk! Sean O'Casey says world in state of chaos. Competition higher than ever! A. S. M. E. president gives talk to prospective engineers. "The engineers *who make money* are those who have an executive training." Who will make money. Money, that's all, money. Enough said. Graduate, get a job, money. Dollars. Learn your science for dollars. F=ma= money. Knowledge is power. Power is production. Production is money, success is money. C'mon, c'mon, let' go. You are picked men, you engineers. Better than bread in your mouths. Learn! Get it down! Science, money. Science, pure science. Business, big big business. Money, industry, production—super-hyper-speed-up. Succeed in world! Get going! Let's go!

ALEXANDER BUCHMAN.

For a Free Education

FOR many, the strike of Chicago's high school students last April was the first indication that the municipal machine had collapsed. Participated in by 15,000 students, it marked the first wide-spread effort to make public the extreme exploitation of the city's teachers. Of course, the inevitable state apparatus was loosed upon the strikers, an action "rationalized" by fastening upon the student leaders of the strike the stigma of Communism. Police squads patrolled the schools in automobiles. Arrests, fines and expulsions were used to decimate the leadership.

The strike had its immediate repercussion in the ranks of the teachers. Less than a week later, nearly 2,000 teachers stormed City Hall with demands for relief. On April 15, 30,000 teachers, pupils, and parents paraded their demands with placards and banners through the streets of Chicago. Nine days later followed a demonstration of 5,000 teachers which for its impressive militancy was unprecedented in the annals of the profession. Meetings, held during business hours on the steps of Chicago's largest banks were curtly and insolently told by bank officials that nothing could be done for them; the large metal bank doors were banged shut and the police, themselves unpaid for many months, were summoned.

The newspapers, silent until now, began to comment on the dignity of the teaching profession; bankers through the press generously expressed their sympathy. To check the growth of the city's debt to its teachers the schools were closed four weeks earlier than usual.

The series of demonstrations profoundly influenced the citizenry by revealing the power of mass action. By the time the schools had closed, the movement, almost exclusively one of teachers and students in its incipient stages, had been augmented by numerous civic and social groups of diverse interests. Confronted on the one hand by this cohesive group of wide proportions, and, on the other, by the do-nothing policy of the Board of Education, the city administration sought to evade the issue by winning popular approval with shouts of economy. The teachers had to be paid. But how? Two solutions presented themselves. First, taxes long overdue on real estate could be collected and applied to the salary deficit. Second, the school budget could be cut to an extent where enough would remain to make possible partial payment on salaries in arrears.

The first solution necessitated a radical sacrifice—some of the sacred cows of Chicago's politics would suffer inconvenience. It would destroy the tax-paying racket. It would mean that the Chicago landlords would have to divert to public funds some of the monies reaching their purses through evictions and foreclosures. It would entail a thorough revision of the city's system of appraisal and tax collection. The alternate solution, involving a severe cut in the school budget appeared as the only logical course to the politicians.

The decision to carry out the drastic reduction in appropriations was tantamount to a declaration of war against free public education, since reduced expenditures would necessarily lower the efficiency of the schools. Inveterately callous, the rulers of Chicago defied civic pressure and decided to wreck the Chicago educational system.

Early in July, the Board of Education energetically instigated its ruthless "economy" measures. Crane Junior College, the only free institution of its kind in the city, with an enrollment of 3,600 students was abolished. The Junior High Schools suffered the same fate, throwing upon the streets thousands of those who would normally be in school. Physical education was eliminated from the elementary schools, a ridiculously picayune economy, the cost per child per day for physical education being about one-half cent; thirty-three swimming pools, constructed at a cost exceeding \$1,500,000 are to be scrapped. All continuation schools but one were abolished, manual courses such as printing and woodwork eliminated, purchases of textbooks delayed, and household arts in the elementary schools discontinued.

Under the new dispensation, all high school teachers must teach a minimum of seven periods a day to accommodate the influx of pupils from the Junior High Schools; crowded conditions have practically converted the classroom into a lecture room.

Tremendous public resentment spread, upon the announcement of this "new deal" for education. With the opening of the new school term in September, the intolerable conditions spawned by the drastic curtailment of educational appropriations precipitated a general strike. In the leadership of the strike was the Student Committee on Education which, under the reactionary domination of Jack Light and Laurence Singer, two students whose manifest desire it is to prevent militant action, succeeded in emasculating the purpose of the movement. The past activity of these "leaders" constitutes in itself condemnation of them. Their role in the organization of a slugging squad to attack all N.S.L. meetings, and their endorsement of the Republican politicians as opposed to the ruling Democratic machine brands them as administrative flunkies. Only because the rank and file students participated in the election of the strike committee of six, was an NSL'er included in its membership. And the National Student League had to fight constantly to expose the committee's demagogic attempt to exploit mass resentment for political ends.

On the day preceding the strike, a United Action Committee, set up by the National Student League, called for a city-wide demonstration of teachers, students, and parents. Failing to procure a police permit, the supporters of the students mobilized at Herzl Junior High School on the West Side. An observer, writing from Chicago, gives a graphic account of the subsequent events, including the strike on the following day:

"In order to keep from being broken up, we formed a continuous line of march. Several times the police attempted to disperse us, but we formed again and again. As we marched along, our ranks swelled tremendously. Continuing down Roosevelt Place on to the home of Alderman Arvey, Democratic leader, our entire line of march shouted "Join our ranks! Keep Herzl open! Open Crane!" By the time we reached 12th Street, six solid blocks of students stretched out behind the N.S.L. banner at the head. At Turner, cops met us with sub-machine guns, shotguns and rubber hose, which, however, they were forced to put away when parents and students set up a terrific shout. Upon reaching Kedzie Avenue,

we dispersed voluntarily, the N.S.L. members leaving to prepare leaflets for the evening's activity.

"That evening open-air meetings flourished all along Roosevelt Place, the busiest thoroughfare in the section. As soon as the police broke up one meeting, another sprang up like mushroom growth. A few hours later, news reached us that Alderman Arvey was being shaved in a near-by barber shop. En masse, people at all meetings marched straight to the barber shop to present their demands. But the worthy Alderman could not be annoyed by the demands of his constituents. Professional ward-sluggers attacked and disbanded the demonstration.

"At a quarter of two the next morning, all the members of the strike committee of Marshall High School were arrested while leaving a meeting at a private home. Undaunted, however, the students hastily assembled a temporary committee and when school started that day, the strike came off as scheduled. Despite a police guard of fifty, the students of Marshall answered the strike call courageously. Marching on to Manley and Crane Tech, they were disbanded only after 1,000 students had walked out. Many were arrested. Back at Tuley High, 300 students formed a solid picket line around the building.

"All through the two days of demonstrations and strikes police terror reached a new high. A demonstration at Alderman Arvey's residence was set upon by the Red Squad and numerous arrests followed. While Singer of the Student Committee on Education, and a member of the N.S.L. were driving around Chicago in search of bail for the students who had been imprisoned, their car was halted and the two were arrested and held "under suspicion." Another NSL'er walking down a street on the West Side was suddenly placed under arrest. Seven more people were pulled in for distributing leaflets, one being severely beaten. Altogether it was estimated that 100 were placed under police custody."

In the face of this organized legal gangsterism and the obtuse tactics of the Student Committee on Education as manifested in its failure to get the strike leaflets to the students on time, it is not surprising that the strike movement was only partially successful. Marshall and Manley High Schools—places where the N.S.L. had concentrated its energies—alone exhibited any degree of mass student support. The other schools witnessed sporadic and disorganized refusals to attend classes. The disappointing results of the strike may be attributed to the Student Committee on Education for restricting the leadership to a few student politicians, thus failing to involve in the strike movement students in all the high schools, as well as to the weakness of the National Student League high school chapters. Certain concessions were forced from the Board of Education which was evidently impressed by this display of student solidarity. Gym, music, and art were restored; more evening schools were opened; several hundred teachers were promised reemployment. In this connection, the N.S.L. while demanding that the July cuts be rescinded, advanced a positive program of demands for a four year free city college, free medical attention, free hot lunches, carfare, more educational equipment and more school buildings.

The strike movement in the Chicago schools epitomizes the struggle now being carried on throughout the nation's schools and colleges—a valiant and unrelenting struggle against the collapse of our cultural institutions. Students from New York to San Francisco are demanding that the Federal government divert to education the millions of dollars which are being squandered on the construction

of death-machines for future imperialist wars. They are beginning to realize that the National Student League alone, of all existing student organizations, is adequately equipped to lead the fight. Having entered the great Chicago anti-retrenchment drive a mere tenderfoot, the High School Section of the N.S.L. now emerges ready to entrench itself in the schools for intensive work on the struggles of the future.

SOL BECKER.

Word From Cuba

EDITORIAL NOTE: *The National Student League has delegated Walter Relis, who was recently expelled from the College of the City of New York for anti-war activity, to represent it at the Conference of the Ala Izquierda des Estudiantes, the Cuban left-wing student organization, and at the Anti-Imperialist Conference held there on November 6th. On his return to the U. S. Mr. Relis will make a tour of the leading colleges of the country. The following is a letter just received from Cuba.*

Dear Comrades:

I arrived on the evening of November 7th. The severe fighting here has prevented my contacting those who are in charge of the tour of the delegation. Things are quieting down again (or perhaps I'm becoming used to the shooting), and I will soon be able to go into action. The information I have received is not very complete because my translators are not very good or constant.

The conference of the Ala Izquierda lasted from November 3rd until the evening of November 6th. Delegates came from all of the six provinces of Cuba—206 in all. The resolutions have not been printed yet because of the interference of the fighting. I will send them when they are completed and printed.

The evening of my arrival I went to the conference of the Anti-Imperialist League of Cuba. The audience of 400 was comprised mostly of young people. I have never witnessed such enthusiasm. There was continuous cheering and shouting of anti-imperialist slogans. Although the meeting lasted until after 1 A.M., very few left before that time. All of the revolutionary organizations were represented. When I was introduced as the National Student League delegate, I was greeted by a rising ovation, lasting fully three minutes. Later in the evening I spoke, my speech being translated by John Marinello, a prominent left-wing writer. The representative of the Ala, who had been released from prison only a few hours before, spoke. He said that there had been a November 7th demonstration in prison that very afternoon, participated in by over 200 revolutionary student and worker prisoners, at which representatives from all of the left wing organizations spoke. The following are some of the resolutions adopted by the prisoners: For the Defense of the Soviet Union; Liberty for All Prisoners; Against American Imperialism; Against U. S. Intervention; Congratulations to the Workers of the Soviet Union for Their Achievements in the Building of Socialism; Greetings to the American and Mexican Proletariat in Their Struggles and Support of the Cuban Revolutionary Movement.

The representative of the Communist Party to the Anti-Imperialist Conference contrasted the conditions of the Soviet workers with those of the oppressed and exploited

Cuban masses. He exposed the ABC as an organization which desires only to be the arm of American imperialism in Cuba, indicating this as the only reason for its opposition to the Martin government. In conclusion he declared that the only solution for the working class is an anti-imperialist agrarian revolution culminating in a workers' and peasants' government supported by committees of soldiers and sailors. He put forth as the central slogan of the Cuban Communist Party: All power to the workers and peasants supported by committees of soldiers and marines.

The delegate from the Young Communist League also contrasted the conditions in the Soviet Union with those in Cuba—this time of the youth. His speech was mainly directed against the recent law of the Grau San Martin government (very few are acquainted with it because it has not yet been published), which provides that no strike can be held unless the government is notified ten days in advance; that no person under 21, or a female, can be a leader of a union; no meetings can be held unless attended by a government representative. When I learn of more of the provisions I will send them to you.

The resolutions of the conference of the Anti-Imperialist League have not been published yet, but they are similar to those passed by the prison meeting. In addition, there was one in protest against the imprisonment of revolutionary students and workers by the Martin government.

A general national student congress has been called by the Ala for December 26th—the second of its kind.

After this letter is sent out I will have only 15 cents left. You will have to send me two or three more dollars.

Comradely,
WALTER.

Academic Freedom In Kyoto

IN the United States the role of an insurgent educator against capitalism may be obscured because of a certain traditional democracy that even the most reactionary administrative officials may hide behind—in Japan no such tradition exists.

Professor Takikawa is no leader of radicals, no inspirer to radical action, and no Marxist; dreaded word. However, as a Materialist, he taught his students materialism, a philosophy anathema to the more naturally idealistic militarists and jingoists who rule Japan. They feared the effect upon tender minds of such nefarious doctrines as Materialism. Their fear was increased by reminders of the agitation that accompanied the dismissal of Prof. Kawakami, ousted earlier in the year for professing Marxism and activating the radical students of Kyoto. His expulsion had been effected presumably through the orders of the Education Department, in actuality by order of these same militarists who were now casting their net for Takikawa's scalp.

The first step, the prohibition of his books on criminal law by the censor, was quickly followed by a request from the Director of Education that Takikawa resign. To this the Director naively appended the devout wish that "all radical professors resign in the form of a willing resignation." All the professors in Takikawa's department, soon followed by teachers of the Law Department, vigorously protested the breach of academic freedom,

declaring that "if study is to be interrupted by the random policy of the government, development of science is interrupted, and surely there is no reason remaining for the existence of the University." The Education Department firmly replied that "teaching dangerous theory in the name of freedom of study is prohibited by the University's Acts."

In the natural course of events, the dismissal soon followed, but met with a storm such as the militarist Idealists had not anticipated. Students held meetings protesting the action taken (thirty were arrested by the police), a meeting of 84 representatives from 33 high schools and colleges was held to fight encroachment on academic freedom; messages of support were received from Dashisha University in Kyoto. The protest gathered momentum. The Law Department consequently held a stormy session, at which the professors decided to resign in a body, and to support Konishi, the President of the College who had protested the action of the Militarist-controlled Education Department. The Economic Department rallied to the challenge, voicing its outraged protest. To cap the protest, students downright refused to attend classes.

The case was brought before the Houses of Parliament, which controlled by the War cliques, naturally endorsed the dismissals. A riot of opposition broke out from the now fully incensed professors and students. Forty-six teachers flatly resigned, there was a general standstill of classes, a huge meeting held at the neighboring Tokyo Imperial University demanded the resignation of the culpable Education Minister, Hatayomo, sarcastically accompanying this demand with a complete form of resignation, "to save him trouble. . . ."

Publicity of the case grew ever greater, until the Kyoto student delegation finally got permission to interview the state officer of Education, who refused to name the person responsible for the dismissal of Takikawa. A last appeal to the Education Department by the conciliatory President, begging them to reconsider their action in view of the universal protest, they countered, typically, with an offer of a compromise face-saving formula, whereby Takikawa, as a condition of reinstatement, renounce his expressed views. This proposal met with the most bitter denunciation of all, and to the spectacular denouement.

A huge mass meeting of over 6,000 students was called on the Tokyo Imperial University campus, nor could clubbing policemen and the merciless application of the fire-hoses stop the demonstration. However, the leading speakers were arrested by the police spies.

On June 23, a second gigantic meeting was partially suppressed by 200 policemen, who arrested 40 students more. Scattered riots thereafter raged for a week.

So far as concerns the Education Department, the case is closed, the dismissal stands. But new leaders are arising to replace those arrested and expelled, and the return to school in the Fall will see set in motion elaborate plans now being devised, while student sentiment is being kept alive to the issue by the energetic secret student press. The student body grimly understands how closely this issue is linked to the nationalism, fascism and overweening militarist sentiment that is sweeping all Japan.

MINORU MATSUI.

(Minoru Matsui is the pseudonym of a young Japanese student who has spent a year in the United States.)

Correspondence

Voices from Berry

To the Editor:

"Berry School is a wonderful school and can be recommended not only by me, but by my three sisters and three cousins who have been here before me. I am perfectly happy here, and wouldn't be satisfied elsewhere. We have the opportunities and advantages that any other schools couldn't offer. The work here isn't too hard, on the contrary, we feel honored to have the privilege of working for an education."

HELEN JORDAN.

"I believe with all my heart that you are barking up the wrong stump. To me the school is everything it should be. It gives to me as well as to many other students the chance of our lives. They perhaps do not pay high wages here but they give to us a splendid home and very valuable training which we could not as poor boys receive if we were not at Berry. In closing I sincerely hope you will see you are on the wrong side and will change before the sun rises again."

EMORY BABO.

"I am a student of the Berry Schools and wish to say that the accusations made against the schools were false. I came here last fall to work for my tuition. I enjoyed my work. I have been fed with good wholesome foods, I have never been hungry or overworked. I think we have more opportunities here than we would have in any other school. We are loyal to our school and wish to be left alone, happy and content."

SELMA WHITE.

"Berry is the most outstanding school in its opportunities, advantages, liberties, social life, work and play. I am proud to be a student and representative of the Berry Schools as long as it stands."

MARIE CADLE.

"I wish to express my gratitude to Miss Berry and her school, by saying that the schools offer the greatest opportunity that any boy or girl should wish for. The work is not harder than work elsewhere, and those who do not have the guts to keep at it will find life harder elsewhere. I think we are happier than students at other colleges because we have some things to keep our minds and hands busy and we have no time to get restless."

MARY EMMA FERGUSON.

ON October 7th, the New York offices of the National Student League were deluged with hundreds of letters from students of the Berry Schools at Georgia, of which those reprinted above are perfect specimens both in style and content. Quite patently, every one of these letters adheres religiously to a definite formula—the holy trinity of impeccable working conditions, excellent educational opportunities and undying loyalty to Berry, has served to cement the administration and the student body into one big happy family. The National Student League must discontinue its opprobrious attacks upon the fair name of Berry; nay, more, it must publicly retract the spurious stories it has circulated about the inhumanly long hours, the miserable wages, the brutal overseers, and the multitudinous other evils attending life at Berry.

Our first reaction to this flood of protest was one of extreme bewilderment. Scarcely five weeks had passed since the Berry students had manifested their dissatisfaction by participating in a militant strike for better working conditions, shorter hours, higher wages, and the right to have a voice in the management of the schools. It was all very perplexing—this apparent unanimity of support of the Berry authorities. However, upon a careful reading of all the letters, we become increasingly convinced that there was something rotten in Denmark. For nearly all of the stationery bore the official stamp of the Berry Schools and all were so similar in content that they appeared to have been inspired or dictated by the administration and assigned to the students as compulsory home work. Under pressure from the school authorities, the students were compelled to convert their inferno into a veritable paradise, for public consumption, in order to discourage people on the outside from assisting them in their struggles.

The National Student League has not been deceived by this abortive attempt of the Berry administration to white-wash the intolerable conditions prevailing at the schools. We have the proof not only in the signs of unrest revealed by the recent strike, and the incontrovertible evidence adduced by Don West, a former student, elsewhere in this issue, but in the regular reports reaching us from Clyde Johnson, our field organizer, whom we have sent to Berry for a thorough investigation.

Johnson's experiences, as recorded in his reports, are so amazing, that they would appear incredible but for their full confirmation by Berry students and graduates. In a desperate effort to depreciate the influence of the National Student League among the students, the Berry directors have hauled out all of the apparatus of lynch-incitement, all of the hoary anti-Bolshevik propaganda. Special assemblies are dedicated wholly to the vilification of Don West and the myriad other plotting revolutionaries who are befouling the lily-white reputation of Berry. Principal Grady Hamrick has boastfully hinted at the convocation of the Ku Klux Klan, one thousand strong, to wipe out the "reds" who are agitating among the students. Clyde Johnson and Don West have been frequently arrested "on suspicion", finger-printed, threatened with lynching, and relentlessly trailed by the ubiquitous sheriffs. A ring of impregnable censorship has been thrown around the schools. Letters both incoming and outgoing, are opened or tampered with by the Berry officials who control and operate the student post office. A system of student espionage has created an atmosphere of tenseness and suspicion—expulsion is the punishment for the "disloyal". To obviate the damaging publicity already inflicted upon the schools, the administration has trained its long-range propaganda batteries upon the outside press, launching indignant refutations of the letters of Don West and others which have already appeared in various publications.

The National Student League is not only convinced that the students were terrorized into writing these glowing testimonials to Berry's altruism, but is determined to smash the administrative policy of intimidation by a campaign of publicity and protest, so effective, so eloquent, that the authorities of the Berry Schools will be constrained by public pressure to grant the students all of their demands. Students and intellectuals from

coast to coast must demonstrate their solidarity with the oppressed Berry students. Send letters to publications, hold public meetings on and off the campuses, flood Principal Grady Hamrick and Director Martha Berry with telegrams and letters of protest. Our most powerful weapon is mass action. Let us wield it in behalf of these sons and daughters of poor southern farmers and workers, let us instill confidence in them to organize and fight for a human academic life. —EDITORS.

Accusation and Reply

November 6th, 1933.

Dear Professor Otis:

By way of introduction, I might say that I'm a former student of yours, last term's editor of *Frontiers*, and one of the students whose active opposition to military training caused him to be expelled from City College last term.

No doubt you will recall that the last issue of *Frontiers* included a sensational expose of professorial degradation under the impact of war propaganda. The article "War Hysteria" quoted, among other addresses, yours of December 6th, 1917, in which you passionately and rhetorically exhorted us to support the American government in its war against "the cult of beast."

The purpose of the article was not to denigrate any of the individuals quoted, but to sound a warning to the student body of the influence of war psychology upon the "liberal" mind, and to disclose the role of the professors in furthering the cause of imperialist war. Having been a student of yours, having listened to your expressions of profound regret for the reactionary part you played in 1917, it would have been cruelly unfair to attack you personally for views which you held sixteen years ago.

The present crisis finds in you a recrudescence of the same reaction, the same blindness which characterized your conduct in the last war. With war patently imminent, it was natural for students to oppose more militantly than ever before the inculcation of a military spirit in our colleges. R.O.T.C. and all of its attendant jingoism had to be extirpated as the sine qua non of a successful collegiate anti-war campaign. Yet, when 30 students were suspended and expelled for daring to lead the struggle, you raised not a finger in protest, you who were the pride of the liberal elements at City College. Instead you said, in extreme trepidation, "Those Communists will have this college shut down if they continue their agitation."

Inclosed you will find a pamphlet published by the expelled students, stating their position and the justification for their conduct. As a former admirer of yours, I should appreciate an explanation from you of your curious reversion to reaction.

Sincerely,

SOL BECKER.

November 15th, 1933.

Dear Becker:

I was glad to hear from you and glad, also, to learn that you were still true to your beliefs and to your ideals. My own particular differences with some of you fellows were not so much in your objectives, for some of your ideas were my ideas. For instance, I hate war and war psychology, as you do. Some of you who were expelled were idealistic and inspired by a commendable enthusiasm for social betterment. But, at least so it seemed to me, you were too impatient and too eager for immediate results and, as a consequence, your enthusiasms, good in themselves, led you to adopt methods that could

result only in disaster. Some of your campaign methods violated the rules of the institution. Even though some of these rules may have been unjust and hampering, nevertheless the administration and the faculty of an institution must support the rules as they exist at any time until such time as the rules may be altered by peaceful and orderly method. Anything else is revolution. Revolution is sometimes necessary, as Lincoln said, but, as Lincoln added, the constituted authorities of an institution or government are by oath in duty bound to prevent a revolution if possible. You fellows, by deliberately breaking the rules, virtually started a revolution. Even though some of us may have been in sympathy with part of your objectives, we were forced to take action against you because of your revolutionary methods. As young idealists you were, to that extent, a success and a credit to your school and to the society of which you are a part. As revolutionists you failed and were expelled. Let this experience not deter you from expressing in the future your sincere convictions, but let it teach you that shrewd and practical and patient methods of reform are usually more effective than ill-considered impulses and unharnessed enthusiasms. The longest way round is often the shortest way home.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM BRADLEY OTIS.

(Continued from page 10)

morning. Then we held another meeting and every boy agreed to leave school if we didn't get what we asked for.

"Mr. Hamrick called us all together Tuesday morning. He then promised us that if we would go back to work he would do everything in his power to get what we had asked. He also promised that he would not expel any student from school for taking part in or leading the strike. He promised to give us all a fair deal and the school would do its part if only we would go back to work. He virtually promised to meet all our demands if we returned to the job. We went back to work.

"Since we have gone back to work some of the hard-boiled bosses have talked about firing or having the leaders of the strike expelled. The foremen are all hard on the boys. This summer we have been made to work in rain and mud even at times when we were supposed to be in the dining hall. The foremen treat the boys very unkind. They seem to think they are above us *and too good to have anything to do with us.*"

Another student leader in this Berry strike told me:

"They work us hard in rain or mud for only 10 to 12c an hour. They work us 10½ hours a day. The brick-laying boys get the same wage although they do a semi-skilled work. Our work is sometimes five miles away from the dormitory and we have to go to and from work on our own time. Everything at the school store is awfully high. Books and clothes are almost impossible to buy. Tuition is still as high as it was when we were getting from 15 to 18c an hour for labor. We felt we were not being treated fair."

This boy went on to say, "As a result of the strike we were promised by the principal that our demands would be met when school opened. He promised not to

expel any student for taking part in or leading the strike. Prices in the school store have come back to what they were a few days ago when the school raised all prices in the store. Yes, we have the N. R. A. sign on the campus but we can't feel the effects of it."

He then said, "Dr. Green, the College president, admitted that we were not getting what we deserved, but he said we had signed our contract and must now stick to it. Dr. Green denied that we had struck. School officials told reporters that no trouble had taken place. They even made a rush trip to Atlanta to keep it out of the newspapers. They don't want it to get out that we have struck. They want to go on fooling the outside and getting rich men in the north to keep sending money to the school. But we who are students here know the rottenness of the whole thing although they do blind many of us with sentimental school loyalty."

With all the school officials' promises not to expel any leaders in this strike, in today's mail, Sept. 7, I received a letter from one of the leaders quoted above in which he says:

"I guess you note that my post mark is not from Berry. With information Hamrick got from stool pigeons, he came to the conclusion that the school would be better off without me. They wanted to get me off the campus as quickly and quietly as possible. I insisted that the other boys keep the Student League going. Mr. Hamrick now says that most of the boys, especially the leaders in the strike, will be expelled. He said since news of the strike had got out to newspapers somehow or other, he was no longer bound to keep his promise not to expel anyone. I don't know how the other boys will get along with the League. And I don't know what I will do now that I am out of school with no way of paying tuition in another school. But I am quite willing to be expelled if what I did will help the other students after me to build a strong League and carry on the work I am sent away for. I worked hard there this summer to make enough to go to school on, this winter, but all that is only the price paid in the struggle to build a world of justice and plenty for the millions of suffering workers all over the world.

DON WEST.

(Continued from page 9)

By this time the police had banned all meetings within a radius of five blocks. A strike could not be run from some distant point. It had to be run from inside the college. Almost all night the strike committee sat at the headquarters of the National Student League around a large rectangular table. We planned the most minute details, where to post our people, where to distribute leaflets. The real problem remained, how to get the students together. It was decided to dispense with banners, placards, pickets, and the other paraphernalia of student strikes. We would try to start a "spontaneous" meeting at the flag-pole, to catch the police unawares. All our sympathizers were to attend their first class. They were to pull out the students in the interval before the second class. The attempt failed.

At eleven before the third class, we were more successful. The students began to gather around the flag-pole. Tucker P. Smith of the Committee Against Militarism was speaking. The students began to come out of the various buildings, converging on the campus. It

was a hot day. All the heat seemed concentrated on the pavement-square, between the cool Gothic buildings. Smith spoke humorously. The students kept blinking at the sun and applauding. Suddenly on the steps that lead to the campus appeared a squad of policemen. They walked stiffly and precisely. Instinctively the students pressed closer to the pole. Mr. Smith continued speaking. He was pulled down by a couple of policemen. The students refused to move. The policemen pushed here and there, lamely, without conviction. The students began shouting. Fifteen hundred young men can make a lot of noise. They shouted in insistent chant "Police off the campus."

A student rushed into the Dean's office and registered a courageous protest against the police. Dr. Gottschall answered that he was always ready to receive students with complaints. Probably he expected a committee. But the crowd considered it a personal invitation. It surged into the building. Dr. Gottschall was intermittently courageous and fearful. To Captain Bender of the police he said, "You may go now. I will handle the crowd." To whoever would listen, he muttered softly, "What shall I do now? Where shall I take them?" To the Great Hall, was the answer. To the Great Hall we went.

A few of us suggested an open forum to Dr. Gottschall. One speaker for the faculty, one for the students. He indignantly refused. He would do all the talking, he said. There would be no questions.

He stood on the platform, a pathetic figure, tiny and fragile. He had been registrar for many years before he had been appointed Acting Dean. He called all students that were later expelled, by their first names. He had given money to the Student Congress Against War in Chicago. He had been a liberal, one of the boys. Now he was Acting Dean. It is said that he dislikes Dr. Robinson; now he was doing his dirty work. He kept playing with his watch chain. He told us how he had entered the college when a small boy, and how he had remained ever since in one capacity or another. He said that if we did not love the college, if we had other loyalties, he could say that he had no greater love, no greater loyalty than the college. . . .

He was asked a question, a rather unimportant one, but he answered it. Then he could not stop the deluge, question after question all to one purpose, you are here, the students are here, your committee is here, why can't we have an open hearing? Dr. Gottschall began getting more and more nervous. Students kept pouring into the Great Hall. The news of the meeting had spread like wild-fire. Every request for a hearing was greeted with applause. Dr. Gottschall decided he must go. He asked us to leave. From the floor we called for an outdoor meeting. Most of the students came. They were even more sympathetic now. Another term was coming, we said.

The faculty report stated that at our meetings "the number of actual student participants was small but there was a large number attracted by curiosity. . . ." It must be remembered that all the meetings took place in the last week of school when the students had to study, had to attend classes. Nevertheless they came. Attendance at the meetings was punishable by suspension or expulsion. Thousands came to every meeting. But let us admit that many came out of curiosity; they remained to march in our parades, to shout "Police off the campus."

The Vigilantes

One of our real victories was the crushing of any incipient fascist movement among the students. Major

Herbert T. Holton, assistant professor of hygiene held a speech at the annual banquet of the Varsity Club. He began by informing them that Force is the ultimate sanction in this world. He concluded by advising the athletes to break up our movement with force. According to the papers his suggestion was received with acclamation. Sixty athletes were supposed to have joined immediately. They were to wear lavender and black buttons with an umbrella rampant, the umbrella, I take it, to be the symbol of law and order.

We did not mince our words. At meeting after meeting, in speech after speech the organization was characterized as Fascist. The strong language was effective. There are very few students at C.C.N.Y. prepared to accept the political and economic consequences of fascism.

All the prominent members of the Varsity Club signed a declaration stating that neither they nor their organization had any connection with the Vigilantes. The captain of last year's football team offered to organize a defense squad of members of his team. They attended our meetings faithfully, standing at the fringe of the crowd and waiting. The attempt to split athletes from non-athletes failed.

In relation to the vigilantes the faculty failed to meet the test of its own shabby principles. We had been expelled, they told us, for our failure to be obedient and orderly. Here was a group organized for the express purpose of rowdiness and violence by a member of the faculty. Not a single word of protest was heard from the entire faculty. Not a single vigilante was even investigated.

The League for Industrial Democracy

In a situation where there is practically no student opposition, where thousands of students are willing to follow, the problems of the perspective and the actions of the organizations in the leadership are no longer academic. Mistakes that have been made are no longer merely political gossip. They are important and they must be discussed in order that they may be avoided in the future.

The L.I.D. has in the main, construed the whole conflict as a clash between Doctor Robinson and the students. Accordingly, Dr. Robinson has been the object of much invective and righteous wrath. This has been its position in speeches, this is the position of *Advance*, the illegal L.I.D. publication in C.C.N.Y., this was the position of the alumni issue of the *Student*, edited by prominent L.I.D. members, among them Dr. Felix Cohen and J. P. Lash. The latter is the editor of *Student Outlook*, the official L.I.D. publication.

The *Student* goes so far as to praise former presidents of the college and Dr. Butler of Columbia for the comparative quiet they have maintained. There is no comprehension of the fact that these worthies are just as interested in suppressing radicals as the umbrella man. Certainly Dr. Butler who dismissed Donald Henderson and numerous faculty men before him cannot pose as the defender of academic freedom. Although it is quite true that Dr. Robinson is a particularly obnoxious individual, the L.I.D. cannot seem to understand that the situation causes the conflict. If so many students were not expelled at Columbia and at C.C.N.Y. years ago it was because they were not yet being driven into opposition to their administration by the economic crisis. This mistaken analysis has caused the L.I.D. at City College to underestimate the seriousness of the situation and to make corresponding errors in tactics and policy.

1. At a symposium a month or two before Jingo Day, when the suppression of anti-militarist activities by the administration had become evident, a speaker for the

N.S.L. proposed the united front committee for action against R.O.T.C. and militarist propaganda on the campus. Mr. William Gomberg, the official spokesman of the L.I.D. stated that he viewed the proposal with the greatest suspicion since it came from a member of the N.S.L. and that the L.I.D. would have nothing to do with the proposal.

2. The Student Forum asserted that as an organization it could not be considered responsible for having called the Jingo Day demonstration. Although all the officers and members had participated, they probably thought they were fooling the administration and saving the charter of their club. Of course, their charter was revoked. They merely succeeded in weakening the fight which was precisely for the right to demonstrate, without expulsions and reprisals.

3. Mr. Louis Horowitz, president of the Student Forum insisted when he was suspended by Dean Gottschall that he had been an observer at the demonstration, not a participant. This at a time when it had been agreed to admit participation and insist on the right to have done so. Later, he admitted that he had participated and he was expelled.

I repeat, these incidents are related not as political gossip although they might conceivably serve as such. They are given as indications of short-sightedness on the part of the recognized leaders of the L.I.D., although many of their members worked firmly and consistently supporting the fight. These constant miscalculations are the result of a student group that is merely the appendage of an adult organization. The Intercollegiate Student Council of the L.I.D. has never worked out a program or an approach to student problems. More particularly, these miscalculations stem from the character of the adult organization. The L.I.D. membership is made up almost exclusively of middle-class people with a penchant for social amelioration and nostalgia for a new social order. We learn from the *Student Outlook* that L.I.D. students participate in working-class activities, that the L.I.D. aims to bring closer students and workers. But the L.I.D. is equally isolated from both. The L.I.D. cannot understand the relation of the student body to society and consequently can never lead it.

The National Student League

It must not be thought that the N.S.L. deserves unmitigated praise. Its analysis contains the dynamite that may reinstate the expelled students. The City College students understand this analysis and approve of it. But the N.S.L. has not met the test of organization.

There no longer are clubs for student problems. There is no longer a newspaper. All the avenues for student protest are closed. The only organization capable of effective and, if necessary, illegal organization is the N.S.L. Such is the problem at City College. The students have followed our leadership in struggle. They have voted for what was in fact our program in the election. But they have never been drawn into our ranks. The over 150 N.S.L. members at C.C.N.Y. did not function as a unit when it was most essential that they do so.

The N.S.L. has always considered itself the organization of the masses of the students. To draw into our organization at C.C.N.Y. all those students who are willing to work with us in the long struggle that is ahead, no matter how heterodox their views on literature, economics and life, will be a lever toward a really powerful student organization on a national scale.

ADAM LAPIN.

Book Review

REVOLUTIONARY poetry is still in a formative stage. It expresses the contradiction between the modern restless quest for a medium of expression and the integration into words of a genuine revolutionary spirit. The conflict is obvious. Individualities, each, facets of the basically scientific revolutionary zest strive to express themselves, and are hopelessly limited by the categorical concept of bourgeois revolutionary style. It is a conflict between essence and structure, unresolved, anarchic, as yet, but with definite prospects of equilibrium. It is the same in the literary as the social sphere—the proletariat must use the bourgeois forms, at first, to liberate itself, and resolve the disharmony between itself and its objective media.

This is doubly made apparent in the works of Herman Spector. Spector may be the revolutionary and the poet but he is hardly the revolutionary poet. The distinction is not verbal; it is crucial. He superimposes a decadent, frenzied naturalism on an intrinsic lyricism; as tho he conformed alien words and phrases to his native emotional aspect. The sensory tenor of his poetry is that of the escapist who cannot align himself with the essential futility of individual existence, whereas his style is mechanically brusque and vital and spasmodic.

"teardrop from my nose should show how cold
the night.

"6th Avenue L vertical prison bars blackly
compel me. . .

— — — — —
"O Lord

"O Lord of loveliness and ugly death:

"let all nights cease upon your last, chill breath.

His poetry is senseless anarchy trying superficially to conform with scientific order. Spector attempts to intellectualize a pristine emotional ardor in terms of other men's unity and modernity. He succeeds in making us sorry—with him.

Joseph Kalar is an original poet. He shows a living awareness of subject and object, altho he neglects the deeper causative connection between the two. His verse is clean, fresh and almost naive, and is tinted with the vitality of an effectual life. He is, too, essentially aware of the contradictions between native potential happiness and construed social despair and agony—yet he neither accounts nor reconciles the contrasts. Vivid and free in his external descriptions, he is depressed and constrained in what to him are causeless results. His naivete is one of extreme receptiveness and confusion, with no synapse between the two. He leaves issues unexplained, hurt himself by their inexplicability.

"Not to be believed, this blunt savage wind
Blowing in chill empty rooms, this tornado
Surging and bellying across the oily floor—

— — — — —
"Look at these men, now,

Standing before the iron gates, mumbling,

"Who could believe it? Who could believe it?"

Edwin Rolfe is the contemplative. He has assumed a certain epigrammatic and fluent mastery over his verse.

It is concise and subtle and sure, inspiring and yet restrained. He is the sober poet, who paints with surety his sane little pictures, cleverly twists in his meaning, never labored, always poised and delicate. His is the mind that consumes and epitomizes other men's hearts, his is the complacent attainment of individual harmony which senses and balances the unrest in life, which never expiates for it, but crushes it without verbose fulmination. He is the plotter and planner and painter. Altho his poetry is infinitely more expressive than any of the others its very unobviousness draws attention only to his purposive details.

Funaroff shows a drunken impatience with words. He thunders them or sweeps them aside. By this very brusque treatment of them, he manages to pierce beneath their protective meaning and lay asprawl on the page gouged out nerves and desires and hatreds. Here there is naked and vigorous strength; no subtlety, no undertones or innuendoes; the facts and the blood are poured at your feet, and cry out for vital recognition. To him poetry, pain and revolution are one. Altho at moments his work may seem to be enraged, uncontrolled fustian, it is more of a synthesis of an emotional approach into attitude—perhaps hysterical, but only so in terms of a previous sensory set-up. He still has to disengage from his poetry a forced approach from the point of propaganda, he has to destroy the artificiality which prevents him individually from expressing his purpose in his medium.

All these poets are genuinely good. Their main virtue is that they are not sectarian, and clearly illustrate the unique approach to the universal. It is as poets, who though absorbed in the same ideology and permeated with it, react to it in individual fashion, sensing it as a universal whole, and working within the facets of it, that they excel.

JEROME COLEMAN.

The
NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
announces the
THIRD
NATIONAL CONVENTION
December 26, 27, 28, 1933

at
Howard University

Washington, D. C.

This convention proposes to launch two national campaigns:

AGAINST WAR AND R.O.T.C. ON THE CAMPUS.

AGAINST RETRENCHMENT IN EDUCATION
Basis of Representation:

1. One voting delegate for every 10 paid up members.
2. Fraternal delegates for every 10 interested students.