

ment, it may mean the landing of American marines in Havana and the swift setting up of a new rule which will be the replica of Machado's—the other horn of the dilemma!

What can you do? What can a citizen of the U. S. urge you to do? In a way I am ashamed to speak to you, ashamed to mention my own sorrow and my shame, as a native of the oppressor country, who is helpless to help you. Men like myself in the United States are powerless. There is no enlightened public opinion here with any virility behind it. Most of our good will is Platonic, in the bad sense of the word. And who, here, is interested in a student's revolutionary movement? Our intellectuals, as a body, have lost contact with the spiritual, the *human* source of creative thought; our student groups are too pampered and too infantile to get excited over anything but foot-ball. You are alone in your fight, alone with the student-bodies and the intellectuals of other Hispano-American countries who, for the most part, are as dispossessed as you. You are alone with the truth!

Yet I can say to you: Go on! If for no other reason, go on because only then will you be happy. Do not let practical affairs and worldly wisdom make you compromise with your ideal. Look at the men who have made these "necessary compromises": the successful men, the rulers of the world. See what ugly, misshapen, miserable men they are. Look well at the practical men, and do not go the hideous way which they have gone, and of which the ignoble shambles of the modern world is the result. Even if you are imprisoned, even if you are shot down (as some of you have been,) you must have the satisfaction of knowing that your living the sole way that makes life tolerable. The enemies who have sold themselves for dollars are not happy; the indifferent ones, in Cuba, in the United States, who follow opportunism—for success, for pleasure, for power—are not happy. They must drug themselves with ever more success, more pleasure, more power, lest they awaken to the intolerableness of their way of living. And that is why they hate you: because you, in your purity, are the constant revealers to themselves of their own nullity. They must deny their nullity; and by a common psychologic mechanism they do so by denying you who make them cognizant of it.

I cannot promise you success in your present endeavor to free Cuba and to bring Cuba to real independence. It would be false to promise it. You may not succeed in actually overthrowing the anar-

Waldo Frank se dirige a los estudiantes...

(Viene de la tercera página)

chy of which men like Machado are mere minor servants. To do so requires more than your good will; it requires method, technique and long hard work. But this triumphant method can come only from such good will as yours. Before you achieve it, perhaps you personally will be crushed, since the ordered anarchy and greed of the modern world has method. But even if this is so—this worst which must be bravely envisaged as a possibility—it makes no difference in what you must do, not merely from a sense of duty, but in order to be happy! You must go on struggling to free and to reorganize your country; knowing that that labor is its own reward; that the man who gives his life for freedom *by that fact* is alive (he only) and is free.

Students of Cuba, you have come out into the clear air of action; you have created leaders for yourselves, and a program. You are blessed in this. I find myself almost envying you, rather than pitying you despite your anguish and your struggles. My heart and my mind are with you. If I could feel that my word warmed you in the slightest degree and heartened your perseverance, it would be for me an inexpressible joy, who am alone, here in this great country—alone, and unable to act for and with men like you who stand for everything I cherish.

Waldo Frank

Croton on Hudson,
N. Y., Dec. 11, 1930.

Sr. don Joaquín García Monge,
San José, Costa Rica:

My dear friend,
I have just written the enclosed

open letter to the splendid student-body of the Universidad de Habana. I am sending it to a friend, there, but I am uncertain that it will ever reach its destination, in view of the martial law which Machado has declared. May I therefore beg of you to translate this letter, and to publish it in your invaluable—your indispensable *Repertorio Americano*?

And may I take this opportunity of telling you once more how deeply I appreciate your work? I read your magazine carefully every week, and I cannot conceive of what I would do, if it were to cease to come. You are a great man, García Monge. God bless and prosper you.

Fraternally

Waldo Frank

Croton on Hudson, Nueva York,
Diciembre 11 de 1930.

Sr. don Joaquín García Monge,
San José, Costa Rica.

Mi querido amigo:

Acabo de escribir la adjunta carta abierta al espléndido grupo de estudiantes de la Universidad de la Habana. Se la envío a un amigo de allá; pero no estoy cierto de que llegue a su destino, en vista de la ley marcial que Machado ha decretado. ¿Puedo, por lo tanto, suplicar a usted traducir esta carta y publicarla en su valioso, su indispensable *Repertorio Americano*?

¿Y podré aprovechar esta oportunidad para decir a usted una vez más lo profundamente que aprecio su trabajo? Leo cuidadosamente su revista todas las semanas; y no puedo concebir qué haría si cesara de llegar. Usted es un

grande hombre, García Monge. Que Dios lo bendiga y le dé prosperidad.

Fraternamente,

Waldo Frank

Como luchan en Cuba contra el gobierno

Nuestra protesta. — Dícese, de público, que la Cámara de Representantes quiere abordar esta tarde el problema político de conceder el derecho de sufragio a la mujer. Deseamos, con toda claridad, manifestar nuestra opinión personal en el problema.

La mujer cubana no debe aceptar, en estos momentos, ese derecho. La República confronta una crisis tremenda que puede alcanzar culminaciones violentas.

Todos los Poderes del Estado merecen la crítica popular. Nos rige una dictadura. Hay vicio de nulidad en la propia Constitución del país: cualquier derecho obtenido por una ley emanada de esa misma Constitución es completamente nulo.

La mujer tiene la obligación moral de ayudar a la consolidación de una República honrada y justa. Aceptando el derecho de sufragio, viciado, se hace cómplice de la maldad política.

Por nuestra parte, dejamos, con toda claridad, consignada nuestra protesta.

Flora Diaz Parrado, abogada; Ofelia Rodriguez Acosta, escritora; Sarah Méndez Capote, escritora; Teté Casuso de Torriente-Brau, profesora; Judith Martínez, profesora; Eloisa Sánchez de Taboada, pedagoga; Zoe de la Torriente, farmacéutica; Pura Rodriguez Castell, profesora; Lea Rodriguez de Portell Vilá, profesora; América Ana Llanes de Cowley, etc.

Diciembre 8 de 1930.

Al pueblo de Cuba. Hay que actuar ahora. — No compre billetes de Lotería. De esta manera los Senadores, Representantes y Botelleros, sentirán el látigo del Pueblo.

No compre los periódicos adictos al Gobierno pues estos son los culpables de que la opinión pública esté mal guiada. Si Ud. compra estos periódicos, usted ayuda a la desvergüenza.

No pague contribuciones e impuestos. — De esta manera el Gobierno tendrá que renunciar pues no podrá cumplir con sus obligaciones.

Prefiera morir antes de ser un paria en su tierra; pero antes de morir llévese por delante a uno o más de los esbirros que están amparando a este criminal Gobierno.

Ayude a desorganizar las Ofici-

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