

STUDENT REVIEW

Vol. I, No. 5

SUMMER ISSUE

10 Cents

THE COUNTER-OLYMPICS

THE STUDENTS FIGHT FEES

TO THE STUDENTS OF ALL THE AMERICAS

(A Manifesto)

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

What Does It Offer?

A LETTER FROM FRANCE

IN A BASEMENT

A Story

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

A Letter from France

A few years ago there was formed at Paris, with the aim of fighting against the Fascist students' organizations which at that time were almost the only ones existing, the *Union Fédérale des Etudiants*. At the beginning, the group had no precise class character. It proposed to combat Fascism, without stating by what means, and to study social questions. Little by little, its position became more defined as its numbers, small at first, rapidly increased.

At the beginning the members of the U.F.E. were recruited from the universities and colleges of higher education. But it rapidly began to grow and spread to training colleges, professional schools, etc., where there is a much stronger proletarian element.

Within the U.F.E. the students are grouped in several sections, forming as many unions of students:

The *Union Générale des Etudiants pour l'Enseignement*, including students from primary and secondary training colleges, from the College of Teaching Technique, and students in the faculties of Arts and of Science intending to become teachers.

The *Union Générale des Elèves Techniciens*, including students from the technical institutes and schools, from professional, commercial and industrial schools, schools "d'Arts et Métiers" etc.

The *Union Générale des Etudiants en Médecine*, students from schools and faculties of Medicine.

The *Union Générale des Etudiants en Droit*; students from the schools and faculties of law.

At its 1920 Conference the U.F.E. had nearly 3000 members. It very clearly affirmed its class character on the side of the working class, which led to a split on the part of the social-democratic elements, who have since worked to develop a political group of "Socialist Students" outside of the U.F.E.

Following this split, the U.F.E. underwent, for various reasons, a fall in membership, but our numbers are now increasing anew.

Demands of the U.F.E.

The demands of the U.F.E. naturally vary with the "unions" and the schools. But as a whole they may be summed up in the following points:

a. For better living conditions for poor students by the reduction of entrance and examination fees, increase in number and size of scholarships, increase of the maintenance grant of the training colleges.

b. For the admittance of proletarian elements to the university and in particular for the equalization of the *Brevet Supérieur* with the *Baccalauréat*, (1) and the removal of Latin and Greek for the license in Arts. (Latin and Greek to be optional subjects).

c. Against Fascism and Fascist methods in the university; for the right of organization to all students, including colonial students and those at primary training colleges, for the right to work for foreign students, the right of free correspondence, reading and petition for students at training colleges.

d. Against militarization of the university, military training in the training colleges, and all forms of preparation for

(1) The *Brevet Supérieur* is the final examination of primary training colleges; the *Baccalauréat* is the final examination of the lycées (high schools) and, in general, it alone gives access to the universities.

war. (Military training was made compulsory on February 16th, 1932).

e. Fight against bourgeois ideology by means of lectures, (6 pamphlets already published), talks, the organization of a proletarian counter-education, denunciation of the falsehood of democratization of the university within the bourgeois regime.

f. Defense of the U.S.S.R.; study and popularization of the attainments of the Soviet.

Size and Activity of the Various Sections

The two most important sections of the U.F.E. are the *Union Générale des Etudiants pour l'Enseignement* and the *Union Générale des Elèves Techniciens*.

The U.G.E.E. has, during the past few years, kept up a vigorous fight against military training and the barrack-like regime of most of the training schools. In the course of the year 1929, in particular the students of the colleges of Aix and Quimper struggled vigorously against the administration.

The U.G.E.E. has been one of the sections hardest hit by repression: expulsion of students, foreign and others, at Quimper, Arras, Beauvais, Clermont; the expulsion also of the Indo-Chinese student, Tao, a member of the Sorbonne section.

The U.G.E.E. publishes two organs, *The Poor Student* more particularly for students in the faculties, and the *Young Educational Worker*, organ of the sections of the training colleges.

The membership of the U.G.E.E. at the time of writing—February 1932—is 600, and will no doubt reach 1000 by the end of the academic year, especially since within the "Socialist Students' Group" can be seen a strong tendency to join the U.G.E.E. in spite of the leaders. (Bordeaux, Caen, St. Cloud, Paris . . .).

The *Union des Elèves Techniciens* contains several hundreds of students from technical colleges and publishes an organ, *Le Jeune Technicien*.

The *Union des Etudiants en Médecine*, hitherto very weak, has this year undergone a marked advance (Paris, Bordeaux, Rheims, Tours, Marseilles, Montpellier). It publishes *Le Médecin de Demain*.

The *Union des Etudiants en Droit*, is still very weak.

Finally a new section, *Les Jeunes Syndicalistes Scolaires*, is working to organize the students of secondary schools, lycées, etc. Lack of leadership has hindered the development of this union, which has, nevertheless, tremendous possibilities.

The total membership of the U.F.E. approaches 2000.

Prospects

Our organization has still much to do in all directions, to strengthen the leadership, and to be in closer relation with the working class. Owing to the varied environment of students, where different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences make themselves deeply felt, the movement cannot be kept free from certain intellectualist or vanguardist tendencies. However, in this critical period in which we are living, the U.F.E. will work to become the mass organization of proletarian students, and to train them to fight with the working class for the proletarian solution of the present crisis.

DELANOUE.

STUDENT REVIEW

Organ of the National Student League

VOLUME I.

JULY, 1932

NUMBER 5

CONTENTS

A Letter from France	Delanoue	2
Comment		3
The College Prepares for War	Morgan Tamar	5
Students and Miners	Homer Barton	5
Imperialism	Harry Magdoff	6
To the Students of All the Americas (A Manifesto)		8
The Counter-Olympics	Leif A. Dahl	9
The Students Fight Fees	Hilda Rubin	11
Mass Protest Wins		13
The League for Industrial Democracy	Donald Henderson	14
In A Basement (A Story)	Isaac Babel	15
BOOKS AND POETRY		
The Street (A Poem)	Howard Webb	18
Recovery, The Second Effort	Stephen Cross	18
These Restless Heads	S. F.	18

Published Monthly, October to July 1 by the

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
102 West 14th St., New York City.

STEVE FOSTER, Managing Editor

JOE BUDISH STEPHEN CROSS ADAM LAPIN
HARRY MAGDOFF HELEN NORTH
HILDA RUBIN CLARA STERN

Subscription: 75 Cents per Year (10 issues)

The STUDENT REVIEW welcomes any criticism from the students in regard to the National Student League or of any problems discussed in the STUDENT REVIEW.

The students are asked to contribute satires, stories, poems, essays, sketches and descriptions of student life upon the campus, their life at work and in the factories. Manuscripts should be addressed care of the STUDENT REVIEW and must be accompanied by a stamped return envelope.

Comment

THE student of the last four years has witnessed a great deal of conflict, disillusionment and misery. The outside world has forced itself into the college cloister. Changes have occurred which have stirred the student to deep thought. As in the economic field, the cultural field has been stricken with overproduction.

On Dec. 19, 1931, for the first time in American educational history, an institution of higher learning, Atlantic University, Virginia, was forced into bankruptcy. The effect of the crisis is further indicated in the policy of retrenchment and of increasing fees in the City Colleges; in the policy of restricting incoming classes in universities like Princeton, Dartmouth, Swarthmore and Lafayette.

How has the economic crisis directly affected the student? What does it mean to the student who has been graduated? What is the effect on the student who has worked his way through college and struggled hard to maintain an education? What becomes of the student who has been helped by sacrificing parents to learn a profession and so become capable of relieving their burden of destitution and suffering?

More and more students find it necessary to work their way through college, and fewer jobs are available. The N. Y. U. Washington Sq. bureau reports that during the year ended May 31, a drop of \$222,035 was registered in the earnings of students at the Washington Sq. College of New York University. These students obtained jobs through the university employment bureau. The 1,674 students who were placed in positions, most of which were part-time, found the wages heavily cut. The general salary

scale dropped about 35%. The employment office reported that on May 26, 1,557 of its recent graduates who had asked for help in finding work were still unemployed. At New York University, 1,313 evening students who needed jobs were out of work in May and 1,228 day students who had registered for summer employment were still on the waiting list. Princeton reports that 10% of its senior class already have jobs, but between 30 or 40% are seeking jobs, many of them with no possibilities in view. Between 5 and 10% of last years graduates are still unemployed. At Harvard, only 1/4 of the graduating class have assured jobs. A survey of American engineering schools revealed last summer that approximately 67% of the engineers were job-seekers.

The situation in the professions is as revealing. The words of Karl Marx still ring their truths. "The bourgeoisie has robbed of their haloes various occupations hitherto regarded with awe and veneration. Doctor, lawyer, priest, poet, and scientist have all become its wage-labourers." The surplus of intellectual wage-labourers in the law-field frightened the American Bar Association into declaring in 1930 that "commercialism is likely to crush out the professional character of the calling." T. Swann Harding, in Current History for April, writes, "The Architects Emergency Committee of New York City reported in April, 1931, that 800 architectural draftsmen were out of employment and 500 of this number destitute." Employed chemists are solicited to contribute \$5 each to aid 300 jobless chemists known to be in need. And with the June Commencement, additional thousands of new engineers, architects, chemists have been added to the ranks of unemployed professionals.

A humane interpretation of the above statistics would read like a holocaust of human suffering: hopes, ambitions, talents and lives crushed ruthlessly by a socio-economic system based on private profit, and the exploitation of wage-labour.

A new student has arisen. The student of the last few years has learnt thru these experiences. The economic crisis has been an excellent teacher of new values. The new student is breaking thru the old, narrow-fitting academic bonds. His school-fed illusions are fading away. He is beginning to realize that his life as a student is inextricably bound up with the social system under which he lives. This is proven by the widespread response to the events in Kentucky, the Columbia Strike, the fight against fees in the free colleges of Detroit and New York City, the Harvard and Long Island University affairs. The new student is learning to battle for his rights as a social individual. The progenitor of the new student, the graduate of June 1932, leaves behind him the valuable heritage of the Kentucky incident, etc. As a graduate, he must and will continue the fight on a broader scale; he must and will, in his own interests, and in the interests of humanity as a whole, align himself with the only progressive class, the class which stands for the abolition of the evils of capitalism,—the champions of humanity, the revolutionary working class.

AS preparation for stepping into a world of unemployment with a useless certificate, Owen D. Young's commencement address at Notre Dame was unequalled any-

where in the country. No clearer warning could have been given of what American capitalism has in store for the graduate. A more skillful attempt to inoculate him against the dangerous ideas arising out of post-graduation disillusionment, to render him immune to the "great consternation and unrest among these men and women with whom you have to work" would be hard to find. Cautioning him against being "misled (sic!) by the despondency, by the suspicions, and by the criticisms which are now so prevalent," our speaker provides the encouraging information that if he "can survive the initial shock" he will have before him "the most favoring circumstances for service presented to the young men of any time." It is indeed highly probable that we shall all see active service soon.

But Mr. Young goes further than merely preparing the graduate for the worst. Citing the incontrovertible fact that bourgeois democracy is incapable of handling the crisis, he carefully introduces the idea of bourgeois dictatorship. "It is quite explainable, therefore, that a government of powers widely distributed into carefully segregated and insulated compartments should function under normal conditions and should fail us altogether when the avalanche comes on. It may be that we shall have to consider some method of putting extraordinary powers in the hands of the President in times like these." We say bourgeois dictatorship advisedly, it being the prevalent opinion that Mr. Young does not favor dictatorship of the proletariat as the solution for the crisis.

The meaning of Wall Street's leading spokesman is remarkably clarified by Leslie Gould's financial column of May 19 (*New York Journal*). "After Congress adjourns, what then?" he asks, and his answer is worth quoting at length. "All sorts of guesses are being made, but among the so-called better informed in Wall Street, there is growing talk of some kind of a coalition, tantamount to dictatorship . . . The talk at present is of a coalition of the two major parties and embracing business, industrial and banking leaders. Owen D. Young is one of those prominently mentioned for a part, explaining possibly his withdrawal as a Presidential 'dark horse'. It is a revival of a 'sort of' National Council of Defense . . . one war time agency, the old War Finance Corporation (has been revived) under the name of Reconstruction Finance Corporation."

The capitalist press has already taken up the task of feeding the idea to the public. On June 20, the *N. Y. Evening Graphic*, epitome of yellow journalism, opened its campaign with a full-page editorial by Bernarr Macfadden, who calls for "a dictator with powers of a military nature" so that "the danger from revolution would disappear overnight."

Alarmed at the uninterrupted decline in industrial production, growing unemployment and falling commodity prices, American capitalism is turning to dictatorship as a last resort in saving its hide and its profits. Owen D. Young's address will not be the last attempt to enlist the support of American students in this movement.

DR. FREDERICK B. Robinson, at the City College commencement exercises, came forward valiantly to defend free city colleges and Americanism against attacks by Borough President Harvey of Queens. At the same time he has helped to set a precedent and to institute fees for a section of the student body in the city colleges.

Borough President Harvey is against free city colleges and states that "the city should place its system of higher education on a self-supporting basis." "I will ask the Board of Estimate to investigate Dr. Robinson's activities, as well as those of the Board of Higher Education, to ascertain

whether the taxpayer's money is being squandered to promote radicalism and to determine whether or not the establishment of a system of fees for college classes would offer, in part, a solution to the serious financial problem now confronting the municipality." Pres. Harvey charges that the city spends millions to graduate hordes of Bolsheviks and sheds crocodile tears over the niggardly funds the unemployed of New York City receive as relief.

Obviously, once the free city college is abolished, and a great increase in fees instituted, those directly affected will be students of poor families and working class students who are trying to better their economic standing by educating themselves for various professions. Those primarily affected will be the families of these students. They will, of necessity, have to make greater sacrifices, impoverished as they already are, or relinquish all chance and hope of attaining economic betterment for themselves and their sons and daughters. The statistics in the article on tuition fees published elsewhere in this issue, reveal that such action as Pres. Harvey suggests would place a burden upon those parents, many of whom are unemployed and are least able to bear it. The hypocrisy of the borough president's statement on the unemployed is still more revealing when we take into consideration the fact that the party which placed him in power and which he thoroughly represents has nowhere in its platform a plank on unemployment insurance. A progressive tax on private fortunes, taxes upon Pres. Kieran's "bankers and real estate men" who wish to abolish free city colleges and so transfer their own financial problems to the students; the elimination of tin-boxes and waste in government methods could well take care of the municipal problem and provide for unemployed relief, were the authorities interested in doing this. President Harvey, if he intends acting upon his statements, will have more 'radicals' on his hands than he bargained for. The evidence of the student fight against fees already imposed is an indication of what the reaction on the part of the great majority of the student body will be against such impositions as a 'self-supporting college'.

Our suspicion that all this tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee business between Dr. Robinson and Pres. Harvey is a smoke-screen behind which the authorities concerned are working to impose increased fees and abolish free city colleges is well-substantiated by an editorial appearing in the *Daily Mirror*, eminent yellow journal, on June 25, 1932. The *Daily Mirror* supports Harvey in his statements and blurbs: "There ought to be a fee system."

The student should be continually on the lookout for such maneuvers on the part of the authorities which threaten his existence as a student. He must be wide-awake, prepared for surprises, and be ready to overcome them with militant action.

Dr. Robinson's assurances will not prevent the students, under the initiative of the National Student League, from maintaining their fight, during the summer months, against a system of fees and the abolition of free city colleges.

WE are printing an article in this issue to clarify our differences with the League for Industrial Democracy. The L.I.D. Monthly, however, prefers a different tactic. In the editorial columns of its special student number, there are two references to the National Student League. In neither of these is there any discussion of our program and activities. There is merely a repetitious attempt to assure the reader that the N.S.L. is, just imagine, a "Communist Organization." A half column editorial concludes with the following paragraph:

"It is perfectly legitimate for the Communist Party to endeavor to find support in colleges, it is perfectly legitimate for them to form different organizations not communist in name, and not composed entirely of Communists. There is however, every reason why students and professors in colleges should know under what name the Communists are working."

Apart from the fact that it is slightly inconsistent for an "educational organization" to appeal to the same prejudices as Hamilton Fish and Mathew Woll, we wish to point out the implications of this paragraph.

We leave it to the L.I.D. Monthly to discover whether we do or do not receive directives from Moscow. It is however pretty much beyond dispute that the N.S.L. is the only organization that has undertaken to lead the students against local campus grievances. In many instances L.I.D. members have cooperated for this reason with the N.S.L. The inculcation of political prejudices can only serve to break the united front we have consistently maintained with all student elements that will fight with us against specific student grievances. It can only serve to break such activities as the student fees fight.

Although we assume that this invaluable information concerning our true character is intended only for L.I.D. members, college administrations will have no scruples about using this material to discriminate against our members.

Furthermore, with the imminent passage of the Dies Bill, this new educational activity of the L.I.D. will actually help endanger the lives of many of our foreign born members. For our Chinese members, e.g., deportations to their native country under a charge of being Communists would mean instant execution.

It is possible that the editors of the L.I.D. Monthly have not considered these consequences. We consider this possibility to be irrelevant. The consequences of this action will be the same no matter what their intentions. Opposition to the N.S.L. along the lines taken by the L.I.D. Monthly is harmful to the entire student body. It definitely places the L.I.D. on the side of the administrations and the campus reactionaries.

It is up to the student members of the L.I.D. to protest against this sort of "education toward a new social order."

THE inevitable process, under our social order, of transferring the brunt of the crisis onto the shoulders of the workers, goes on apace as the crisis deepens. No clearer evidence of capitalism's recognition of this could be found, than in the instantaneous rise in the stock market on receipt of news of another wage slash, this time of 15%, for workers of all the large steel companies.

Unemployment is still increasing, and wages dropping, as the report of Industrial Commissioner, Francis Perkins of New York State shows. During May, the state index of factory employment dropped 6.7% to 58, based on an average of 1925-27 as 100. Factory payrolls dropped even more sharply to 45.3%, 10% below April. The total employment drop for both April and May was 10%. Meanwhile, the administration continues its tender solicitude for the bankers, taking over, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, their frozen assets and bad loans to railroads, and promoting a mammoth security pool which will aid Morgan and others to further their monopolistic control. All this, ostensibly is done to strengthen the badly shaken 'confidence' of the nation. The crisis is considered purely as a psychological fiction in the minds of business men and consumers who refuse to spend. Fearful that our machines will become obsolete, Secretary of the Treasury Mills urges

the Senate to pass a 'relief' bill which will finance a new rationalization drive in industry and throw additional thousands out of work. The workers may become 'obsolete'—or starve to death, but relief for them would not be a "self-liquidating project." Henry Ford tells the workers to keep one foot on the land, but too many already have one foot in the grave. Governor Roosevelt promotes a back to the land movement, using New York's abandoned farms, while farmers in the west feed their products to the hogs, or let them rot in the fields.

These schemes only permit further lowering of wages, and increase the misery of the farmers. The strong movement for unemployment insurance which is growing throughout the country provides the only possible answer by the workers and farmers to the increasing attack on their standards of living.

The College Prepares for War

THE military machine in the government and the universities is beginning to clamp down with censorship and suppression. On June 8, at the University of Pittsburgh, two students and a graduate of the University, members of the National Student League, were arrested by order of the University administration, and held in jail for five and a half hours as the result of attempting to hold an Anti-war demonstration.

When General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army, and outstanding jingoist, was invited to be the speaker at the commencement exercises, three hundred Pitt students signed a petition in protest. This was presented to the Chancellor, Doctor Bowman, prominent for his persecution of 'radical' professors and his smashing, of the University Liberal Club. He glanced at the petition and remarked, "Over a hundred foreigners on this." Then he turned to the National Student League representative, Helen Heick, who had presented the petition. "You are a fool," he said. The petition went into the waste basket.

At the next meeting of the Pittsburgh branch of the National Student League, it was decided to hold an Anti-War meeting immediately before Commencement.

A permit for the meeting on University grounds was regularly applied for. When the National Student League committee learned about the denial of the permit, Brewer, Teitelbaum, and another student went into the Y.M.C.A. room of the Student Activities Building, to which Brewer, an officer of the Y.M.C.A. had a key.

These three were looking over the banners which they had prepared, when W. Don Harrison, former Dean of Men and present Director of Athletics at Pitt, entered with Police Lieutenant Goodman who was instructed by Harrison to arrest the students.

While they were imprisoned in the Oakland Police Station, General MacArthur spoke to the graduating class of the University and ten thousand spectators at the Pitt stadium:

"Pacifism and its bedfellow, Communism, is all about us today in the United States. It is in the newspapers, the pulpits, and the schools and it hangs like a mist before the face of America, fomenting disorders and disturbances, undermining the morale of the working man.

"Patriotism is the watchword for the struggle in which we are already engaged. The weapons in our hands are truth, reason, justice and experience.

"There is only one line of advance—education. We must cast aside misbegotten idols. We must preserve and perpetuate the highest standards of American civic virtue and

government—enlighten the people and clear away the mist.”

He was then presented with an honorary LL.D.

The next morning, Magistrate McNamara assessed fines of \$5 each or 5 days in jail for disorderly conduct. After the Pittsburgh “Press,” a Scripps-Howard newspaper, began to campaign against the illegality of the arrest and fine and the disgrace of the University’s connection with the prosecution, Magistrate McNamara made a most illuminating statement, “An officer of the University made the complaint,” he said, “so there must have been a violation of law.”

The case is being appealed by the International Labor Defense which supplied bail and an attorney. An officer of the local American Civil Liberties Union Committee was approached by friends while the students were in jail. He said, “Well, they were out for the publicity anyway.” and “We can’t do anything until the Civil Liberties Union decides to take action.”

The Pittsburgh “Press” states that the fundamental issue of the case is the illegality of the arrest for “disorderly conduct” of three young men, who were, even according to the police, quietly sitting in a closed room. Further, that General MacArthur’s speech at Pittsburgh and the proposed demonstration against it were not important.

We know otherwise, and with that knowledge, we will continue the struggle against militarism until demonstrations against imperialist wars will no longer be necessary.

MORGAN TAMAR.

Students and Miners

A group of students from the University of Pittsburgh, Ohio State University, and Western Reserve recently made an investigation of the southern Ohio mine strike area. At Cambridge, Ohio, they learned that 34 pickets had been imprisoned on charges of rioting. One of the pickets was 62 years old, a Mrs. Sabo, mother of 14 children and 40 grandchildren. There were rumors that she had been frightfully beaten. Hearing these things, the students asked permission to interview these pickets. This permission was refused unless the interviews were made in the presence of the sheriff or the prosecuting attorney. The students rejected this on the ground that the miners would be unable to talk freely with any of the local authorities present. After failing in this attempt, the students tested the sentiment among the striking miners with a proposal for a mass protest meeting.

All the rank and file miners responded; their leaders, the officials of the United Mine Workers Union held back. The mass protest meeting was held—that is, the miners assembled and one of the students prepared to speak. He was arrested, as were the other members of the delegation. All were then summarily thrown out of the county. In addition to the survey conducted around Cambridge, the delegation visited the Hocking Valley mine area near Athens, and the strike area near Steubenville. At the latter place a large crowd of miners, organized under the leadership of the National Miners’ Union, greeted us.

Throughout the entire coal region, the delegation found that low wages averaging about two dollars per day, unemployment and terrorization, were the general conditions under which the miners lived. It must also be added that there is a growing attitude of struggle among the miners. This tendency is revealed in the rapid growth of the National Miners Union.

HOMER BARTON.

IMPERIALISM

THE question of imperialism, what it is, and how it functions is of prime importance to students. One cannot understand the World War, the diplomatic history of late 19th and 20th century Europe and America, the imminence of another World War and contemporary phenomena, without clearly grasping the problem of imperialism.

Lenin has given us an objective and thorough analysis of this problem. We will here attempt to summarize briefly a few of the main points Lenin presents, with the hope that the student himself will begin to investigate Lenin’s writings on this and other questions.

Very often, particularly in the class room, Imperialism is defined as the policy of a government aimed at conquering or controlling foreign territories. Imperialism is thus identified with the Roman as well as with the present American and British empires. In its attempt to be all-inclusive, to take in all attempts at foreign conquest, this definition excludes the key to the understanding of each. It covers everything but explains nothing. There is a difference between the colonial annexation by highly developed monopoly capitalism searching for markets and raw materials, and the colonial projects of slaveholding Rome.

Lenin approaches the problem from an entirely different angle. Following the Marxian method, social, political, and economic phenomena are analyzed as products of specific historical periods. We cannot, for example, lump all wars together without discrimination. Are the World War, the American Revolution, the Spanish-American War, and the Russian Revolution identical? All include recourse to physical force and bloodshed. This alone does not explain these wars. It would be necessary to study each one separately in relation to the society in which it occurred, find its causes and effects, in order to truly understand it. All represent phenomena peculiar to the social structure of their time. This method of concretely investigating social occurrences as historical phenomena, was applied by Lenin to the question of Imperialism.

Besides using the Marxian method, (only one of the characteristics of which was touched upon in the previous paragraph), he also bases his investigation on the Marxian laws of capitalist development. In his historical analyses of the capitalist system, Marx proved that free competition in capitalist society led to the concentration of production which at a high stage of development gives rise to monopoly.

It is the modern capitalistic economy, “monopoly capitalism,” and its manifestations which Lenin calls Imperialism. The investigation of the economic roots of “Imperialism as a characteristic feature of our era” begins with the development of monopoly.

“The transformation of numerous little intermediary concerns into a handful of monopolists constitutes one of the essential elements of the change from capitalism to capitalist imperialism.”*

As capitalism develops, the banks which at first serve only as “an intermediary of payment” begin to play a more important role. They are themselves involved in the process of concentration. Through their control of credit they can make or break the industrial capitalist. They thereby serve as the backbone of the developing monopolies (trusts, cartels, mergers, etc.). There is furthermore a tendency toward fusion of industrial capital. Banking capital which becomes dominant in industry is called finance-capital.

“The concentration of industry; the monopoly arising therefrom; the fusion of banking and industry; these are the steps in the rise of finance-capital and the notion contained in the term.”

Finance capital becomes the dominating force in the economic and political life of capitalism.

"Thus the beginning of the 20th century marks the turning point at which the old capitalism gives place to the new, at which control by capital in general gives place to control by finance capital."

An important feature of finance capitalism is the export of capital as contrasted with the export of goods under the old type of capitalism. "The necessity to export capital comes from the over-development of capitalism in certain countries where with agriculture backward and the masses impoverished, profitable investments are becoming scarce." This export of capital supplies the basis to an economic division of the world among the various groups of finance capital.

A most important characteristic of imperialism is the wild rush among nations for political and territorial re-division of the world. "... the transition of capitalism to monopoly capitalism, to finance capitalism, is connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world." The conquered territories supply very important sources of raw material and are essential as markets for the products of a highly developed technique.

It is this particular phase of the development of capitalism that Lenin defines as imperialism.

"Imperialism is capitalism in that phase of its development in which the denomination of monopolies and finance-capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among the big international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the earth amongst the great capitalist powers has been completed."

In the stage of imperialism the conflicting and irreconcilable elements in the structure of capitalist society begin to play an increasingly important and decisive role. Under the capitalism of free competition the individual entrepreneur is the guiding force in industry. With the development of monopoly and large scale production, industrial undertakings lose this individual character and supply the form and technical basis for socialized, collective production.

"When a big enterprise becomes gigantic and working on the basis of exact computation of mass data, systematically organizes the supply of primary raw materials to the extent of two thirds, or three fourths of all that is necessary for tens of millions of people; when the transport of these raw materials to the most suitable places of production, sometimes hundreds of thousands miles away; when a central control directs all the successive stages of work right up to the manufacture of a number of varieties of finished articles; when the distribution of these products is made on a uniform plan among tens and hundreds of millions of consumers (as in the case of the distribution of oil in America and Germany by the American Standard Oil)—then it becomes evident that we are in the presence of a socialization of production..."

At the same time this simultaneous development of monopoly capitalism and finance-capital supplies the basis for the rentier class, the coupon-clippers. The "entrepreneurs" and capitalists supply the capital for industry but play no part at all in the process of production. In short they are superfluous. We thus have the contradiction of highly socialized industry and technique owned and run for the individual profit of a superfluous leisure class.

The social and political effects of imperialism are numerous. One of the important effects lies in the superprofits which, rising out of the monopoly control in imperialism, are used to buy off a part of the working class (usually the more skilled workers) with higher wages. The ideology of this "aristocracy of labor" becomes similar

to that of the middle class. This, Lenin declares, is the economic basis of the reformism which dominates the socialist parties of the Second International and certain portions of the working class movements.

Lenin sees in this ideology the direct enemy of the working class. In all of his work, special sections are given over to the analysis and critique of this trend within the labor movements. In relation to imperialism, his main point of attack is Kautsky the theoretician of the Second (Socialist) International. Kautsky's theory is that with the internationalization of production and the development of world trusts and cartels, a new super-imperialism will rise. That is, monopolies will peaceably grow larger and less numerous and capitalism will be dominated by a small number of international cartels or trusts.

This is a thoroughly utopian and misleading conception. There is no doubt that the tendency to world monopoly exists. But higher trustification is characterized not by the peaceful merging of rival groups, but, rather by increasing competition and imperialist war arising out of the ever narrowing markets. These conflicts are further intensified by the varying rates of the development of capitalism in the different countries, which compel established capitalist groups to fight for their markets and colonies against newly arising rivals. For example, the late development of capitalism in Japan is today giving rise to a drive on its part for the acquisition of colonies.

Kautsky's conception of imperialism is then sharply contrasted with "this stern reality, with the vast diversity of economic and political conditions, with the extreme disproportion of the rate of development of different countries, with the violent struggles of the imperialist states... Finance-capital and the trusts are aggravating instead of diminishing the differences between the rates of development of different parts in the world economy. When the alignments of forces are modified, where *under capitalism*, can the solution of contradictions be found, if not in the resort to force?"

The antagonisms existing in the imperialist world today are even further intensified by the existence of the Soviet Union, which not only shuts off a huge market and a source of raw materials from capitalist exploitation, but also provides an inspiration and example to oppressed peoples and classes in their struggle against imperialism.

The limits of this article do not permit of the complete treatment of Kautsky and the ideology of reformism, which is widely reflected in the popular student opinion. I refer here to the questions of pacifism; nationalism as a cause of war; monopoly and the "elimination" of crises; the international ramifications of finance-capital and world peace; and other questions which are often a source of confusion among students. A study of Lenin is invaluable in clearing up the academic haze cast over such questions in the college classroom. The relationships of the American revolutionary student movement to those of the colonial and semi-colonial dependencies of the United States, and other such questions can be understood and clarified on the basis of the study of Lenin.

Lenin's works contain a wealth of material on the political, social and cultural aspects of the period of imperialism. The theories and analyses of Lenin stand directly opposed to the substance of our college economics, sociology, history and philosophy.

In subsequent articles we will attempt to further acquaint the students with Lenin's contributions.

HARRY MAGDOFF.

*All quotations are from Lenin's book, *Imperialism*.

To the Students of All the Americas

TERROR HAS BEEN INCREASING tremendously during the last year in the countries of South and Central America. The governments in every country, the agencies of imperialism, have launched an attack against the anti-imperialist activity of the workers, peasants and revolutionary students. The imperialists have sought to impose on the colonial and semi-colonial peoples the burden of the world economic crisis. They have always used these generally agrarian countries from which to draw riches in the form of raw materials, constantly adding to the impoverishment of the masses. With the intensification of the crisis, the imperialists have increased the burden of wage cuts, expropriations, greater taxes leading to evictions of the poor peasants, etc. All these have brought about wide-spread hunger and misery.

AS AN ANSWER to this offensive of the imperialists and the native bourgeoisie, there has been an evergrowing number of struggles of the workers and peasants (Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, etc.). Terror has proven inadequate to break the rising resistance of the masses. In each of these countries, therefore, the bourgeois factions are seeking, by the use of radical phrases and fake programs, to utilize the growing force of the anti-imperialist movement for their own ends, for the purpose of securing concessions of one form or another from the imperialists. These bourgeois factions, based upon some particular interest in the agrarian economy of their country, are all opposed to one another. Each group seeks to be top dog and each is willing to call in the imperialist forces to back up his rule, once attained. **THE LATEST INSTANCE** of the struggles among the various bourgeois groups, of the upsurge of the workers and peasants, and of the use of demagoguery to gain the support of this mass movement for one or the other of the bourgeois factions, has occurred in Chile.

II

THE FIGHT BETWEEN BOURGEOIS factions in Chile that has been going on for the last year and a half has occurred within a larger and broader movement for freedom and against the lowering of the living standard of the masses. The overthrow of Ibanez was not a mere coup d'état. It was part of this mass movement. The same is true of the recent overthrow of Montero and the setting up of a "Socialist" junta. At the same time, this spontaneous mass movement has been used by the various groups of the bourgeoisie. Just as Alessandri, representing the cattle growers last summer, called himself a Communist, so Davila, representing that group of the Chilean bourgeoisie interested in nitrates, allies himself with ex-revolutionists who adopt revolutionary attitudes to gain the support of this mass movement.

THE BASIS FOR THE MOVEMENT is the economic situation. Chile is suffering from the intensification of the world economic crisis. Before the world crisis there was a serious situation in respect to the national economy. Now this situation has become a catastrophe.

THE DAVILA GOVERNMENT came into power on a wave of mass protest against the obvious failure of the Montero government to alleviate the hunger and misery of the Chilean masses. Though Davila used radical phrases, and though some of the men with him called themselves communists, the phrases were never more than phrases and the "Socialist" junta is at most an attempt to get the Gugenheim interests to give up to Davila and his crew a larger share in the Cosach nitrate trust.

genheim interests to give up to Davila and his crew a larger share in the Cosach nitrate trust.

THE PALACE OF IBANEZ, under whose rule American imperialism supplanted British imperialism, was taken by Montero, who proved himself just another imperialist tool. So Davila emerges as an even better agent for the foreign interests. Davila, the former negotiator of the Gugenheim trust, he who has repeatedly declared his friendliness for American capitalism, aims to crush the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants which carried him into power and to facilitate the control of Chile by American imperialism. Davila has now declared martial law. He has cast off the cloak of radicalism. Davila advocates a fascist dictatorship under the guise of declaring for cooperatives and nationalization, so that he may become the ruling agent of Yankee imperialism.

III

THE USE OF RADICAL phrases is typical of the bourgeois groups. The leading South American bourgeois student organization, the ARPA, the *Allianza Revolucionaria Popular Americana*, utilizes these same methods to mislead the students and intellectuals.

ARPA SUCCEEDS IN RALLYING large numbers of bourgeois students to its program against American imperialism. Its manner of doing so is calculated to aid British imperialism. It states that it is against American imperialism. It says nothing about the British, nor does it state that it is against those native governments which are the tools of American or British imperialism.

ARPA CALLS for the "unity of America." It does not state upon what class basis this unity is to be achieved. Is it to be a unity of the landlords? A unity of the dictators? Or a unity of the workers and peasants? ARPA demands the nationalization of the land and industry without stating which class is to carry through this program. The class ARPA supports, however, is clearly indicated by its defense of Davila's fascist dictatorship. Such nationalization inevitably results in a more complete control by the native oppressors and the imperialists. As in Chile, it leads to the creation of a government against the workers and peasants. It is nationalization in the hands of imperialism and its agents.

ARPA COMES OUT for the internationalization of the Panama Canal. This would permit other imperialist powers to control the locks jointly with the U. S. A. On such a point ARPA is inspired and supported by imperialist England.

THE ARPA GROUP declares that it will support the oppressed peoples of the world. This vague statement does not commit it to any definite course of action. Its basic attitude toward the students and workers of the world manifests itself in its repeated refusal to support the Soviet Union, the leading anti-imperialist force in the world, today menaced by international imperialism.

IV

THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE, organized during the last year by revolutionary students in the United States, has uncompromisingly aligned itself with the workers and poor farmers of the United States to struggle against American capitalism and imperialist war. We, the National Student League, propose to combat national oppression. We propose to fight for the independence of the American colonial and semi-colonial countries. In this

struggle for national liberation of the colonies, we shall unite with, and support, the anti-imperialist students of South and Central America. We shall unite with such left-wing student organizations as the Avenir in Chile, the Vanguardia in Peru, and the Alianza Izquierda Estudiantes in Cuba. We will demonstrate in support of their special student demands. We will arouse the American students to an active interest in the struggle of the colonies against American imperialism. We will popularize their cause among the American students. We will expose those student organizations in the United States such as the National Student Federation, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Pan-American Student League, which confuse the student mind on the issue of Yankee Imperialism.

WE, AS STUDENTS, have awakened to the fact that students are a force which may be swung to the aid of the bourgeoisie or of the working class. We have also realized and stated in our program that it is to the interest of the students that they ally themselves with the working class because only the working class can fight uncompromisingly for the interests of society.

IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA, the students, in their desire to fight against imperialism, have often permitted themselves to be misled by bourgeois groups representing either the interests of the imperialists or the native landlords. ARPA has consistently been strengthened as a bourgeois agent. The Colombian dictatorship has feted Haya de la Torre, the leader of ARPA. But the Colombian dictators and the United Fruit Company tremble at the prospect of a joint union of the workers, peasants and students. The bourgeoisie and the imperialists, through the

demagoguery of such reformist organizations as ARPA, attempt to sidetrack the student movements and seek to isolate them from the workers and peasants. In order to follow a true anti-imperialist line, the students should join Anti-Imperialist Leagues of their respective countries. The workers in Chile supported the students against Ibanez, and the workers everywhere are ready to support the students in the struggle against imperialism.

THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE as an organization of revolutionary students in the United States understands that the struggle against Yankee Imperialism must be carried on within the United States as well as in the countries of South and Central America.

IT CALLS UPON THE STUDENTS of the United States to recognize the fact that American imperialism has become powerful because of its exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples; that any complete struggle against American capitalism must be carried on in conjunction with the struggle for the national liberation of the peoples in the colonies. We recognize that the freedom of the American working class is dependent upon the freedom of the colonies.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES to carry on within the United States, together with the American working class, a fight for the complete independence of the countries of South and Central America and the Philippines. We call upon you, our fellow students, to continue the heroic struggles you have carried on during the last ten years against Yankee imperialism. We declare our purpose to join with you in this fight and to make the struggle against Yankee imperialism the common cause of the students of the Americas.

THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE.

THE COUNTER-OLYMPICS

IN July and August of this year, a galaxy of internationally famous athletes will compete for individual and national honors in the Tenth Olympiad at Los Angeles. The current Olympics has a traditional halo and sanctity that are seldom questioned—that are, in fact, inculcated by our educational system alongside the National Anthem and other jingoistic forms. It has become respectable to extol the Olympic games, to follow and comment on them.

The twentieth century games carry little resemblance to their idealized Greek prototypes. They have been subsidized by capitalist interests and elevated to a snobbish and exclusive eminence. Class and color distinctions have been injected; its members have arrogated to themselves the exclusive use of athletic equipment everywhere; its organizational affiliates are used as appendages to national military machines and have become important bulwarks of archaic political institutions. The Olympics, and the institutional ideas they foist upon a gullible public, merit a greater investigation than they have hitherto received.

Race discrimination, characteristic of all large athletic associations, is perhaps the most unsavory aspect of the present Olympics. In the Olympic tryouts south of the Mason-Dixon line, Negroes are forced to compete in separate elimination meets. There is a tacit understanding between the Southern gentry and the Negro athlete that the whites are always to win. A Negro is summarily dealt with, should he, in his enthusiasm, forget this "natural right." In the North, elimination meets for Olympic swimmers were held in two different pools. The Negroes competed in Harlem, the whites in New York's wealthiest Athletic Club. It is significant that the Olympics delegation from South Africa is composed entirely of white athletes, that colonial

countries such as India and Indo-China have no representatives whatever.

The general athletic temper in the United States, as exemplified in our foremost sportsmen, recognizes the fundamental tenet of color inequality. Dave Meyers, football and track star of New York University was kept out of the Georgia-N.Y.U. game by previous arrangement. A similar agreement existed between the Virginia and Columbia coaches in connection with the star back, Rivero, when those teams met.

Kid Chocolate, the boxer, has been unceremoniously shelved whenever lightweight possibilities have been considered.

The United States Lawn Tennis Association refuses membership to Negro players of whatever excellence.

Eddie Tolan, internationally famous runner, was barred from competition in South Africa, since Negro spectators "might get false ideas of race equality."

This sordid roster could be increased to book size with a minimum of research. One of the institutions of modern capitalist society is white chauvinism. This is necessary if subject nationalities, at home and in the colonies, are to continue under the yoke of capitalist exploitation. Professionalized athletics, taking its orders directly from the "bosses," must accept these conclusions as axiomatic, with the result that race discrimination is as apparent in American sports as in Southern lavatories.

Worker representation at the Tenth Olympiad is practically non-existent. The reasons for this are manifold. School gymnasiums and stadia are closed to all but the collegiate semi-professional; public sports fields are reserved for the exclusive use of hired teams; excessive hours and overwork render the average athletically inclined worker

incapable of physical play after working hours; capitalist athletic clubs exclude workers—and because of the above restrictions, athletics has come to be looked upon as an article for leisure class consumption.

Occasionally, workers are permitted to exercise, but only under capitalist supervision. Baseball teams representing coal mines, steel mills or grocery chains are illustrations of this. These clubs are few in number and their activities are restricted within well defined lines—particularly as a means of fostering loyalty or advertising the companies. In the main, however, workers are denied the privilege of sharing in American sports—though they directly contribute to the gate receipts. The stars at the Tenth Olympiad are all the products of collegiate semi-professionalism or capitalist subsidization, stars whose activities are commercialized for the benefit of the promoters.

Sports systems the world over are used as integral parts of war training, as vital cogs in military machines. It is no accident that high Army and Navy officials were appointed members of the Olympic Committee. If the impressionable adolescent can be educated into a preference for the predatory temperament, he makes excellent cannon fodder during time of war. Boy Scout organizations, "boys-brigades" and similar quasi-military organizations are fostered by the clergy and business men. Members of these patriotic groups are paraded on national holidays with the American Legion.

When these adolescents have become well trained in nationalism, 'patriotism', clericalism, etc., they are sent to higher institutions. There are hundreds of preparatory schools who excuse military training as "healthful child development." In the summer these young men are sent away to C.M.T.C. camps "to be made a man of." In the winter they attend R.O.T.C. training as part of their college requirements for a degree. Only in a few of the more advanced colleges does compulsory physical education take the place of military training. By the time these people are ready to assume the responsibilities of adult life they are well-trained infantry or half-trained officers with an upper class ideology.

The most damning indictment against the present Olympics Committee is its deliberate refusal to invite Soviet athletes to participate. The Soviet Union occupies one sixth of the land area of the globe, and numbers a population of 160,000,000 persons, but it is barred from an international sports meet founded in part on the premise that it will promote international good-will! The U. S. capitalists and generals who are in charge of the current Olympics are carrying out the same program in athletics as they are in politics and economics—"Boycott the Soviet Union!"

The Olympic practice of starring individuals is most vicious. These stars are the innocent victims of a sport machine that is found in every American college. They are taught that athletic prowess establishes them above the ordinary mortal and that the personality fostered by athletic competition is highly desirable and useful in after life. Athletes swallow whole these ideas that come to them through their coaches, spokesman for the wealthy and influential alumni who dictate athletic policies.

The concern of every university in things athletic is theoretically the physical development of its undergraduates. But specialization excludes ninety percent of the student body! Students of exceptional physical endowment are singled out in their freshman year, isolated in the social and mental vacua of training quarters and tables, and allowed the exclusive right of athletic equipment, paid for in large part by the rank and file of undergraduates. Semi-professionalism has never been honestly doubted since the publication of the 1930 Carnegie Report, the disclosures of the Columbia Spectator campaign of 1931 and, more important,

since the Middle States Athletic Association recently admitted the prevalence of the practice by passing a law barring from inter-collegiate competition, athletes subsidized through "athletic scholarships." Excellence in any sport has become so desirable that scholastic ability is frequently disregarded by colleges.

In answer to the above objections, the Labor Sports Union has organized an International Workers Athletic Meet to be held in Chicago from July 29 to August 1. Workers from all over the world are invited. Delegations from the Soviet Union, Poland, Germany, France, and South American countries have pledged their support. The United States will have a large representation from workers' clubs in every industry. There are no eligibility rules specifying race, color or social requirement. Any organization subscribing to the spirit of the Counter-Olympics may take part.

The Counter-Olympics is being organized along broad social lines which constitute a repudiation of nearly everything for which the regular Olympics stand. Worker athletes will protest the illegal imprisonment of Tom Mooney, their honorary chairman, and will demand his unconditional release. They will fight discrimination against Negro athletes and athletes from colonial countries; they will demand the free use of public school gymnasias, stadia and sports fields by all workers; and immediate appropriations from cities and states for athletic facilities in working class neighborhoods. They will protest the use of sports for capitalist militarism and war; demand recognition of the Soviet Union by the Olympics as well as by their national governments. They will protest against the system of starring individuals, and semi-professionalism in college sports, and demand universal intramural sport programs without military implications.

Sports organizations have responded admirably to this program. Street runs and elimination meets are on union calendars all over the country. It is another matter with the university undergraduate. Because the games have not been sufficiently publicized in their true aspect, and because many undergraduates do not yet recognize their affinity with the working class in the struggle for intellectual and economic freedom, they have not pledged delegates to the Counter-Olympics.

It has been mentioned above that the average student is denied participation in facilities he has paid for; that when he has completed his academic work he acquires a job that makes additional physical exercise necessary to a well regulated and healthy life. His college denies him the right to learn games that would provide the means of such exercises; the city and state, by failing to provide public recreational facilities denies him the privilege of such exercise. He, together with the vast army of workers, is a victim of the noxious system of "starred" sports. He, too, should protest against the current Olympics and all it implies.

The National Student League as spokesman for the revolutionary students of America takes its stand alongside the workers in supporting the Counter-Olympics. It recommends to all member organizations that discussions be held on the Olympics and on the reasons for fighting them; that the Counter-Olympics be publicized effectively as possible through Counter-Olympic tryouts, articles, handbills and general discussion; and that a committee be appointed in each club to supervise and raise money for the sending of student delegations to the Counter-Olympics. The students should show their solidarity with the working class on this issue.

LEIF A. DAHL

(Editor's note—Additional information and entry blanks may be obtained from the Labor Sports Union at 16 West 21 Street, New York City).

The Students Fight Fees

WHEN in the past the mayor of New York City, the Board of Higher Education, or the Board of Estimate and Apportionment particularly wished to intimate their individual or collective benevolence, they would trot out for the consumption of citizens the myth concerning the municipal system of free higher education. In the colleges themselves all discussion which touched, in the most remote manner, on the city or school administration was ruthlessly clamped down, because as Dr. Smith, assistant professor of economics at Hunter College, put it, "you mustn't bite the hand that's feeding you." Nothing was neglected in making the students of the free city colleges aware of the fact that they were standing on an intellectual bread line, where they were to be properly grateful for whatever knowledge might be rationed out to them in the name of charity and City Hall.

Yet "free" education never was free and is rapidly becoming a more expensive affair than ever. Library fees, book fees, laboratory fees, lab-breakage fees, kit fees, fees for technological, scientific and "special" courses, although hardly publicized, are long familiar and irksome payments made by the student body. As President Robinson of City College declared in a confessional moment, "free education has brought the city \$5,000,000."

It is true that up to the present there has been a relatively inefficient system of charges which has not been at all uniform. The administration in each college simply levied as much as it considered the traffic could bear. Hunter College, for instance, although under the same central jurisdiction as Brooklyn and City College, has been charging her students a considerably smaller amount than the other two colleges. The Board of Higher Education proposed to correct this situation by increasing existing fees and equalizing them in all colleges.

A measure to test the possible reaction of the student body was made at Hunter. Out of the blue sky came the levy of an arbitrary library fee, which was made absolutely compulsory, concomitant with registration. Indignation swept through the student body, but it was unorganized and inarticulate. The Student Council after a gentle bleating went to sleep. The students paid.

But a dissatisfied murmur persisted. Discussion began to center around the implications carried by the action of Mark Eisner, the chairman of the Board of Higher Education, in appointing a committee to "determine whether the colleges might develop sources of revenue which would operate to reduce the annual budget requirements." The rumor of more and bigger fees was definitely in the air. Under the initiative of the National Student League, members in affiliated chapters in the colleges organized mass student meetings at which Student Committees on Fees were elected. These were broad committees composed of students pledged to investigate the situation, formulate protests, and prepare plans for a fight both against the existing fees and the ones in contemplation.

This was something new, something so unexpected and so disconcerting, that almost simultaneously with his first statement, Mark Eisner hastened to add that he didn't really mean anything, he was misrepresented, it was all a false alarm. What he had meant to say, and was saying now, was that "we stand firm in our refusals to curtail expenses in the field of education, particularly higher education, when economies are possible in other branches of government."

He was accompanied by a chorus of the three college presidents.

President Robinson of City College declared himself on Charter Day as indignantly against any such "false economies" in the city budget.

President Kieran of Hunter asked the Hunter girls not to worry. He would warn them if any such step was contemplated.

President Boylan of Brooklyn college pooh-poohed the whole idea.

All concluded that there was no necessity for the existence of the Student Committee on Fees. The students however had hardly time to be deceived by this change of front. When the drastic nine point economy program was finally released to the public by the same Mark Eisner, they discovered, significantly enough, that it had been "proposed on the recommendation of the three Presidents." The new regulations in brief stated that:

1. Registration is limited to the figures of September 1931 and February 1932.

2. The average necessary for one to be considered an applicant for entrance is raised from 75% to 78%.

3. The President of each college shall select from the total number of applicants those who "meet with the approval of the President," and who are best qualified in his opinion for admission on the basis of scholastic merit, scholastic "aptitude" tests, moral character, etc.

4. Students who cannot meet the requirements set up by the President shall be known as "limited students" and shall be required to attend the evening session and shall have to pay \$2.50 a credit for all their courses.

5. Tuition is charged for all special and technical courses. Room is allowed for the unrestricted designation of further courses as "special," and no limit is set on the fee which may be charged.

6. Juniors and seniors are to buy their books. Where text books have not been previously bought, the impermissible oversight is thus taken care of. There is no provision, be it noted, against the constant change and shuffling of texts. While done in a spirit of Christian cooperation with the book companies, this little habit has long been an added expense to the students.

7. Laboratory, lab-breakage, library and diploma fees are perpetuated where already existing and made applicable in all the city colleges.

The regulations are vague and ambiguous to such a degree that the authorities can with ease read into them anything their hearts desire. Just a few weeks before the end of the term Dr. Morton Gottschall, Recorder at City College, pointed out the existence of a fee which did not seem to have been originally set forth. This fee taxes all students at the rate of five dollars per point for all credits in excess of 128, whether they have graduated or not. Since A's and B's carry extra credit in City College, this ruling not only establishes a tuition fee for a portion of the undergraduate body but ridiculously enough amounts to a tax on students of high scholastic standing. In the face of student resentment the authorities have already indicated that they may withdraw this portion of the ruling.

The facts in reference to these regulations point out conclusively that the fees to be charged, and the restrictions on enrollment, are discriminatory, forcing students of lower economic standing out of college and putting an oppressive burden on those who remain.

What does the clause that qualifying students must "meet with the approval of the president" signify? Will it make a difference if the applicant is a Negro or a Jew? Especially does it militate against a student if his high school "character" card insists on an "interest" in economics, underscores his stand in the class room, or his activity in his club, as "radical." It is no longer a secret that the high school authorities keep records which go finger-printing one better, in their effort to collect the minutest evidence against militant students. Here is an opening for open discrimination against the Negro and against the radical student. The President is an individual whose decision is answerable to no one, whose word is final on this question. Just as we can expect the proposed fees to be merely an opening wedge in the plan to mulct the student of ever increasing sums, we can also expect that the restrictions on enrollment are merely the beginning of an ever more flagrant campaign of discrimination against the working-class student.

What of those select students who get into the quota, who are approved and enter the day session? At best they secure a precarious foothold in college. At Hunter College last fall, more than a score of juniors and seniors were forced to apply to the dean for an opportunity to earn the newly imposed 50c library fee. Already existing fees are pushing students out of college. What the authorities designate as "nominal" is not at all nominal for the student. Of 2200 students answering a questionnaire in Hunter College, 82% stated that they would be forced either to leave college if additional fees were imposed, or would continue to attend school under great difficulties. In Brooklyn college 59% of the students found it difficult to meet present expenses. Further figures indicated that in Hunter College of the 2200 who answered, 46% are partially or totally self-supporting. In City College, evening division, of 2143 students 60% are self-supporting. In Brooklyn college, women's division, of the 1000 students who answered, over 40% are partially or wholly self-supporting. If these students must work to attend a comparatively free college like Hunter, or to pay the already existing fees at City and Brooklyn colleges, it follows that a large number of them would be unable to attend school at all with fees increased.

When President Kiernan of Hunter College stated to a Student Committee that the "bankers and real estate men" were the ones exerting pressure to institute a system of higher fees in the city colleges, he stated the case in very clear terms.

The students in the New York City colleges are mostly of professional, small business or working class families. To overwhelming numbers of these families, the crisis has brought a wave of wage-cuts, bankruptcy and unemployment. 34% of the parents of the students at Hunter are unemployed, 41% at Brooklyn college are unemployed. In raising the cost of education in the city colleges, the capitalists of New York City are consistent in their policy of unloading more and more of the burden of the crisis upon the backs of those least able to bear it.

In their desperation, they have at last made an attack upon that stronghold which they themselves have established and have defended as so necessary a part of 'democratic education'—so necessary, in other words, an apparatus for the ideological control of the masses.

As a matter of fact the original resolution introduced in the board of estimate by Stewart Browne, president of the Real Estate Owners Association, called for the *abolition* of the three city colleges. Later he asserted that the city no longer owes "every Tom, Dick and Harry an education." It is evident that every effort is being made to make educa-

tion something exclusive, something reserved for the wealthy, privileged minority. New York City is not an isolated example of increases in fees and restriction on the enrollment of students. As the regulations now stand they are a distinct blow to the college and high school students, an enormous number of whom are now either unable to continue at college, or unable to enter after 4 years of preparation.

The announcement of the regulations aroused intense indignation in the student body. The Student Fee Committee was flooded with the thousands of questionnaires which they had issued. Every answer showed the impact the new plan had upon the student body. Every answer gave deeper significance to the position of the student in the economic crisis. In a few days 5,100 students had signed petitions issued by the committees protesting existing and impending fees. The Student Fee Committee issued a call for a mass meeting in every college.

At this point the college presidents took it upon themselves to issue a few words of enlightenment. Each took his flock into his confidence.

Just before the mass meeting at City College, President Robinson himself assembled the students in the Great Hall. My boys, he told them in substance, these regulations affect Hunter and Brooklyn colleges, they do not affect you. Why should you hold meetings?

Simultaneously, President Kiernan of Hunter was announcing to a delegation of students which had called upon him that "these regulations affect Brooklyn and City colleges but have nothing to do with Hunter. Hold no meetings."

But wonders do not cease. President Boylan issued a statement to the effect that although the regulation affected City and Hunter, it did not apply to Brooklyn. A meeting was unnecessary.

But meetings were necessary, meetings are still necessary. Every student who knows his alphabet can read the facts. The published regulations (appearing in the "Faculty Bulletin," June 1, 1932) limit registration, raise entrance requirements, impose new fees and extend old ones in *every college of the City of New York*. The three college presidents had delivered three deliberate falsehoods. The authorities were trying the old trick of "divide and rule." It was important for them to split the student body into hostile and group loyal camps.

The students were not deceived—3,000 students demonstrated at a meeting called by the Liberal Club of the evening session of City College. One thousand students answered the call of the Brooklyn college campus paper, "The Pioneer," in a demonstration at Borough Hall. At Hunter, meetings were held in the street, the girls speaking to hundreds of students from improvised platforms at the college doors. And, unfortunately for the three college presidents, the meetings stressed above all the solidarity and cooperation which was necessary not only among the students in each college but also among the students of every college who were fighting the same battle.

The Student Conference on Fees, convened by the National Students League to co-ordinate the three Student Fee Committees, recognized also that the struggle involved four interdependent groups: the students in the New York City colleges, the High School students, the teachers, and the parents. 8,000 High School students have already signed petitions against the manner in which the burden of the economy program has been thrown upon them. Thousands of other students stand ready to add their signatures. The teachers are also affected by the same policy of retrenchment in education which the students are fighting. Simultaneously with the announcement of fees, the

college authorities at Hunter, for instance, announced that a large number of courses were to be discontinued, and a proportionate number of instructors were to be released to the already swollen ranks of the 8,000 fully qualified teachers who are walking the streets looking for a job.

The Student Conference on Fees called a mass meeting at the Community Church to effect a city wide unity among the students of the city colleges, and to work out organizational plans with all groups affected. It was clear that one group could make no gain at the expense of another. It was a common fight against the policy of retrenchment.

At this meeting a broad committee of 45 was chosen to present the petitions and to protest to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

The Student Fee Committees pointed out that the authorities could raise funds by:

1. An increase in the higher brackets of the State Income Tax.
2. An increase in the inheritance and gift taxes.
3. The elimination of unnecessary officers.
4. A decrease in the excessive salaries of public officials.
5. The elimination of waste, corruption and inefficiency in the municipal government.

The Board of Estimate accepted our petition, denied us a hearing and referred us to the Board of Higher Education. The Board of Education had previously referred us to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. It was obvious that this was an attempt to pass the buck but the students were prepared for this game.

A meeting was called with the Unemployed Teachers Association. Plans were made for a demonstration at City Hall at an open hearing of the Board of Estimate.

On June 10th the students rallied in hundreds at City Hall. They attempted to present their petition and were forcibly ejected by the police to the plaza fronting the City Hall steps. Here their number was swelled by several hundreds. Enthusiastically hoisting their speaker to their shoulders, the students massed around him in protection and put up a stiff resistance to the police. Not until after they had begun to picket the hall with their placards, and special reserves had arrived and surrounded them, were they dispersed. In spite of a strong police guard they later returned to a platform near the plaza, and together with the teachers, held a spirited meeting.

Plans for summer activities mapped out by the Fee Committees, include the preparation of a bulletin on the history of the fight to be sold to students on the opening of school in the fall, petitions for parents and the general public, and organizational activity in the summer schools.

Many tactical problems have been solved and many lessons learned.

1. In our fight against fees we have to contend, not only with the administration and the Dean's office, but also with student councils, some of the college publications, fraternities and other student bodies which work with the administration. In the main the astute college politicians sense the rewards of working hand in hand with the authorities, against the interests of the student body as a whole. It is essential that in the future student elections be taken out of the hands of the fraternity, sorority, athletic and social cliques which generally control them. Students must elect student government bodies which will work with them and not against them on issues affecting student interests.

2. We cannot be too wary of the fluent and easy assurances of the authorities. It is imperative to have a quick hitting leadership. A dull or slow reaction to new moves by

the administration is the surest way to smother a student movement.

3. In addition to demonstrations and meetings there are many ways of gaining publicity. Leaflets, petitions, questionnaires, resolutions, tags, armbands, letters to the press from students and parents, parades, etc. should be fully utilized by the students.

4. Usually the campus papers are administration controlled. By personal contact, discussion and social pressure, students should make every effort to make them real student papers, which will support the student body on all issues. If that fails separate bulletins should take the matter out of their hands.

5. The National Student League, as a fighting student organization, is always in the forefront of student struggles such as the one on fees. It is ready to cooperate with all students and student organizations for the purpose of carrying out a successful campaign on a particular issue, such as fees, which affects the greater portion of the students. At the same time, the N.S.L. will expose to the student body all those who seek to inject themselves into such a campaign for the purpose of weakening and emasculating it. Only so long as it shows itself the better fighter and organizer and deserving of leadership will the N.S.L. retain leadership. The N.S.L. has shown itself to be in the fight not merely in passive support of the student body but as an active leader and organizer of the students. It thus stands out in striking contrast to other organizations in the colleges, such as the League for Industrial Democracy, which have remained absolutely passive.

6. Most important of all in arousing student sentiment, is the daily work which must be done in the classroom. Every classroom can be made into an open forum. Here is contact of the greatest diversity and with the greatest number of students and the groundwork for the understanding of and the participation in student issues can be widely laid. N.S.L. members must be active participants in student affairs, not five minutes before a leaflet is handed out, but constantly and persistently from the first recitation.

HILDA RUBIN.

MASS PROTEST WINS

A late news dispatch from Madison, Wis., July 3 states that vigorous protests from workers, students and members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin have forced the release of Elmer Luchterland, former student, from the state insane hospital to which he had been sent because of his leadership in a demonstration by the Unemployed Council.

Affidavits from a number of professors stated that Luchterland was a brilliant student.

His arrest for "blocking traffic" followed a talk by him against the county relief officials. Two doctors, who were brought in to frame Luchterland reported him "insane," but after protests began to flood the local politicians, two psychiatrists at the hospital found the prisoner not insane, and Superior Court Judge S. B. Schein, who had ordered his commitment, was compelled to sign a release.

WORKER STUDENTS!

Use your *vacation period* to study the history and theory of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.
Center for working class Marxist-Leninist literature.

WORKERS BOOK SHOP
50 East 13th St. New York City

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

WHAT DOES IT OFFER?

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

In the May issue of the League for Industrial Democracy's Monthly Bulletin, an attempt was made to dispose of the National Student League, its program, and its activities, as a 'Communist' organization; in contrast, the L.I.D. was defined as an 'educational' organization. Beyond this obscurantist and nasty attempt to dismiss the issue by calling names, nothing was done to clarify its readers as to the differences in program, policies, and activities which are involved. It is obvious to any one that the L.I.D. and the N.S.L. are both 'educational' organizations; but it is not obvious to everyone just where they differ in their educational activities and aims; and it is precisely this which the L.I.D. does not wish to have brought out. The 'educational' question that has to be raised deals with these particular policies and activities. The L.I.D. wishes to obscure the fact that there are fundamental differences in the character, program and activities of these two organizations; and, under the guise of appearing broadly educational, it hopes to continue the obscurity which has always surrounded its program, its political character, and its class nature. Two incidents illustrate this very well. At the New York State Conference of Liberal Clubs held at Syracuse, N. Y., in May, Paul Porter, the field organizer of the L.I.D. 'educated' the hundred delegates present by accusing the N.S.L. of being merely a Communist organization and, in the same breath, insisting that the L.I.D. has always stood for the things which appear in the program of the N.S.L. At Philadelphia, at a meeting of students from the schools and universities in and around that city, Andrew Biemiller, another leader of the L.I.D. and member of its Board of Directors, followed exactly the same tactics.

What has been and what is the 'educational' character of the L.I.D.? Here the history of this organization provides many lessons. Formed in the early years of the twentieth century as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, it carried on a variety of policies to strengthen the Socialist Party of those days. Before and during the Great War, its leaders followed the policy of "opposing" war thru individual pacifist abstention. The bankruptcy of this policy as an effective means of rallying opposition to war was clearly demonstrated not only by the L.I.D. but by similar organizations. Besides saving the souls of a few conscientious objectors who went to jail rather than join the army, this policy achieved no other result than to set up a cloudy haze about the real causes of war and the way to prevent it. They thereby acted directly in the interests of the ruling class. In spite of this the L.I.D. today still pursues this policy of pacifism as a means of opposing war. Instead of learning from past experiences, it is devoting itself to re-educating

a new generation of students with this illusion. This aspect of the matter, however, is not the most important. Besides actively spreading a method of war-opposition condemned by history, it is indirectly aiding the continuance of confusion among students on this question, it is preventing them from preparing themselves for effective organization and attitudes of class struggle against war.

As a result of the bankruptcy and disrepute of the Socialist Party following the War the I.S.S. dropped its name and its connections with the Socialists. This was however more than a change in name; it was also an opportunistic change in fundamentals. During the period from 1919-1928 a widespread movement to soften and cover up the class struggle occurred. Benevolent employers and liberals produced all kinds of schemes (company unions, employee stock bonus, management participation, experiments in industrial democracy). For this claptrap the leaders of the I.S.S. fell. The I.S.S. became the League for Industrial Democracy; and the vague slogan "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit" replaced the lip-service formerly paid to Marx and the class struggle; and the efforts of the L.I.D. were directed to 'educating' the youth in the colleges to industrial democracy. As late as 1925, Norman Thomas published "What is Industrial Democracy?" in which the new illusion was elaborated. During these years, hundreds of lectures and conferences were held to 'educate' the students along these lines. With the collapse of these 'experiments' in the 1929 crisis, the L.I.D. leaders hastily dropped their nine-year educational efforts, and the students of those years were once more left confused, impotent and leaderless.

Once more, however, the resourceful leaders of the L.I.D. come forward with an educational program. This time the setting is supplied by the widespread interest among students and liberals in the achievements of the Soviet Union and its Five-Year Plan. "Social planning" becomes the center of the educational work of the L.I.D. During the last two years, nearly every conference of the L.I.D. has dealt with this subject. With typical middle-class insight, the working class base of the Five-Year Plan is deliberately shoved into the background, the proletarian State form under which it is being developed is damned, and the students are safely educated for a new illusion.

The clue to this kind of 'education' is, of course supplied by the middle-class character and orientation of the L.I.D. leadership. Lawyers, liberal professors, clergymen, municipal and Christian Socialists, and kind old ladies, compose its national and in large part its local leadership. Its conferences are usually held under circumstances which make

it impossible for any but the higher income group students to attend even if they cared to; its dinners are graced with dress suits and evening gowns; and its policies are as shifting and opportunistic as are required by a disintegrating middle class. Its theory of education is the typical, academic one of learning through discussion alone rather than through struggle and action. Though this organization has been in existence for nearly thirty years, it is still *preparing* its members and audiences for action; and it still talks of leading the working class to a new society, without any working class members or leaders. Its social reform policies of municipal socialism and good government, and its charity huts for the unemployed further reveal this middle class character.

A further aspect of the L.I.D. should be brought out here. This is the thoroughly non-student character of its leaders, its program and its activities. The National Student League was formed for the purpose of developing a *student* movement on the basis of the conditions and problems facing the students. Its program expresses the necessities for action on the part of the student body of America today, and the lines which those actions must take. Its leaders, nationally and locally, are individuals who are directly connected with some campus. Its publications, national and local, are entirely the product of student groups. In contrast to this type of organization and movement, the L.I.D. has been led by adults, divorced from actual student conditions and problems, who have attempted 'to help the poor workers'. It has up to the present time never developed a program for building a student movement.

With a crying need for organized resistance to high tuition rates and to increases in fees, with local, state and federal reductions in appropriations for education, with cities endeavoring to balance their budgets at the expense of education, the L.I.D. has remained silent. In New York City

a city wide fight covering thousands of students has been organized by the N.S.L. With Negro students facing increasingly worse economic conditions and sharper discriminations, the L.I.D. offers no program. An intensive campaign to arouse the American student body to the support of the Negro Student is being carried out by the N.S.L., on the basis of its program. With free speech and assembly rights facing more violations the L.I.D. turns its attention to utopian social planning and empty talk. The Columbia students' strike was carried out only by aggressive action of the N.S.L. members and with its resources.

In the face of the militant and clear cut program of the N.S.L.; in the face of the numerous struggles on student conditions and on working class issues organized and led by the N.S.L., the L.I.D. prates about 'education'. The National Student League wishes to call the attention of all students to the policies and actions (or lack of action) of the L.I.D. leadership, both during its past history and at present. The students should be clarified as to what the differences are between the L.I.D. and the N.S.L. The "Socialist" character of the L.I.D. will not be taken up by merely labelling the L.I.D. 'Socialist'. In the next issue of the *Student Review*, an article dealing with the L.I.D. policies and activities hidden under this word, will be printed. The continuance of the economic crisis, the threatening war situation, and the retrenchment policies in educational institutions, these and many other conditions make a militant and clearly thought out program for the students of the United States essential. We repeat our appeal to those L.I.D. members who agree with our program to join with us in the task of building such a student movement.

DONALD HENDERSON

(Formerly member of the Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy.)

IN A BASEMENT

By ISAAC BABEL

I was a deceitful boy. It was the result of my reading much. My imagination was always inflamed. I would read in school during lessons, during recess, on my way home, and at night under the table hidden by the long table cloth that reached to the floor. Because of books I lost sight of other worldly matters—playing hooky on the water front, being initiated to billiards in the cafes on Greek street, and swimming in the Langeron. I had no companions. Who would care to bother with a boy of my kind?

Once, during a recess in school, I noticed Brogman, the best pupil of our class, holding a book about Spinoza. He had just finished reading it and was anxious to relate the story of the Spanish Inquisition to the boys around him. It was learned mumbling—the story Brogman was relating. There was no poetry in his words. I couldn't hold out, and interrupted. To those who wanted to listen to me I spoke about old Amsterdam, the darkness of the ghetto, and about philosophers—diamond cutters. To the things I read in the books I added much of my own. Without that I couldn't get along. My imagination made dramatic scenes more forceful. It changed ends and knit beginnings more mysteriously. The death of Spinoza, his free and lonely death, arose in my imagination as a grand battle. The Sanhedrin forcing the dying man to repent, yet he did not give in. Here I also entangled Rubens. It seemed to me that this great artist stood there at the head of Spinoza taking a death mask of him.

My schoolmates listened to this fantastic tale with their mouths wide open. I told it with inspiration. Reluctantly we dispersed at the sound of the bell. During the next recess Brogman walked over to me and took hold of my hand. We began pacing the school yard . . . After a short while we came to an understanding.

Brogman represented not a bad specimen of a "best pupil". The wisdom dispensed in the *Gymnasium* was for his powerful brain like mere scrawls on the pages of a real book. This book he eagerly sought. Twelve-year-old fools that we were, we already understood that a learned and uncommon life awaited him. He never prepared lessons, he merely listened to the explanations of the teachers. This sober and modest boy became attached to me for my particular ability to lie about things in the world—things that couldn't have been simpler.

That year we passed to the third class. My promotion card was decorated with the lowest passing grades. I with my ravings seemed so strange that the teachers couldn't decide to give me a failing mark.

At the beginning of the summer Brogman invited me to his country place. His father was the director of the Russian Bank for Foreign Commerce. This man was one of those who made out of Odessa a Marseilles or Naples. In him was still alive the old ferment of an Odessa merchant. He belonged to the society of sceptical and affable happy-go-luckies. Brogman's father would avoid speaking Rus-

sian; he conversed in the rough and choppy slang of the Liverpool sea captains. In April, when the Italian opera arrived at Odessa, the old merchant would arrange a dinner for the company in his house. The bloated banker would then enter upon a two months' intrigue with the full-bosomed prima donna. She would carry off memories that did not overburden one's conscience and a necklace selected with much taste and at small cost.

The old man was the Argentine consul in Odessa and the president of the Bourse. He was very clever. It was to his house that I was invited. My aunt, by the name of Bobka, spread the news through the yard with the speed of a flashlight. She attired me as well as she could. I went on a small steamer to the Bolshaya Fontannaya. The villa where the Brogmans lived was spread on a low red precipice at the very shore. The precipice was luxuriant with fuchsias.

I came from a poor and inconsequential family. The arrangement of Brogman's country place threw me into ecstacy. White reed armchairs spotted the green lawn. The dining table was covered with flowers, the windows were enveloped in green curtains. In front of the house stood a low wooden colonnade.

In the evening the director of the Bank arrived. After supper he placed a white armchair at the very edge of the precipice before the great plain of the sea, put his white trousered legs on a table, lit a cigar and began reading *The Manchester Guardian*. The guests, Odessa dames, played poker on the veranda. On a table hummed a narrow samovar with handles made of ivory.

The card gamblers, slovenly fops, and secretly dissolute ladies with perfumed underwear and big hips, clacked their black fans and stacked gold pieces. The sun penetrated to them through the edge of wild grapevines. Its fiery circle was tremendous. The reflection of copper accentuated the black hair of the women. The sparks of the sunset danced on their diamonds, diamonds hanging everywhere, in the cavities of their flattened bosoms, on their painted ears and on their sky-blue puffy fingers.

Evening came. A bat rustled by. The black sea was rolling towards the red cliff. My twelve-year-old soul was overflowing with happiness from this strange richness. We, my friend and I, holding hands, strolled in a distant lane. Brogman told me that he would become an aviation engineer. There were rumors that his father would be appointed a representative of the Russian Bank for Foreign Commerce in England—Mark would be able to receive his education in London.

In our home, in the house of aunt Bobka, no one spoke of such matters. I had nothing to repay him with for this lasting magnificence. So I said to Mark that although in our house everything was different, my grandfather Levi-Itchok and my uncle had traversed the whole world and had experienced thousands of strange adventures. I described them. The consciousness of the impossible at once left me. I took my uncle Simon-Wolf through the Russian-Turkish war, to Alexandria, to Egypt . . .

The night straightened out among the poplars, the stars pressed down on the bending branches. The fingers of the future aviation engineer shivered in my hand. With difficulty awakening from the hallucinations, he promised to visit me the following Sunday. Having secured his promise, I left on the tiny steamer, home to Bobka.

The entire week after the visit I saw myself as a bank director. I carried on million dollar transactions in Singapore and Port Said. I bought a yacht and travelled alone. With the approach of Saturday came the time to wake up. On the morrow Brogman junior was to visit me. Not a

thing of what I had told him existed in reality. Something else, perhaps much more remarkable than that, than I could think of, existed. But at twelve I did not as yet know how to get along with the truth in this world. My grandfather Levi-Itchok, a rabbi, expelled from his community because he had forged on a bill of exchange the signature of Count Brannitski, was considered by the neighbors and street boys as insane. My uncle Simon-Wolf I couldn't stomach for his loud eccentricity, full of meaningless fire, noise and oppression. Only with Bobka one could get along. Bobka was proud because the son of a bank director was associating with me. She considered this acquaintance as the beginning of my career, and baked, for the guest, *shtrudel* with jam and poppy-seed pies. The whole soul of our tribe, a soul that stood so sturdily the struggle of life, consisted of these pies. Grandfather, with his torn tall hat and rags on his swollen feet, we hid at our neighbors, the Apelchots, and I begged him not to show himself until the guest left. Also with Simon-Wolf all went well. He went with his dealer friends to drink tea in the inn "The Bear." In that inn they would also serve some vodka with the tea so I figured that Simon-Wolf would be delayed.

Here I ought to say that the family from which I sprang was unlike any other Jewish family. We had drunkards amongst us, seducers of generals' daughters, our grandfather forged signatures and composed blackmailing letters for deserted wives.

I did my best to make Simon-Wolf stay away for the day. I gave him three rubles, my savings. One does not spend three rubles so quickly, Simon-Wolf will return late, and the director's son shall never find out that the tale about the kindness and power of my uncle was a fairy tale. Indeed, it was the truth and not a lie. But at the first glimpse of the dirty and noisy Simon-Wolf it would be difficult to discover this inexplicable truth.

On Sunday morning Bobka attired herself in her brown cloth dress. Her big, kind bosom was laced tight on all sides. She put on a neckerchief with black flowers, a kerchief that one wears on Judgment Day or Rosh-Hashono. Bobka placed on the table pies, jam, cakes, and sat down to wait. We lived in a basement. Brogman raised his eyebrows as he passed the hunchbacked floor of the corridor. In the vestibule stood a wooden barrel of water. Hardly had Brogman entered when I began to occupy him with all sorts of marvels. I showed him the alarm clock made to the very last screw by my grandfather's hands. To the clock was fastened a lamp; when the alarm struck a half or a full hour the lamp lit. I also showed the barrel with shoe-polish. The formula for the shoe-polish was Levi-Itchok's own invention and he wouldn't reveal the secret to any one. Then I read with Brogman several pages of my grandfather's manuscript. He wrote in Yiddish on yellow square sheets, large as a geography map. The manuscript was called "The Man Without a Head." There Levi-Itchok described his neighbors for the past seventy years; beginning in the village Skvira, then in Belo-Tserkov and later in Odessa. Coffin-makers, Jewish drunkards, female cooks at circumcision festivals, hoboes—these were Levi-Itchok's heroes. They were all ragged people, stuttering, with swollen noses, pimples on their heads and crooked backs.

During the reading Bobka appeared in her brown dress. She sailed in with the samovar on a tray which covered her big kindly bosom. I introduced them. Bobka said "Very pleased," stretched out her sweaty and motionless fingers and scraped with both feet. Everything went well, it could not have been better. The Apelchots didn't let grandfather out. I dragged out his treasures one after another—grammars in all languages and sixty-six books of the Talmud.

Mark was dazzled by the barrel of shoe paste, the subtle alarm-clock and the mountain of Talmud, all such things as could not be seen in any other house.

We drank two glasses of tea with *shtrudel*, Bobka, nodding her head and drawing back, disappeared from the room. I came into a happy mood, made a pose and began to declaim lines that I loved more than anything else in life. Antony, leaning over the body of Caesar, is addressing the Roman people:

*Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him . . .*

Thus Antony begins. I lost my breath, and pressed my hands on my chest:

*Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.*

Before my eyes, somewhere in the smoke of the universe hung Brutus's face. It was whiter than chalk. The Roman people murmuring angrily were advancing on me. I raised my hand—Brogman's eyes followed it submissively—my fist shivered, I raised my hand . . . and saw through the window my uncle Simon-Wolf walking in the yard in the company of the rogue, Leikach. They dragged along a clothes-hanger made of deer's horns, and a red trunk. Bobka, too, noticed them through the window. Forgetting the guest she ran into the room and grabbed me with her trembling hands.

"My dear little heart, he bought furniture again! . . ."

Brogman, in his little uniform, stood up, unable to comprehend the scene. He bowed to Bobka. They were breaking into the door. In the corridor was heard the thundering of boots, and the noise of the moving trunk. The voices of Simon-Wolf and the red-haired Leikach thundered deafeningly. They were both intoxicated.

"Bobka," cried Simon-Wolf, "try to guess how much I paid for these horns . . ."

He shouted like a trumpet, but in his voice was heard a note of indecision. Although drunk, Simon-Wolf knew how we hated the red Leikach, who tricked him into all these buyings that flooded the house with unnecessary and meaningless furniture.

Bobka was silent. Leikach squeaked something into Simon-Wolf's ear. To deaden Leikach's sneakish buzzing, to deaden my alarm, I burst out with the words of Anthony:

*But yesterday the word of Caesar might
Have stood against the world; now lies he here,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters! If I were disposed to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honourable men:*

At that moment I heard a knock. Bobka fell, knocked down by her husband's fist. She had probably made some bitter remarks about the deer's horns. The everyday scene commenced. The metallic voice of Simon-Wolf cursed the whole world. He was shouting the same as always.

"You are drawing the marrow out of me," my uncle complained. "My marrow you are drawing out of me to stuff up your canine mouths . . . You put a stone on my neck, a stone is hanging on my neck . . ."

Cursing me and Bobka in Yiddish he promised us that we should go blind, that our children would rot in the womb of their mothers, that we wouldn't have time to bury each other and we should be dragged by the hair into a common grave . . .

Little Brogman stood up. He was pale, and looked about. He did not understand the Jewish terms of scoffing at sacred

things, but with Russian curses he was well familiar. Simon-Wolf was not loath with those either. The bank director's son was nervously kneading his hat with his hands. He was doubling in my eyes. I attempted to overshadow all the unkindness in this world. My agony and despair and the already accomplished death of Caesar united into one. I was dead and I cried. The rattle of my voice was emerging from the depth of my existence.

*If you have tears, prepare to shed them now . . .
See what a rent the envious Casca made;
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he plucked his cursed steel away . . .*

Nothing was powerful enough to deafen Simon-Wolf. Bobka, sitting on the floor was sobbing and blowing her nose. The undisturbed Leikach was moving around the trunk. Here my mad grandfather decided to come to my help. He ran away from the Apelchots, crawled over to the window and began banging away on a violin in order that outsiders should not hear Simon-Wolf's curses. Brogman looked out of the window which was on the level of the ground, and stepped back in horror. My poor grandfather was grimacing with his blue and ossified mouth. He wore a bent top hat and a black oriental robe with black buttons, made of bone. His once white beard, now stained yellow with tobacco, hung in pieces and was swaying in the window. Mark ran.

"It's nothing," he murmured, escaping to freedom. "It is really nothing. . . ." His little uniform flashed through the yard.

With his departure my excitement calmed down. I was seized by a decision. I was awaiting the evening.

When my grandfather, having covered his square paper with Hebrew signs (he was describing the Apelchots), lay down on his cot and fell asleep, I went out into the corridor. The floor there was earthen. I moved in the darkness, barefooted, in a long patched up night-shirt. Through the cracks of the boards, like rays of light, glimmered cobbles. In the corner, as always, stood the barrel of water. I crawled into it. The cold water cut me in two. I dipped my head, choked and emerged to the surface. From the top of a shelf a sleepy cat was gazing at me. The second time I held out longer. I opened my eyes and saw on the bottom of the barrel the tail of my night shirt and tiny feet embracing each other. Again I didn't have strength to hold out, and emerged. Near the barrel stood my grandfather in his long night-shirt. His only tooth was chattering.

"My grandson," he said slowly and contemptuously, "I am going to take a dose of castor oil so I'll have something to put on your grave . . ."

Forgetting myself, I shrieked and fell into the water. My grandfather's weak and bony hand dragged me out. Then for the first time that day I cried, and the world of tears was so immense and wonderful to me that everything else but the tears left my eyes.

I awoke in my bed, covered with blankets. Grandfather was pacing the room whistling. Only Bobka was warming my hands on her chest.

"How he shivers, our little fool, our child," Bobka was saying. "Where does he get so much strength to shiver . . ."

Grandfather patted his beard, let out a prolonged whistle and again began pacing the room. In the next room, sighing, Simon-Wolf snored. Having battled a whole day, he would never wake up at night.

1929

(From the Story of My Pigeon House)
Translated from the Russian by LEON DENNEN.

BOOKS AND POETRY

THE STREET

*The street broods.
Many images walk its mind.

The dawn opens upon it
Like the pink parasol of a debutante.

And noon sweats with figures
Like the bald skull of a banker.

The evening approaches:
A tired laborer walks homeward.

The street is pensive.
Lamp-posts thrust thru twilight.
The street lamp burns and burns.*

HOWARD WEBB.

RECOVERY, THE SECOND EFFORT, by Sir Arthur Salter. Century Company, New York, 1932. 347 pages. \$3.00

That this book has been acclaimed by liberal economists as the best analysis of the world crisis, does not speak well of the other forty or more attempts at diagnosis and cure which have appeared in the last two years. In general, these analyses have been superficial in approach, have attributed the crisis to one main cause, and have ended on a note of pious hope that the self-evident value of their panaceas would result in their immediate adoption. A few have been more eclectic, although lacking a firm theoretical approach, and have concluded with varying proposals for planning, economic councils, and stabilization projects, all of which, under this system, would lead to centralized capitalist control and greater exploitation. Sir Arthur Salter's effort is of the latter type, with perhaps too great stress on the international aspects of the collapse of the world monetary and credit structure, but providing nevertheless, an attempt at general orientation and broad perspective.

The general approach is that of the English neo-classical economist, and proceeds in terms of the normal working of the laissez-faire system and the exceptions which "have accumulated till they have not so much modified as transformed the system." The effects of these "exceptions," such as gold maldistribution, high tariffs, international cartels, war debts and reparations and foolish international lending, are analyzed. But the treatment of their cause, and consequently their solution, fails to take account of the inherent difficulties in the capitalist system. The fact that the system is run on the basis of immediate pecuniary advantage to the individual owner of capital, and not on the basis of what is socially desirable for all individuals; the fact that private ownership gives rise to a conflict of interests between those who own and those who work; the fact that the resulting concentration of capital leads to the necessity for the export of capital, to competition for foreign markets, and to imperialist conflicts;—these are given no consideration. Consequently the author intimates that all we need for the solution of the 'exceptions' is the use of the reason and collective wisdom which seems so mysteriously to have disappeared for a while. But it is evident that these problems are merely symptoms of the more basic antagonism, which must be abolished before we can achieve any final solution.

Due to his laissez-faire preconceptions, and to the concept of a self-adjusting system which has lost its self-adjusting power because of the 'exceptions', Sir Arthur concludes that we must either get rid of these or go on to a greater measure of deliberate control of the whole system. He grudgingly admits that the former would seem to be impos-

sible, and that the latter is our only alternative to "revolution and social disintegration. If that comes and spreads we have a world in ruins; . . ." This control is to be exercised theoretically by national economic councils attached to their respective states, and by a world economic council attached to the League of Nations. The League would be strengthened and its decisions given a greater basis of enforcement, and this would result in world peace(?), which in turn would give the economic councils the opportunity to develop an international economy. This utopian world scheme fails completely to account for either the unsolvable conflict between imperialistic nations or for the anarchic nature of capitalism which precludes economic planning.

Just what this proposed system would hold for the workers is not mentioned. In fact, one would not think that they existed, the only mention that they get being that unemployment must be prevented. They are dismissed lightly, in good liberal fashion, with the assurance that if they decided to do anything about it themselves, the result would be chaos.

STEPHEN CROSS.

THESE RESTLESS HEADS, by James Branch Cabell. Robert McBride. \$2.00.

Mr. Cabell is quite popular with a certain section of the college youth. This latest book is one which reveals the author as a self-satisfied, politely self-pitying gentleman, a sceptic of conventional values, yet smoking the fireside pipe of a smug philosophy, a philosophy which in actuality contains all the fumes and flavor of the smoking-car axioms the author derides.

Mr. Cabell repeats his theme of former works, "in all folklore, the human hero must leave that which is familiar, to journey upon a quest."

Throughout the book, the opposition of two extreme worlds, the real and the unreal, and the intermediary world of mediocrity and convention, occur in triangular metaphors. In this way, Mr. Cabell acquires a mock-ironic effect and softens it with assumed polite tones and cadences of regrets, self-pity and resignation. His style is an affectation.

How can we account for Mr. Cabell's sterility of theme, banalities, a conventional mind despite its railings at conventions, his pre-occupation with form?

Mr. Cabell, in an interview published in the N. Y. Times, Feb. 24, said in answer to a question on style: "It is very important. Very nearly most important . . . After all, what else is important in a book? My only definition of style is the same sort of thing as whether a man is a gentleman."

This pre-occupation with form is an evasion of the contemporary world of class conflict; and Cabell's thinking is consequently placid, surfacial, secondary, incapable of directly dealing with the reality of, and uninspired by the profound conflict of social forces.

Capitalist society is on the decline, and the middle class of which Cabell is an exponent, is decadent with the psychology of babbity, it is sterile and unattractive.

Mr. Cabell questions himself on p. 114, "I wonder why I have at no time written any novel which pretended to touch the known life about me." He continues, "I remain contentedly ignorant." Such a theme "is too trivial to be worth writing about." Yet an approximate fifty pages are given over to an insipid essay on the American flag, an essay that is tricked out to terminate in a vision of a silver stallion ramping upon the national flag.

When a man considers writing seriously about a "flag's fleet unflaging, flippity flapping," is there much wonder that he cannot write sympathetically of unemployment,

poverty, human beings in a crumbling social structure? No, because Mr. Cabell esteems it wholesome "to write as a postulant before Aesred."

"Very great is this Aesred who teaches all to conform the one with another. She embodies that mediocrity which is sublime, if it indeed be not omnipotent. She is served by the most powerful . . . Bank presidents run eagerly before her, as the heralds of Aesred; schoolmasters are her janissaries; the law is the bearer of her bowstrings and legislative assemblies dance corybantically in her train. She is attended also by the police, and the clergy of all accepted faiths march at her side crying out, Conform!"

The author continues with Aesred and writes on page 164, "I prefer with polite self-effacement to speak no evil against a scheme by which I profit thus directly." In other words, Branch Cabell sanctions the existence of the present ruling order and the exploitation of 95% of the people by 5% of the population; and he uses his status as an artist, "beyond good and evil," to do so.

Thus a polite bourgeois gentleman goes upon an imaginative journey in a civilization fraught with the perils of decadence, and he dreams and sighs regrets, and chuckles over the extravaganzas of his youth. And so, eventually, Youth, of a world of imagination and Errata, rides his Silver Stallion into the stable of Conformity, and Aesred, the Lady of Compromise, gives birth to stagnant fiction, slatternly thinking, and the prostitution of one's talent for the rewards of complacency. S. F.

CORRECTION

In the May number of the Student Review the article "On the Student Front" stated that 2000 Detroit students demonstrated against tuition fees under the leadership of the National Student League.

The demonstration was actually called by the administration and numbered 1200. However, when the handpicked protest delegation consisting of Student Council and fraternity representatives, made no protest in the City Council Chambers, the N.S.L. through its speakers took over the demonstration and aroused the militancy of the students. On the following day, Tuesday, despite the cold and rain, five hundred students came out to the demonstration called by the N.S.L.

The article, "On the Student Front," further states that officials of the University of Southern California tried to send Ming Hua Wei, a graduate student at the University to execution in China. It implies that the Social Problems Club of the University of Southern California initiated a protest movement.

It was the Social Problems Club of the University of California, of which Wei is a former member, which protested and helped raise, on the U. of C. Campus, the funds to send Wei on his way to Germany. The University of California and the University of Southern California, are separate institutions. Four professors of the University of Southern California testified in Wei's behalf.—*Editor*.

TOURS TO THE SOVIET UNION

Round Trip
Soviet visa free

\$169

All Expenses
included

Special Attractive Offer to Teachers and Students
TRAVEL BARGAINS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD
For particulars apply

GUSTAVE EISNER

Popular Prices Tourist Agent

1123 BROADWAY CHelsea 3-5080 NEW YORK CITY

Social Studies Tour in the SOVIET UNION

Visit this land of living interest. Observe the process of the destruction of an old society and the creation of a new one. Spend your vacation seeing Leningrad, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Volga River, Stalingrad, Rostov, Kharkov, Kiev and Dneprostroy in Soviet Russia. 26 days of glorious travel.

\$335 up

Shorter Tours (21 days) for
TEACHERS — STUDENTS — PROFESSIONALS

\$285 up

SAILINGS AND STEAMERS

S. S. Aquitania June 29th

S. S. New York July 7th

S. S. Europa July 19th

New Low Rates To The Soviet Union

\$175.50 UP

Including 7 days in Leningrad-Moscow

Travel through the

WORLD TOURISTS

Our accommodations are the best.

Write for information about tours in the Soviet Union

WORLD TOURISTS, INC.

175 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

Dauber & Pine Bookshops, Inc.

Sixty-Six Fifth Avenue — New York

Open Until 10 P. M.

OLD, RARE AND USED BOOKS. REASON-
ABLY PRICED. NEW BOOKS (Except
Text Books, etc.) AT 20% DISCOUNT

ATHEISM

Book Catalog FREE, Tracts, 10c

American Association for Advancement of Atheism.
307 E. 14th St., :: New York, N. Y.

Patronize our Advertisers. Mention the Student Review.

Tuition Fees - Suppression of Student Rights

Breadlines - Elections - War

SUCH are the issues which the student faces this year.

Tuition fees have been increased in many schools and unless the students are able to demonstrate a genuine organizational strength every college and university will follow suit.

As the student body becomes more militant, the administration becomes more positive in squelching student activities. Clubs are suppressed and campus publications gagged. A host of radical instructors and professors will be fired out of our "liberal institutions" during the coming year.

With the Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and Communists putting forward complete tickets for the national election, there is a great deal to think about, and a great deal to be done.

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

As long as the system of capitalism remains, war must be an issue which particularly involves students and youth.

THE National Student League fights for:

1. Lower tuition fees, a free college in every city.
2. Academic freedom for students and instructors.
3. Abolition of R.O.T.C.; opposition to imperialist war.
4. Full social and political equality for Negroes and other minorities.
5. Unemployment insurance for unemployed students and unemployed workers.

Every student should accept this program and fight with the Student League on these embattled fronts. Every student should join the National Student League and persuade his campus club to affiliate with N.S.L. for the fight of 1932-33.

THE STUDENT REVIEW, official organ of the N.S.L., is the prime organizer of the radical student movement. It is also a monthly review of the contemporary political, economic and cultural situation, from a left-wing point of view. It is the primer of tactics for the revolutionary student movement. Published and edited by college students, it reflects the rise of student dissent against the narrow confines of the capitalist order, and helps the students translate this dissent into revolutionary activity.

Every student should subscribe to THE STUDENT REVIEW.

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE
102 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

- ☐ I accept the program of the NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE and hereby apply for membership. (First Quarterly dues of 25¢ must accompany this application.) If a graduate state so.
- ☐ Please enroll me as a subscriber to THE STUDENT REVIEW for one year. (10 issues \$.75). It is not necessary for a subscriber to be a student.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

COLLEGE

ORGANIZATION

Date Book Issued

Book No.