

WINTER NUMBER

The **STUDENT**  
*The Intercollegiate Socialist Review* **OUTLOOK**

**WILLIAM SAROYAN**—an anti-war squib

*Fight for Life*

**MORRIS RAPHAEL COHEN**

*Sidney Hook's Understanding of Marx*

**CLAUDIE LITTLE**

*Vigilantism at U. C. L. A.*

**DEAN MORTON GOTTSCHALL**

*How C. C. N. Y. Students Fight Fascism*

**GEORGE STREATOR**

*Patronizing the Negro Student*

Vol. III, Nos. 2-3 - November-December, 1934

PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

# The Student Outlook

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST REVIEW  
Student Edition

Published Monthly from October to May by

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE  
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY  
112 East 19th Street, New York City

VOL. III, Nos. 2-3

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Entered as second class matter, June 9, 1933 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1933.



Subscription price for twelve issues, \$1.00, One year, 50c. Single copies, ten cents. Bundle orders at 50% discount

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## National Convention of the Student League for Industrial Democracy

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

December 27th to 28th, 1934

1st Session—Thursday, Dec. 27, 9:30 A.M.—Election of Resolutions Committee

Labor's Challenge to the College Student ..... FRANCIS GORMAN  
Union Organization for Professional Workers ..... MAYNARD KREUGER  
The Future of Labor Journalism in America ..... OSCAR AMERINGER  
English Students and Their Labour Movement ..... JOHN STAFFORD CRIPPS  
*Fraternal Delegate from University Labour Federation of England*

2nd Session—2:30 P.M.

Report of Resolutions Committee on Declaration of Principles

3rd Session—8:30 P.M.

Karl Marx and Modern Socialism ..... MORRIS RAPHAEL COHEN or FRED HENDERSON  
A Workers' Party in America ..... NORMAN THOMAS  
(The speakers listed above have been invited)

4th Session—Friday, Dec. 28th, 9:30 A.M.

Report on Organization

    Reports of Field Organizers

    Summer School

    Report from National Office, Student Outlook

    Finances

    I. S. S. F.

5th Session\*—2:30 P.M.

Continuation of morning Discussion and election of National Executive Committee

\* (Provision has been made for an additional session if necessary)

*All Student L.I.D. members can attend as fraternal delegates. Chapters are entitled to two delegates for first ten members and one delegate for every succeeding ten or major fraction thereof*

For information about fare and lodging communicate with  
National Office, Student L.I.D., 112 East 19th Street, New York City

# The STUDENT OUTLOOK

The Intercollegiate Socialist Review

VOL. III

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1934

Nos. 2-3

## UNITY IN THE STUDENT FIELD

An Editorial

SOMETIMES we wonder whether our bellicose contemporary, *The Student Review*, would have enough material with which to fill its columns if it stopped thundering and being righteously indignant about the Student L.I.D. Five pages of the current issue are devoted to a major critique of our Declaration of Principles. The best refutation of this article will be found in the object of criticism, the *Handbook of the Student L.I.D.*, to which we refer any of those who have read the document in *The Student Review*.

However, we feel obliged to spike some of the more obvious misrepresentations. Commenting upon the change in name from Intercollegiate Socialist Society to the League for Industrial Democracy, *The Review* declares: "*The new name is deceptive and meaningless.*" Does this not come with bad grace from an organization with so purposely ambiguous a name as National Student League? And further: "*Even more interesting is the second reason for a new name. The members feel isolated from the workers; so they eliminate the word Intercollegiate! They solve this most serious of all problems of a student movement by a change in name.*" Such a claim cannot be found anywhere in Student L.I.D. literature. We consider the change in name significant because it showed that our members were aware in 1921 of the urgent necessity of linking the student movement with the workers and farmers of America, and because it deftly and honestly expressed our ultimate goal.

### Students and the Working Class

What we regard to be the relationship between the student movement and the more-embracing progressive social movements of our time is evident in our daily activities. We believe that the profit system is the basic evil of modern society. This system has its special embodiments on the campus in the forms of R.O.T.C., retrenchment, racial discrimination, post-graduate unemployment, etc. These issues must be fought by the undergraduate on the campus, we believe, through the Student L.I.D. That we have not been remiss in the

struggle over these issues, the present *Student Outlook* is eloquent witness. But we are also firmly convinced that this struggle is fruitless and opportunistic if it does not lead the student who enrolls under our banners during a fight against the R.O.T.C. to enlist in the more fundamental struggle against the profit system which can only be done through a political organization such as the Socialist Party and economic organizations such as the unions of the A. F. of L. Therefore, the Student L.I.D. gives much of its energies to bringing the student into intimate contact with the labor movement in its many aspects. Members of our Summer School spent eight hours every day working in locals of the Workers Unemployed Union. Other students took part in labor chautauquas. In the October issue of *The Student Outlook* two pages were devoted to our summer activity in strikes.

It is not the Student L.I.D. that is confused on this issue or gives only lipservice to the ideal of allying students with the working class, but the *National Student League*.

### Political Parties and the N.S.L.

And for very good reasons. The N.S.L. is dominated by the Young Communist League. The latter does not approve of the A. F. of L. which despite Y. C. L. disapproval has 98% of the organized workers in its ranks. It supports the paper Communist unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League whose disruptive tactics have occasionally allied it with the employers against the A. F. of L. The young Communists in the N.S.L. know very well that they cannot get those of their members who are not Communists to support these unions. Consequently, unless there are severe abrogations of civil liberties during strikes of Communist unions, the N.S.L. lays low.

The same holds true with regard to N.S.L. reticence on its political sympathies. Young Communists know that there can be no fight against war or fascism, no fight against the profit system without the organization of a powerful political party for those ends. But do they

tell that to the students whom they organize in the fight against these evils? No, because that would involve linking the N.S.L. up to the Communist Party, and therefore, narrowing the base of the N.S.L. Instead they spread the confusing myth of an autonomous student movement. That is opportunism.

The Student L.I.D. makes no bones about its support of the Socialist movement, because we believe that if students do want to fight the profit system, they *must* ally themselves with the workers and farmers as organized in the Socialist Party or in a party with a similar outlook. We are not controlled by the Socialist Party nor are we affiliated with it in any way except that many of our members are enrolled Socialists. (*The Student Review* lies when it states that "*the Student L.I.D. had to get out of the American League against War and Fascism when the Socialist Party got out.*") In point of fact the Socialist Party was never affiliated with the American League, whereas the Student L.I.D. withdrew only in March, 1934, following the disgusting Madison Square Garden incident.) The N.S.L. dares support the Communist movement only in indirect and devious ways: by getting *The New Masses* and *The Daily Worker* passed around, by inviting only Communist speakers to its meetings, by joining Communist demonstrations, etc. It is this approach that explains why N.S.L. members at anti-war conferences at one moment approve civil war as a tactic in the struggle against war, and at the next, nod approval to a speaker's declaration that what this country needs is a third party led by Bob LaFollette! Is that bringing clarity into student thinking?

### The Battle of Words

The article in *The Review* further objects to our analysis of fascism declaring that we say that fascism is the revolt of the middle classes and open dictatorship in the interests of large scale industry. "*This is hopeless confusion. Fascism cannot be both the dictatorship of large scale industry and of the middle class at the same time.*" True, but that is not what our *Handbook* states. It does say that fascism is the open dictatorship of large scale industry utilizing the rebellious middle classes as its shock troops.

But the most amusing criticism is the paragraph which reads: "*Then there is the incredible section 'End Trustee Domination' which states militantly enough that the 'Student L.I.D. demands the abolition of trustee domination in our schools.' A noble sentiment indeed, but what of it? Is it not evident enough that although*

*it is necessary and essential to fight trustee domination, although we may win certain concessions in the fight, one must do so with the understanding that trustee domination is a direct product of capitalist society. One doesn't 'demand' the abolition of capitalism. There are more valuable things to do if one really wants to abolish it. And spreading irresponsible illusions is not one of them.*" Now that's just plain carping. The N.S.L. does not believe that under capitalism militarism can be purged from our schools or free colleges everywhere established, yet it has raised these demands without the qualifying clause that it insists we insert. In truth it is the N.S.L. with its myth of an autonomous student movement that spreads the illusion that many of our demands can be won under capitalism by student efforts alone!

### Amalgamation

Having engaged in this major operation of misunderstanding the N.S.L. then graciously turns and states that it is *not* in fundamental disagreement with our program, and proposes that the differences can be worked out in a conference preliminary to amalgamation of our two organizations. But what it fervently desires, it declares, is amalgamation, which is only prevented by the leadership of the Student League for Industrial Democracy. In answer to the latter the Editors beg leave to quote from the monthly report to the National Office of the U. of California (Berkeley) Chapter of the Student L.I.D.:

*"As was mentioned, the local N.S.L. group, or Social Problems Club is in bad standing everywhere here. Apparently, this is due partly to the fact that they are a dissenting organization and opposed to the status quo. However, there is another reason for the refusal on the part of the two 'Y' groups, church organizations and International House to form any united front of which the N.S.L. is a part. The leaders of these groups say, and our L.I.D. has had the same experience, that the Social Problems Club cannot be trusted to play fair. They now say that they absolutely will not work with the Club any more. One of the leaders in the 'Y' said: 'We have been double-crossed so many times that now we are leaving them alone.'"*

Our reasons for rejecting amalgamation with the National Student League remain as they were stated last December by our National Convention. Our two student organizations, regardless of how similar our campus programs are, reflect two major worldwide

(Continued on page 35)

# Fight for Life

By WILLIAM SAROYAN

I HAVE never been in a war, so I have no specific facts about being in one, but I have a lively imagination, and from having had my flesh and bone pained, in one way or another, I *know* what it must feel like to be so horribly hurt as to need to die, and I can imagine how much of a ghastly frustration such a death must be to the startled man who, let us say accidentally, is the one who is hurt and is going to die. You see, every man who ever puts on a soldier's costume (war is primarily a game of preadolescent man, long since obsolete, essentially imposed on the living by the royal criminals of our earth and time, those with power who happen to be insane or stupid) . . . every man who monkeys around a gun, and marches in line, and goes to war, has the fantastic dream that he, of all men, through the good grace of God or because he is lucky, or hopes he is, will not be numbered among the millions who shall inevitably come to horrible and premature death in the little historical game, so useful to surviving generals determined to get into print with their memoirs of what went on during the war where they sat and talked. A big gag.

I myself, in an army, would find such a dream very useful, because somehow I get a big kick out of being alive, and have the ambition to live as long as munition manufacturers, propagandists, diplomats, kings, presidents, and army officers, if for no other reason than to go on watching them play their pompous and childish historical roles, and to be on hand when the time comes to expose their essential cheapness. This I regard as the proper job of any writer, because what the hell good is art if life doesn't keep up with it? If powerful maniacs won't allow life to keep up with it? Right now the best art of the world is at least five centuries ahead of life, and the only country in the world where life is swiftly overtaking art is Russia, and this is probably the reason Russia is still a poisonous word (and symbol) to most Americans. We can't take it. We can't believe a race of peasants is swiftly making a monkey of our race, but we're on the verge of coming to our senses and it won't be long before we'll know what direction to take ourselves.

Now, to fight is noble, especially when one is fighting for life, for the extension and expansion of living, and as I see it the place to attack war is in the hearts of the powerful. They are among us and they control forces which can swiftly and almost effortlessly impel a whole

race into an affair which is basically pointless, evasive, suicidal, and lousy, and therefore these men must be made to feel the full criminal responsibility of perpetrating such affairs, and if they *cannot* be made to feel this responsibility, then they must be deprived of their power and civilized men must be placed in their positions. A game of chess. A question of whether the game shall be played for death, or for life. The possibility is equal and whole: one or the other. Those with power are the ones who shall determine.

Unfortunately, men most civilized seldom hold positions of power. They inhabit isolated corners of the earth and now and then point an accusing finger at their more fraudulent and historically-great contemporaries. But the time has come for a swift abandoning of these corners. The civilized must love life enough, and they must love the living enough, to *want* to do something more than merely write great novels and poems and compose great symphonies and paint great pictures. They've got to come out and give the frauds the good old Bronx bird, and let the frauds know what's what. And of course many of them have been doing this very thing for quite some time, but the number is not yet great enough to make the desired change. Every writer in the world has got to blow his horn and blow it loud; and the same goes for every artist and every man who has come to some degree of civilization.

I don't believe in parades and demonstrations, no matter what they are for. I know they are historically important, but it's about time we realized history need not take place at all: instead civilization might take place. History means riot, murder, chaos, etcetera. Well, these things need *not* take place. These things are the consequences of the thought processes, and private chemical conditions of men with power, and the thought processes of these men must be changed, and if their chemical conditions are foul, they must be encouraged to drink more castor oil. That's absolutely all it comes to. To hell with demonstrations. Let the *big* attack the *powerful and fraudulent*. The *big* are those who see life as a miracle of such magnificence that it needs to be preserved at all costs. And I mean life in all who breathe: idiots and everybody else. I mean life even for the frauds: they have a place in the scheme of things too, only up till now their place has been unreasonably important.

(Continued on page 12)

# City College Students Fight Fascism\*

By MORTON GOTTSCHALL

November 8, 1934

TO THE FACULTY OF THE CITY COLLEGE:

Gentlemen:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a report concerning the disturbance of October 9, 1934, and succeeding days. This matter has occupied my time, to the exclusion of almost all other business, for the past month, and I hope therefore that I shall be pardoned if I indulge in some preliminary observations before making any specific recommendations regarding the individual students involved.

I am seriously concerned, and I am sure that the gentlemen of the Faculty share my concern, over the general conditions that have led to this as well as previous disturbances and that are likely to lead to similar unfortunate occurrences in the future. If I could give any definite assurance that not taking disciplinary action at this time would avoid future disturbances, I am certain that the Faculty would well nigh unanimously support such a recommendation on my part. But I can give no such assurance. We are dealing with forces beyond our control that spring from the general economic and social conditions of our time. We can no more deter the pulsating life of the city in which we are situated from penetrating our walls than we can prevent the blowing of the wind or the falling of the rain.

By the same token I am firmly convinced that any disciplinary action taken by the Faculty, no matter how drastic, will prove equally ineffective as a preventive

measure. True, those who are expelled will not be participants in future disorders on the Campus, but who that is familiar with the working of the youthful mind and with the realities of the situation can doubt that others will take their place, that the number of student sympathizers will be increased, and that the bitterness on both sides will be intensified? When Hercules struck off the heads of the Hydra, he discovered to his dismay that in the place of each head knocked off two new ones appeared. The students involved in our chronic disturbances are only a small percentage of the student body, but they form an extremely vocal if small minority, and in my judgment their number is apt to increase rather than to diminish. Boys come to us nowadays from the high schools at the tender age of fifteen or sixteen already thoroughly indoctrinated with the peculiar views of conduct which are exemplified in the demonstrations that we deplore, views that form part of a political creed embraced by them with religious fervor because it is to them a beacon of hope in an otherwise drab and barren world. Suppose we were so foolish as to impose as a condition of admission to college that a student must not be a member of, or be affiliated with, the National Student League or the League for Industrial Democracy, or other similar organizations. Such a condition is of doubtful legality and is of course thoroughly repugnant to anyone of liberal principles; nevertheless, supposing it were to be imposed, is anyone so naive as not to see that the same forces that now exert their influence on our students more or less openly would still influence them surreptitiously and possibly more effectively for that very reason?

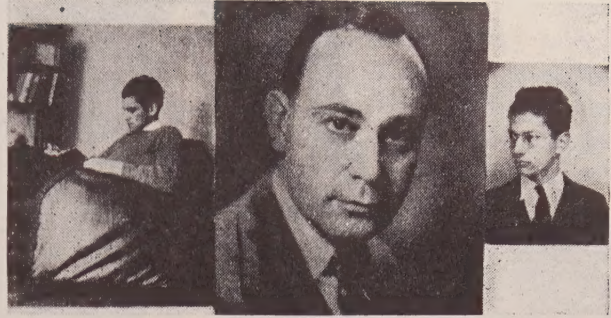
There can be no doubt that the disturbances from which we have suffered in recent years are damaging the prestige and reputation of the College; subsequent disciplinary action in my estimation does little, if anything, to repair the damage. In the present instance we may feel constrained to take disciplinary action against the students involved; there is no doubt that they misconducted themselves and that the Faculty has ample legal authority to impose such penalties as it sees fit, ranging from censure to expulsion. But at least let us not entertain the illusion that we are solving our prob-

\*We are printing Dean Morton Gottschall's report to the faculty as our account of the student protest arising out of the visit of the Italian students to City College because we believe it is a justification of the student protest and better than any editorial we could write on the subject. Dean Gottschall's recommendations were rejected for those of Dean Skene involving the expulsion of twenty-one students and the placing of several others under suspension and probation. We wish to point out those parts of Dean Gottschall's report in which he eloquently describes the intimate connection between the university and its social milieu, and in which he hints that the visit of the Italian students, as well as the spring R.O.T.C. demonstrations were provocative acts. It is regrettable, therefore, that following his splendid analysis, Dean Gottschall should recommend even five suspensions on the paternalistic ground that "mere forgiveness would be construed by them as vindication." The students do not believe they have done anything to necessitate forgiveness. The essential question was whether the visit of the Italian students was political, (we print proofs on page 11 that it was) and whether students have a right to protest a political demonstration. In a sense this question has been answered. Faculties and boards of trustees can make all the laws they want. Those laws will be broken (if necessary) to prevent the spread of fascism in our universities. (The Editors.)

lems thereby or preventing a recurrence of future difficulties. In fact, the subsequent disturbances since October 9th, the numerous meetings held in close proximity to the college grounds, the avalanche of leaflets that has descended upon us, the picketing of the President's home, have gained their impetus because the students are fully aware that the Faculty intends to take disciplinary action against them. While my time has been occupied from morning to night in conferences with the students involved, it is the President of the College and his family that have been most harassed, for the young men have persisted in singling him out, rather than the Faculty as a whole, as the object of their attacks. My efforts to convince the boys that these tactics only aggravate the original offense and so, far from being effective in deterring the Faculty from taking the disciplinary action, are apt to have a directly contrary effect, have been of no avail. The young men adhere tenaciously to the dogma that so-called "mass pressure" is the only effective instrument of influencing action, and hence their insistence upon open-air meetings, picketing and the like. Although they listen to me with respect when I contend that quiet argument is a far more effective instrument of persuasion, so far as the Faculty is concerned, my advice is gently but firmly disregarded.

Although I am frankly despondent, I am not yet ready to forsake the liberal principles in which I have been nurtured, I still retain a shred of faith in the calm dispassionate voice of reason and I have not utterly abandoned hope that all of us, both Faculty and students, may yet work towards the ideal of the College as a sanctuary where the problems of the world will be hotly debated and discussed but which will be immune from the turmoil and conflict of the market-place. But the obstacles in the way are numerous, and it is difficult to see clearly the road we should follow.

If it is not possible to eliminate future disturbances, it may be possible to minimize them. It would seem to be the part of wisdom to avoid official functions which are apt to be provocative of disorderly opposition. Of course it is the indisputable right of the administration to determine what shall be official college functions, regardless of the desires of any students or group of students, but it might be prudent not to make an issue of this right unnecessarily. For example, we can readily imagine disturbances on military field days in the future, and may we not ask ourselves in advance whether such a function is absolutely necessary and whether it cannot be divested somewhat of its formal character? The R.O.T.C. students drill on the college grounds every



l. to r. *Leonard Gutkin, expelled, Pres. of Student Council, member of L.I.D.; Dean Morton Gottschall; Morris Milgram, expelled, leader of City College L.I.D.*

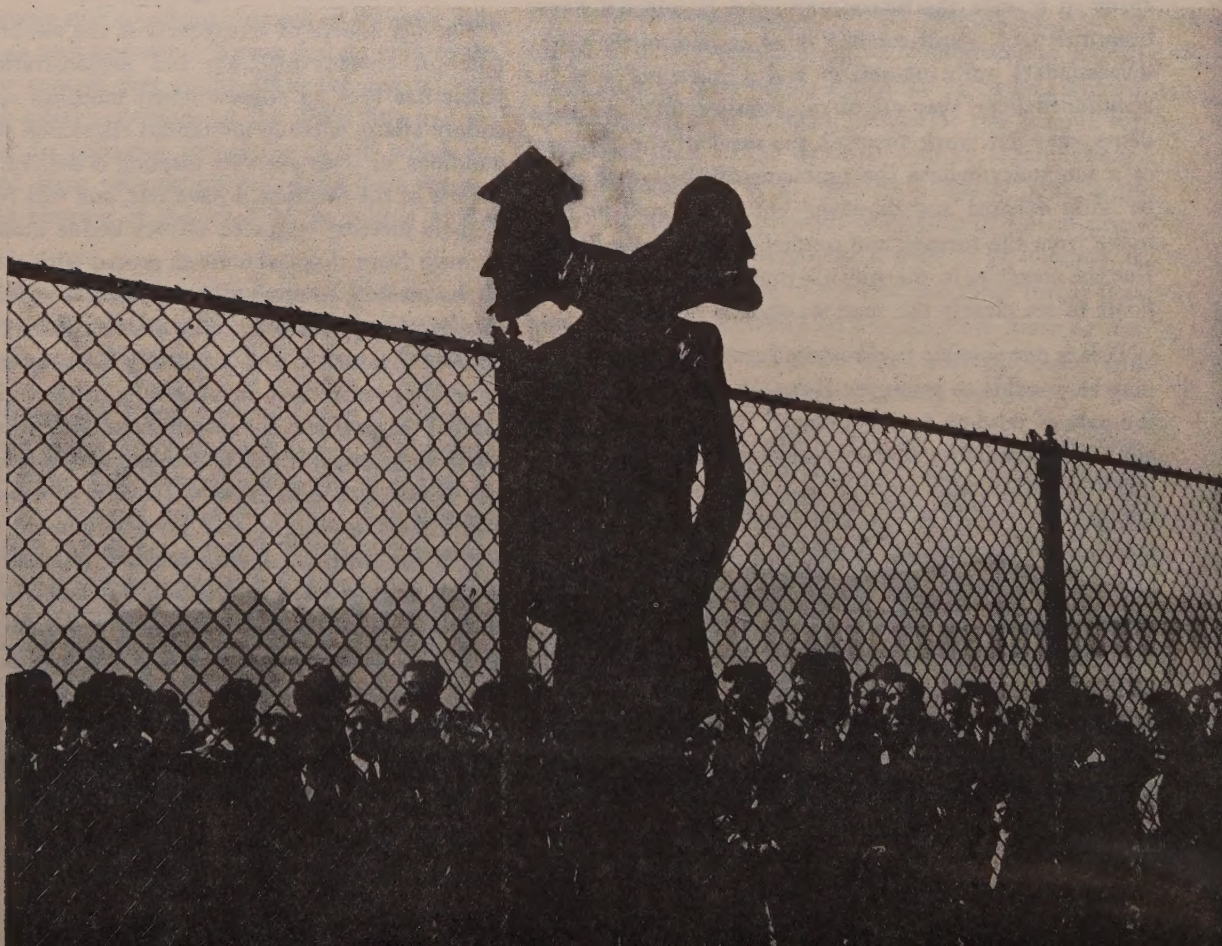
day without being molested or interfered with; it is only when the R.O.T.C. drill is made a special college function, to the exclusion of all other college activities, that student opposition is encountered. It will, of course, be said that if we haven't disturbances over official college functions, we still would have disturbances over other matters, e.g., the lunch-room, the Co-op store, free text-books, etc. Granting this to be true, I should say that it is very difficult to make burning issues of matters of purely local consequence, and I for one should view such disturbances with considerable equanimity; I doubt whether such disturbances would assume serious proportions or would be of such a character as to affect the College adversely.

Another source of controversy is the use of the flagpole for student meetings and demonstrations. Our policy has been to allow student meetings relating to college affairs without substantial restriction within the buildings, or if an open-air meeting is desired, to allow the use of the Stadium. I have felt, and still feel, that a flagpole meeting is apt to attract undue attention not so much from those who are in accord with the purpose of the meeting as from those opposed, in addition to a considerable number drawn by mere curiosity; the possibility of disorder in such a meeting is, to my mind, considerably greater than in a meeting in the buildings or in the Stadium; and the interference with other college activities, particularly in classrooms facing on the Campus, is also apt to be greater. In view of the ease with which meetings can be held elsewhere in the buildings and in the Stadium, I am unable to regard the denial of the flagpole as a substantial restriction of student liberties. This attitude, I am told by my young friends, is utterly unreasonable; that the flagpole is the only place where they can hold a meeting or conduct a demonstration effectively; that everywhere else they face difficulties in bringing their meeting to the attention of the student body; that allowing flagpole meetings



*This picture alone disproves claim of college authorities that only 150 students took part in City College strike.  
Scene on Convent Avenue during strike*

*Burning the effigy of Robinson and Mussolini, while student strikers chanted, "Smoke Out Robinson"*





would tend to allay the spirit of unrest and would avoid violations of college regulations such as have occurred in the past few weeks. These arguments do not carry conviction to my mind; at the same time the matter seems to me to have been given altogether undue importance. Meetings at the flagpole at times when regular college classes are in session I cannot and will not allow; but, if the Faculty does not object, I should be willing experimentally to allow flagpole meetings during the free period on Thursdays between 12 and 2. I doubt that this will have any great effect in improving Faculty-student relations; but I am willing to try it out.

Other things too have occurred to me as aids in bringing about a somewhat more wholesome attitude of mind on the part of our young "rebels." Certain changes in curriculum, particularly in the Social Science course, would be helpful. The development of informal functions which would bring together students and members of the teaching staff in a purely social way is an almost virgin field. The institution of joint Faculty-student committees meeting at regular intervals, not displacing organs of student self-government but really cooperating with them, might be useful in checking difficulties before they have assumed serious proportions. But it does not seem appropriate to develop these themes in the present report.

In judging the actions of the students, we should try to understand the motivation of their conduct. Difficult as it is for us, we should try to look at their actions from their own viewpoint and judge their conduct on the basis of the views they actually did entertain. Whatever the actual facts may have been, they were convinced that the visit of the Italian students to this country was not a friendly visit for cultural purposes, as it outwardly purported to be, but a subtle bit of Fascist propaganda, financed by the Italian government. Furthermore, to them the menace of Fascism in America looms very close; and Fascism means to them not merely the suppression of freedom of expression as an abstract principle but the suppression of the particular political doctrines and activities which they advocate with the fiery intensity of young radicals the world over. They cannot afford to wait, they feel, until the Fascist movement has grown stronger, but must combat its every manifestation. That they may by their actions be bringing closer the very thing that they oppose, they cannot understand.

With these views it is obvious that they should have been greatly exercised over the proposed visit to the Col-

lege of some of the Italian students and that they should have felt it necessary in some "effective" way to show their opposition to Fascism. In considering the methods they should adopt, it probably never entered their heads at all that some of the methods might involve disrespect to the authorities of the College, or discourtesy or even disorder, the whole question to them being, "Will it be effective?" In a somewhat confused way, they adopted several alternatives without paying much regard to their apparent inconsistency, asking to have the visit cancelled, asking to have a Student Council speaker participate in the official program, asking to have a protest meeting at the flagpole, preparing a leaflet calculated to arouse student opposition, organizing a picket line outside the entrance to the College. The offer of the Stadium instead of the flagpole for their protest meeting was not acceptable to them, because of their peculiar view, which I have endeavored to explain above, that a flagpole meeting is effective in some special way that a Stadium meeting is not. Not having found any satisfactory way of expressing their anti-Fascist sentiments, they went to the Great Hall with no clear idea of what they would do beyond supporting and cheering the Student Council speaker.

The disturbance in the Great Hall, so far as any evidence before me goes, was not the result of a carefully arranged plot to disrupt the meeting or to gain possession of the platform. The hissing, booing and shouting were, I believe, spontaneous outbursts on the spur of the moment. The students under investigation were probably as much surprised as anyone at the riot which ensued when Edwin Alexander failed to stop speaking at the request of the chairman of the meeting and was forcibly removed by the extremely prompt and possibly over-vigorous intervention of students on the platform and from the floor. But to say that the disorderly and discourteous conduct of the students was not deliberately planned does not excuse it. Whether planned or not, it is not the type of conduct which we have the right to expect of college students.

Making every allowance for the strong feelings of the students against Fascism and for the tenseness and excitement of the moment, I must still conclude that the conduct of the students was wrong, very wrong. This is true not only of the conduct of the students in the Great Hall, but even more emphatically of the activities on subsequent days, for these later activities were planned and not spontaneous and involve not only ungentlemanly conduct but deliberate defiance of authority.

There are in all five separate acts of misconduct involved in the affair:

(1) The preparation and distribution of leaflets of inflammatory and derogatory character. There were at least three such leaflets issued in the name of the Student Council, on October 9th, 11th, and 15th. Many other leaflets were issued by the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and in addition these two outside organizations are specifically mentioned in one of the Student Council leaflets. The leaflets were distributed to some extent on, but chiefly off, the college grounds. The objection of course is not to the issuance of leaflets as such but to their insulting and defiant tone.

(2) The formation of a so-called "picket line" on Convent Avenue near the entrance to the Main Building, between 11 and 12 o'clock on Tuesday, October 9th, a group of students marching up and down with placards denouncing Fascism. The purpose of this was to stir up student sentiment and possibly to attract the attention of the Italian visitors on their arrival. This episode is, in my judgment, of minor importance, as compared with the other charges.

(3) The misconduct in the Great Hall, including the hissing of the Italian students on their arrival, the attempt to thrust a mimeographed message into their hands, the hissing and booing during the President's remarks, the applause and shouting when Mr. Alexander mounted the platform, Mr. Alexander's failure to stop speaking when directed by the chairman of the meeting, the subsequent milling about and scuffling participated in by other students in their endeavor to stop Mr. Alexander, and the shouting of slogans immediately thereafter.

(4) The mass meetings held at 140th Street and Convent Avenue, on October 15th and on numerous days thereafter. These meetings were in violation of the Faculty regulation that it is considered conduct inimical to the best interests of the College to participate in an unauthorized meeting relating to college affairs either on the college grounds or in proximity thereto. The students would have been allowed to hold these meetings either in the college buildings or in the Stadium, had they so desired, but they did not so desire because they felt they would not attract sufficient attention. Some at least of the participants in these unauthorized meetings were fully aware of the faculty regulation.

(5) The picketing of the President's house, beginning October 30th and continuing daily thereafter, students marching up and down with placards, some of derogatory character. This occurred chiefly between the hours of 12 and 2, with other students watching from the opposite corner where occasionally mass meetings were held. If the picketers had been outsiders, the legal question might be raised whether the right of picketing is not restricted to industrial disputes. In the case of students of the College, however, there can be no doubt that directly insulting the President of the College and harassing the members of his family can be regarded as a breach of college discipline.

In my interrogations of individual students I am glad to say that with few exceptions they responded with the utmost candor and truthfulness. But although they made no attempt to conceal their misconduct, I could not get the boys to admit that they had been at fault. Even in the matter of violating the definite college regulation against unauthorized meetings in proximity to the grounds, they would admit the violation of the regulation, but still contend that they were normally justified because in their eyes it was an unfair and improper rule. In vain I have attempted to point out that it is impossible on the one hand to accept the protection of the College and on the other to disobey its regulations with impunity; that obedience to law, submission to authority, is essential to every organized government. In one of the dialogues of Plato, Socrates is urged to escape from prison and refuses to do so, imagining the laws as saying to him: "Consider, Socrates, that in your present attempt you are going to do us wrong. For, after having brought you into the world, and nurtured and educated you, and given you and every other citizen a share in every good that we had to give, we further proclaim and give the right to every Athenian, that if he does not like us when he has come of age and has seen the ways of the city, and made our acquaintance, he may go where he pleases and take his goods with him; and none of us laws will forbid him or interfere with him. But he who has experience of the manner in which we order justice and administer the State, and still remains, has entered into an implied contract that he will do as we command him. And he who disobeys us is, as we maintain, thrice wrong: first, because in disobeying us he is disobeying his parents; secondly, because we are the authors of his education; thirdly, because he has made an agreement with us that he will duly obey our commands; and he neither obeys them nor convinces us that our com-

# What Was the Purpose of the Visit of the 350 Italian Students?

*La Stampa* of Turin says it was a "brilliant new stage in the triumphal march of Fascism over the world!" We recommend to President Frederick B. Robinson and the City College Faculty, who insist that the visit of the 350 students had no political intention, the following clippings, from *La Stampa*, a newspaper published in Turin, Italy.

## L'elogio del Duce ai gollardi crocieristi in America

Roma, 23 notte.

Con la cerimonia più significativa — la visita al Duce — si è conclusa oggi la crociera sportivo-culturale dei gollardi fascisti nel Nord America.

Ricevuti alle ore 11 a Palazzo Littorio dal Segretario del Partito, che ha rivolto loro parole di plauso per la dimostrazione di forza e di disciplina offerta al popolo americano, i gollardi, perfettamente inquadrati, con alla testa i gonfaloni delle ventisei Università, si sono recati a Palazzo Venezia, accompagnati dal Segretario del Partito e dal vice segretario dei Guf.

Alle ore 12 il Duce è apparso nel salone, dove, su triplice fila, erano schierati i gollardi. Il Suo apparire è stato accolto da un formidabile « A noi! », in cui vibrava la riconoscenza dei giovani per aver commesso loro l'onorifico incarico di rappresentare l'Italia fascista al di là dell'Atlantico.

Il console Poli ha letto al Duce, che l'ha ascoltata attentamente, la relazione sulla crociera, recante nella chiusa la conclusione di studi e di osservazioni fatte sulla vita americana e specialmente sul sentimento di italianità che anima i connazionali colà residenti.

*Ha preso, quindi, la parola il Duce, che ha elogiato i giovani gollardi e per l'ambasceria così felicemente condotta a termine e per le vittorie sportive conseguite.*

From "La Stampa," Turin, Oct. 24, 1934.

### THE EULOGY OF THE DUCE TO THE STUDENTS OF THE TOUR TO AMERICA

Rome, Oct. 23, night

With the most significant ceremony of all—the visit to the Duce—the Fascist sports-cultural tour to North America was concluded.

Received at eleven o'clock at the Palazzo Littorio by the Secretary of the Party, who tendered them words of praise for the demonstration of force and of discipline given to the American people, the students, in perfect formation, with the banners of the 26 Universities at their head, went to the Palazzo Venezia, accompanied by the Secretary of the Party and the vice-secretary of the GUF (Fascist University Groups).

At twelve o'clock the Duce appeared in the reception hall, where, in triple file, were lined up the students. They greeted His [sic] appearance with a tremendous "To us!" in which vibrated the youths' consciousness of having fulfilled their honorable mission of representing Fascist Italy on the other side of the Atlantic.

## Libro e Moschetto

### Il saluto del G.U.F. ai gollardi reduci dall'America

Ieri, con il diretto delle 12,35 proveniente da Roma, è ritornato un gruppo di Fascisti Universitari della squadra del G.U.F. di Torino che partecipò alla crociera in America. Ad attenderli alla stazione erano i dirigenti del G.U.F., il dott. Saini e molti gollardi.

In occasione del ritorno dei camerati dalla crociera americana, l'Ufficio Stampa del G.U.F. di Torino ha diramato il seguente saluto, che ci prega di pubblicare:

« Salve, camerati di ritorno dalla gloriosa crociera americana! Noi vi seguimmo nel vostro viaggio trionfale, attraverso i giornali, con l'animo trepidante. Eravamo tutti spiritualmente con voi, e come voi provavamo l'ansia delle lotte che vi attendevano, dove avreste dovuto dimostrare tutto il vostro valore, e come voi sentivamo profondamente tutta l'importanza di questa vostra crociera che era una stupenda affermazione universale di italianità. In ciascuno di voi vedevamo un po' di noi, della nostra giovinezza, del nostro entusiasmo. Voi non eravate solo lo trentacinquantista, ma eravate idealmente milioni; voi di Torino non eravate venti, ma migliaia. Nei vostri cuori voi portavate l'Italia, e ben lo intesero i nostri fratelli laggiù. « Voi, degni rappresentanti dell'aristocrazia del Littorio, avete varcato sorridendo l'Oceano, come già fecero Colombo e Balbo, e là, nel turbinoso paese dei grattacieli, nell'impero del capitalismo, voi guardaste con i limpidi occhi, sereni e per nulla turbati, e mostraste, alle genti di laggiù, di quale tempra sono i giovani di Mussolini. Voi lottaste e vinceste, voi sfilaste impeccabili nelle vostre belle uniformi o nei ricchi costumi carichi di secoli e di gloria, e le folle ammirate vi acclamarono. Ed ora siete ritornati fra noi, siete rientrati nei ranghi, semplici gregari nell'esercito della giovinezza. Voi foste per alcune settimane eroi e trionfatori, ma non vi insuperbiste. Voi avete adempiuto alla vostra missione e modestamente ritornate ora quello che prima eravate: semplici fedelissimi uomini al servizio dell'Idea. A voi basta il preziosissimo tesoro d'esperienza che avete acquistato laggiù, nell'immensa terra americana. E voi do mani racconterete quello che avete visto, parlerete di New York e di Washington, di Boston e di Chicago come di un bel sogno vissuto... »

« Oggi noi salutiamo in voi i cari camerati di studio e di fede che per volere del Duce hanno segnato una nuova luminosa tappa nel cammino trionfale del Fascismo nel mondo! ».

Their (leader) "Consul" Poli read to the Duce, who listened attentively, the report on the tour, concluding with an account of studies and observations made on American life, and especially on the spirit of Italianity which animated the fellow-Italians residing in America.

Thereupon began the speech of the

From "La Stampa," Turin, Oct. 24, 1934.

BOOK AND MUSKET

### THE SALUTE OF THE G U F TO THE STUDENTS BACK FROM AMERICA

Yesterday, on the 12:35 express from Rome, returned a group of the Fascist University Students of the GUF squadron of Turin, who participated in the tour of America. Awaiting them at the station were the directors of the GUF (Fascist University Groups), Dr. Saini, and many students.

On the occasion of the comrades' return from their American tour, the GUF's Turin Press Office drew up the following greeting, which it requests us to publish:

"Hail, returned comrades of the glorious American tour! With anxious hearts we followed you in the newspapers on your triumphant voyage. We were all with you spiritually, and like you we felt the anxiety of the battles awaiting you, wherein you had to show all your valor, and like you profoundly felt all the importance of your tour, which was a stupendous and universal affirmation of Italianity. In each one of you we saw a little of ourselves, of our own enthusiasm. You were not only 350, but millions in spirit. You from Turin were not twenty, but thousands. In your hearts you carried Italy, and well did our brothers over there understand it. You, worthy representatives of the aristocracy of the Lictoral Fasces, smilingly crossed the Ocean, as Columbus and Balbo did before you, and there in the turbulent land of skyscrapers, in the empire of capitalism, you gazed clear-eyed, serene, and unperturbed, and showed the people over there of what stuff Mussolini's youths are made. You fought and won, you paraded immaculate in your handsome uniforms or in rich costumes laden with centuries and glory, and the marveling crowds acclaimed you. And now you have returned among us, you have re-entered the ranks, simple privates in the army of youth. You, for a few weeks, were heroes and conquerors, but do not become too proud. You have fulfilled your mission, and now you modestly return to what you were before: simple faithful men in the service of the Idea. Enough for you is the most precious treasure of experience which you have gained over there, in that vast land of America. And tomorrow you will recount what you have seen, you will speak of New York and of Washington, of Boston, and of Chicago, as of a beautiful dream that you have lived through . . .

"Today we salute in you the dear comrades in study and in faith who by the Duce's will have marked a brilliant new stage in the triumphal march of Fascism over the world!"

Duce, who eulogized the young students both for their ambassadorship so happily concluded and for their victories achieved in sports.

mands are wrong; and we do not rudely impose them, but give him the alternative of obeying or convincing us; that is what we offer, and he does neither." It is this view that I have attempted to explain to the young men, only to be met by the response, "Yes, you have the power to punish us, but you do not have the moral right."

It may very well be that in their own hearts some at least of the boys realize their misconduct and regret it, but will not make the admission, because they feel that the blame is not wholly on their side and also because of their intense group loyalty. If they could be made to see that this group loyalty is entirely consistent with a larger loyalty to the authorities and laws of the College, they could yet become useful members of the college community. At times I have felt this to be a hopeless task, in view of their obdurate attitude and their absolute conviction that they are in the right; at other times, considering their extreme youth, it seems quite possible that in time their opinions may change.

The problem before us, however, concerns the immediate future of the boys. Mere forgiveness would be construed by them as a vindication and is not apt to bring about the change in attitude which is essential if we are to avoid future disorders. It is possible, but by no means certain, that disciplinary penalties may be more effective in inducing such a change in the individuals concerned. Such penalties must, of course, be based on the overt acts committed.

I have examined a large number of students and have found thirty-seven involved in one or more of the series of acts enumerated above. Of these, five stand out as what I may term the principal actors. These five are:

Edwin Alexander, Jr.  
M. Charles Goodwin  
Leonard Gutkin  
Edward Kuntz, Jr.  
Morris Milgram

I recommend that they be suspended for the present term and that the suspension be continued indefinitely until such time as they can give satisfactory assurance that they will obey existing college regulations and that their conduct will be in conformity with the standards of courtesy and respect expected of college students.

By "satisfactory assurance" I do not mean an apology or pledge or formula to be subscribed to. I have no faith in such things. But I do have faith in the boys. I have found them honest and straightforward in my dealings with them, courageous and sincere in express-

ing their convictions, even though they are mistaken in their ideas. If they were to come to me and say, "We have changed; we feel we can conscientiously conform to the standards and regulations of the College," I should believe them.

The other students, thirty-two in all, participated in one or more of the disorderly activities, but in minor capacities. Many of them were suspended by me for refusal to submit to my authority in conducting the investigation but when they changed their minds and answered my questions were reinstated. I recommend that they be placed on probation for the rest of their college course, with the understanding that a repetition of their offense will result in indefinite suspension as in the case of the five chief offenders.

### Fight for Life

(Continued from page 5)

The whole thing comes to this: good and evil are equally potential. Time (the future) is suspended: war may be the consequence, or civilization may be the consequence. Being civilized, I prefer civilization. My power is limited: I write short stories that critics say aren't short stories. The power of the frauds is tremendous: all we got to do now is see that they use this power decently, or take it away from them.

# ABOLISH! the R.O.T.C.!



REBEL ART J

# PATRONIZING THE NEGRO STUDENT

By GEORGE STREATOR

A SINCERE young man who wants to win the Negro college students for socialism challenged me on the street not long ago and said with frankness and emotion:

"The trouble with Negro students in northern colleges is that they are just plain cowards. Why we organized several demonstrations for them and very few appeared. There we were talking about discrimination, and the persons affected did not show up at all."

My young friend had everything he needed for winning Negro students to socialism except judgment. There are two things that plague the colored student in the northern college. The first is race prejudice which manifests itself in many subtle as well as overt forms. The second, and may I emphasize this, is the patronizing attitude of many of his would-be friends.

Out of my own experiences I could enjoy hanging several insulting examples of Nordic superiority, but I could use the remaining rope with glee on the necks of many of the people who wanted to "do something nice for the colored student." The experiences of the average Negro college student in the North would fall into these two categories. Consequently when organizations bent on converting the Negro to socialism go in for a spectacular discovery of race prejudice, a great many Negro students are likely to think that here again is somebody who has an ax to grind, and is going to use the Negro to do it.

The Republican party for years has used the precise tactics now glorified by the socialist parties of the extreme left. For years the Republican party made much of its Negro delegates. It gave them more than necessary recognition. On occasion, Roosevelt the Greater would pat the head of a Negro baby and invite Booker Washington to tea or *dinner* (depending on whether you are a reconstructed or unreconstructed Southerner, dear reader). Republican speakers in the Negro district began with Fred Douglas, came through the Brownsville mire with Teddy Roosevelt, recounted San Juan Hill and the Tenth (colored) U. S. Cavalry. On the wall back of the speaker a picture of Booker T. and Fred Douglas flanked Abe Lincoln. There were no campaign issues; only love for the Negro and an impassioned plea for "racial justice."

Today the Republican party is so completely the party of the fat-bellies and the stuffed shirts that poor black

man gets little attention. It was the Great Engineer from Palo Alto that caused the change. He booted his Negro delegates about until only lily-whites were left. Those that would have served him as unstintedly for a price as they had served any other Republican president were shunted aside for 10 per cent white delegates. Hoover saw a vision. His vision was to make the Republican party more anti-Negro than the Democratic. In so doing he would corral the Southern vote, break the Solid South, and maintain power through the Longs, Bilbos, and Byrds, instead of through the now discordant West and East.

The story of how the Republican party dropped the Negro is not nearly so interesting as how the New Deal discovered him. But it suffices to say that the once hated Democratic party has become over-night the party of the Negro politicians. The Democrats have given more jobs, appointed more "special advisers," and cajoled more "race leaders" than the Republicans in their heyday.

Meanwhile there has grown up a large number of intelligent Negroes who are sick of being patronized; who are sick and disgusted with being appealed to solely on the grounds that they have been wronged. This feeling has permeated the colleges, and wherever you find Negro students, you are going to find some of them who are not going to be brought around to anything through a mere verbal exploitation of their wrongs.

Now this goes for student organizations as well as for the parties of bankers and munitions barons. Negro students want to be appealed to from the point of view of their intellect; not their emotions. Those groups and organizations which go out to recruit Negro students are wasting time basing all of their appeals on racial discrimination against the colored student.

In the first place, there are many Negro students who are convinced that there can be no end to discrimination until we change the system that makes it profitable. In spite of the football players and fraternity men, there is an appreciable number of Negro students who know that a new social order is a necessary and sufficient condition for the levelling of the races. In the second place, to be continually reminded of your wrongs produces a state of mind that renders all else blurred.

There will be no universality of agreement with this thesis, however clumsily stated. The failure of the Negro

protest organizations to arouse a greater amount of response among Negroes is due directly to the fact that their only program has been "denouncing race prejudice," or holding mass meetings. Unless there is a lynching or some other gruesome example of sadism and chauvinism, the Negro protest organization has been quiet and immobile. Now why should an organization which seeks to enlist the sympathies and support of Negro college students expect to win them simply by repeating these age-old methods?

My suggestion to a group of white students who resent discrimination against Negroes is the less spectacular method of enlisting white students who are opposed to discrimination. Then, on specific and concrete issues make a protest, and a sustained protest. Here again is a thing which dulls the Negro student to organizations which occasionally demonstrate for him. Demonstrations are sporadic, while prejudice is quite sustained.

A much more important reason for the failure of many groups to enlist Negro students is an unconscious but quite real existence of racial prejudice within the organization. A Negro student of judgment discerns this quite easily. Whenever organizations *bend over backwards* to enlist Negro students, there is something just as rotten in Denmark as when they do not enlist them at all.

A most objectionable procedure is the one that has been adopted time and again in approaching Negro colleges. Nothing is likely to produce an impasse more quickly than having a white person, Jewish or Gentile, take a platform to denounce every "leading" Negro on the grounds that he is lacking in social vision, or that he has sold out his people, or something like that. Whatever the merits, this is poor strategy. No Negro would be able to sway a Mexican group by denouncing all the heroes, deservedly or undeservedly honored, which the Mexicans knew anything about. Especially when the denouncing comes in the clipped English of New York is the Negro student likely to wonder whether the smart speaker actually knows what he is talking about.

There is a quiet suspicion among many thousands of intelligent Negroes that a lot of people would like for them to be the goats in the coming social upheaval.

"Are we to play the same part that the Indians played in the Mexican struggle?" Many colored people, I say, want to know whether the "great plan" contemplates using black "shock troops."

Is this a silly fear? The organization which wants to win Negro students for socialism will have to face this fear, whether it is warranted or not.

In the South, for example, to enroll Negroes is an easy matter, comparatively. Negro students are ripe for change. But why should it be expected that the Negro students can change the South if nothing is done in the neighboring white colleges at the same time? The N.S.L. convention at Howard floundered in its results through the inability of the N.S.L. to organize the neighboring white colleges. It would do absolutely no good to have the colored students meet every fortnight to discuss ending race prejudice when the students of white George Washington were not troubled about the matter. Colored students have talked about ending race prejudice and building some sort of new order all their lives. It might not have been revolutionary socialism they wanted but it was change, and wherever there is a desire for change, there lies a chance to educate for socialism.

So I take my stand against appealing to Negro students solely through a desire to win their affection. If student groups are intent on winning the enrollment of Negro students, and they should be, the appeal should be made on the same basis that it is made to everybody else. Discrimination is one thing that plagues the Negro student. The patronizing attitude, the bending over backwards to enlist his support is the other.

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## DROUGHT HARVEST

*News Item—Drought stricken farmers of the mid-west are harvesting Russian thistles for their starving flock.*

Thistles grow on the once green land,  
And cruel eyed daylight sees  
A slow down going of minds.

Pale is the night when dark days ride the mind.  
Pallid the moon and deathly pale  
Is the dust between the thistles.

Not in the dust alone do the thistles grow,  
But over the sunken eyes and the sunken minds  
The thistle shadows fall like antlered death  
That walks a wasted world.

Weird is the soulless night and stark is the dead eyed day  
When hell parched minds take home the silver dry  
Bones of death to frighten death away.

CARLIN ADEN

# Students Against War

**M**ANY tributaries go to make the main stream of the student anti-war movement—the fight for the abolition of the R.O.T.C., the spreading of the sentiment of the Oxford pledge, the anti-war conference movement, the campaign against jingoistic textbooks. Twice a year, on Armistice Day and the student strike in April these come to full fruition. This year over Armistice weekend, there were no actions commensurate with the dramatic anti-war strike of last April, but intensive educational work enlisting many new recruits went on over the nation from the 9th to 11th.

All over—at Tulane, Harvard, Cornell, Boulder, Berkeley, etc. conferences, assemblies, demonstrations and torchlight parades were held:

**ANN ARBOR:** Ordinarily on Armistice Day, University of Michigan students are dismissed at 10:30 A.M. to attend patriotic services arranged in Hill Auditorium by the Army and Navy Club. Only R.O.T.C. students are required to be present, so the audience is largely townspeople, and the students just take a "bolt." This year, however, the Administration made the error of dismissing classes at 10 o'clock. As students poured out of class they found a huge mass meeting under way on the Library steps. They were surprised to notice that, contrary to all past experience with Michigan mass meetings, this was an extremely orderly one, despite the fact that there were over a thousand listeners. For Preston W. Slosson, popular history professor, was giving the "lecture." He was pointing out the serious nature of this business of war. "Eight million men died in vain."


The crowd grew; even the boys in uniform had half an hour to spare. Next was Professor John Shepard of Psychology Department. Everyone on the campus knows Prof. Shepard and enjoys hearing about his equally well-known white rats. This was the first time that most of them had heard him discuss the economic causes of war and its relation to fascism. Students followed with short talks in which they attempted to show that war is inevitable only under capitalism. All were well received, and although the chairman soon called off the meeting because of the cold wind, it was by far the best open air meeting ever pulled on the

## Armistice Reports from Over the Nation

Michigan Campus. It is hoped that a new tradition has been established.

Although classes are dismissed for the Army and Navy Club's services, permission was refused the United Front against War to plant white crosses on the campus in memory of those 260 Michigan men who gave their lives. Moreover, the Administration used its influence to persuade the Church groups to withdraw from the United Front and then warned the officers of the remaining groups that any student planting white crosses would be expelled.

**MINNESOTA:** *The Minnesota Daily* of November 10th reported: "A capacity crowd of students and fac-

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DE 974 NOV-9'34		
LX60 BRUXELLES 22 9 . MM MXD GP MLT LASH 112 EAST 19TH STREET NEWYORK .		
SOCIALIST STUDENT INTERNATIONAL FULL SYMPATHY YOUR ANTI WAR ACTION FRATERNEL WISHES FOR BIG SUCCESS - RENS		
TO SEND A MESSAGE OR CALL A MEMBER, TELEPHONE WHITTAKER 4-2320 OR ANY PORTAL TELEGRAM OFFICE FOR DELIVERY SERVICE AND ALL OTHER PARTICULARS TELEPHONE WHITTAKER 4-2320		

ulty men yesterday massed in Burlington Hall for the strangest Armistice day observance in the University's history.

"Student and faculty speakers flayed military propagandists, munitions makers and fascists, providing a strong contrast to the Armistice day convocation last year when students taking military drill trooped to the auditorium in uniform."

**CORNELL:** "The Intercollegiate Peace Conference at Cornell is over. I think we can say it was a success. It was sponsored by the Cornell Council against War which includes the Baptist student group, Hillel Jewish group, Methodist student group, Liberal Club,

(Continued on page 28)



## The Septic Plan and Santa Claus for Governor of the State of California

Briefly, the SEPTIC PLAN (Soak Every Possible Taxpayer In California) guarantees to abolish all unpleasantness and to establish complete happiness for every citizen of California, past, present and future. With such a guarantee, certainly no thinking citizen is going to tolerate the blindly reactionary plans offered by New Deal politicians, Experts, Professors, Authors, Socialists, Fascists, Communists, Utopians and other Tories.

Not only does the SEPTIC PLAN guarantee that every citizen of California shall be completely happy on earth, but that he shall go to Heaven when he dies, or should he prefer not to die, he may be assured of immortality.

And that is not all. The SEPTIC PLAN is retroactive and if any of the former dear departed citizens of California are not in Heaven now it will be arranged for them to get there. Should they prefer California to Heaven they may be brought back to Our Glorious State, completely reformed. Furthermore, all costs of doing this will be paid just as soon as Europe's and America's War Debts are cleaned up, also the debts of the Boom, the debts of the Slump, and the debts of the New Deal. Every phase of the SEPTIC PLAN will be self-supporting and self-liquidating by adequate taxation.

Such expressions as "the abundant life," "economic security," etc., are meaningless jargon excepting in the SEPTIC PLAN; for under this PLAN every citizen receives at birth a pension of \$200 per month. This will help defray the expense of arriving and may serve as a reward for the parents, at least until the young citizen becomes aware of his rights and other facts of life. This pension will continue until the citizen reaches the age of 25, thus insuring a thorough education in the use of money and eliminating many evils of the "old order" such as the proselyting of football players. Nor even then will the citizen be left to the "law of the jungle" and "tooth and claw economics" for at 25 every citizen will be eligible for Unemployment Insurance. At the age of 45 further work will be strictly prohibited and the citizen will retire with an Old Age pension of \$200 per month. Think of all the money that will be in circulation.

A real social justice is guaranteed. Capone will be freed, for after all he was merely trying to re-distribute the wealth.

Industry will be stimulated. All the closed factories will be opened and the open ones closed. This will keep them all busy.

In abolishing all unpleasantness it will be obviously necessary to eliminate the following conditions, which from time to time have afflicted the people of California: Unemployment, Reduced Income, War, Labor Troubles, Unfavorable Trade Balances, Hostility of Foreign Peoples, Cold Winters, Hot Summers, Fog, Drought, Halitosis, B. O., Marital Difficulties, Inferiority Complex, Athlete's Foot, Declining Stock Market, Pink Tooth Brush, Earthquakes, Dandruff, Immoral Movies, Greed, Envy, Hate, Hangnails, Fear, Sin, Sickness, Death, Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Press.

The SEPTIC PLAN is a definite challenge to every self-respecting citizen because anyone opposing it will be classified as an Anti-Septic. To avoid this humiliation everyone is advised to wear the Political Uniform of the Party, which consists of long white whiskers and a Red Shirt trimmed with White Fuzz.

By UPTAX SANSCARE, Chairman

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CALIFORNIA offers the nation a preview of the tactics by which big business will attempt to maintain the profit system intact against majority consent. Those who are counting on getting the power to begin the building of a collectivist society through the ballot will find it worth their time to study the tactics of the opposition as displayed in the California election of 1934. The following is just a partial display of the methods used in the fight for votes.

The major offensive by the defenders of the *status quo* consisted of an appeal to prejudice, fear and ignorance by those who knew better. This drive cost the ruling classes of California millions of dollars. They had to pay for everything, and in advance, with the single exception of newspaper space which they obtained without cost by virtue of their control of the press through advertising. But the millions will now earn their dividends.

Tons of pamphlets flowed from the presses during the campaign sounding ominous notes in the ears of the masses. The door steps of a million homes were littered with printed appeals to prejudice and fear. The prophet of EPIC was quoted on religion from his book *Profits of Religion*, and charged with being "Slanderer of All Churches and All Christian Institutions," which sweet caption had been changed from "Dynamiter of

## How Capitalism Fights

All Churches and All Christian Institutions" because some naive folks started searching for the wrecked places of worship.

The appeal to religious prejudice was a powerful one in a state notorious for its religious fakirs, especially around Los Angeles. Their sonorous and pious voices constantly invoked damnation and hell-fire for Upton Sinclair, and undoubtedly frightened thousands of simple folk who sat at their radios trying to get at the truth.

Within the churches a theological battle-royal went on between those who claimed the candidate was an atheist and those who asserted he was one of the few Christians alive today. Not only party lines collapsed before Sinclair's vigorous statement of the issue, but religion was challenged at its tap roots, and whole sections of the impoverished middle class have begun to question the institutions of religion for the first time. The opponents of collectivism in their fanatical attack against Sinclair turned the spotlight of public interest on his anti-religious statements. People are reading Upton Sinclair's books; the libraries are swamped with demands for them; and the bookstores are sold out of them. The appeal to religious prejudice in this case has partly destroyed its own future usefulness by advertising where the people may go to be relieved of their prejudices. In addition, the attack on religious grounds outraged many people, especially religious leaders who have been turning away from a religious individualism toward an espousal of a new social order. What the barroom politicians discovered in this campaign was religion's deserting the fort of special privilege, and thousands of Christian ministers preaching a social gospel akin to the political program of collectivism.

The appeal to prejudice on the basis of the sanctity of the home, the sacredness of marriage, womanhood, motherhood, the menace of free love was broadcast by the millions in pamphlet form, and cried in frightening tones over the radio. A costly pamphlet entitled, *Free Love Comes to California* with a big question mark quotes one paragraph, presumably from Sinclair's book, *Love's Pilgrimage*. The paragraph ends with the sentence: "Indeed I am accustomed, when invited to dis-





By CHESTER WILLIAMS

cuss the institution of marriage, to insist upon discussing what actually exists—which is the institution of marriage plus prostitution.”

Of course it was difficult to get Californians excited over the threat to the institution of marriage that Sinclair constituted when it harbors Hollywood, whose secrets the newspapers are constantly splashing across the front pages. But you couldn't faze the conservatives—in one breath they declared Hollywood would move to Florida if Sinclair was elected, and in the next that free love would move in! Nevertheless, the Free Love bogey man carried effectively to the subconscious fears of our women voters.

The capitalist opposition having little concern for truth, of course did not scruple at trying to identify EPIC with Communism and Sinclair with the Comintern. The campaign was pictured as a showdown between Americanism and Communism. In one pamphlet, of the dozens distributed making this point, Sinclair was described as “Active Official of Communist Organizations, Communist Writer, and Communist Agitator.” Long before the campaign got under way, red baiting had gone far in frightening our people over the menace of Communism. The general strike in San Francisco, and the subsequent vigilantism created a widespread fear psychosis on this point. So that the big problem of the reactionaries was to identify Sinclair with Communism, in face of his having been repudiated by both Socialists and Communists. This was done, for example, by proving him to be a member of the American Civil Liberties Union! Or by scattering leaflets purporting to announce the support of the Young People's Communist League for him, when no such organization existed.

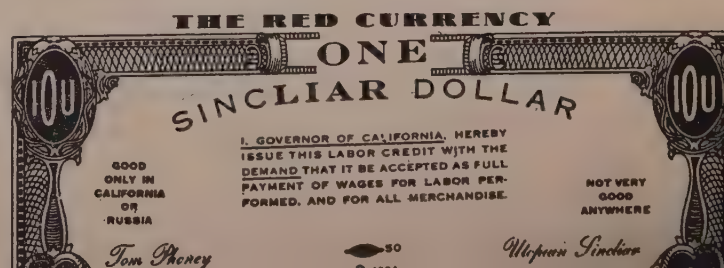
Another device was the appeal to fear of inflation. Thousands of “SinLIAR Dollars” marked the “Red Currency” which were filled with facetious parodies on the American dollar bill, were printed. In this as in other pamphlet material there was a take-off on the EPIC slogan, this one being “Endure Poverty in California.” The EPIC workers, being resourceful and enthusiastic, collected these bills by the hundreds and



Cover page to an anti-Sinclair pamphlet

sold them from their platforms for greenbacks in order to finance their campaign.

Perhaps the most telling attack on the EPIC movement by Big Business was the direct appeal to workers with jobs, to people owning property, life insurance, and having small investments. Billboards, press, radio, cinema, pulpit, pictured hordes of unemployed, bums and paupers coming to California to be taken care of by California and to compete with Californians for jobs. All sorts of fantastic figures about this influx were published by the kept press. Orators dinned into the ears of the confused common people dire prophecies of the collapse of business, the flight of capital, the end of pay rolls, the bankruptcy of insurance companies, and the end of profits from investments. In Los Angeles County people were sent around to buy up lots at high prices only to insist that the deal depended on the defeat



of Sinclair. As a matter of fact the buyers had no serious intention of going through with the deal. Stocks and bonds were beaten down with great difficulty to intimate the disaster that awaited the election of Sinclair.

Nowheres in the past has the press been less believed than now in California, because of their tricks and deceptions during the campaign. From lip to lip pass the stories of newspaper chicanery. For instance, *The San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Los Angeles Times* published two pictures captioned, FROM MANSION TO COTTAGE. One showed a Hollywood palace almost hidden by palm trees and shrubbery. The other showed Sinclair sitting in a rocking chair on the front porch of a modest cottage. The accompanying story claimed that the Socialist writer really lived in the palace but had moved to the cottage when he became candidate for Governor. Sinclair gave the facts to an audience at Dreamland Audience in San Francisco a few days after publication, and charged that the newspapers had published a photographic lie by cutting him and his rocking chair out of a picture they had taken of him on his front porch in Pasadena and pasting him on the front porch of a house rented by his secretary as a headquarters for mailing out his books. He explained how he had lived in the so-called palace for six months while he was making a picture—two years before he had ever thought of running for Governor. He then suggested that about a hundred of his hearers call up the *Chronicle* and tell that paper "what they think of that kind of photographic prevarication." The switchboards of the *Chronicle* for a day were jammed, and the paper came out a few days later with three pictures and a weak revision of the story.

The difference between the headlines and the contents of the stories were constantly pointed out to the people, and demonstrated by exhibitions. Contradictions between front page and inside page stories were displayed. In his San Francisco appearance, about 16,000 people at Civic Auditorium, heard Sinclair describe a much-used newspaper trick. The trick was to *garble* the statements of the Democratic candidate regarding what some important person had said, and then ask that person whether it was true. The person denies that he had said such a thing to Sinclair, and the headlines record another desertion. "F. R. Denies He Promised Aid to Sinclair" is a typical headline. But nowhere in the paper is any direct statement that Sinclair ever claimed that he would receive aid from the President. There was nothing to deny except the implication concocted by the newspapers for the specific purpose of getting basis for the headline.

In addition to the press, the great advertising facilities of the billboards were used exclusively by the Merriam forces. The third party candidate, Raymond Haight, claimed that no bill board was available for hire until after the election. Thousands of bill boards quoted the author-candidate on religion, free love, and most of all on the likelihood of the unemployed coming to California.

Employers used various devices to intimidate their employees. Some held meetings at which their workers were told that wage increases were being postponed until Sinclair was defeated, and business was safe. Others established committees of local loyal workers nearing the pension line, or close to the boss, to spread the word that the company was getting an option on a new plant in some other state to be ready to move in case Sinclair was elected. In several instances factories which closed down owing to the seasonal slump explained that the *uncertainty of the outcome of the election* did not permit continuation of production, and intimated that if Sinclair were elected they would not reopen.

In the studios in Hollywood, the executives collected one day's pay to help defeat Sinclair and "save their industry." In some cases the employees were handed blank checks made out to Louis B. Mayer, a Republican leader in the picture industry. Most of the employees did what they thought was most expedient.

I met a friend of mine who is a clerk in a department store in Los Angeles. He was wearing a Sinclair button, and I remarked about it. "Glad you drew that to my attention. I must take it off." He did so, and replaced it with a Merriam button, saying, "I was at a secret noon meeting of our clerks' committee." He went on to explain that in his store they had a secret committee of twenty-five, all of whom wore Merriam buttons with a pin scratch down the middle to indicate to each other that they were for Sinclair. Each day they tried to get other employees to join the "pin scratch club," and he claimed that 80% of them were wearing the button so marked, and that they had a method for getting a weekly distribution of the "Epic News" without the boss's knowing about it.

In Imperial Valley, where vigilantism controls the life of the people, a very extensive campaign was carried on almost exclusively underground. Sinclair, the Civil Liberties Union, and the Communist Party were regarded as one and the same thing by the vigilantes and the big shipper-growers.

The intimidation of the ministers presented a most interesting aspect of the campaign. One liberal minister who openly backed Sinclair from the beginning was

forced by his leading church members to invite Merriam to speak at his church a few days before the final election. A number of the leading ministers in Los Angeles wrote to me that the pressure to get them to oppose Sinclair as an atheist was almost unbearable, and that while they would have liked to come out against the raising of the religious issue, it would have been taken to mean a criticism of Merriam and a support of Sinclair, and would have split their churches, already rife with political conflicts.

The rulers of the churches who, of course, had been picked because of their ability to help finance and run the church in a business-like fashion, saw no objection to bringing politics into the church to save the state from a radical economist and an "atheist" in religion. The common people whose contacts brought

them in touch with the Utopian Society or the EPIC campaign were opposed to the use of church meetings, bulletin boards, and Sunday School classes for anti-Sinclair propaganda. Therein developed a bitter breach. One minister closed his church until after the election, except for formal services, in order to avoid a conflict within the membership.



At the last moment various plans to disfranchise several hundred thousand voters were involved. The reactionaries attempted a wholesale disfranchisement of voters in the closing days of the campaign. The Republic Committee itself brought one litigation under the provision which grants the right of any citizen to question the right of another to vote. The Attorney General also brought court action, (Continued on p. 40)

**UPTON SINCLAIR**  
ACTIVE OFFICIAL OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS  
Communist Writer — Communist Agitator

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SINCLAIR, The Communist Official  
From the Book, "THE RED NETWORK", By Elizabeth Dilling.

**UNDER WHICH FLAG?**

**I, MENACE OF CALIFORNIA**  
And How I Ended  
The True Story of  
**UPTON SINCLAIR**

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WALTER PRINT

*Some anti-Sinclair leaflets, scattered by thousands from airplanes*

# Vigilantism at U. C. L. A.

By CLAUDIE LITTLE

COLLEGE administrators, trustees and faculty members have been so accustomed to looking upon the university as an instrument for the perpetuation and strengthening of the *status quo*, that the appearance of a student movement which demands at least the neutralization of the university structure—if not its alignment with the forces working for a warless world—has thrown them into a panic. At Santa Clara the Editor of the undergraduate sheet was expelled for an anti-war editorial. The same happened to the editor of the University of Oregon paper for criticizing the Republican candidate for Governor. President Robinson of C.C.N.Y. unblushingly declares that: "the time might come when it would be clear that a college cannot permit its students to publish papers."

Even more ominous has been the procedure adopted by several administrations to combat the left-wing student movement. As if afraid to invoke the disciplinary powers of the university, responsible administration officers are calling upon patriotic students to purge the campus of radical influence. The appearance of a leaflet at San Jose State College led the President to write in the college newspaper the following invitation to disorder and stool-pigeon tactics in his college:

"When it comes to a direct and vicious attack like that, the time for discussion is over. I hope every true citizen on this campus, every one who loves the United States of America as well as his college, will assist in the eradication of this festering sore. Will all loyal groups, clubs, classes and societies act immediately. Make plans to get the necessary information. If you know members of the group, *please feel quite free to take them to the edge of the campus and drop them off.* I am very sure if they continue their efforts beyond the campus bounds the San Jose community is well prepared and willing to take care of them.

"Don't make any mistake, young people. This is a direct attack, vicious and senseless, upon our free government. It jeopardizes seriously the welfare of all of us. Certainly nobody wants a gang like that to run our nation, and now's the time to put a stop to the movement here. . . ."

However it is the University of California at Los Angeles (U.C.L.A.) which best exemplifies this inflexibility of administrative minds and habits because of the pressure of the reactionary influences of the community, and in a large part because of actual ossification. When 3,000 U.C.L.A. students meeting spontaneously

underneath Provost Moore's windows over the suspension of five fellow students, were calmed into singing their alma mater "Hail Blue and Gold," Los Angeles papers hailed this inspired gesture of campus patriotism as having put an end to the danger of campus violence. Actually, however, the danger of violence had just begun. On November 1st, Dr. Moore broadcast the following appeal to the fraternity men and athletes of the country:

"It will be best when we are not any of us Laodecean about our country. There is a psychology and strategy of bringing about a revolution. It is not an exact science and is largely the work of Leon Trotsky.

"The first direction in that science is: 'Put the people to sleep.' To cry: 'Wolf! Wolf!' so often that when the wolf attacks no one will pay any attention.

"The revolutionary student leaders are instructed to do two things:

1. To organize all the revolutionaries; and
2. To make the great mass of students neutral.

"They will not be neutral hereafter.

*"I know of no better work for the fraternities and sororities in the colleges and universities of the United States than for their people to become the active helpers of the United States in its day of difficulty. If the young people do that they will repay us for all the patience we have had with them."*

The football team, which of course has always been noted for its loyalty to the ideals of higher education, was, with the organization presidents, one of the first groups to respond to this dignified appeal of the Provost. At the height of the meeting of the 3,000, they organized themselves into a battering ram, which swept through every cluster of students discussing the suspensions. The next evening at a meeting of athletes and other "student leaders" it was decided to place vigilantes on the campus. According to the *Los Angeles Herald and Express*: "The viligantes came from the ranks of the husky, stern-faced athletes who met in a drizzling rain on the Westwood hillside last night and vowed to purge the campus of radicalism 'by force if necessary.'"

U.C.L.A. has an impressive history of reaction to its discredit. The squelching of an anti-compulsory R.O. T.C. petition, signed by 1700 students in 1932; the suppression of the off-campus left-wing controlled Social Problems Club, in the same year; the suspension

of the conscientious objectors, Alonzo Reynolds and Al Hamilton in 1933—these are but three instances. In this background is included an incident significant because it marks the origin of Provost Moore's firm belief in the fundamental dishonesty and unprincipalled trickery of student radicals—the peace mass meeting at U.C.L.A. two years ago, at which Albert Einstein, announced as the speaker, was substituted for, without previous announcement, by Communist speakers. Dr. Moore never has accepted the students' story that Einstein was unable to attend at the last minute, owing to factors entirely outside of their control, but has persisted in the belief that he was deliberately sold out. These events build up a picture in which the suspensions of Monday, October 29, for the first time constitute an official declaration of war by the administration upon all students on whom suspicion has been cast.

Who were the five students ousted on October 29? How red were they? And what were the charges against them? Here is how they line up: Johnny Burnside, student body president, non-fraternity man, and R.O. T.C. officer, sincerely trying to establish a new deal in the student body government; Sid Zsagri, forensics chairman, and Tom Lambert, head of the men's board, both appointed by Burnside, both non-fraternity men, and both prominent in Youth-Epic circles; Mendel Lieberman, also appointed by Burnside, chairman of the scholarship and activities board, whom no radical campus group would claim as one of its own; Celeste Strack, Phi Beta Kappa, national woman's debate champion last semester, coming to U.C.L.A. as a senior this fall with a record of outstanding N.S.L. leadership at the neighboring University of Southern California last spring. The charges against the men, in Provost Moore's words, are: "using your student office to aid the National Student League to destroy this university;" against the coed, "for persistent violation of the regulations of the University, including the holding of Communist meetings on this campus." As to the truth of these charges, suffice it to say that there is not a shred of evidence to sustain them, and no one realizes that better at this moment than Ernest Carrol Moore, Provost of the University of California at Los Angeles.

The factors leading to the suspensions form an interesting entanglement of separate elements. Basic, of course, is the general reactionary atmosphere and constant American Legion pressure. Coupled with this is the necessity of attracting donors of large gifts to an expanding institution handicapped by decreasing State appropriations, and increasingly coming to be known as a hot-bed of radicalism. Into this set-up, in the fall of

1934, came three student body officers who took seriously the responsibility of student self-government. The intelligent appeals of Burnside, Zsagri, and Lambert won over an indifferent council to an investigation of the accounting by hired non-student representatives of student body funds, which they had reason to suspect would not bear too close scrutiny. Then followed the refusal of the council to sponsor, with proffered alleged munitions makers' funds, a patriotic essay contest for Navy Day, and the rejection of the customary American Legion application for a parade at U. C. L. A.'s Armistice Day football game, which in previous years has netted something like \$6000 above the ordinary gate receipts. (This latter action was later rescinded, at the last council meeting before the suspensions.)

Throughout this series of events ran the student demand for a free open-forum. The council, voting to sponsor such a forum, was opposed by the Provost, who offered them instead a forum directed by four faculty and four student members. This proposal at first was turned down by the council, which, after discussing the advisability of a campus referendum, underwent a change of heart and tabled the matter until its November 7 meeting (coincidentally enough, one day after the gubernatorial elections.) On Wednesday, October 17, an unofficial student group met to discuss the possibility of using their constitutional right of initiative to secure a student body vote on the issue, the group having set its heart on a forum before November 6. The meeting was adjourned, to reconvene for completion of plans on Friday, October 26. This latter meeting was attended by a miscellaneous group—several students affiliated with no organization, a good representation of N.S.L. members, two members of the student body council, and among others, two campus policemen. On Monday, October 29, at 1 o'clock, without warning and without a hearing, the five students received notices of their suspension.

In their usual weekly meetings that night, the Greek-letter organizations were divided in their stand, although the metropolitan newspapers, reporting that the "Greeks" had approved the suspensions, intimated that thereby 80% of the students were backing up the administration. Later the newspapers were forced by events to admit that only 43 presidents had supported Moore, this latter number being by no means representative of unanimous approval by the fraternity and sorority groups, who comprise not even fifty per cent of the student body. Non-fraternity men, whose officers include Burnside, Zsagri and Lambert, in a regular



*John Rockwell, Student L.I.D., chairs strike meeting. Below him stands Dick Crilie of L.I.D. who was later to address meeting*

*The Strike at Sathergate, University of California, Berkeley*



meeting of their own organization, denounced the suspensions as provoked by campus politics.

What is to come is an open question. As for the ousted students: to an offer of reinstatement which already has been made by the Administration, and which would restore only Burnside to office, they replied, "We cannot accept an arrangement which, by depriving us of our student offices, implies that we are not yet cleared of the stigma which by his (Dr. Moore's) own admission, has been falsely attached to us." In this statement, they admittedly turn their backs upon the free-speech issue, thereby separating themselves completely from Celeste Strack. (The Los Angeles chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union is acting in her behalf, and is planning to carry her case to the courts, if necessary.) The lengths to which they are willing to go in order to be cleared of implications of Communist leanings is indicated in a further statement: "Our suspension has deprived the administration of valuable allies," thus intimating that they are ready to help in the purging of Communists."

This right-about-face of the four student officers serves to increase the colossal confusion in the minds of the majority of students. And it plays directly into the hands of the red-baiters, for these students seem willing to go to any lengths to prove that they are as good reactionaries as can be found anywhere on the campus. And on November 14, the four students were reinstated following an investigation by President Sproul which assured him that the four were loyal to college and country.

With regard to the real issue, there seems to be little doubt that what is involved is an attempt to establish

the campus as an institution of 100% Americanism, as witness the following pledge, adopted at a meeting of athletes and other student leaders two days after the suspensions: "We, the U.C.L.A. Americans, have united in an organized effort to further Americanism and rid the University of California at Los Angeles of communistic and radical activity." These words mean only one thing—vigilantism, with all students suspected of even the mildest liberalism as the victims.

Nor are other aspects of fascism likely to be left out, particularly that familiar ear-mark—Jew-baiting. On Friday, November 2, students arriving on the campus were greeted by the sight of stalwarts engaged in pinning Small American flags on all within their reach, at the same time, offering an anti-red pledge for signature. When one student, unmistakably recognizable as Jewish, refused to accept a flag, he was promptly and loudly warned, "You dirty Jew, we'll run you off the campus along with the reds!" A loud-speaker system, ballyhooing for Alumni homecoming that evening, blared his name out over the campus. There were few others who refused the flags. How many accepted them because they were unaware of the factors behind this display of patriotism, and how many others wore the flags reluctantly, under the influence of the prevailing fear psychosis, it is impossible to conjecture.

This concerted attempt to purge the U.C.L.A. campus may well be the beginning of an organized student fascist drive in the United States. The experiences at Westwood offer a warning to class-conscious and militant students everywhere, and a challenge to rally their forces for the struggle to come.

## The Strike at Berkeley

By JOHN ROCKWELL

**T**HE central strike committee which is a group of 16 students elected at a Convention attended by more than 200 students, makes this report on the protest strike made Monday, November 5, at the Univ. of California, Berkeley.

The purpose of the strike was to organize and solidify that student opinion which wished to protest the U.C.L.A. suspensions, the Santa Clara editor expulsion, and the sponsoring of vigilantes by Dr. McQuarry of San Jose State Teacher's College and by Provost Moore of U.C.L.A.

Though the method of using a strike to gain this purpose was thought of as being undesirable by many students and professors, no other alternative of equal

effectiveness could be found. The time element, the need for immediate action, was a decisive factor in making the decision to use the strike.

The two prime issues of the strike were: 1. Demanding the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of all five suspended students at U.C.L.A. 2. Demanding the maintenance of freedom of speech.

Throughout the action of the Central Strike Committee there were three definite policies adhered to: 1. That the strike was not a protest against the administration nor was it to involve the personalities of President Sproul and Dean Deutsch; 2. that the strike was to be carried on in an orderly and gentlemanly fashion; 3. that the students doing the work of organ-

izing the strike were not led by any left-wing minority group. This last was insured by the make-up of the General Strike Committee of which 12 members were unaffiliated, 2 were members of the National Students League, and 2 were of the Student L.I.D.

These policies were given in detail by a delegation sent to President Sproul and Dean Deutsch before the strike. President Sproul was non-committal, saying that he was acting as an impartial judge, hearing all sides of the case and making no statement for or against the proposed strike. In a statement in the *Daily Californian* the morning of the strike he belied his stand by appealing to the loyalty of the students and condemning the strike on a small technicality. The Strike Committee was informed of this latter objection the night before the strike during an interview with Dean Deutsch. An application was made at that time to comply with the technicality, i.e., permission to hold the strike on the campus, but the Dean's hands were carefully tied in the matter, for the President had given him the order in the afternoon not to permit holding the strike on the campus and had left for Los Angeles. Gaining permission being impossible and yet desiring to comply with the administration to the fullest in their action, the strike committee agreed to hold the strike at Sather Gate, which was the expressed wish of Dean Deutsch. He also stated that the administration had no objection to a meeting held at Sather Gate and would inform the Berkeley police accordingly.

Further duplicity in the stand of the Administration are evidenced by a letter sent special delivery Saturday afternoon to all professors having classes at the time of the strike. This letter demanded that professors be at their classes at 10:00 o'clock instead of 10:10, the usual time, that they should take the roll, an unusual procedure in most classes, and that they should take the names of all those students who left classes or tried to announce the strike during the ten minute interval which is the student's time.

The Administration also gave the impression to prominent members in the Student Government that if the strike were not stopped there would be a curtailment of student activities. This resulted in an organized minority group, mostly athletes, trying to break up the meeting which was held at Sather Gate. Their methods were continual booing, throwing eggs and tomatoes at the speakers, and physical violence in some cases.

The reaction among students who did not take part in this rowdyism and of professors has been tremendous. Even those who did not favor the strike have become so incensed at the opposition's actions that they are

anxious to aid in the establishment of a permanent mass organization to carry on the forwarding of the issues of the strike.

An organizational meeting was held Wednesday, November 7 to create the Students' Rights Association. The four points of the platform of this new organization are: 1. For the maintenance of complete freedom of speech; 2. for the permission of all minority student groups to meet on the campus; 3. for the establishment of a democratic student controlled open forum on the campus; 4. and for the stopping of all vigilantes.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS, OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of *The Student Outlook* published monthly from October to May, inclusive at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1934, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph P. Lash, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of *The Student Outlook* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Editor: Joseph P. Lash, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor: Joseph P. Lash, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock; if not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given; if owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

League for Industrial Democracy, Inc. (which is a membership corporation), at 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y. Robert Morss Lovett, President, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Harry W. Laidler, Secretary, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Stuart Chase, Treasurer, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has not reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH P. LASH, Editor.  
(Signature of Editor.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me  
this 29th day of September, 1934

WILLIAM J. SIMPSON, Notary Public  
(Commission expires March 30, 1935)



# Death of A Socialist Hero\*

By NAOMI MITCHISON

**T**HUS, we went through dark streets and past unlighted houses, and, after a time, came to the place we needed, and, having established ourselves, were let in. There was a man, a woman, and a child. I said what we had come for. Slowly, with pauses while I looked up words in the dictionary, with pauses while I took notes, with pauses while the woman made us tea, or went to the door to make sure that we had not been followed, he told us the story of the last hours of Koloman Wallisch.

On the Sunday after the fighting—on the Sunday afternoon—it was known in Leoben, in the streets and the houses, and, at last, in the prison, that Koloman Wallisch was taken.

The story of Wallisch's life is another thing. He started as a plain worker, and he was never apart from the workers. He was an organizer and speaker, and an able and efficient man; he had been through the Hungarian revolution and counter-revolution and had seen his work destroyed. He had built it up again, with patience and thoroughness and gentleness. He was a kind and wise and humorous man. He was a party worker, and where the party sent him, he had to go, but when, last September, he was sent to organize from the small district of Bruck an der Mur to the great town and district of Graz, he told them in Bruck that if ever they needed him he would come back. At the beginning of the fighting the leaders at Bruck were arrested, and the metal workers and miners were disorganized, with no one to get them together and lead the *Schutzbund*. They needed Wallisch and Wallisch came. I do not know for certain how he was betrayed, nor the name of his betrayer. These betrayals are a black business, an after-taste of centuries of oppression. All I know is that someone did it.

The man said: "Wallisch was our God," and he laid his hands over his heart. He said: "It will be hard for me telling this." And the woman quivered and stared at us, and the child sat very still. In the pauses between his sentences everything was very still in that room, except the clock ticking on and over for three hours.

They brought Wallisch in a car to Leoben prison,

and his wife with him. Sixty police came as his guard. To make doubly sure, and to make it worse for him and for all his friends, he was tied into the car with ropes, and had a grey cap jammed on to his head. The prison was overcrowded, and he was put into what used to be the women's part—into Cell 6. It is five paces long, and about six feet across. He was alone there, without friends, but they kept the door open the whole time. The police, in their steel helmets, stood all the time on guard by the door of the cell; there were two police officers outside the window, and two inside the cell with Wallisch, watching him.

He stayed there until 2 p.m. on Monday, the next day, when the trial was to take place. The first two advocates whom he had asked for to defend him were themselves already in prison; another was ill. One was selected for him by the court—Dr. Helmut Wagner, a Socialist. The President of the Court was *Oberlandesgerichtsrat* Dr. Fritz Marinitsch, a man who belonged to no political party. The prosecuting counsel was *Staatsanwalt* Dr. Paul Suppan. Besides Wallisch himself, there was one other man being tried, a young official from Bruck. Wallisch was forty-five years old.

In the centre of the prison there is a courtyard, with wooden palings against the walls. It is called the *Holz Hof*. On the day of the trial, before the trial was begun, they set up the gallows there. It is usual for some firm to tender for this work, but there was no firm in Leoben which would touch it. The criminals in the gaol were forced to build the gallows that Monday morning. It was a wooden post, three metres ninety in height, with a wooden bar at the top, and four steps up to it. It was in the middle of the *Holz Hof*. All around the *Holz Hof* were the cells of the Socialist prisoners. They heard the gallows being put up, and saw it there all that day.

On the Monday morning the hangman came from Vienna. He was not the head-executioner of the State, but a substitute, and his name was Spitzer. With him came his two assistants. He went to the largest hotel in Leoben, but, when they found out there who he was, they turned him out. He went to the cafe of the *Hotel Post*; when they knew him, they turned him out, too. Then he went to a little hotel, where, at first, they did not know who he was, and he and his assistants ordered

\*Taken from *Vienna Diary* by Naomi Mitchison, through the courtesy of the publishers, Harrison Smith and R. Haas.

schnapps and got drunk on it. When it had gone to their heads, they swaggered out in front of the other guests in the little hotel, and shouted what they were going to do. They scrawled a picture of the gallows. Then the hotel turned them out. All that Monday they went from place to place, first drunken and laughing, and then sobering down; wherever they went, every man and woman walked out. No one would take them in, and it began to be evening and the trial was still going on.

At 7 p.m. Dollfuss rang up, from Vienna; he himself spoke to the President of the Court, to ask why the trial was taking so long. He pressed the President to hurry it on. But it was 9:30 before it was over, and the death sentence was passed.

Those who are sentenced to death may plead for mercy to the Bundes President. Wallisch had said he would not ask for mercy, but his counsel, Dr. Wagner, thought it his duty to telephone to Vienna to the Ministry of Justice and lay the plea before them. He did this as soon as the trial was over, and Wallisch was taken back to Cell 6.

In the meantime everything had been made ready in the Holz Hof. It was floodlighted as bright as day, and at ten o'clock sixty soldiers marched in, with their officers. There were high officers from the army and high officers from the police, and the civil witnesses. And the prisoners were watching from their barred cells all round. Spitzer and his assistants were already there, seeing that all was right with their gallows.

Now, the man who was telling this, had seen it all from his cell, but what he told next was told him immediately afterwards by one of the police who were watching Wallisch. He was still speaking slowly, sweating a little, watching to see whether I had it right. He kept the story clear in the order of its happening. The little boy sat beside him, with his hands tight clasped between his knees. My pencil blunted, then Glyndwr gave me another. As the story went on, I translated to him, and sometimes he would say something, but mostly he was silent, and again, sometimes a queer horrible laughter would shake both him and the man who was telling it.

In Cell 6, they asked Wallisch what were his last wishes, and he said he must speak with his wife Paula. These two had been in love with one another during their marriage; she had lived only for him. She was a plump, gay woman, who liked running about, doing things for him and helping him; who liked talking with neighbors and living the life of a Socialist woman in a Socialist town. Now she was brought to the cell, but

when she saw the police standing there she began to scream at them: "Morder! Henker!" — Murderers! Hangmen! She screamed and screamed in the cell, but at last Wallisch quieted her. Then came her brother, and he was crying, and Paula was crying. Only Wallisch was not crying then.

There was a straw mattress in the cell, where he had lain on Sunday night, and now he and Paula sat on it, and he had an arm round her and stroked her head. She had brown bobbed hair. And still she went on crying, and at last Wallisch gave her a little smack on the knee, and said, laughing: "But I don't know whether it's you or me who is going to be hanged!" And then, still laughing a little, he asked for all the newspapers they had, to know what was being said about him, and they brought them in, and he read them, and he laughed more.

And then again he asked for something. He asked for wine and a sweet tart, and they brought that. He had never before in his life drunk wine, but now he drank it almost all, leaving only a little. And the third hour came, and Paula knew, and began to scream.

As the man said that, the child began to cry too, quietly and dreadfully. He was quite white. The man kissed him, and I said good-night, and the woman took him away to bed. Then the story went on.

The prison doctor came, with a handkerchief soaked in chloroform, and Wallisch put one arm round Paula and the other hand, with the handkerchief up against her face. He chloroformed her, and laid her down on the straw mattress in the cell.

And then he said that he had yet one more wish. He asked them to bring in to him three comrades from Bruck, who had fought beside him, and who were now prisoners. He needed to speak with them once more. So that, too, was done. They brought in the three comrades. He said: "Bleibt weiter aufrechte Proleten. Es wird wieder der Tag kommen an dem wir siegen werden. Das Schwerste wird mit meinem Tod vorüber sein. Man wird nach mir keinen mehr hängen und das Standgericht aufheben." This is, in English: "You must stay true proletarians. The day will yet come for which we were fighting. When I am dead the worst will be over. After me there will be no more hanging, and the courts martial will be finished." And then he shook hands with each of them, and they were taken back. And it was now a little after 11:30.

The call came through from Vienna, from the Ministry of Justice, to say that they would not lay Wallisch's appeal before the Bundes President. This news was brought to the cell by Dr. Marinitsch and the two

counsel. He said: "I knew." And thanked them for their fair trial.

There was a reason for this thanks. Wallisch was speaking in his own defence, and, after half an hour, the President had asked him if this was a time for oratory, and he had answered: "Herr President, remember that this is the last time in my life that I shall make a speech." And the President said, "You are right. Go on." You must know that Wallisch had always been a speaker and could grip his audience, not a great classical orator, but he always went to the point, and he could make people laugh or cry with him. And now he spoke as he had never spoken before. Most of that speech is known now to the workers of Leoben and Bruck; it goes from hand to hand, hidden under a book or in a tea-pot; then coming out again, and passing on. But, while he was speaking it, the prosecuting counsel wanted to stop him; he interrupted. Wallisch turned on him, and said, "Be quiet. This is on my head, not yours." And the President of the court said he was to go on. So this was why he thanked them now, in truth, for their fairness.

Then Spitzer came into the cell, and he said, "Come on out." But Wallisch said to him quietly, "You must still wait a moment." Then they asked him if he wanted to see a priest, but he refused that firmly and, some say, laughing a little. He stood there in his blue worker's clothes, and then suddenly the two assistants got him, one on each side, and hurried him, frog-marched, down the long prison passage into the Holz Hof.

And now all the prisoners, fifty or sixty of them, were hanging by their hands on to the bars of their cells, to see their Wallisch just once more. The man who was telling this, and whose eyes were now blinking with tears, watched him go by the window—with his head held high, as though he were at a great political meeting. He went past as proud and gay and brave as he had always been. Only, when he came to the corner and saw the floodlit gallows, he checked for a moment, only a second, and then went on between his executioners.

The soldiers were all round the court. It was thought that something might happen—they did not quite know what—something that they did not want anyone outside to hear. But it was not necessary. There was no screaming now.

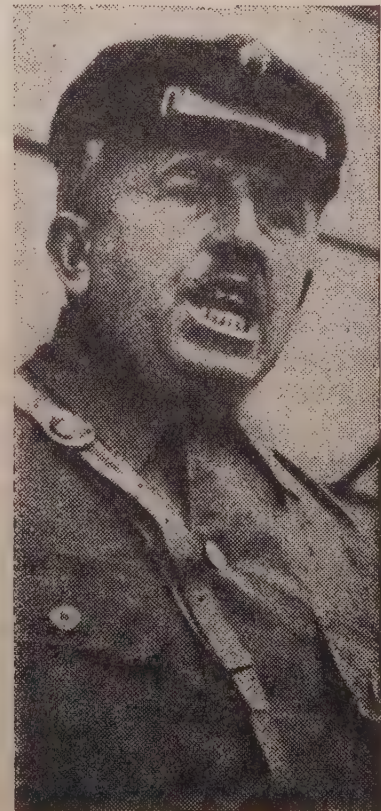
He stood at the post, with his back against it. Spitzer, the hangman, went up the steps, with his white gloves and his black hat; he tied the end of the rope over the crosspiece; he put the noose around Wallisch's neck. And then Wallisch shouted: "Es lebe die Sozial-

Demokratie, hoch! Freiheit!" But the last syllable of the last word—*Freiheit*—was choked out of him.

Spitzer, from above, gripped and tightened the rope, and the two below pulled him down, clinging on to his legs, and then on to his shoulders, strangling him down, one at each side, pulling him dead. But after he lost consciousness, after the struggling ceased and the hangmen let go, it was still twelve minutes before he died. For he was a strong man. Two doctors were feeling the pulse at his wrist, and, when it was quite finished, Spitzer came down the steps. He took off his white gloves and threw them away; he went to the President of the court, took off his bowler hat, and said: "Ich melde das Urteil ist vollstreckt," which is in English, "I notify you that sentence has been carried out."

And then, at last the judge and the counsel went away, and the civil witnesses, and, last of all, the soldiers. But the fifty or sixty Socialist prisoners were watching still, and, as the gentlemen went by them, one of the prisoners shouted "Murderers!" against them.

Now, the man who was telling me this had been amongst those prisoners, and told me how the police came quickly to the cells and searched for the man who had shouted that. But there was no clue to betray him, and he was never found. I asked them, "Were the pris-



*"Es lebe die  
Sozial-Demokratie,  
Hoch!  
Freiheit!"*

*A picture of  
Koloman Wallisch*

oners ill-treated or beaten to make them tell?" but he said, "No, there was no ill-treatment. If I had said there was, that would have been *Greuel-Lüge* (atrocious propaganda). You must have only the truth about Wallisch."

So the soldiers marched away out of the Holz Hof, but the floodlights were left turned on to the gallows, and for two hours the body of Wallisch hung there, alone, and for two hours his comrades at the bars of their cells watched over it. But at the end of two hours, at 1:30 in the dark morning of February the 20th, they heard the jangle and grating of keys in the door of the Holz Hof. Spitzer and the two, and six soldiers, came over to the gallows and took down the body, and laid it into a black shroud. They took it away, and into a car, which was waiting outside the prison; the prisoners heard it starting and the gears changing, and heard it drive away into the night.

There had been no workers allowed at Wallisch's trial. Admission cards had only been given to good Catholics of safe families. Most of the lookers-on were ladies—if that is the way to speak of them. For the workers there was another kind of looking-on. They had been up all night, waiting. They were hiding in corners of the streets, and on the hill-side. The moon was in its first quarter, and would scarcely have given any light, but they were watching with binoculars, and followed the car on its way to the cemetery, which lies by the river, a little outside of Leoben. Spitzer and the soldiers took the body out of the car into the cemetery; they locked the door of the cemetery, for they were afraid that they might be followed. But there were men climbing and peering over the walls, and a few of these comrades saw and marked the place. The body of Wallisch was hidden in behind another grave-stone, and the earth flattened over it, as a dog might be buried. And the soldiers and the hangmen left it there, and went back quickly, and thought that no one would know.

But in the morning that flattened grave was a heap of flowers; some were evergreens, and some were snowdrops and Christmas-roses; some were made like Schutzbund badges, and some like the Three Arrows. Later in the morning the police were told, and came and took away the flowers. But it was the same the next night, and again the police took the workers' flowers, and threw them into the road. For three days they did this, and then a letter came to the overseer of the cemetery, who is a Heimwehr man, and the letter said: "If you take away our flowers, you yourself will be taken away." And the priests were afraid, and advised that the flowers should be left. So now there are flowers there

always, fresh and fresh every day.

On Easter Saturday (which is less than a fortnight from the day I am writing, but which will be over before this is in print the good Catholics go to their Heilige Grab, to the service of watching by the painted wooden bodies of their Leader. In this country, six soldiers stand in the churches by the Body of Christ. But on the same day, thousands and thousands of workers from Leoben and Bruck and Graz, from Vienna and Linz and St. Polten and Innsbruck, and all over Upper and Lower Austria, will come to their Heilige Grab in the little cemetery of Leoben. Word has gone to them, and is going, from hand to hand and mouth to mouth. In the early morning, one worker will climb into a tree with the Red flag, and make it fast there—he will be arrested, but that doesn't matter. And all day there will be six workers, in their blue workers' clothes, watching by the body of their Leader, as the soldiers watch in the churches. And as every six are arrested and taken away, so another six will be ready to come.

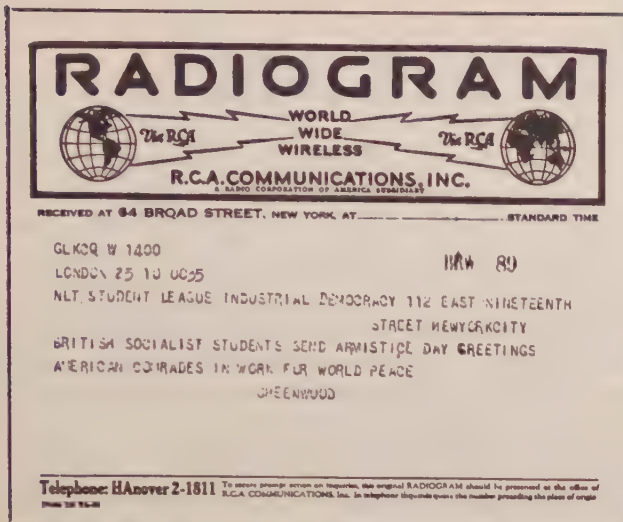
### Students Against War

(Continued from page 15)

N.S.L., Student L.I.D. and the Presbyterian and Unitarian student organizations. Twenty-five delegates were present from Alfred, Buffalo, Skidmore and Syracuse. . . . Discussion was quite active and pertinent. It was based mainly on disagreements between the left organizations (L.I.D.-N.S.L.) and the church groups. There was no squabbling between the N.S.L. and ourselves, but the religious groups established fairly well the Communist dominance in the American League. I think we established the necessity—which was at first questioned—of discussing the cooperative commonwealth in a general discussion on the prevention of war. The religious groups recognized the profit system as a basic cause of war and swung around to the idea of establishing international socialism as the best means of preventing war. . . .

LEN LURIE,  
Cornell L.I.D.

REED COLLEGE: To the Conference at this college eight student bodies including the U. of British Columbia, the University of Oregon, Whitman, Washington State and Oregon State Colleges sent delegates. At the conclusion of the conference the American version of the famous Oxford pledge: "We will never support preparation for, nor participate in, any war declared by the Government of the United States" was endorsed.



ANTIOCH: "Our peace parade came off as planned in spite of inclement weather and city officials. It was heralded in the town's papers and in the college papers at Wittenberg and Bluffton. Excellent roundtables were held following the torchlight parade."

WM. K. HOLLISTER, *Antioch L.I.D.*

BERKELEY: Here an Intercollegiate Conference against War was held for the Colleges in the Bay region under the sponsorship of the Student L.I.D. Much of the time was spent in a discussion of academic freedom and war because of the reign of vigilantism that has started on west coast campuses. An Intercollegiate Committee against War was set up representing the different college groups, who will provide the contact on the several campuses in case of necessity for united action, particularly the student strike against R.O.T.C. to be held in April.

Regional anti-war conferences were also held at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Clark College. All the Armistice weekend conferences showed an awareness of the need for linking up with the labor movement in order effectively to fight war and fascism. All appreciated the

cables of solidarity and greetings from the British Socialist students and the International Socialist Student Federation, and realizing the importance of international action against war voted to support sending American student delegates to the International Student Conference against War to be held in Geneva during the last week in December.

Simultaneously isolated students and groups of students are courageously carrying on the fight against the R.O.T.C. on their own campuses by refusing to take the course when it is compulsory. At the U. of New Hampshire four freshmen were excused from required participation in military drill because of conscientious objections. The four students at Kansas State who continue to resist compulsory drill have been invited by Baker and Southwestern to enroll in their institutions.

Formal argument in the Hamilton-Reynolds case was presented before the U. S. Supreme Court on October 17th and 18th.

Mr. John Beardsley of Los Angeles, counsel for the students, contended that the R.O.T.C. is an integral part of the Federal military establishment and that compulsory membership and service in the Federal military establishment in time of peace amounts to an abridgement of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, and thus violates the 14th Amendment. In contending that freedom from enforced military service in time of peace is an immunity and privilege of United States citizens, Mr. Beardsley held that without specific authorization by Act of Congress not even the Federal government has power to compel service in any branch of the Federal military establishment. He also contended that military training imposed upon conscientious objectors, such as Hamilton and Reynolds, was violative of freedom of religion as guaranteed by the 1st Amendment, and that compulsory training is contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the Kellogg Pact.

## The A. F. of L. Convention

By PAUL PORTER

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR has made a half-turn to the left, which in time will probably compel it to fight for Socialism. The recent convention in San Francisco was notable for its acceptance of industrial unionism as the basis for organization in the mass production industries, long advocated by Social-

ists, and for the emergence of a still small but active left wing bloc.

The Federation still confines its aims to the improvement of working conditions within the framework of capitalism, but the new industrial unions in the automobile, aluminum, and similar industries will probably

bring into its membership several million workers younger and more aggressive than those who now control labor's policies. Their experiences in the great strikes certain to follow will disillusion them concerning the "impartiality" of the capitalist state and the possibility of substantial betterment of their condition within a capitalist economy. They will then turn to Socialism, and it is probable that they, with the progressive forces already in the A. F. of L., will constitute a majority of the Federation's membership within a few years.

The perspective for organized labor, then, is clearly a continued trend to the left, probably at an increasing tempo. It cannot be otherwise in a period of capitalist decay. The pressure of the times has compelled the leadership of the A. F. of L. to reverse more than one of its traditional policies. It finally yielded to the approval of unemployment insurance at the Cincinnati convention in 1932. It accepted a revolutionary change in the Federation's structure this year. It is only a matter of a few years until it scraps its futile non-partisan political policy, and flat-footedly declares for the building of a mass labor party. This party, may not be one hundred per cent Socialist at first, but, again, the pressure of economic developments will compel it to become Socialist.

Long before the convention opened, the crucial issue was recognized as the question of whether or not industrial unions would be established in the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. The principal leaders were known to favor the traditional method of organization by crafts. When the A. F. of L. was established over fifty years ago the craft union proved itself the most stable form of organization. It represented the skilled workers who remained with their trade for a lifetime. The unskilled or semi-skilled were difficult to keep in a union; they drifted from one industry to another, migrated westward, or even became a boss. Only the United Mine Workers and the needle trades unions successfully organized all workers within their industries.

But the rise of great corporations and the development of mass production methods outmoded the craft unions. They have never been able to gain a foothold in the automobile, electrical manufacturing, radio, or kindred industries. Even labor leaders generally conservative, like John L. Lewis of the miners and Charles P. Howard of the Typographical union, saw that only industrial unions (sometimes called vertical in contrast to the horizontal or craft union) could cope

with the great aggregations of capital represented in modern industry.

Already several hundred thousand workers had been organized into make-shift industrial unions known as the Federal unions. The Federals have jurisdiction of the workers of one industry in a particular plant or city. They are affiliated directly to the A. F. of L. but have no national organization of their own. Were we to be divided up into crafts, or were our Federals to be united into national unions which would then be affiliated to the A. F. of L.? was the question delegates from the Federal unions asked themselves. The answer to this question would largely determine the future of the existing organized labor movement.

Those delegates who, like myself, represented Federal unions, decided early in the convention to act as a bloc to secure the acceptance of the industrial union proposal. We secured considerable support, and much to our surprise the Resolutions Committee reported unanimously in favor of the proposal and the convention unanimously accepted it.

The victory, however, is not complete. Nothing has been done to amalgamate the craft unions already in existence. Next on the order of business is to bring together such unions as, for example, the machinists and the blacksmiths, the hatters and the millinery workers have already set the precedent by amalgamating.

No one expected a labor party to be approved this year. The progressives as yet have not the strength. Besides, many labor leaders are now doing quite a bit of horse trading with New Dealers in Washington: votes must be swapped for favors. Even so, the sentiment for a labor party was surprisingly strong. Resolutions for one were introduced by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and by the Radio Workers Union. Other unions were committed by their own convention action. These included the United Textile Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Had the issue been permitted to come to a vote probably 6000 votes or 25% of the convention total would have been mustered for it.

But the resolutions committee resorted to a shabby maneuver to prevent proper consideration of the question. A resolution patently advanced in the interests of the Communist Party was sandwiched in between the labor party resolutions, and all were labeled "political" (in such a broad sense half the resolutions were political). Only one labor party advocate had a chance to be heard. An aye-and-nay vote was taken, and the

(Continued on page 34)

# LITERATURE OF REVOLT

## Notes on Prof. Hook's Understanding of Marx.<sup>1</sup>

Two souls strive within this book, to wit, that of the scholar who wishes to understand and that of the apologist who wishes to promote his own brand of communism by an argument of authority, namely, that of Karl Marx. Prof. Hook is not unaware of this and he tries to justify his procedure as legitimate and necessary by means of the pragmatic theory that every proposition about human affairs is but a program of action. This attempt, however, to unite pragmatism and the belief in moral free will with economic determinism and with a too simple dogma as to the class struggle, leads to insuperable difficulties. No one can well dispute that men's views as to social affairs are generally (though as great examples show, not always) biased by their interests. But a distinction can certainly be drawn between social controversy and social science. The latter aims at attainable truth and Prof. Hook admits that the difference between the true and the false cannot be explained by class considerations. If, then, knowledge of the truth in regard to social affairs, is at all possible, it cannot be altogether class science.

Prof. Hook unduly simplifies his problem by speaking of Marxism as the philosophy of the working class, thus confusing that which he thinks ought to happen with that which actually exists. Assuming that the best interests of the proletariat can be secured by adopting the Marxian program, the fact remains that this does not always take place. One may therefore take the position either that Marxism is inevitably bound to triumph or that the workers should be educated to a knowledge of their true interests. Prof. Hook is precluded from taking the former position by his opposition to German Socialism, and his pragmatic skepticism as to the objectivity of social science leaves him little ground for the latter. In a world in which the majority are not as yet Marxists, how is one to be persuaded to become one? If I am a capitalist, a petty bourgeois, a farmer, a shop keeper or a barber employing a number of wage slaves, and I fight against the extinction of my class, I may as a reasonable being be made to see that some of my assumptions are in fact false. Or, it may be shown to me that the good of all, or our emancipation from class rule, demands the abolition of the wage system. But how can anyone in that position possibly be convinced of Prof. Hook's view by being told that all social science is class science? If everyone is bound to fight for his own class, why should I not fight for mine? If there are any reasons (as I personally believe there are) why the members of the middle classes should fight

for the emancipation of the proletariat, it is because as human beings living in a society we have common interests as well as those of the special class to which we happen to belong.

Prof. Hook reduces the truth of Marx to the single proposition that in the end we shall have either chaos or communism. But this is a prediction about the human future which is by no means self-evident. All sorts of other things may happen. If I am told that this is the great truth for which I ought to devote my life, I must, as a rational being, ask for evidence in the actual present constitution of things to support this prediction. Such evidence must rest on present factual truth as determined by logic and social science. If present-day evidence is insufficient to support any prediction as to the ultimate future (because the latter is not yet determined) the truth of Marx as formulated by Prof. Hook is no exception and suffers the same general fate.

How do we determine the truth of any such proposition or program? Verification or success in daily experience, answers the pragmatist. Judged by such a test, however, the defeat of Marxism in Germany, Italy, and other countries would be an argument against its truth. Hence Prof. Hook rejects the view that thought follows action and derives its canons of validity from the successes registered. Marxism must then be true in some ultimate and non-pragmatic test. Prof. Hook's procedure, however, shuts him off from anything approaching ordinary proof. His faith in Marxism thus rests on a will to believe. This may be the only position possible on certain social issues. If we do not know the future completely, we must risk our lives on the best hypothesis or guess, and one may do so on the Marxian formula as on any other. But, if so, we should recognize that we have no reason to feel superior to those who have other faiths. The tradition of good taste and humane scholarship ought thereafter to keep us from recklessly applying the term "superstition" to all other faiths which are no more verifiable than our own. We do not weaken our opponents' case by abusive epithets which he can well return in kind.

As a scholar Prof. Hook wishes to understand why diversities in the interpretation of Marx have arisen, but his partisan and rather bitter attitude to the Socialist Party prevents him from fairly achieving that result or being logically convincing in his arguments. In setting himself against the "orthodox" or socialist interpretation of Marx, Prof. Hook has the initial weight of historic probability against him. For the view that he is attacking was held by all of Marx's immediate disciples and co-workers, such as the elder Liebknecht in Germany, Sorge in America, his son-in-law La Fargue

<sup>1</sup>Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx: a Revolutionary Interpretation. By Sidney Hook, New York: John Day Co., 1933.

in France, his daughter Eleanor in England, and his life-long collaborator Engels. When, in 1893, the Socialist Internationale excluded those who wished to drive it into more directly revolutionary and less legalistically parliamentary action, Engels gave his blessings and boasted that this was exactly what Marx and he had done in the First Internationale in expelling Bakunin and his followers.

Prof. Hook cites some passages to prove that the Socialists have perverted revolutionary Marxism by making of it a "scientific" theory according to which the capitalistic system must inevitably bring about its own abolition and the rise of the Socialistic, or classless, society, so that all we can do is to prepare for the revolution and perhaps make it come a little sooner. But the followers of Kautsky can readily quote many passages from *Das Kapital* in which Marx does take the very position that Prof. Hook thus brands as fatalistic. "Capitalistic production begets with the inevitability of a law of nature its own negation." "The fall (of the bourgeois) and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." "Even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement [which it presumably would if it became Marxist]—it can neither clear by bold leaps [revolutionary acts?] nor remove by legal enactments the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs."

Now if we wish to understand Marx rather than use him as an oracle, it seems reasonable to suppose that like most humans he did not maintain a perfect consistency throughout his forty years of writing. He was notoriously endowed with the polemic temperament, easily provoked, and in the heat of controversy, as Engels admitted, some of his statements were overdrawn. Different interpretations of him are therefore possible according to which texts you quote and which you ignore or discount. Prof. Hook quotes in his support Marx's criticism of the Gotha program adopted when his followers joined those of Lassalle. So do various sects of Christians quote Biblical texts against each other. But historic movements are not thus refuted, and the fact remains that this particular text was an episode which caused no break between Marx and his German socialist disciples. The gravaman of Prof. Hook's charge against the latter is that they believed that the social revolution could be brought about by cooperation with other classes, while Marx definitely believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the sharpness of this contrast is largely verbal, as is shown by the fact that Lenin, the loyal Marxist, did cooperate with soldiers and farmers and Prof. Hook himself believes that the proletariat will have to rely, for a while at least, on the aid of the petty bourgeois reformers (his confidence that the former will always be able to outwit the latter seems to me typical of the wisdom of the professor turning practical statesman)

What seems to me of the utmost importance is that we be not misled by the verbally sharp contrast between reform and revolution, as if what these words denote are always and necessarily mutually exclusive. This is a common error due to the fact that conservatives always think of revolution as violent, bloody and destructive and of reform as gradual, peaceful and constructive, while many radicals view revolution as a magical act after which people live happily for ever after. Possibly popular Darwinism which associates reform with progressive evolution, with gradual rather than sudden or catastrophic changes, has influenced this sharp contrast between revolution and reform. But Marx was relatively free of that error, and he cannot be cited as an authority for Prof. Hook's view that one cannot significantly relate a struggle for increased pay or reduction in number of hours with the conquest of political power (p. 59). On the contrary Marx showed unusual enthusiasm for the British ten-hour labor law,<sup>1</sup> realizing the rather obvious truth that an improvement in the conditions of labor adds to the real strength of the workingmen in their struggle for power and for a better life. There are, of course, reformers whose work is futile because "one step at a time" means to them losing sight of the woods for the trees; and having no ultimate goal or general direction before them, they get nowhere. But there are also Utopian revolutionists who fail to see that the mere seizure of power in the name of the proletariat will not of itself solve the problems of social organization or bring about a paradisaical state of affairs. The real question is whether the seizure of power is the goal or whether the development of a socialistic or communistic commonwealth is the ultimate aim to which the former is only a means which under specific historical conditions may or may not be necessary. Prof. Hook deliberately sets up the seizure of power as itself the goal.

On Prof. Hook's own analysis every social change involves some continuity; and the question, How much change is feasible in any given situation, is one of fact not to be answered a priori. Now if by a revolution we mean a radical transformation, it is obviously possible that it can take place through a series of relatively small, but cumulative changes over a period of time, as well as by one sudden change. The former in fact is the way in which slavery and serfdom passed away in Europe, as it is obviously the way in which the great revolutions brought about by Christianity or by the rise of modern science and industry took place. Even if we narrow Prof. Hook's revolutionary dogma to its narrowest claim, to wit, that the working class cannot possibly acquire political power except by an armed insurrection, it obviously falls short of being self-evident or of having adequate evidence in its favor. Arguments against it can be drawn from rather recent history. No armed insurrection brought the commercial classes of Manchester, Birmingham, et al into political power, with the Reform Bill of 1832. (Prof. Hook is clearly in error in trying to associate that change with Crom-

<sup>1</sup> *Capital*, (Kerr edition), p. 837.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Capital*, p. 330.



well, as well as in ignoring the tremendous transforming power of Bentham). No resort to arms was involved in the Jacksonian revolution which deprived the old squirearchy of its ancient privileges and brought the small farmers into a dominant political position. No one except a blind fanatic can deny that the workingmen of England and of the United States have gained enormously in political power in the last century and that they would exercise even more power today if they were united. It is of course possible that the liberal spirit of accommodation which has made this possible may be suppressed and a fascist resort to arms may wipe out the economic and cultural gains which labor has secured. But we live in an uncertain world where nothing is absolutely secure, not even that the present regime in Russia will ever bring about real communism. We can only say that if enough people get to believe that peaceful methods are impossible, they will become impossible for a time. But Prof. Hook offers no evidence that such a time is coming in this country in the foreseeable future.

It is interesting to note that Marx himself and Lenin, (who, according to Prof. Hook, is the only true interpreter of Marx), both admitted the possibility that socialism might come to America in a peaceful or constitutional way; but Prof. Hook is more "revolutionary" than either of his masters. He seems obsessed by a Kantian subordination of human happiness to an absolute or categorical imperative; only his imperative is "Be revolutionary!" Like other romantics who set up categorical imperatives, he thinks that people can be self-respecting only if they follow his direction. But why should society submit to a bloody revolution from which it might never recover if the same result can possibly be brought about by less sanguinary though slower methods? Prof. Hook's assumption that anything is better than the present state of affairs is a personal preference which to many will seem reckless. We all wish for a better order of things; but this does not mean that we should ignore the dangers of violent destruction. The recoil against any real threat of the latter is likely to bring a fascist reaction.

As Prof. Hook regards the overthrow of the state as the essence of Marxism, he pronounces Karl Liebknecht a better Marxist than Kautsky or Plechanov, even though the former did not believe in the economic interpretation of history or in the theory of surplus value. This seems very much like a *reductio ad absurdum* of "the revolutionary" interpretation of this book. For it leaves no basis for any real distinction between Marx and his revolutionary rivals and opponents. Prof. Hook tries to make one on the ground that Bakunin, Blanqui and their followers made a fetish of insurrection, whereas Marx preached mass uprising only under proper conditions. But is this more than verbal? The judgment as to when actual conditions are propitious cannot be deduced from Marxist principles. Marx himself was mistaken when he thought conditions ripe for an uprising in Prussia in 1848 (though he preached insurrection he did not, as Prof. Hook claims, participate in the actual fighting). As to the events of the French

Commune, Marx failed to judge the situation any better than the followers of Blanqui. (The latter and Bakunin could claim to be better revolutionists than Marx—they actually planned uprisings, risked their lives and spent years in prison). If for argument's sake we grant that Lenin and Trotsky succeeded because they followed Marx, we have the fact that Karl Liebknecht, Bela Kuhn, and the Italian Communists were equally Marxist and failed. The difference then was not due to fidelity to Marx but to factors which the latter in no way foresaw.

The oft repeated charge that the leaders of the German socialists betrayed the laboring classes, that they *could* have imposed a dictatorship of the proletariat on Germany in 1919, rests on no adequate evidence. The Junkers and the middle classes of Germany were much stronger and better organized than the corresponding classes of Russia, the Germany peasantry was not in revolt against landlords, and there is no reason to doubt that the German army, not being as disorganized as was the Russian, would, in a civil war, have largely followed its Junker leaders, who would probably also have received Allied help. There is also reason to assert that the Socialist representatives voted for the war credits in 1914 because those whom they represented were after all Germans. There was no serious opposition to the war among German workingmen in 1914. The historical fact is that revolution in the name of the workingman has always met with signal defeat whenever it has confronted the forces of organized nationalism. (Because of its history and its ethnic composition Russian nationalism was not only weak but what there was of it helped the Soviet regime against foreign invaders.)

In line with the unhistorical and psychologically superficial anarchistic theory, Prof. Hook regards the state as nothing but the police force of the capitalist class. This ignores the fact that the state existed with many of its present features before the rise of capitalistic economy and that no plan of organized society is conceivable without some coordinating organ backed up by some force against the irrational recalcitrancy which is a part of our brute nature. But even today it requires wilful blindness to deny the many services which the state renders to those interests which we all have in common, such as protection of life, the safeguarding of our water supply, the promotion of agriculture, the prevention of plagues, the protection of health through sanitation and hospitals, the extension of parks and opportunities for public recreation, the promotion of education in useful arts and sciences, etc. Moreover, it is only by willfull exaggeration that an intelligent or critical mind can regard the government of the United States as an absolute capitalistic dictatorship. It seems rather obvious that our capitalists have never been able to have their views prevail except when they got the cooperation of the farmers and middle classes and often the aid of organized labor. No doubt our captains of industry and finance have much more political power than their numbers justify. But if we view the great trends of legislation we must recognize that real power

is also possessed by various groups, of farmers, war veterans, such organizations as the Catholic Church, the W. C. T. U., and the like. It was not capitalistic dictation that forced any of our constitutional amendments—certainly not the income tax, the popular election of senators, the confiscation of property through prohibition, the enfranchisement of women, and the like.

One does not have to deny the reality of the struggle between labor and capital to see that Prof. Hook puts a greater burden on it than it can possibly bear when he makes it the central fact of history. In the first place, this leaves out of existence the large number of those who are both small property owners and yet work with their own hands. In the second place, it is quite mythical to speak of the working class developing its own philosophy, culture, etc. The working classes share with others their religion, morals and manners, their ideas on life, country, family, and social relations. Those who have elaborated the proletarian philosophy, the Marxes, the Bakunins, the Lassalles, the Lenins, have not themselves been proletarians. Finally, the theory of the supreme importance of the division between employers and employees ignores the obvious fact that racial, national, and religious divisions are actually felt to be more important by most laborers. The overwhelming majority of German workers hate Frenchmen more than they do their employers and are certainly more ready to fight side by side with the latter against the former. And the same may be said with regard to the religious or color line. Prof. Hook may argue that from his standpoint this ought not to be so but he cannot deny the fact, that it is so. In general there are differences between workmen, such as the differences between communists, socialists, and syndicalists which Prof. Hook himself regards as significant historically (p. 16).

On the basis of his dogma that all social phenomena are rooted in the class struggle, Prof. Hook regards all morality as class morality and therefore regards men like Bernstein as naive in believing that there is such a thing as a common morality. But if that were so, how could he appeal to a common notion of justice to prove that the working class is unjustly treated or exploited? And is there any possibility of the prospects of the working class being anything but hopeless if it could not appeal to common justice? Again, one must be wilfully blind to ignore the part which the appeal to humanity has played in improving the conditions of labor in the last century. If it has done anything else, it has brought leadership to the laboring classes of men like Karl Marx and Engels, the latter himself a manufacturer and capitalist.

Some day, it is to be hoped, a scholar of Prof. Hook's learning and acumen but less hypnotized by the sacred cows of revolutionary phraseology will tackle the questions, What exactly is a proletarian? Who is or is not a worker? Who is or is not a capitalist? and, What proportion of the total population does each class constitute? Until that is done, discussion of such books as the one before us is apt to bring more heat than light. If everyone who does some useful work, the artisan or

farmer who owns his own tools, the professional man, the store keeper, the manager who plans and supervises any industrial or social enterprise, is a laborer, then the number of those who do not belong to the laboring class is relatively so small that it is meaningless to speak of the dictatorship of the working class. And if those in whose name the seizure of power is to be made are a minority, what reason is there to believe that the rest of the people will submit to such dictatorship or will be powerless to resist? So far as I know, there is not recorded a single instance where a single social class rose up, seized supreme power and kept it for any considerable time. The Russian Revolution of November, 1917, like the French Revolution of 1789, is no exception to this statement; for in both cases it was the cooperation of the peasants that made the political change possible. When the peasants refused to cooperate, the Russian Revolution of 1905 failed, just as the Paris Commune of 1871 failed for a similar reason. History is not a sufficient guide to enable us to solve new problems but it can refute many assertions of this and of similar books at least in the minds of those who do not believe that faith can change the things which have already happened.

MORRIS R. COHEN

## The A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from page 30)

resolutions were railroaded for another year.

Much attention was given by the capitalist press to the enlargement of the executive council, a measure forced through by John L. Lewis. The addition of seven members to the old council means little at the present time. With the exception of the Socialist president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, David Dubinsky, the new members are scarcely more progressive than the old.

But an extremely significant aspect of the convention, underestimated by the capitalist press, was the warm support given to the struggle against Fascism. Last year at Washington the convention approved a boycott against Hitler Germany, but so far as most of the delegates were concerned it was a perfunctory measure. This year they gave rousing ovations to Walter M. Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to B. Charney Vladeck, an L.I.D. board member, who called for an uncompromising fight against Fascism of every variety. Vladeck has taken the lead in organizing a Labor Chest to Combat Fascism, and it is probable that the Federation will give it energetic support. If it does, the near three million members it represents (who comprise the overwhelming majority of organized labor) will furnish by far the most effective bulwark against Fascism that has appeared in the U. S.

## Unity in the Student Field

(Continued from page 4)

political tendencies—socialism and communism. An amalgamated student organization would become the arena of a bitter unscrupulous struggle between young Communists and young Socialists for control of that organization. Our experiences with the National Student League even within the framework of the united front have attested to the wisdom of our Convention's decision on this matter. On October 12th we did not have even a *united front of action* at the Yankee Stadium against the Italian fascist students, because the N.S.L., at the orders of the Young Communist League, would not participate in a demonstration that officially recognized the participation of certain Communist youth opposition groups such as the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. Imagine the bitterness and strain this division would have created within an amalgamated organization. Or consider the following declaration by the N.S.L., when our Chapters at Columbia, Hunter, C.C.N.Y., Brooklyn College and N.Y.U. demanded an agreement that would subject to a joint steering committee all actions and statements which might affect the outcome of the issue at C.C.N.Y.: "*The N.S.L. will not abandon its organizational activities during a united front action. The N.S.L. believes that the surest way of reinstating the suspended students at City College is the building of a strong N.S.L. Chapter.*" In other words the N.S.L. enters the united front for what it can get out of it for the N.S.L. How much truer would this be of young Communists within an amalgamated organization!

## Sincerity in the United Front

We stress this point because it is at the root of the friction in the united front relationships of the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L. and an omen of what would occur under amalgamation. At heart they really believe that it is their own organization which will triumph and emerge the controlling organization in the student field. They talk piously about the terrible danger of fascism and the need for unity, but at heart believe that fascism can only truly be fought by their own organization. They talk piously about the necessity of submerging their organizational interests because of the urgency of united action on some anti-war or anti-fascist issue, but down at bottom they are thinking furiously, conspiring as to how they can turn the united front to their own advantage. Communists have a fanatical conviction that the achievement of social revo-

lution can come *only* through the Comintern, the Communist Party of America, and, in the student field, through the N.S.L. That is what makes the united front so difficult.

An unpleasant maneuver has just come to light at Oberlin which justifies our disquietude on this point. On October 17 the Student L.I.D. received a communication from one "Arthur White" in which Mr. "White" confidentially informed us that a freshman claiming to represent the National Office had been trying to organize an L.I.D. at Oberlin. That this freshman's objectionable personality has nullified all of Mr. White's own *quiet* efforts. Moreover, that this freshman had stated "in contravention of L.I.D. policy" that he favored amalgamation. Particularly did these things distress the sanctimonious Mr. White, because this freshman claimed to have received his scholarship through the aid of Norman Thomas.

## "Stalin Robbed Banks"

On investigation it has turned out that Arthur White is a fictitious name representing a group of N.S.L.'ers at Oberlin, who had composed this slanderous letter, first to create friction between the National Office and our vigorously growing Chapter at Oberlin, second, in order to fish out some connection between President Wilkins of Oberlin, Norman Thomas and the granting of the L.I.D. representative's scholarship, and third, because it wanted to sabotage the growing L.I.D. In justification one of the N.S.L.'ers who composed the document declared that the L.I.D. was a social-fascist organization, and after all, "Stalin robbed banks."

The Student L.I.D. is firmly convinced that young Communists will hesitate at nothing to build the Communist movement which in their hearts is equivalent with the social revolution. The Student L.I.D., although it wishes fervently for the unification of all who are united in their desire for a workers' world, is convinced that the Young Communists in the National Student League envision amalgamation as a god-given opportunity to smash the influence of the Socialist movement and socialist ideas in the student field. The National Convention of the Student L.I.D. meeting in December will doubtless again consider the offer of amalgamation made by the National Student League. You will pardon us, *comrades*, if we then decide to decline.

# Agitate! Educate! Organize!

COMMUNICATIONS and reports from our various Chapters have been arriving in such profusion from all over the country that there has not even been the time to file and answer properly. But the whole presents a picture of activity and inquiry throughout the undergraduate field, that is possibly unequalled at present in any other branch of radical activity.

Following Monroe Sweetland's organizing trip last spring down the west coast, the National Office received many urgent and inspired letters requesting that Monroe be again assigned this fall to that area. He has spent two months hiking up and down the Pacific coast with an occasional sally inland as far as Idaho. His reports give an impression of two prevailing moods among students in his area—one of great sympathy with the program of the Student L.I.D. which is inhibited by the fear and cautiousness produced by Vigilante activities: "I doubt whether I can give you a true picture of the venality of academic suppression now going on all over the coast. At Oregon, Oregon State, U.C.L.A., the U. of California, U. of Washington, and Whitman, the Presidents all struck out at student radicalism in their first convocation or inaugural address."

Nevertheless, Monroe has been able to build up a network of strong units throughout the whole region. At the U. of Oregon, the L.I.D. is functioning through the Oregon Radical Club. The latter has already organized the campus to protest the proposed tax-limitation amendment, which would hamstring Oregon educational institutions. At Corvallis, the Chapter at Oregon State has had to advance against the local newspaper barrage of the state's chief red-baiter, Editor Claude Ingalls, who sums up the work of the L.I.D.: "grabs 'em young, and keeps 'em red." The organization of the Pathfinders of the U. of Washington with the intention of stamping out campus radicalism has brought about a debate between it and our vigorous Chapter. At Reed College the N.S.L. and the L.I.D. are working together in a Radical Club. Rose Works is building an L.I.D. at Bellingham State Normal. Despite intimidation and graduation L.I.D. prospects look bright at Washington State College, at the U. of Idaho in Moscow with the aid of Helmer Westerlund, at Lewiston State Normal under the tutelage of Ed. Robel, and at Whitman College despite the public attack of Coach Bareske at a Rotary Club luncheon.

At Reed College the Editors of the *Reed Quest* have

enlisted in the Student L.I.D., which leads us to remark parenthetically that several of our members are doing swell educational jobs through weekly columns of comment on current social and economic affairs in the campus newspapers. There are Britton Harris, who conducts the provocative "Let Freedom Ring" column in the *Wesleyan Argus*, Robert G. Spivack on the *Cincinnati Bearcat*, Al Hamilton on the *Stockton Weekly*, and Harry Miller on the *Orange and White* at the U. of Tenn.

At Stanford University the L.I.D. is undertaking to supply editors for a newspaper for L.I.D. groups in the San Francisco Bay Area. Elizabeth De Vanny is the Student Rep.

At San Mateo Jr. College ever since Norman Thomas carried the student poll (in 1932) the American Legion, etc. has been pressing for the abolition of the Wrangler's Club affiliated with the L.I.D. This pressure was not diminished after the swell job this group did in protesting students working as scabs during the I.L.A. strike. For the past two years Professor Iliff has been the faculty advisor. This year he is in Europe and the Chapter almost had to go out of existence because no one dared to take the advisorship. The Club finally sent the Dean a letter saying they were continuing without an advisor and asking him to appoint one. Meanwhile, they sent him a list of the speakers they intended to have. It now will require public and overt censorship to stop them—if they had not started their activity this fall, the student body might never have known what had happened.

At the University of California in Berkeley, the L.I.D. really flourishes. Besides the strike against the U.C.L.A. suspensions which was pushed by people in our Chapter, a regional Armistice Conference was held, and an excellent meeting for Francis Gorman while the A. F. of L. Convention was in session. New and able recruits include Dick Crilie, Harry Conover, John Rockwell, Lillie Megrath of the National Office has been assisting in the organizational work in the San Francisco region.

All the ambitious Armistice plans of the Los Angeles I.S.C. went awry when Dean Moore suspended the five students of U.C.L.A. All L.I.D. energies then went into the fight to reinstate the five, and prevent the reactionary U.C.L.A. for America from making any headway.

At the *University of Wyoming* despite the suspensions of last year our Chapter carries on. During the campaign, a successful political symposium took place, except as *The Branding Iron* reports, the Republicans and Democrats failed to appear.

At *Pomona College* in California the L.I.D. is organizing a theater party for "Stevedore." During the campaign, writes Frank Wilby, they conducted a straw vote in which Merriam received 316 votes to Upton Sinclair's 113. They have issued an L.I.D. newspaper.

*The Silver and Gold* at the *University of Colorado* reports our group there to be meeting regularly. Mary V. Corr writes that our stalwarts have graduated but a new crop is active. 25 to 30 students are working in the organization.

Justin Stewart, stalwart of last year's L.I.D. group at the *U. of Utah* is now at *Columbia*. Wm. Taylor, Lois Smith and Ruth Fisher are carrying on the work at Salt Lake City.

*University of Tenn.* Howard Frazier, although he now is a grad and is teaching at a school in Clinton, Tenn., has helped reorganize the Chapter at Knoxville. Harry Miller is President of the group, and the *Orange and White*, undergraduate newspaper reports its first meeting as being attended by 25 students. The group has established contacts at the *Knoxville College*.

The L.I.D. at *U. of Tenn.* is trying to get a semblance of decent wages for the fellows who work at football games. The Chapter is also planning a long-range program against the R.O.T.C.

At the *University of Cincinnati*, Robert Spivack has done a splendid job starting an L.I.D. with strong prestige on the campus and intimately bound up with L.I.D. groups in neighboring Ohio colleges. Bob started by sending in eleven one-dollar memberships. This R.O.T.C. stronghold has at last an active opposition in its own bosom organized by our people there.

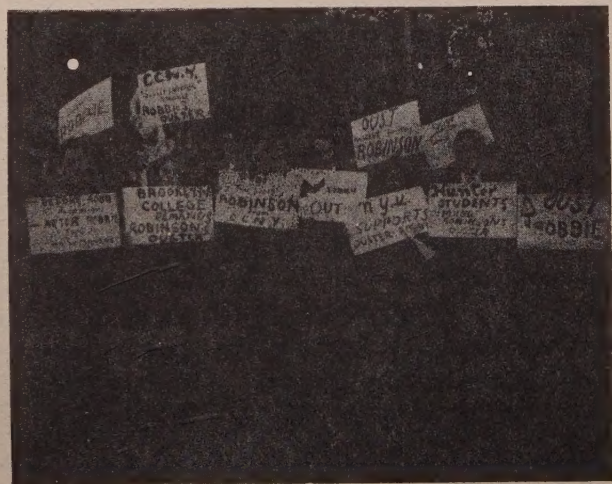
Juanita Pope, another one of our Summer School recruits, who because of her experiences during the summer has enlisted for life in the socialist cause, has taken some trips for the Student L.I.D. through North Carolina. She writes: "I was somewhat intimidated when I walked in the auditorium and found practically the whole student body assembled at *Shaw* with notebooks, pencils, etc." She addressed student groups in half a dozen important North Carolina colleges.

A well-attended anti-war assembly was the first project of the *Tulane* L.I.D. this year, of which John Blair is the Student Rep.

Lyonel Florant writes of a suggestive way of organizing the term's work that they are using in the *Howard* Liberal Club: "Five groups were formed: Negro Rights; Intercollegiate Contacts; anti-war and fascism; retrenchment; campus activities. Each group takes its turn in leading the discussion and planning the program. Then the chairman of each group meets in executive session with the other chairmen and out of this group comes the president of the Liberal Club. The idea is to centralize or focus the interests of members on some particular phase of the program, and draw as many people as possible into the work of the group."

With the accession of Harold Libros, energetic young Socialist to *Temple University*, our Chapter there has taken on a new lease of life. Throughout the Philadelphia region there is a stir of L.I.D. activity, with a good group at *Haverford* led by Thomas Sharpless and a group getting under way at *Bryn Mawr* through the initiative of Eleanor Fabyan. An influx of L.I.D. members into the Liberal Club of *George Washington University* has given it new vigor and militancy, embarking on the unprecedented project of an outdoor anti-war meeting in the capitol city!

*Wesleyan* now has one of the best chapters in the Student L.I.D. Along with the *U. of Denver* Chapter it has functioned so as to be an integral part of undergraduate life, not an isolated group. Twice, since the visit of our eastern field-secretary George Edwards, it has sent special delivery letters asking for additional membership applications. Within a month it has built up a group of 30 dollar members and 5 three dollar members. Francis LaBarre and J. P. F. Tucker are the leading spirits in the group. When the Chapter tacked up our poster, "The Perfect R.O.T.C." some-



New York colleges send delegates to demand Robinson's resignation on picket line at C. C. N. Y.

one wrote in to the *Argus* calling it lily-livered, etc.

With Bob Newman's entrance into *M.I.T.* things have begun to hum in the Boston area. The Socialism Club at *Boston Univ.* has affiliated with the L.I.D. John Lawton at *Emerson College* is organizing a group. Even the Catholic and conservative *Boston College* may soon have an L.I.D. The Socialist Club at the *B. U. School of Theology* has always been a stronghold of L.I.D. sentiment. Earle Furgeson is the Student Rep. At *Harvard* the L.I.D. still remains influential among the graduate students, but has yet to make significant inroads in the undergraduate school.

Further north in New England our organizer ran into a somewhat typical group; he writes: "there is a newly formed conspiratorial group with Marxist slogans—not too much Marx—and a great fear of coming out in the open. They are young radicals whose imagination has seized on the terror phase of revolutionism and who insist on believing in violent revolt but who are too scared of reaction to work for it. They say they can get more and more members as an underground organization until they're strong enough to come in the open. The N.S.L. claims 'em in the *S. Review*.—Let 'em keep 'em."

Clare Pineo has undertaken to organize an L.I.D. at *Mass. State College*, which our readers will remember as the bailiwick of Colonel Roncyn who pranced his cavalry through Northampton streets during the anti-war strike of last April. Pineo was one of the few who stuck despite the Colonel's threat.

From the newly organized *Bennington Chapter* we are asked whether it would be possible for L.I.D. groups to undertake some action with regard to the startling exposures about the Red Cross in November's *American Mercury*. We recommend the project to our Chapters.

Henry Fairlie, our energetic representative at *Williams*, has almost single-handed set up a WORKERS' FORUM in Williamstown. The Chapter itself, writes John Lynn, has had several meetings including one to hear Myles Horton and Elizabeth Hawes of the Highlander Folk School.

Bill Moulder writes from *Syracuse*: "The Social Problems Clubs gets publicity on the front page of *The Daily Orange*, to say nothing of editorials and notices. The Thomas meeting was also well-written up. A student comment was printed asking whether the *Orange* was a Socialist paper, in resentment at the amount of left material that has been printed.

On October 3rd, Len Lurie wrote from *Cornell*: "There's a hell of a lot to be done. Complete reorgani-

zation. Send me anything you think I can use. And don't forget membership blanks." On November 12th we received a bulky letter reporting the well-attended anti-war conference for upper New York State colleges which had been held at Ithaca and enclosing several memberships.

At *New York University*, Washington Square College, the Chapter has been carrying on a diversity of work. During the campaign they were sponsors to meetings addressed by Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler and Charles Solomon. They waged a successful campaign for the re-opening of check-rooms, which the administration had closed down as an economy move. They are now cooperating in the second all-university anti-war conference. An interesting situation exists at this downtown branch of the university. The N.S.L. has a very strong chapter there, owing to the energy and imagination put into it by Professor Sidney Hook. The latter has been repudiated by the Communist movement and consequently by the N.S.L. since he will not adhere to the official interpretation of Marx. Within the Chapter, consequently a wide difference of opinion exists among the membership, which the campus expects will any day mature in a split.

Fred Cornell of *N.Y.U.* on the Heights, is one of the few Student Reps who send in their reports listing carefully what action the Chapter has taken on each of the suggestions sent out in the *Organization Bulletins* of the National Office.

The *Vassar* Social Problems Club with a large L.I.D. membership in its ranks tried desperately to get some lodgings for the ill-fated Albany hunger marchers when they passed through Poughkeepsie, and protested vigorously the indifferent attitude of the city administration.

Robert Lindner writes from *Bucknell*: "Concerning the status of our group on this campus I can only say that we have the nucleus of a very fine and strongly centralized chapter of the organization. We are very few, but count some of the keenest minds of the University."

At the *University of Minnesota*, the Farmer-Labor Club heard Howard Y. Williams prophesy a Farmer-Labor Party for 1936.

Seventeen new memberships were sent in by our energetic Student Rep at *Yale Divinity School*, Vernon Holloway.

# FREE FOR ALL

(The Editors of THE STUDENT OUTLOOK have taken the liberty of extracting the most striking disagreements with Mr. Feuer's article, "Upton Sinclair, Socialist?" from the many letters that have come to us. Limitations of space prevent us from printing the letters in full, many of which contained similar arguments.)

*Katherine Cline, U.C.L.A. graduate:* "It is absolutely blind and almost ludicrous to believe that anything can be done for Socialism through the Socialist Party as it is set up at present in California. I have just written my letter of resignation from the Socialist Party, since they will not let us work for socialism within the EPIC movement. To remain in the Party would be a waste of time. There were forty members at a county-wide red card meeting recently; and the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. are practically disbanded. The situation is simply this: the support of Sinclair has reached the proportions of a mass movement. The place for Socialists is where they can influence and give direction to this movement. That can best be done in it—not out of it.

"All the talk in the world about sticking to Socialist principles won't bring about their realization. The EPIC campaign has done an enormous amount of educational work. It is set up at present to continue whether Sinclair wins or loses, and I cannot see the campaign as anything but a glorious opportunity for socialist education.

"It seems to me clear, moreover, that not to work for Sinclair means a victory for more violent vigilantism even than we've known before. Merriam's actions so far indicate that. It is not a question of choosing the lesser evil—there is no other choice to be made in this case from the point of view of working for a socialist society."

*William T. Walker, Western Reserve U.:* "To face Upton Sinclair's candidacy in California realistically, proponents of industrial democracy must ask themselves this question: Do we want Upton Sinclair or Acting-Governor Merriam? . . . If the democratic party can be used to put democracy in business, we should not hesitate to use it. The great middle class in America has been bred to fear labels as the result of the hoodwinking of the press which intentionally gives an erroneous interpretation of them. If socialists cover their label with the word democracy, they can thus hoodwink the masses in another way and give them a beneficial program. The socialist who denounces Sinclair for marching under democracy's banner is unreal and inflexible. . . . Mr. Feuer concludes 'that the plan if carried out will promote catastrophe under state auspices, reduce working class standards of living, cleave ranks with dissension, and finally by indirection, discredit socialist principles with which it will have been confused.' . . . I agree that the above situation would occur in the process of putting Sinclair's plan into operation. However, if conceivably the plan were to ever achieve success, its final result would be, as Sinclair perhaps secretly hopes, that the entire productive machinery in the

state would be under EPIC. In that final result everyone would be under EPIC, and there would hardly be catastrophe, reduction of working class standards of living, etc. . . . Private business would simply evaporate and be absorbed by EPIC.

"The trouble with Mr. Feuer and with many socialists is that they frown on plans which are not socialistic themselves but which might, if vigorously supported and directed by socialists, lead to industrial democracy. These socialists fail to realize that all things in economic life have an evolutionary development. . . ."

*Dean E. McHenry, Univ. of California:* "Mr. Feuer is concerned over the relationship of the old and the new economies. I see no need for such concern. Private business will continue much as before, except for certain adjustments in the tax burden, which probably would be made under a Republican administration as well. . . ."

"It is extremely unlikely that the products of the enterprises set up under the EPIC plan will be allowed to compete on the open market with goods produced under the competitive system. The unemployed will produce for their own use, and, as under the FERA grants, for sale to governmental and charity agencies. . . ."

*Ben O'Brien, La Verne, Calif.:* "We here in California are unquestionably faced with a crisis. We have at least 250,000 people who cannot find gainful employment. In the vain hope of a 'business revival' we have been supporting them and their dependents, a total of probably 1,250,000 by public and private charity. . . . Of course it (the EPIC plan) is not pure socialism. It is a plan to meet an immediate crisis, and save this state from Fascism. Any intelligent group would attempt to avert it. . . ."

*Lewis S. Feuer, Harvard U.:* "I think the adherents to the Epic Plan have adopted a short-sighted economic theory. At first glance, one is impressed by their warning that a defeat for Sinclair means an increase of Fascist-like vigilantism. But the sad experience of Europe, from which we might well learn to profit, teaches otherwise. In both Italy and Germany, the path to Fascist triumph was opened by the failures of liberal government. The EPIC plan, I have argued, would culminate in economic disaster, and none of the criticisms has really challenged the basic details of this analysis. A Sinclair-led debacle would have discredited all principles of democratic socialism, and thereby abetted those very movements whose victory we had hoped to avert. In the meanwhile, if lawless vigilantism is renewed with the connivance of the authorities, it must be met by the direct resistance of working-class groups. After all, American citizens do still possess the the right of self-defense.

The purpose of my article was to explain the probable effect of an Epic Program upon the welfare of the working class. I was concerned with the impact of public upon private enterprise in so far as the interests of the workers were

involved. I am, therefore, surprised to note how the probable consequences of an EPIC plan are cavalierly ignored by those who hasten to the bandwagon. They affirm that the co-operative colonies will not be allowed to compete with private business; but they show little interest in the depressed standard of living which will be the resultant lot of those employed in governmental projects. This is a Fascist solution of the unemployment problem, for it condemns the workers to poverty rather than take advantage of the vast resources which a socialist society could utilize. Instead of confronting squarely the problems of socialization, they rely on some sort of economic *deus ex machina* to preserve their undertakings from ruination. Vaguely, they rest their hopes on miraculous processes like the "evaporation of private business."

The concern that Mr. Sinclair and his followers evince for the plight of the taxpayers is evidence that their movement has been oriented chiefly from the standpoint of the lower middle classes. The conditions of the latter, however, can be improved by reforms in taxation which would place the burden on the rich. America has a long way to go before it taxes the wealthy to the extent to which England, for example, does. But I see no need for a program which sacrifices


the welfare of the laboring classes to achieve an alleviation of a tax-burden which can be obtained by other means.

Now that Sinclair has been defeated there is little justification for the maintenance of allegiance to the EPIC principles. One's energies would be the more fruitfully employed in educating the people along socialist lines. Perhaps the stress of the recent campaign extenuates somewhat the impatience which Sinclair's followers have shown with socialist sceptics. But now, the people must be offered a program more drastic and coherent than the EPIC proposals. If the energies which Sinclair rallied to his cause could be mustered anew behind a resolute, clarified program, then the defeat of EPIC will have served an useful purpose.

## How Capitalism Fights

(Continued from page 19)

using lists compiled by the registrars of San Francisco and Los Angeles. The difficulty of serving hundreds of thousands of people with formal court orders to appear and defend their right to vote was obvious. So the challenged names were printed in one of the obscure papers which specialize in legal notices with the formal demand that these voters appear in court to justify their right to vote, or automatically be stricken from the rolls. A storm of protest and a feeling that victory was theirs anyway, caused them not to press the matter. It was this probability that prevented wholesale intimidation of the voters at the polls and the consequent violence. But the reaction was prepared to go all lengths. The Republican Committee announced that it would have men at the polls to defend them from illegal voters.



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