

REVOLT

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"Hell, Do We Have to Chew On Our Sheepskin Again?"

FRATERNITIES.... R.O.T.C.... PRESIDENT ROBINSON

Articles by REED HARRIS, JOSEPH P. LASH, TUCKER SMITH, PAUL PORTER

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REVOLT

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WE SPLIT NEITHER HEADS NOR
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REVOLT

VOL. I, No. 2

DECEMBER, 1932

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WHY STUDENTS ARE TURNING TO SOCIALISM

An Editorial

"COLUMBIA Professors May Write Roosevelt's Speeches But Columbia Students Vote for Thomas."

By this inscription on a huge banner the Columbia University Socialist Club proclaimed to a campaign audience of 22,000 at Madison Square Garden in New York, that the Socialist presidential candidate had bested all rivals in the University straw vote. To the knowing, the reference to professors was a jibe at several who throughout the campaign had been close advisers to Mr. Roosevelt; but not all should be tarred, for as Professor Paul Brissenden explained at another Socialist rally, many Columbia professors did not even read Mr. Roosevelt's speeches.

Columbia was not alone in giving the Socialist candidate a plurality of the student votes. So did New York University, Hunter, City College of New York, St. Louis University, University of Colorado, and Colorado School of Mines.

Granting that many who supported Thomas are not yet thorough-going Socialists there is nevertheless a significant drift toward radicalism on the American campus. There is evidence for this fact not only in the formation of over 200 college Thomas-for-President clubs, most of which are now being transformed into permanent L.I.D. Chapters or Socialist clubs affiliated with the L.I.D., but also in the readiness of students to participate actively on the side of workers in the class struggle. In Minneapolis student Socialists from the University of Minnesota, picketed with striking building trades workers, contributing measurably to the partial success of the strike as described by Amicus Most elsewhere in this issue.

Last month, student contingents from the University of Chicago and Northwestern marched in the ranks of the Workers Committee on Unemployment which with other unemployed organizations, staged the demonstration of 30,000 jobless in the Chicago Loop district as a protest against a 50 per cent cut in relief rations. Many REVOLT readers are familiar with the story of the Kentucky miners, whose strike was finally broken by hunger and terrorism, since many of them contributed generously to the miners' relief campaign of the League for Industrial Democracy

last spring. Not so well known is the dramatic method by which attention was ultimately directed to the centers of capitalism responsible for the feudalism of Kentucky. Simultaneously, in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, L.I.D. students with appropriate banners picketed the corporation offices of Morgan, Ford, and Insull interests that shared in the ownership of the mines. In the first two cities the students had an opportunity to learn at first hand the meaning of class control of police power when they were roughhanded and jailed.

Surely, here are sharp departures from the callow apathy that characterized the student bodies of the last decade. What are the social forces that bring students from ivied walls to that spearhead of labor battles, the picket line?

The obvious circumstances are the impact of the economic crisis, which even students in a sheltered environment, are now feeling. Family incomes have declined and students budgets have been curtailed. Working students have discovered the usual summer job no longer available, while wages for part-time work have fallen. Tuition fees have been increased in private colleges when endowment dividends have failed, or in state and municipal institutions when banking and real estate interests have insisted that more of the depression burden should be carried by students.

Furthermore, the sacrifices involved in securing a college education are now less handsomely rewarded. The rise of an Association of Unemployed College Alumni, composed principally of graduates from the classes of '29, '30, and '31, is sufficient comment on the ineditability of a sheepskin.

Beneath these more obvious explanations of student radicalism are long range trends that reflect the downward curve of American capitalism. In the decades when capitalism was expanding the call for college trained engineers, architects, lawyers, journalists, physicians, and educators was great. Engineering schools mirrored the needs of capitalist construction. At first the demand for civil engineers was largest but as industrialism become more complex, emphasis

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RESISTING THE R.O.T.C.

By TUCKER P. SMITH



The Next War forges its emotional armaments with showy parades and pretty co-ed colonels, but this year's crop of student drill resisters indicates a growing rebellion against the intrusion of the War Department on the campus. . . .

At left, R.O.T.C. smoke screen hides Hall of Fame at New York University

MARK TWAIN'S observation, that people always complain about the weather but no one seems to do anything about it, is somewhat true of the popular attitude toward war. Men hate and denounce war, in the abstract, and none more volubly than our military-orators; but the war system in the concrete is a regular jig-saw puzzle made up of a multitude of little parts, some of which are individually dear to many of us, while others are ignored as unimportant or not recognized as war at all. Very few arouse our individual or collective opposition. Yet these seemingly unimportant, separately inoffensive parts fit into the whole and make war.

Mark's wit might as well be applied to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, one of the pet parts of the war puzzle, so dear to college administrators and their conservative supporters. Students "crab" about, loaf through, and even denounce the "rot corps," but few recognize the educational folly and the war pattern inherent in the course. Still fewer see this early enough or strongly enough to break with the war system where it thus touches them concretely and personally. "Oh, what's the use?" is humanity's answer.

Anyone familiar with the peace movement in the colleges during the last year has noted that a new determination and definiteness have come into student thinking in this field. This has expressed itself this fall in a nation-wide crop of Freshmen and Sophomore drill-resisters, students who say they can not, will not drill. The Committee on Militarism in Education has been asked to aid more than one hundred such students in their efforts to secure exemption from drill on the ground that they are conscientiously opposed to such instruction—an unprecedented number. At the time of writing this article, word has come of the suspension of two students at the University of Missouri. Two were indefinitely suspended from the University of Maryland some weeks ago. Students in Delaware, Rhode Island, Illinois—to mention a few—have been notified to get into uniform (into the war system) or out of college. At Ohio State University and at the University of Washington students conscientiously opposed to drill are being asked to sign petitions or oaths obviously worded to discredit and dishonor the signer—and are refusing to do so. The son of a Methodist minister has just been granted his exemption from compulsory drill in a mid-western high school which expelled Christian pacifists last year.

Instead of waiting until they become great captains of industry or politics, "in a position to do big things," instead of waiting until they find a war problem worthy of their opposition, and without waiting for the "responsible authorities to correct the evils of the system," they have gone right after Mr. Mars where they can oppose him face to face, here and now. That's not only indicative of first rate personal character, but it's good pedagogy, and sound social tactics. Their



college careers will not be "detached observations of the frailty of human nature in the face of evil."

Faced with this new brand of student, some of the college authorities have been nearly as panicky as our old time politicians might be if they should discover voters studying party policies and programs. After all, such a student interest in social policies would be embarrassing if not out of place in many classrooms. The situation at the University of Mary-

land illustrates well, both the determination and courage of the students and the educational and social obscurantism of the college authorities. Wayne L. Lees, a Sophomore, with practically a straight "A" standing in his Freshman courses committed the grave social error of indulging in some serious thinking about the application of the social principles he was studying to his own everyday life. The result of this crime is revealed in his petition asking exemption from drill "because participation in military training or activity is contrary to the dictates of my conscience."

Ennis H. Coale, a farm boy who has evidently not only gone to church and kept awake during the services, but has taken the social ideals of his religion seriously, said in his petition to the Maryland authorities, "The course in military training is a preparation for war, which is contrary to my religious convictions."

Both boys called attention to the educational and military folly of the college trying to force them to become good reserve officers. The writer believes a good case can be made that all the colleges trying to draft pacifists into the R.O.T.C. are subversive agencies, in the pay of Russia, of course, trying to undermine our national defense by honeycombing this bulwark of our security. What other reason can they have for placing pacifists in the R.O.T.C.?

Firmly resolved to refuse to drill the students wanted to appeal to our Committee for advice on procedure. Realizing the snooping propensities of "patriots," they resorted to a strictly modern mechanical device for conveying their equally modern social sentiments. They enlisted the cooperation of amateur radio stations in Washington and New York.

The administration apparently chose to play a strong, public, "patriotic role," and rushed into print with an attack upon the students and upon "foreign influences," giving the press the story of the suspensions several days before the boys received the notices they were being dropped. The newspapers jumped at the story, and kept the issue "hot" for days and days, but they didn't seem to appreciate the efforts the gallant university officials were making to save the state from these two vicious young fellows. In fact they interviewed many prominent persons and carried biting editorials upon academic and religious freedom. A committee of distinguished citizens, a number of church groups and civic organizations are supporting the boys. One of the leading legal firms of the state is ready to carry the case to court if the Board of Regents do not reinstate the students. A state-wide, intercollegiate petition and protest of faculty members and students is being circulated.

The "regular guys" at the college showed their academic training by an editorial attack upon Lees and Coale in the "Diamondback" calling them "Pacifist Plants," "We hesitate to claim these men as Marylanders. . . . Neither of the men involved is subject to what can honestly be called religious scruples, despite the fact that one of them offered such an excuse. Pacifist agitators, in short, are endeavoring to raise an issue here by means of 'plants.'" To this charge the Baltimore



The War Department Discovers a Deadly Weapon

Sun editorially responded under the heading "Call Him a Liar."

"Something is always happening to remind us of that story Woodrow Wilson found so useful. The story of the joint debate in which the favored orator of the town was beaten down by an unknown youngster, so that finally the partisans of the old champion shouted, 'Call him a liar, Bill, and make it a fight.' The latest something to remind us of this story is the editorial in the Diamond-back, student publication at the University of Maryland, in which the two young men who have refused to take military training are called "plants"—that is, tool of pacifist agencies or societies, not precisely identified. If this is the best the 'orthodox' students can do, in reason and argument on a very serious question, it seems to us that the wisdom of devoting several hours a week to compulsory military training takes on new importance. Why not take some of that time to acquaint the 'regular guys' with the difference between epithets and logic?"

When the Maryland R.O.T.C. announced the appointment of their new girl sponsors, the *Sun* took occasion to

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Research Jobs for Students

By LUCY M. KRAMER and FELIX S. COHEN

IN THE reconstruction of society most of the important jobs are jobs for which only students need apply. There is, among the radical movements in America today, none that can present a scientifically elaborated social program and call only for unswerving loyalty in its execution. Above all today there is need for thought, for the thinking through of social ideals in the light of the concrete realities of our industrial civilization.

Undoubtedly practical service by the student on the industrial or political front serves to clarify his vision of social realities. Undoubtedly without the practical work of organizing human materials ideas do not move matter. But the student has his own role to play, and whether or not it is ultimately the most important role in civilization, it is a role which is indispensable in the building of a rational society and which will not be filled if those trained to its playing desert it.

Students have more to offer in the building of the cooperative commonwealth than old clothes and sporadic service on the picketline. There is striking, picketing, and rioting that must be done within library walls.

Obviously not all college students are possessed either of the time or the temperament to strike, picket, and riot within library walls. But even those who scorn the ivory tower may find that the value of their most practical activity in post-graduate days will depend largely upon their intellectual preparation rather than upon their emotional sincerity. For them as well as for those limited in time there are a thousand odd jobs of research waiting in the files of a dozen radical organizations actively working towards the socialist commonwealth. (Cf. *Bulletin of the Industrial Research Group "Guide to Research in Social Problems" for a list of such organizations.*)

Jobs there are in plenty for the student who is intellectually and temperamentally equipped to contribute to the radical thought of the coming decades. But one needs courage to accept the pay that comes with these jobs—the cooling concern of an older academic generation that shades into puzzled disgust, the closing of academic gates that once seemed open, and, bitterest pay of all, the unconcern of those for whom one works and the contempt of the hungry for those who have only thoughts to sell. One needs courage, and a self-respect that demands no praise, and a high hope that will carry through days of fruitless labor. One needs as well some callousness to the demands of the moment, an unusual allotment of unsociability, and a willingness to forego life's creature-comforts. Without such equipment a man does better to serve on the beaten paths and paved streets of social reform, where the comradeship of a great social adventure lends color to life and warms against the chills of doubt.

THE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH GROUP

Students with a social conscience and a hankering for uncut trails on the frontiers of social reconstruction will find a handy provision station in the Industrial Research Group. This organization has put out, in the last three years, some seventeen bulletins (a list of them can be obtained free of charge from the Editor of REVOLT), in each of which an

attempt is made to survey past achievements in some field of research that has vital bearings upon the transition from capitalism to socialism, to analyze methods of investigation, and to indicate unsolved questions. In these columns and in future issues of REVOLT, an attempt will be made to outline in the most summary form the lines of research which have been or may be covered more fully in the Industrial Research Bulletins.

1. PSYCHOLOGY

It is truistic to remark that the success of a socialist program depends upon the ability of society to control the desires of men for unlimited profits. How important a role that desire plays in contemporary industrial society and how deep-seated it is in human nature are questions that press for dispassionate psychological study. An Industrial Research Group bulletin on "The Profit Motive" offers leads for inquiries of fundamental importance.

Analysis of the psychological roots of American labor's political inertia (cf. I.R.G. bulletin "Decaying Unions"), of the American consumer's commercial gullibility (cf. "Consumer's Power"), of the white-collar worker's complacent superiority, investigation of the divorce between the American intellectual and the American workers (cf. "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement"), exploration of effective techniques of propaganda (cf. "Labor and its Press"), and study of mass psychology in strikes and crises are among a host of problems vital to the task of social reconstruction that can be answered only in terms of a scientific psychology.

2. POLITICS

The conception of a socialist state presents political problems only remotely touched by studies of present-day political machinery. Concentration of power in a centralized government involves obvious dangers, against which syndicalists and guild socialists have warned. The problem of political pluralism, of devolution of sovereignty, calls insistently for study in the light of such experiments as the soviet system, the organization of semi-governmental industrial corporations, and other types of "economic federalism." An I. R. G. bulletin on "Types of Social Control" (now in preparation) may offer some aid in the study of political techniques available in the task of securing and maintaining industrial democracy. Some neglected phases of the problem of industrial democracy are touched upon in an I. R. G. bulletin on "Democracy and Leadership in Labor Unions," which incidentally calls attention to a great body of political material in a field that has hardly been touched by political scientists.

Political problems of a fundamental nature are raised by the surreptitious transfer of governmental functions to private capitalists. See, for instance, the I. R. G. bulletins on "Company Towns" and on "Labor and the Police."

3. MILITARY SCIENCE

Perhaps the most colossal obstacle to the building of an effective peace movement in this country is our widespread ignorance and naivete in affairs military. With a few honorable exceptions (see, for instance, Kirby Page, *National*

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College Fraternities — Obstacles to Social Change

By REED HARRIS

IN THE PAST three years, college students have begun to show attitudes completely out of their range a few years ago. Intense interest in the social problems of the age is slowly gaining ground in the educational centers. The proletarian weapon of mass protest is being effectively utilized in not a few educational disputes (the Columbia strike and the October meetings at the College of the City of New York are examples), and students are becoming increasingly aware of the utter futility of capitalism.

Of the reactionary bulwarks which are constantly hindering this process, the American college fraternity stands first. Because of the dependence of fraternities on tradition, however outworn, they serve to perpetuate all that is worst in American education.

Yet, in any important change in the general attitude of students, or in any radical revision of public opinion, the college fraternities must play an important part. There are nearly 1,000,000 members of fraternities living today. Every three days, during an academic year, a new chapter is born. Nearly 30,000 students join the organizations each year.

Fraternities, which in theory are merely organizations for promoting friendships and congeniality, are dangerous to any progress in thought because of their complete reliance on the past. Change is a word which is seldom given more than a passing attention in their conduct. If the founder of a fraternity was a good old Baptist and a Republican then the boys in the chapter houses today say a little Baptist prayer before they sit down to a meal, and the organization is conducted on good, old Republican principles.

If it were generally understood that fraternities are utterly lacking in any true measure of progress, then the common tragedy of student misfits in fraternities would disappear. The freshmen are rushed into the organizations, then moulded, if possible, into the standard shape for the particular organization joined, and left to go out into the cold world acting, looking, and thinking like a thousand others.

All too often, a student who as a senior or junior would have begun to open his mind to ideas not in keeping with past training is caught in the fraternity web before his mentality reaches any important development, and thereafter there is little opportunity for any change.

When I entered Columbia University, in 1928, I was the usual young freshman, well brought up with the belief in the complete righteousness of Republicanism and all that goes with it. Several of my friends who entered at the same time

had very much the same type of opinions as those with which I was equipped. Our motto might well have been: "For God, for country, and for Coolidge."

When the fraternity rushing season came along, hardly two months after entrance, I, like the 400 other members of my class, felt highly honored to be entertained by many fraternity men. In the hectic ten days in which my choice had to be made, I was heavily influenced by certain big activity men who constantly managed to make themselves seem chummy with every freshman at hand. When I joined a fraternity, it was because of one particular big activity man and the fact that several of my freshman friends had decided also on the same house.

Within three days after I joined a fraternity, the process of disillusionment began. The pledges were called together in a meeting. It was explained that we were to be criticized at every meeting by the older men, and that any deviation from suggestions made by the brothers would be rewarded with paddling. Our personal habits were discussed. We were told how to wear our ties, how to keep away from non-fraternity men, from Jewish students and from Catholic students. The Social Problems Club (like the liberal clubs and forums at several colleges) was pointed out to us as one of the organizations to be completely avoided.

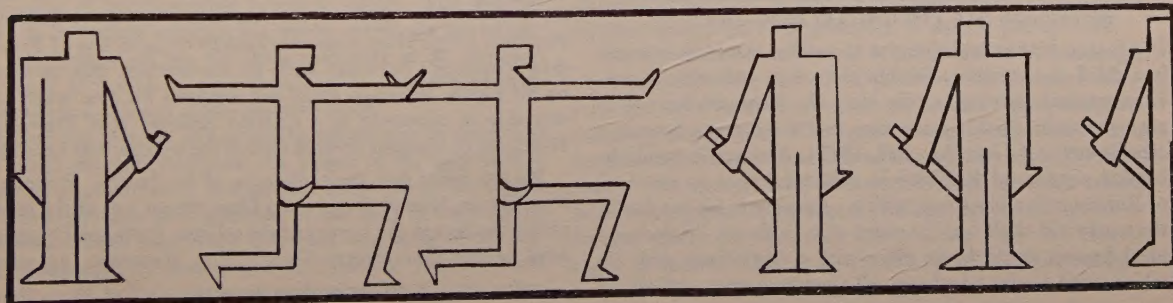
Being pretty well bound up with what I now believe to have been a sad set of standards, I thought the suggestions quite good, except for the anti-social rulings concerning religious groups and non-fraternity men. I accepted the rest of the suggestions and attempted to conform.

Fortunately for me, I disliked the back-slapping, bridge-playing, heavy-drinking crowd which dominated the chapter at the time and my activities kept me busy so that I was seldom in the fraternity house. Whenever I did go in, I found nothing but trivialities under discussion. I began to realize that the real aims of fraternity members are to drink heavily, seduce as large a number of good-looking women as possible, and to get by in classes with as little work as possible.

Two of my friends who had entered with me moved into the house to live, and became wheels in the fraternity machine. Within a year, we were miles apart. In two years, as my ideas grew more liberal and as my political beliefs steadily veered to the left, I became, in some ways, an outsider.

At the beginning of my Senior year, the worst element of the fraternity having dropped by the wayside, there was a

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MEET THE STUFFED SHIRT

We Are Pained to Present Frederick B. Robinson

By JOSEPH P. LASH

THE JOB of a college president is a difficult one. He rules in an atmosphere essentially enlightened, but he raises his funds among philanthropists and legislators who are reactionary. In this conflict of loyalties Frederick B. Robinson, president of the City College of New York, has had no scruples about undermining the intellectual morale of the college, while doing astonishing lipservice to liberalism.

Up to 1931 Dr. Robinson's straddling of the horses of liberalism and reaction in the public view was nothing short of remarkable. With one whip he kept the legislators stepping obediently, and with the other he had reporters dancing to his perpetual song of "how enlightened I am." Yet today on all sides there are calls for his resignation. All the stories of his bad character that hitherto have been confined to the college walls are being bruited about the city. Did the horses buck too violently, or was President Robinson never the rider he was reputed to be?

Although I mentioned whips, President Robinson is no Simon Legree. In appearance he is not one to cow legislators. A smallish person he has no prominent features, except for a trim black growth on his underlip, which hovers like a shadow over his face. Were it not for this beard he might be confused with a soft spoken card sharper, for he dresses dandily and has the characteristic finesse. His ways have been those of persuasion and the use of the deft Italian touch.

President Robinson had striven mightily to build up the possessions of his college, becoming in the process Director of the Evening Session, Dean of the School of Business and Dean of the Brooklyn Branch; yet few persons were elated when he was chosen president. There is still a good deal of mystery about that election. Indeed many alumni were incensed at the secret way in which it was all done. President Mezes was given a leave of absence for one year. Suddenly, when everyone was expecting him to return to active direction of the college, it was announced that, several days before, Robinson had been elected president. He came to the presidency reeking with politics.

For a while, after he became president, there was a deluge of interviews with President Robinson in success magazines and Sunday supplements. One was headed, and it explains why he is looked down on by most of his faculty:

SCHOLAR AND EXECUTIVE TOO, DR. FREDERICK B. ROBINSON APPLIES UP-TO-DATE BUSINESS METHODS TO EDUCATION

In another, his accomplishments as a cellist would be stressed. In a third as an etcher: Within sixty days and without previous musical training to help him, Dr. Robinson learned to play the cello. In his spare time one summer he became a capable etcher." (Am. M., Feb. 1929). The public would be handed pictures of Robinson in a smock intent on an easel, or Robinson in a black suit with a cello bow in his hand. But the most vivid of all was the vision of a professor, "Robinson's ideal heaven would be an office with a single long desk, on which stand twelve telephones, all ringing at once, and all the



"Conscience is Piffle"

calls for Robinson." And the best story of all was his declaration that he had discovered a flaw in Einstein's theory months before scientists in Southern California did! Newspaper men still remember the release he gave out on the evening of his inauguration: that it would be attended by, "representatives of more than 245 colleges and universities, forty-eight of them presidents, eighteen United States and New York State public officials, twenty-one members of the judiciary, twenty-six municipal officers. . . ."

But this same openness to flattery makes him very sensitive to opposition. He cannot brook criticism, and when he has the whip hand he retaliates, sometimes in a very petty fashion. Professor Leigh Hunt once ventured to criticize one of President Robinson's drawings with all the acerbity that he used on his pupils. Robinson could not suppress his glee when he was able to announce to a *Campus* reporter that Professor Hunt, one of the most revered men at the college, was retiring.

He has never had the confidence of his faculty. Professor Von Klenze, head of the German Department, one of the most gifted teachers in the history of the college, Professor Duggan, head of the Government Department, Kressman, an asso-

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The Strange Career of Walter Lippmann

By LEWIS S. FEUER

THE CASE of Walter Lippmann is of more than peculiar interest for the story of his life brings to the fore several issues that are crucial to movements toward social reconstruction. In his career, there lie revealed the subtle influences that remould the vigorous, radical thinker into a dangerous defender of the established order.

During the second decade of the century Walter Lippmann achieved considerable reputation as a political analyst of the first rank; his studies of domestic affairs, his acute discernment of the problems that faced diplomacy, and the thorough-going quality of his application of pragmatic doctrine to the details of political questions made him pre-eminent among liberal American theorists. At Harvard, he had led an eager band of Socialist students and clashed with Professor Irving Babbitt. As a student he received the approbation of William James and Graham Wallas. As secretary to the Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, he trenchantly criticized his boss for not being enough of a Socialist. But Lippmann felt the desire to see his abilities realize their utmost fruition. His associations with men of power and practical politicians were spontaneous and numerous. Very naturally, and without apparent abandonment of his sincere convictions, he was drawn into the wider field of journalism. The notably prestige of his editorial reign on the *New York World* will be long remembered. In foreign relations and municipal affairs, his work was singularly well informed and convincing. The most sustained efforts, however, came forward with the candidacy of Alfred E. Smith for president; Lippmann was of immense service as an intimate advisor and through his columns, he carried on a powerful offensive on behalf of Democratic liberalism. With the passing of the *New York World*, Lippmann moved into the tents of his erstwhile foes, the *Herald-Tribune*, and has since been occupied as guest columnist. During the last campaign, this former Socialist and campaigner for vigorous action on the national and international fields, was an advocate of the election of Roosevelt and the new deal that would be the gift of the Democratic Party. Never did he put forward a resolute program for action toward the goals of peace and industrial security to which he nominally subscribes. His writings are fast becoming an intelligent commentary with a vague suggestion of tragic hope and futility. He has become entangled in the meshes of the wrong side.

Most actively-minded people must some time or other make the choice that once confronted Lippmann. It is that of either joining a party of opposition (which has no prospect of immediate success) or casting one's lot with a dominant party with the hope that changes can be effected from within with a measure of accompanying practical results. The achievement of immediate reforms is a strong attraction to the person who would not see his work evaporate in an impotent agitation. It would be well therefore, to note the grounds upon which a rational choice must be made.

A practical political or economic problem may be defined as one which squarely confronts the people of the time with a choice of alternatives. It is a genuine crossroad which travelers much approach with selection in the light of their ideals. There have been days when Socialism was more of an academic hope than an issue in practical politics. James Russell Lowell could do little more than assert a faith. On the other

hand, John Stuart Mill applied his later Socialist principles to the election of working class candidates to Parliament. No program or proposals are more than academic demonstrations or poetic visions unless they stand immediately relevant to the contemporary social situation.

Now, so long as an issue has not passed into this crucial stage, much is to be said for the man who decides to try and get something actually done by allying himself with forces to which he is otherwise opposed. Not all causes or problems are equally important to an individual, and to occupy himself with some of these, he may legitimately exclude or compromise on the others. The lines of immediate objectives press with finality against more remote differences.

The sapping of radical vitality is subtle. The dominant danger is psychological and emerges in forms of harmless good-nature. Even the union organizer, Lassalle, could find common cultural bonds with his Junker neighbor, Bismarck, though perhaps the practical fruits of this friendship were not altogether undesirable. Ordinarily however, the man who associates with capitalists ultimately learns to speak their language and understand their ways; and this understanding may become so broad and tolerant that it undermines the vigor of his own personality and convictions. It was Spinoza who once remarked on the difficulty of maintaining one's ways in the face of an opposite social environment. A chief function of the British aristocracy has been just this gradual assimilation into its own body of the elements that seemed most threatening. Its amalgamation with British industry is a historic example; and the fortunes of MacDonald and his Labour colleagues are a recent proof that British society works so gracefully that it can make a Labour man turn Conservative and still go about saying he is Labour while he performs Conservative antics. The humanization and understanding of those who are your foes quite naturally promote a spirit of conciliation.

Both of these influences, the psychologic and the desire to be effective, seem to have swayed Walter Lippmann, and are worthy of note in their general aspects. The psychologic factors need not be met by argument, but they are snares toward which radicals must develop proper alertness. Intellectual strong-mindedness together with the practical applications to which real emotion will set a principle are about all that can be urged. But the argument that more can be done by, so to speak, boring from within one of the old parties demands a closer consideration. The point is that though this approach may be valid when the chief problems are not practical it loses its force completely when the issues do become pressing. What happens, then, is that the renegade liberal finds himself fighting against his own principles, in deed if not in word.

Mr. Lippmann's case is well in point. Taken by and large, the Lippmann of the *Stakes of Diplomacy* and *Drift and Mastery* has more in common with the Socialist than with the Democratic platform. The latter is confessedly inadequate, his enthusiasm for Roosevelt is small, and inevitably, he must realize that the proposed Democratic administration would be a twin successor to its Republican brother. Indeed, so far as foreign affairs go, Roosevelt moves along with the Hearst stamp of approval, and an unenviable record as Assistant Sec-

(Continued on page 22)

WHO'S WHO AMONG THE REBELS

OSCAR AMERINGER

By PAUL SIFTON

OSCAR AMERINGER, born in Germany, seems to me to be the most effective labor journalist now writing in America. Equipped with an understanding of political and economic history, a love of poetry and music, Oscar writes always in words that workers understand. He does not write down to them. For forty years he has worked and lived with them, cursed over their mistakes, cheered and cried over their fierce blundering heroism on the job, the picket line and in open rebellion. In writing, he combines a high political idealism with racy colloquial American lingo. But, more important, back of the phrasing is an X-ray mind that pierces to the core of the most elaborate mass of capitalist flub-dub. For instance, years ago when Andy Mellon announced that the per capita wealth of the United States amounted to \$2,500, Oscar told his readers a touching story of how these glad tidings had bucked him up. He strutted down the street as if he were a new man, kicked upon the door of his favorite bank, asked for the cashier, slapped him on the shoulder and showed him a clipping containing the good news from Andy.

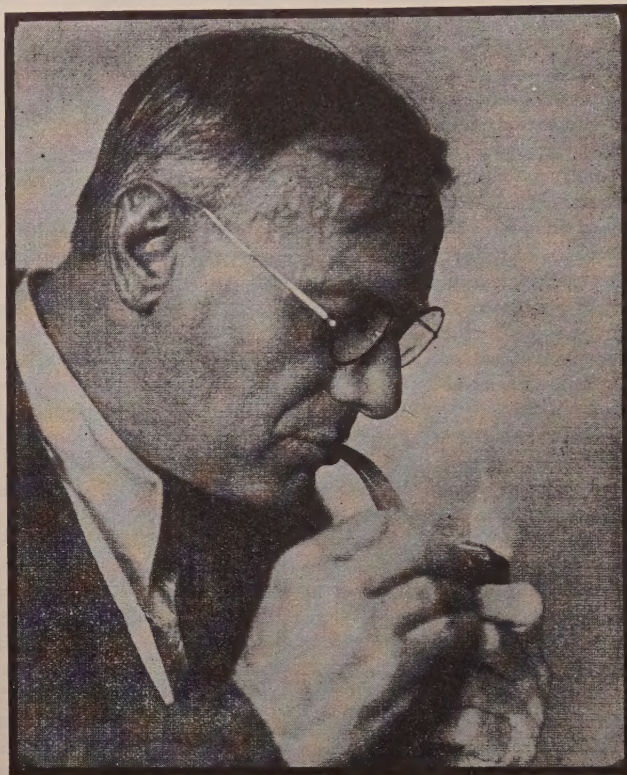
"See," said Oscar to the cashier, "Andy says we're all worth \$2,500. Per capita means everybody, including you and me, has got \$2,500 coming to him. Now I don't need all that right at once. But I need a square meal and a pair of half-soles to get my feet up off the ground. I'd like to make a small loan—say about \$2.50 on Brother Andy's endorsement."

Well, briefly, Oscar got thrown out of his favorite bank.

So, week in and week out, Oscar pricks the pretty balloons handed out by the bosses and their servants at Washington. But Oscar, unlike the plush-bottomed cynics of the Mencken school, never lets it go at debunking. He is positive, constructive, revolutionary. This mess of capitalism stinks and poisons the air; only Socialism can clean it up and makes our lives, sane, clean and healthy.

He tells how, concretely and immediately. He sees a worker scavenging food out of a garbage can in New York City and glows at white heat. *Now!* Build up the voting, demonstrating army of the workers, the farmers, the white collar slaves, the wretched gyped and disinherited of today and tomorrow.

His new weekly, *The American Guardian*, has jumped to a 30,000 circulation because in his own editorials and in the selection of news, the facts, the opinions and the solutions



Dean of Labor Journalists

are alive, as worn as the grinding bowels of a man suffering from soup-line diarrhea, as cold as the flesh of a miners' baby dead at the dry breast of its starving mother, and as militant as desperate workers can be, once they realize that they can get only what they have the combined strength, brains, and loyalty to take.

Oscar Ameringer's sheer writing ability is so apparent that Hearst, among others, has tried to buy him and "direct" it. Unfortunately he is so ridden by the financial problem of getting out the *Guardian* that he cannot give his whole time and abundant energy to writing, as he should.

A strong Socialist Party should see to it that Oscar Ameringer keeps his pencil hot. He should be treated tenderly, as a race horse is handled, kept for that which he can do best.

RESEARCH JOBS FOR STUDENTS

(Continued from page 6)

Defense) our pacifist leaders can speak only in emotional terms of the problems of war, and the mental inferiority of our army officers is pathetic (witness the inanities that fill American military journals). Such works as Major Karl Axel Bratt's *That Next War* (1930) and Lt. Commander

J. M. Kenworthy's *Peace or War* (1927) indicate the weight which knowledge of the realities of modern warfare may lend to the pacifist thesis. Such knowledge is difficult to attain (least of all will the student find it in R.O.T.C. courses), but without such knowledge no movement of social reform or social revolution can deal with international realities.

(To be continued)

Students in the Class Struggle

By AMICUS MOST

WITH the tremendous increase in interest being shown by students throughout the country in the Socialist movement, it is time that serious thought were given to the part that students can play in the class struggle and their place within a worker's movement.

Karl Marx in the Communist Manifesto wrote, "In times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour—a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class," and "A portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole," goes over to the proletariat. Students will, therefore, fall into this classification. They are really idealists who are acting against the economic interests of their own class, for the middle class is actually opposed to changing the capitalist system. They are merely interested in maintaining their position as small capitalists or as professionals.

It, therefore, becomes essential, if the student who has accepted the Socialist philosophy is to become an active factor in making Socialism a reality, to completely forget his class interests. His background is a handicap, and he must learn the actual problems of the working class by active participation in their daily struggles. He must not feel, that because of superior education, he can become a leader in the struggle without first learning from the workers themselves. There are a great number of students who approach the working class with a "slumming attitude."

The student must be active in strikes, in unemployment organizations, in demonstrations, etc., not as a leader, or by making an occasional speech, but by participation as a rank and file worker. He must be a picket, he must do the clerical work, distribute the leaflets, face the police and thugs, the dangers and the public condemnation just as any other worker does. Having been accepted by the working class as part of themselves, his superior education and training and his ability to fall back to other means of livelihood than those enjoyed by the average worker, may then possibly make him a leader in the revolutionary working class movement.

Recently the members of the University of Minnesota's "Thomas for President Club" furnished an example of the part students can play and the effect it has upon them. A strike of Minneapolis building laborers on a wrecking job had been going on for some weeks. It was in protest against a wage drastically lower than the prevailing union scale. It was a particularly important strike because the contract in which the wage scale was specified was let by the city. Thus a governmental body was assisting in the movement to lower the standard of living and to decrease the general purchasing power of the masses. The police had been called out to protect the scabs and the contractors. This led, as it usually does, to a considerable degree of violence on both sides. Because of this and of the presence of Communists, the strike had achieved much local publicity. At this time, I happened to arrive in the city on behalf of the National Office of the Party. With a committee of students, I investigated the strike, consulted union officials and then we decided to take active part in it. About twenty students including a number of co-eds, joined the pickets, and continued picketing for the

rest of the strike. Their activity brought streamer headline publicity and new life to the strike. This eventually resulted in victory for the workers. This was an entirely novel experience for the students. Frankly, most of them didn't understand what they were doing or why! They had simply followed my instructions, or had been attracted by the romantic and the adventurous aspects of the affair. But even after the first day, they realized the importance and grimness of their task. They were faced by well armed and ugly tempered police. They marched and sang with hungry and ragged men to whom this strike was no adventure, but part of their everyday struggles. They had seen men angered almost to the point of facing the police machine guns and "rushing the job."

The important and interesting thing that this accomplished was the fact that it aroused among the students discussion and thought on labor problems that they had never faced before, and it created more friendship of the workers of Minneapolis for the Socialist Party than thousands of leaflets could have done. After the first day of picketing, a number of students were very disturbed by the fact that the university officials had attempted to curtail their activities, officials who had previously looked upon them as a rather mild and unimportant theoretical group. Many reported that their friends who had been friendly to the candidacy of Norman Thomas were now antagonistic. This was to be expected. Students chiefly come in contact with middle class liberals who have no connections with the working class, and they, therefore, judged that because they had antagonized these liberals, they had also antagonized everyone else. It was only after they read the favorable reports of their activities in the labor press and after they talked with workers whom they had never before had the opportunity of meeting, that they realized that for every liberal that they had lost, they had gained a hundred out of the working class. In addition they were invited to speak before labor groups and were not received as "politicians" trying to get votes, but as one of themselves discussing their own mutual problems. Finally, it created a new solidarity and comradeship among the students themselves, which is of the utmost importance in the fight that lies ahead.

JOBLESS GRADS!

Join the Association of Unemployed College Alumni and work for a social order that will permit jobs for all.

Special Divisions for Engineers, Lawyers, Teachers, Physicians, Journalists, and Librarians. Branches are being formed in many communities. Write for program of action that will help you wage the collective fight against unemployment in your profession, and in your city.

Association of Unemployed College Alumni

ROOM 1105 112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK

BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

By PAUL PORTER

THERE ARE PHRASES that are sometimes worn to frazzle before they have ever really lived, and one of those is that Old Hopeful of wishful thinkers, "student movement." It bobs up every season at conferences and in the collegiate press, but never quite fulfills its meaning in the sense that it represents a significant portion of the American student body pushing away from old orbits into a new direction. This year, however, its usage is justified, for there really is evidence that students in considerable number are separating themselves from the prevailing political and economic illiteracy of the nation. Enough on every campus have broken from the routine of the past to make not merely a ripple but a movement whose direction may now be charted. The direction is toward Socialism, the challenge and the ideal which seems able to stir American students at last from the empty-minded apathy of the post war years.

The influence of the Thomas-for-President clubs during the campaign is recorded in the high percentage of votes the Socialist candidate received in college polls, and has been commented on editorially elsewhere in REVOLT, but the true measure of student Socialist strength will be found in the League for Industrial Democracy chapters and Socialist clubs that remain permanently on the campus. Their manifold activities will comprise the main stem of the radical student movement.

In this issue REVOLT inaugurates as a regular feature a resume of those activities. Brief and selective, as space limitations compel, these pages can nevertheless become a map of student radicalism. All readers, and local L.I.D. secretaries in particular, are requested to report promptly the significant radical activities in their respective schools.

United Youth Conference Against War

By the time these words are in print delegates from several dozen colleges in the East, South, and Central West, and from many young workers' organizations, will have gathered in New York, November 25-27, determined for a rally against war. Called jointly by the L.I.D., the Committee on Militarism in Education, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the conference has enlisted the support of nearly thirty national organizations including the Student Christian Associations, the National Council of Jewish Juniors, the National Student Federation, the War Resisters League, Green International, and the Association of Unemployed College Alumni.

From North Carolina State College, Dartmouth, Cornell, Syracuse, Baldwin-Wallace College in Ohio, Howard, and many more nearby institutions, registrations have poured in, and if the vigorous program of opposition to the R.O.T.C. and other concrete proposals on the conference agenda are translated into action when the delegates return, the job of war-makers will become measurably more difficult.

Among the scheduled speakers are A. Fenner Brockway, noted British editor and Labour spokesman, Tucker P. Smith, J. B. Matthews, Roger N. Baldwin, Dorothy Detzer, Devere Allen, Paul Blanshard, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lawrence Dennis, Wayne L. Lees of Maryland University, Howard C. Westwood, leader of the Columbia Socialist Club, Eleanor Kel-

logg of Brookwood Labor College, Glen Trimble of Boston University, and Albert Arent of Cornell.

Planned as an outgrowth of the conference will be a student delegation to Washington soon after Congress convenes, to serve notice that hundreds of students will reject the role of cannon fodder in another war, to request that the State Department furnish a list of investments for which American youth may some day be called upon to fight, and to demand that money now spent in maintaining the R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C. be used in providing relief for the unemployed.

Ohio Student Conference on War

Coincidentally with the above conference a similar one has been scheduled in Cleveland, participated in by local L.I.D. chapters, the Western Reserve International Relations Club and other student organizations. Speakers include well-known professors and journalists, and Harry J. Dworkin, who as a student at Ohio State University was one of the sharpest thorns in the flesh of the military science department.

L. I. D. Christmas Conferences

Delegates are already making preparations to attend the traditional Christmas holiday conferences of the L.I.D., which will be held for the eighteenth successive year in New York and for the fifth in Chicago. This year's New York theme will be "Socialism in Our Time" and has been divided into three main categories, to wit: "How May Power Be Won," "Building a Power Winning Organization," and "The Morning After the Revolution." The Chicago conference will be along similar lines.

On the Picket Line

It was a busy day for reporters when University of Minnesota students shocked the college authorities and conservative townsfolk but won the gratitude of Minneapolis and St. Paul labor unions by joining striking building trades workers on the picket line. This event we believe to be significant enough to be described and analyzed in a special article, "Students and the Class Struggle," by Amicus Most. So also is the participation of Chicago students in the giant unemployment demonstration which Robert Asher recounts.

When the reactionary *Chicago Tribune* published an editorial about the demonstration that was offensive to every person whose job has been cruelly confiscated, students and unemployed workers replied by picketing the *Tribune's* offices. Among the picketers was Professor Maynard Krueger, economist at the University of Chicago.

In the Jail House

Oberlin students are not a cantankerous lot who go out of their way for trouble. But there are some who do not run from it when there's a cause worth scrapping for. Free speech is one of those causes, so when the Mayor of Lorain, Ohio, forbade a Socialist rally six members of the Thomas-for-President club defied him and were rewarded with guest privileges at the town jail. One of them was George Abernethy, formerly L.I.D. representative of Bucknell and widely known to students throughout the East, now a graduate fellow in philosophy.

How the Army Preserves Peace

On Armistice Day military-minded former Senator Wadsworth, now Representative-elect from New York, spoke in Ithaca on behalf of a bigger Army and Navy. Members of the Cornell Liberal Club, the Socialist Party, and student peace groups held a rival meeting after which they marched with banners past the high school in which Wadsworth was speaking. Leonard Lurie, Cornell L.I.D. representative describes their gentle reception: "Several of the army officers rushed at us and tore down a few posters. The police joined the destruction which was over very shortly. They prodded us along the street with their sticks, and Fred Berkowitz remarked 'I wonder how much the police get for hitting people.' One of the police heard and grabbed him, raising his club to strike. Norman Spitzer caught the club whereupon another cop threw him down while the first rapped him. Berkowitz was hit on the arm which is still too sore to use."

Christmas Joy in Dismal West Virginia

During the past two summers students have participated in the L.I.D. Chautauqua in the Kanawha Valley coal fields of West Virginia, as readers of Carrie Glasser's chautauqua journal in October's REVOLT will recall. Last December some of these students, with the help of numerous campus clubs, collected toys, candy and clothing for miners' children and then arranged Christmas parties for them at the West Virginia Mine Workers Union. The parties will be repeated again this year. Many L.I.D. chapters are already collecting gifts. Others are urged to start at once. They should communicate with Anna Caples, leader in Socialist activities last year at Vassar, now a member of the L.I.D. staff.

The World is Your Laboratory

Growing in frequency are those trips of economics and sociology classes to case illustrations, such as breadlines and strikes, of this magnificent chaos called Capitalism. Recently students from Amherst and Mt. Holyoke, under the leadership of Professor Colston Warne, made the rounds of New York's choicest soup kitchens, and visited Brookwood Labor College and the officers of various radical organizations.

Economics of the Depression

Following the cue of the Wisconsin University L.I.D., the Socialist Club at Washington Square College of New York University is mapping plans for voluntary classes in "the economics of depression" by which they hope to introduce a large number of students to Socialist thought. As was done at Wisconsin last year the classes will parallel some of the classes taught by conservatives, so that students may observe the contrast between two schools of economics.

Overalls Are in Style

Dowdiness in dress at Bryn Mawr has evoked editorial chiding from the college paper, but at Commonwealth College in Arkansas a student or professor who appears in fashionable clothes is likely to be hooted back to his dormitory. Students and teachers alike "work their way" at such occupations as farming, gardening, cooking, chopping wood, laundering, and building. Tuition fees are \$40 for twelve week terms. The school, which specializes in training for active service in the labor movement, has a fast growing enrollment.

Building Socialism in the Community

Instances of students participating in Socialist education and organization beyond the campus have grown so numerous

Conservatism is Jarred—Push on to Socialism

I AM AT ONCE encouraged and discouraged by the results of the straw votes on the college campuses—encouraged because of the great increase of the percentage of Socialist votes—discouraged because still there is such a vast majority which votes exactly as their fathers vote, which accepts as handed down to them the ideals of a comfortable owning class in the section where they live. In the South a comfortable owning class is almost overwhelmingly Democratic. In the North it is more likely to be Republican, and that is reflected in the votes of men and women who supposedly are educating themselves to think. I am confident, however, that there will be an increasing cooperation and even leadership among college students and more especially college graduates in the great march of workers with hand and brain toward emancipation. This is bound to be the case because the times are producing a great college diplomaed proletariat such as Europe and Japan have had for many years. Now that students find that a college diploma is not a key to success and that it does not even give good shelter or good food on the bread-lines, they are more likely to throw in their lot with the workers than seek to try to climb out on the backs of the workers to some uncertain haven of economic security for themselves. The immediate task of students interested in REVOLT is to keep up the good work and not to let the momentum of pre-election campaigning utterly die down.

NORMAN THOMAS

that any attempt at reporting them is certain to slight some one. Among college groups particularly worthy of mention are the Socialist Clubs of Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Boston University, Swarthmore, University of Chicago, Washington State College, and University of Oregon, all of which have done yeoman work. Many of these clubs are cooperating closely with the Socialist Party. Rolla Reedy reports from Oregon that whereas four months ago no Socialist organization existed in the recent election Socialists polled ten per cent of the total vote, for which students may receive a large share of the credit.

From Tulane University in New Orleans, Richard Babb Whitten writes encouragingly of the organization of a Socialist club which has strong support. Southern colleges have been slow to respond to radical ideas, but a significant change is already apparent. L.I.D. groups in the University of Texas, Texas Christian, Texas Technological, Southern Methodist, University of Tennessee, University of Kentucky, Women's College of Alabama, University of North Carolina, Rollins, Randolph-Macon, Lynchburg, and many others, are spading the ground for a new society.

On the Labor Front

It is fitting that the University of Wisconsin should usually lead in the development of new projects, since it has not only one of the strongest L.I.D. chapters but also the national president of the Intercollegiate Student Council in the person of Maurice Neufeld. At present the self-starting L.I.D. chapter is preparing, first, a week's campaign of relief and protest on behalf of striking coal miners in Illinois, and second, a campaign against a recent ruling of the State Industrial Commission which abrogates the protective law against night work for women. Nora Kahn reports that

BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION

BLUEPRINTS will be a regular feature of REVOLT. Each month specific recommendations to local L.I.D. Chapters will be made from the central headquarters of the Intercollegiate Student Council of the L.I.D. Please communicate your suggestions.

A Message From the National Chairman

To Student Members of the League for
Industrial Democracy:

The Presidential campaign is over, but ours has just started. It is hardly necessary to make suggestions as to what is to be done. Workers' Forums, College Forums, Miners' Relief Work, L.I.D. Lecture Series, renewed and vigorous efforts to sell REVOLT—all these projects will aid in the educational work that is so necessary at this time. We must look ahead four years. Local elections are in a sense more important than national elections. To measure the success of the L.I.D. is to measure the growth of Socialism in the community you are in.

Prepare yourselves at once for the most important phase of the campaign for social justice. The campaign is not really over. Ours has just begun.

MAURICE NEUFLED, *National Chairman,*
Intercollegiate Student Council

University of Wisconsin

Build Your Organization!

Transform your Thomas-for-President Club into a permanent L.I.D. Chapter, which we hope can be known as a So-

cialist Club, if you have not already done so. Have each member join the L.I.D. Many may also wish to join the Socialist Party, which should be encouraged. For an elaborate program of action in the months ahead consult the detailed *Blueprints* in October's REVOLT, or write to Paul Porter at the L.I.D.

Promote the L. I. D. Conferences

Begin now the advertising of the Christmas Conferences of the L.I.D. in New York and Chicago—on your bulletin board, in the college press, and in notices to other campus organizations.

Inform the L.I.D. office how many programs and posters you can use.

Support the West Virginia Christmas Parties

Ask other campus groups such as Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Menorah Societies to join your club in collecting clothing and funds to provide Christmas parties for children of miners who have conducted a valiant struggle for a union and steady jobs. Write to Anna Caples, at the L.I.D., for detailed suggestions.

Secure the endorsement and active aid of the student government association and the college paper.

Sell Revolt!

Order bundle copies for sale on campus and secure subscriptions. Need more be said?

the agitation will not be limited to the University and to women's clubs but will be carried directly to the girls in the hosiery mills that are chiefly affected. More will be heard in future numbers of REVOLT concerning these ventures by a chapter that invariably fulfills these tasks it sets for itself.

University of Pittsburgh students under the leadership of Margaret Rodgers are rendering important aid to local Unemployed Leagues through educational meetings and a monthly Information Bulletin.

The Pen Is Mighty

A revolutionary epoch is always springtime for new journals of opinion. The *Harkness Hoot* at Yale is not exactly new, as it is now in its third year, but its bias has shifted to the left.

On various campuses other independent journals are appearing. Censorship of the official *Campus* at City College of New York has led to the appearance of the rebel *Student* which consistently scoops its staid rival.

At San Jose State College in California the indefatigable T. G. Frick and other L.I.D. members publish a mimeographed paper, *The Incandescent*, a policy which other radical groups might well follow.

There has been a marked increase this autumn in the number of Socialist student editors, which probably explains in part the much better reporting of radical activities in the college papers.

Exit: Dissident Opinion

Dr. Oakley Johnson is a Communist which is one reason he is no longer a part-time instructor in English at the Evening Session of the College of the City of New York. President Frederick B. Robinson asserts that Dr. Johnson was dismissed for other reasons but a large portion of the student body believes he was victimized for his opinions.

A mass protest meeting was held, the police riot squad was summoned to disperse it, several impassioned protestors clashed with the police, and four were arrested, including Donald Henderson, instructor at Columbia University, and Secretary of the National Student League, which played a leading role in the formation of the Oakley Johnson Defense Committee. Approximately 1,000 students followed them to Night Court, and there sixteen of their number were arrested for disorderly conduct. Of these, ten were subsequently suspended by President Robinson, but reinstated by the New York Board of Higher Education after vigorous protest had arisen from various New York campuses. Disciplinary action has been threatened against some thirty students who testified against President Robinson and other administration officers at a mock trial attended by 1500 persons.

Dr. Johnson is still out, but on the whole the students have scored heavily against the Administration, and this in spite of inept tactics on the part of some of the leaders of the fight.

Chicago Unemployed Show Their Fists

By ROBERT E. ASHER

ON OCTOBER 1, relief rations in Cook County, already based on a minimum subsistence level, were cut between 25% and 50%. The Workers' Committee called upon the Communist-controlled Unemployed Councils, upon the Proletarian Workers' League, and upon over one hundred other organizations sympathetic to the jobless, to join in a huge Hunger March on the City Hall, October 31. Despite a cold, driving rain, despite the shortage of shoes and clothing for the marchers, and despite the despicable efforts of one of the groups to make a selfish political rally out of the event, the parade was described in conservative capitalist papers as the longest and most impressive that ever passed through Chicago's Loop. As a consequence of it, full relief rations have been restored for November, a loan having been received from the Reconstruction Finance Committee in record-breaking time when news of the parade came out. The city and state were forced to listen to the demands of the organized unemployed and some improvements in relief were obtained. Nevertheless, December will bring with it another crisis and, since each successive crisis finds the authorities equally unwilling to act, the jobless steadily become less inclined to peaceful agitation.

The parade through the Loop, however, marked a partial solution of the problem of mobilizing sentiment for city relief and federal aid by organizing the unemployed themselves. All through 1930 and 1931 a number of L.I.D. members and friends were struck by the helplessness and hopelessness of the individual unemployed citizen. Finally in August, 1931, convinced that only through organization can such a citizen gain strength, knowledge, or power, the L.I.D. nucleus began building the Workers' Committee on Unemployment.

Today the Workers' Committee has twenty thousand members in the fifty-five locals that meet weekly in all sections of the city. It has its own leadership. Its decisions are reached in democratic fashion at the semi-monthly meeting of the Central Committee, to which each local elects delegates. The Workers' Committee is alive and active in every way,—agitationally, educationally, commercially, and politically.

Its agitational activities have of necessity been foremost. Again and again it has brought pressure upon the authorities, local, state, and federal. With grievance committees, mass meetings, delegations, parades and concrete suggestions, it has successfully focused public attention upon the necessity for adequate relief and forced the continuation of at least minimum relief service.

Last January the Committee brought about a state conference which was effective in arousing public sentiment for the \$20,000,000 state appropriation obtained in February. By the end of May this was exhausted and it was officially announced that the Emergency Relief Stations would simply close up on Saturday, June fourth.

However, by immediately demanding newspaper publicity, time over the radio, interviews with Mayor Cermak and the leading bankers, and activity on the part of Senators Glenn and Lewis and President Hoover, a major catastrophe was averted. On Friday, June third, largely due to the initiatory efforts of the Workers' Committee, a meeting of more than

eighty Chicago bankers and industrialists was held, and, just twenty-four hours before the scheduled closing of the relief stations, \$4,065,000 in tax warrants were disposed of.

The educational activities of the Workers' Committee are carried on chiefly through the Volunteer Speakers' Bureau. By means of this active service the jobless are given a chance to understand and discuss the causes and cures of economic depressions, the merits of proposed relief measures, and numerous other phases of the present situation. Furthermore, Educational Committees in each local under the direction of a Central Education Committee, drill new members in the platform of the organization, one of the principal planks of which is the establishment of a better society in which social security and the right to work are placed above the interests of private profit. Other planks include the payment of rents, gas and light, provision for medical, dental, and hospital care, a program of public housing and slum clearance, the establishment of free public employment exchanges, cash relief for the jobless, the five-day week and six-hour day, and unemployment insurance.

The Commissary Department of the Workers' Committee makes every effort to prevent the urban community from starving while food on the farms is rotting. To accomplish this, it aims to exchange labor for the necessities of life. Crews of men help in the harvest for a share in the crops. An agreement with certain railways makes free transportation possible for some of the surplus food. Most locals have trucks and loading and working crews. In this manner many tons of food are distributed equally to the locals.

A housing committee is working out plans whereby the organization can take over empty buildings where the taxes have become too burdensome, renovate them and occupy them rent free for specified lengths of time. Other committees are studying other important problems. In every way the Workers' Committee is gaining power and prestige. With such a firm foundation, such sound policies and manifold activities, and such a central location, it is inevitably destined to become one of the leading organizations of its kind in the whole country.

Source Book of Capitalist Culture

There is a mathematics instructor at C.C.N.Y. who desiring to make knowledge of parabolas concrete and vital, cautions his students to learn their lesson, "for when you'll be flying over Moscow and you want to drop a bomb on Lenin's tomb, you will have to know parabolas to aim correctly." Political theory at the same college: "Under socialism you've taken away the incentive of the ego." Add the following quip from Yale: "Brother socialist talks about equality, but we aren't born with the same brain, and it's survival of the fittest."

"We must distinguish between the unemployed and the unemployable." Dr. William Stan Myers, Professor of Politics at Princeton University declared.

He found "about 4,000,000" of these "unemployable" complicating the economic situation by their inability or unwillingness to adapt themselves to modern methods.

BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE, OCT. 17.

MEET THE STUFFED SHIRT

(Continued from page 8)

ciate in the Department of Sociology and Bernard Stern have left the college since Robinson became president, some because they found him intolerable. Under Robinson the key posts on the faculty have gradually been filled with "muscle men," such as a certain Dean who remarked of himself, "I may be stupid, but I am honest." Of the bitter regard in which Robinson is held by the faculty, pages could be written were the person involved beyond his vindictive reach.

One such incident can be told because Robinson himself is responsible for its revelation. At the time that there was citywide protest among undergraduates against fees in the city colleges, Dr. Gottschall, the registrar, announced that the college would with the next term impose a fee of five dollars for every point in excess of 128 that a student would accumulate before graduation. Since extra points at City College are awarded for high grades this quasi fee (the administration was trying to avoid the appearance of imposing direct fees for tuition) was equivalent to a tax on scholarship, and students were quick to attack it as such. President Robinson at this time was out of town. On his return when students interviewed him, he asked them: how could such an intelligent individual as their President create such a ridiculous fee. He suggested that it was the work of an irresponsible subordinate. When these students returned to Dr. Gottschall he showed them documents that proved the measure had originated with Robinson's knowledge and cooperation.

I cite these things not because of a desire to be nasty, but to show the ugly atmosphere that has been created at City College since Robinson has become president.

Nor has President Robinson been more straightforward in his relations with his students. Actually he has been detected in double dealing by them so frequently that one wonders how his reputation for cunning persists. In 1926, *The Campus* urged that a student representative be allowed to sit in at faculty meetings. A professor was quoted as saying about this request, "The faculty is entitled to privacy at its meetings. Its announcements should have an oracular mysticism." To which *The Campus* editor replied, "Oracular mysticism, then, is the only guard against appearing ridiculous that some professors possess." The day this editorial appeared Dean Robinson assured the editor no disciplinary action would be taken. Then he called up the chairman of the alumni body that controls *The Campus* and had him remove the fellow from the editorship!

This necessity of posing as a liberal in his conversation while striking at actual liberalism at the college again got him into hot water in 1931 at which time the president of the Student Council arose and declared that a certain student could not be on the curriculum committee. Why? Because President Robinson had said, "Any report (on military science) Feuer could make would be stepping on the faculty's toes." When *The Campus* urged the student body to stand fast and not be browbeaten, Robinson called the editor down to his office and said he had made no such statement. Few people believed him.

When President Robinson's mellifluous fatherly ways do not work with students, he disciplines them harshly. In the spring of 1931 he suspended several members of the Social Problems Club for illegally publishing a magazine. Later he reinstated all except one who was known to be a Communist

and the leader of the club. One of the reinstated fellows, Gordon, wrote a letter to *The Campus* accusing Robinson of political discrimination, whereupon he was again suspended. Outraged by the highhandedness of this little man a group of leaders in extra-curricular affairs signed a letter asserting that if Gordon were guilty of insubordination for accusing Robinson of discriminating against a Communist, so were they, for they accused him of the same thing. A reporter for *The Times* later went in and asked the President what action he would take against the twenty-five who had signed the round robin. The President answered him with a bland wave of his hand, "Pish, pish, just a boyish prank."

He didn't dare take any open action, for the first name on the list was that of America's one mile champion, idol of the student body. But later in the month these twenty-five students discovered written on their record cards the ominous words, "signed insubordination letter to Campus." Since then pressure has been brought to bear upon faculty members, who in the routine of the college had to recommend these students for scholarships or jobs, to make such recommendations unfavorable. Nor were these students ever informed that such action would be taken against them.

Two of the fellows who signed this letter carried on a sort of guerilla war with the President, one incident of which I will cite because it indicates the low esteem in which he is held by his students. The Student Council awards insignia to graduating seniors for extra-curricular service. Along with the gold charm it presents a certificate testifying to the award signed by the president of the college. When the certificates of these two fellows came up to him, Robinson refused to put his name to them. Thereupon, the Student Council recalled all the certificates and engraved new ones without a place for Robinson's signature.

It would be surprising if a man of such character were deeply religious. However, President Robinson does address numerous religious bodies throughout the city, especially Jewish ones. He does this more because of the influential Jewish vote than because of a religious temper. That he lacks the latter completely is evident from an incident at the time the faculty was voting on the question of military science. Professor Brown of the Classics Department suggested that students who had conscientious scruples about taking the course should be excused, whereupon Dean Robinson arose and declared, "Conscience is piffle."

But the rise of Robinson seems over. Last year the Downing-Steingut bill put the quietus on Robinson's imperialistic ambitions by placing Brooklyn College and Hunter College under independent presidents. This marked also the end of the legend of his invincibility with the legislature. His calling in of the police in October against his own students has raised a whirlwind of opposition to him among undergraduates and alumni. The latter are at last beginning to realize that it is more important for their college to maintain a reputation for frank and courageous thought than for the accumulation of possessions and that the fall of Robinson is not the fall of the college.

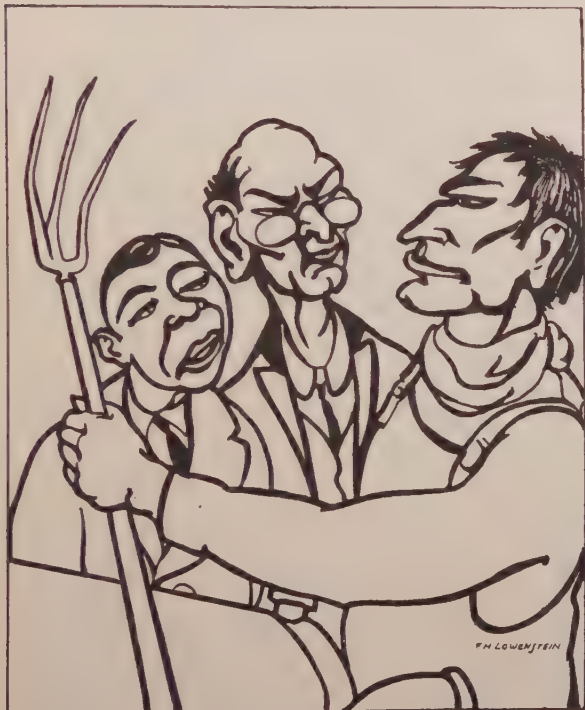
There is much distrust and friction between Robinson and his faculty, between Robinson and his students. How could intellectual life and high-mindedness flourish in such an atmosphere? Robinson realizes this, and to bring about harmony he proposes to suspend half the student body. To which a growing group of alumni reply, "Eliminate Robinson."

The Adventures of Candide, Jr.

II

When Candide, Jr., and Professor Pangloss set out from the University of Smorgasbort to discover again why this is the best of all possible worlds, they were halted early in their travels by a cordon of men ranged across the road. One of the men, waving a hay fork, ordered them out of their car, while two others began to search it. "This is a Farmers' Holiday," explained the one with the hay fork. "It means that we farmers have stopped all produce going to market until prices go up. The more we raise, and the harder we work, the sooner we're ruined. We figure we might as well quit working our way to the poorhouse."

"A most intriguing endeavor," commented Professor Pangloss. "Nor is it without historical precedent. The Gracchi of Rome strove



nobly for agrarian reforms. Yet they were defeated, while what they demanded has been largely granted to you. You, no doubt, own your farm. What more can you ask?"

"What more indeed," murmured Candide brightly.

"First time I knew there was trouble over in Rome neighborhood," replied the farmer. "We don't have much chance to see the papers out here. Well, if you can tell us farmers how to get back the money we put into our farms and get rid of them, we'd be mighty obliged. The politicians tell us to have faith in the government. But the government stands up for the bankers who foreclose on our mortgages. And if the bankers don't foreclose, the sheriff sells our property for taxes. I predict we'll come to Socialism before this thing is settled."

"Yet this, my friend," declared Dr. Pangloss, "is all for the best. The conditions you speak of are salutary evils. They exist. Their existence proves that they are part of the natural order of things. For them not to exist would, therefore, be an unnatural, an impossible state of affairs. Do not, I urge you, allow yourself to fly into the face of Nature like our misguided Socialists."

"I'm not so nimble at arguing," admitted the farmer. "Besides, we won't hold you here any longer. But remember. If it was only Nature we were up against, we'd have our troubles licked tomorrow. The whole lineup of business and banking is what keeps us in debt and the city fellows out of work. Maybe, it'll take a Socialist revolution to set things straight. I wouldn't be surprised if the red in the flag weren't put there for something."

At which Candide, Jr., and Professor Pangloss proceeded gracefully on their way.

WHY STUDENTS ARE TURNING TO SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 3)

shifted to chemical, electrical, and mechanical engineering. Schools of business administration arose to meet the needs of a corporate age.

The role of the colleges in the period of capitalist expansion was to produce competent men for jobs already created, and the occasion for critical social thinking was slight. But under the limitations of the profit motive capitalism has reached its prime and is now in contraction. Even though periods of so-called prosperity will doubtless recur the general direction of capitalism will be downward, and many economists predict a permanent labor reserve of never less than 5,000,000. In this particular historical period the role of the colleges will change. Educated for jobs that do not materialize, students will grow resentful toward the existing order and will use the learning they have acquired to overthrow it.

In Socialism they find both a goal of a new society and a movement for clearing the way. The realization dawns that they, too, are workers, though specialized and relatively privileged. They see the struggle between classes, precipitated by a system of private property in production goods, and through their own experiences or often through an ethical disgust with capitalism are drawn to the side of the working class. By socializing ownership in production they see the possibilities of ending class divisions within society and of releasing mass energies for the construction of an order of plenty on the scale that machine production makes possible.

Ready for action, where shall they turn? Most are turning to the League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist educational society with a broad and varied program and a quarter century's experience in spading the ground for a Socialist America. Through its chapters and affiliated clubs on approximately 150 campuses the L.I.D. has conducted conferences and forums, has provided direct contact with specific class struggle situations, promoted strike relief campaigns (under its subsidiary, the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief), sponsored labor chauquas, and published books, pamphlets, and study courses on the many aspects of the Socialist movement.

Many students also are joining the Socialist Party. In this organization with its definite program of political action, and in the L.I.D. with its broad educational program, student Socialists can find unlimited opportunities for crystalizing their energies and ideals.

FREE FOR ALL

Students in the Labor Movement

DEAR EDITOR:

Radical students are constantly being urged, both by their own convictions and by much impassioned oratory, to get into the labor movement. The urgings, however, are rarely more specific, and the student, if he presses for more definite suggestions, is only too likely to end up by being told "Well, at any rate, you can collect old clothes for the miners." I do not mean to disparage the importance of clothing the miners, yet it does seem rather a pity that it should be the limit, beyond which students eager to plunge into the class struggle should be forbidden to pass. At first glance, however, the opportunities for student participation in the labor movement seem decidedly slight.

Many factors combine to hinder students desirous of becoming active in the labor movement. Chief among these are, I believe, the numerous factions into which labor is divided, the distrust of intellectuals which is characteristic of most of these factions, and an attitude of superiority on the part of many students, which in large part justifies labor's distrust. The last-named difficulty is, of course, one which can only be overcome by the individual concerned. It shall not, therefore, be the subject of further discussion in this article. The first two points raised, however, since they affect the labor movement itself, are considerations of the utmost importance to one seeking to decide how best to associate himself with that movement.

A student, seeking to throw in his lot with labor, is likely to think first of placing himself at the disposal of one of the old-line trade unions, either A. F. of L. or independent. If, however, he attempts to put this idea into effect, the chances are very strong that his reception will be such as to discourage him from any further efforts in that direction. There are occasional exceptions to this rule, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which has frequently welcomed the co-operation of students through the L.I.D. But in general, the officials of old-line unions regard "intellectuals" with so thorough a feeling of suspicion, contempt, and fear, that any effective co-operation is at once rendered impossible.

At the other extreme lie the unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League. Here, to be sure, the student's aid will be welcomed. But, unfortunately, he will find here (with the exception of the Food Workers and Fur Workers Industrial Unions of New York City) no workers. Further, he will find himself in an atmosphere of sectarian hatred of all other organizations.

For the consideration of students desiring to work with an organization at once militant and intelligent, where their co-operation will be welcomed, I would suggest the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at 128 E. 16th Street, New York City. Not being affiliated with any political party, the C.P.L.A. is able to work harmoniously with all militant groups in the labor movement. It has done so on numerous occasions, aiding the miners of West Virginia and Illinois to overthrow the tyranny of John L. Lewis and build independent unions, supporting the Electrical Workers of New York in their fight against a corrupt bureaucracy, and organizing the workers of the Brooklyn Edison Company. In all these campaigns students have been able to do valuable work and their services can be of equal use in the future.

MAURICE GOLDBLOOM

DEAR EDITOR:

I have read Paul Porter's article and while he has been abroad in America and I have not within this past year, I being exiled to a small New Jersey county, nevertheless I disagree heartily with him. There is not a Chinaman's chance of any more dictatorship in this country than we have at the present time. Paul is seeing bogey-men. His assortment of shirts do not frighten me at all, black, khaki, or whatever color they wear. The unemployed American republic has not guts enough to go anywhere, much less to Washington. It will take about four more years of the sort of pants-pressing administration that we have now to convince them that they have no pants to press at all.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

A Legionaire on U. S. Fascism

DEAR EDITOR:

The danger of fascism in the United States, so ably presented by Paul Porter in the first issue of REVOLT, is no figment of the

imagination. It grows not only from the desire of dictating groups for more power, but also from the unreasoned, half-articulate expression of a great mass of people, who are bewildered and frightened by the inefficiency of governments and the bankruptcy of city affairs. In their fear and confusion they are begging the old idols, the businessmen of the nation, to save civilization from destruction. Forgetting that an efficiency expert has failed to retrieve us from a national crisis, that the banking hero of 1929 may be the fugitive from justice in 1932; and that the industrial genius is powerless to set his idle factory in motion, the man of the street frequently demands that an American Mussolini be raised from the business ranks to head the nation.

Naturally the business man whose ego is sadly deflated today welcomes and thrives on this reflection of his vanished power. Frequently his own vanishing business leaves him sufficient time and energy to devote to the saving of other institutions. The local government offers a convenient opportunity, and a new dictatorship is born.

All over the country this possibility has become a fact. The citizens finance committee, frequently appointed to advise a local government, is assuming the dictatorship in many city governments. Since this group is usually composed of the prominent bankers of the community its power over the economic health of the city is practically undisputed. It controls not only the borrowing power of the city but can by its influence so color the city's credit that even tax collections are rendered impossible. In a certain city government a mayor, elected by an overwhelming majority on his liberal policies and a council with an unusually aggressive liberal element have been forced frequently to follow the dictates of such a group about the collection and expenditure of tax monies, and the entire financial policy of the city. Should such local groups, which aspire to the status of local Reconstruction Finance Committees, join together in a nation-wide hook-up, our fascist vehicle would be complete.

The banking group, however, labors under certain disadvantages. Banks have been failing a little too frequently, bankers have revealed their less altruistic interests too clearly, and the people may revolt in time against a dictatorship which is so obviously superimposed.

Another group offers even more possibilities as the new fascisti—the American Legion. The B.E.F. may lack leaders, organization and resources. The Legion has all of these assets; the popular demagogue, the political strength and sources of income. It has also one quality which the bankers lack. It appeals to the emotion of the masses. Fascism must be a dictatorship over the imagination of the masses, if it is to be successful. A Mussolini rides in power on the crest of imperialistic glory; Hitler sways his Nazis with the flame of race prejudice. An American Legion dictatorship would play on hatreds and prejudices of a bewildered American public who are dimly aware that some conflict is imminent. A few messages such as the following which was sent to Commanders of the American Legion Posts in April, 1932 might easily furnish the fuel for a dramatic conflagration which would liberate the pent-up resentment and discontent of the masses:

"The forces that are trying to destroy our American form of government are getting ready for riots and disorder on May Day, the first of next month. They are the Reds, the Communists, the revolutionists, the radicals.

"They are even now, as they have been for months, making their plans to foment riots and bloodshed, disorder and destruction on what they call International Labor Day."

"They are trying to steal the stalwart banner of labor to lead their forces of destruction, riot and anarchy, when they actually are the enemies of American labor and traitors to the name of labor.

"They are trying to steal the manner of labor to mask their real intention, that of tearing down our glorious Stars and Stripes, to run up the bloody red banner of Communism and revolution.

"All over our great United States they are calling their forces of riot and destruction to mass on May Day. They are posting up signs: "All Out, May First." It is for that reason that we of the American Legion are sounding a call to arms to every true and loyal American. We, too, will mobilize for May Day. I say "All Out, May First" to every Legionaire, to every American."

Fascism thrives on the dramatization of a drab universe into an exciting battle front. The American Legion stands ready to incite men to conflict. Its organization is greedy for power and eager for war. The lives of the American people become increasingly drab and futile. From such a soil the seeds of fascism sprout quickly.

What shall we do about it? The liberal parties are awkward and swollen with their new and unassimilated masses. Education moves slowly and the time is short. Our elders grow short of breath and short of vision.

Perhaps the one hope for democracy lies with Youth. The young of today have nothing to lose because modern civilization has provided nothing for them. They have no future under the present system. They have only a terrible freedom which gives them time and courage to warn loudly and unceasingly against encroaching dangers.

Perhaps if they march relentlessly around the walls of our new Jericho, blowing the trumpets of their protest, the walls of Fascism may eventually crumble and fall.

A COMMANDER OF AN AMERICAN LEGION POST NOW
FIGHTING EXPULSION FOR PACIFIST VIEWS

The Unity of Economics and Politics

DEAR EDITOR:

With Felix Cohen's lucid exposition of the essential oneness of economics and politics I am in entire agreement. The older economists were absolutely correct when they entitled their works on economics "political economy." All recognized the interrelationship of government and economic processes, Sismondi going so far as to say that "the physical well-being of man, so far as it can be the work of government, is the object of political economy." Even the ancient philosopher, Aristotle, who recognized that "poverty is the parent of revolution and crime" looked upon the character and distribution of wealth as the chief determining factors in fixing the form of the state. * * *

HAROLD U. FAULKNER, PROFESSOR OF
ECONOMICS AT SMITH

Will Labor Undertake Independent Political Action?

DEAR EDITOR:

Dr. Norman J. Ware's thesis in the October issue of *REVOLT* is substantially correct. The functioning national leadership of the trade union movement is not likely to espouse the cause of a labor party. Most all of them, either enjoy fixed political status in one or the other of the two major parties and won't break that, or they are in the market for old line political recognition, open to the highest bidder. The relatively few who are not out for personal aggrandizement are opportunistic enough to think that their labor unions stand a better bargaining chance if they follow in the tail-ends of the old party-machines than if they should venture to build a political front of labor's own.

Active propaganda and organizing activity for independent political action would tend to sensitize the wide periphery of organized labor. It would bring in motion the industrially unorganized masses of workers and create a stir in the ranks of labor and top-leadership fears that: indeed it would upset the established apple-cart and nothing is as inimical to the best interest of a hierarchy as motion and change. The vested interests of those in office today do not seem to the office-holders to be safely compatible with a possible influx of millions of new members and scores of new unions into the fold of organized labor.

To that extent Dr. Ware is entirely correct and he might have elaborated on his point by referring to the operation of the leadership racket in a capitalist culture where at least until very recently there had been a good market for ability. With but rare exceptions, able people would not "sell themselves to labor" and the others, next to salary and expense-allowances, valued security and stability. However, Dr. Ware is only right so far as he goes, and he does not go beyond the present state of affairs which is not likely to remain unchanged. Hence his pessimism regarding the value of efforts in the direction of promoting labor party movements is not justified. Dr. Ware takes a static or flat view of the complex and dynamic social phenomenon which every labor movement is. He views the existing labor organization as something set, stationary and not evolving. But this is not the case. It is true that not unlike United States Supreme Court Justices, labor leaders are generally removed by impeachment or death only. But sometimes, and that happens even in normal times, they are overruled by disturbances from below. Their eminent domain is not immune to the effects of industrial change, technological development and social unrest. In the long run a reference to Robert's Rules of Order and Executive-

made by-laws have no greater finality than a two-fisted argument. Norman J. Ware's excellent study of the history of the Knights of Labor offers sufficient ground for convincing rejection of his thesis.

These are not normal times. It is by no means certain that the America of 1932-1940 will run as a straight continuation of the America of 1915-1932. The trade union and labor movement is unlikely to stay put when all of social and industrial America is set agoing. The three million people in the trade unions of the United States cannot be sheltered by their office-holding leaders against the explosive forces of industrial, political and social overturn to which we are heading, and whose first fore-running shocks we have been experiencing. Mr. Green may not want to organize an American labor party, or could he if he wanted to. The mantle of leadership in the coming progressive moves is not likely to descend upon the shoulders of Green's step-brother, Mr. Mathew Woll, either, and thank heaven for that. It is reasonable to think that the political lives of these gentlemen, and of hundreds of their like, will not last as long as their natural lives. We pray for the latter but we ought to do all possible to end the former. When the issue of massified and class-aware labor activity, along both political and industrial lines will acquire the force of a tidal impact, these gentlemen will be washed off the board, unless they attempt to ride the waves' crest, which will be a danger—in time. For the present, in this condition of political, economic and mental flux, the advocacy of independent political labor activity is one of the few available effective means of undermining the hold-over power of the labor oligarchy and of bringing the arrested mass-reactions of the country's workers into motion. That they fight its independent political action is logical enough, but there is even greater logic in forcing the issue from the viewpoint of those on the opposite side of the line.

J. B. S. HARDMAN, EDITOR OF *The Advance*,
MONTHLY OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
WORKERS OF AMERICA

DEAR EDITOR:

It is possible that the A. F. of L. will never, as Dr. Ware suggests, "enter politics as a labor party" or give real support to a labor party. He is entirely right in saying that at the present time most A. F. of L. unions are organizations "of, by and for trade union officials," and in pointing out that these officials are up to their necks in their respective localities in old party politics.

If from this anyone jumps to the conclusion that an effective labor party (whatever its name) can be built without genuine support from labor's economic organizations, he makes a fatal mistake. Workers who are not intelligent and courageous enough to do something about the problems under their very noses in shop, mine and store, are not likely to be intelligent and courageous in the great remote field of politics. A would-be working-class political party built upon people who will go to political mass meetings or sneak into polling booths on election day to vote for a labor candidate, but who are not engaged in the economic struggle, will be weak as water. Nor will capitalists in a showdown permit a real working-class party to develop any more than genuinely effective industrial unions. In Schenectady after the War the union in the General Electric was first smashed and then the powers-that-be proceeded also to wreck the local Socialist Party.

The conclusion to be drawn from Dr. Ware's premise is therefore not that the effort to win the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions to independent political action must be abandoned, but rather that any party claiming to be working-class must give itself to breaking the control of the present A. F. of L. officialdom and fighting their policies, as the Socialist Party all too frequently in the recent past has refrained from doing. While thousands of workers are in organizations under the control of such officials, they will certainly not be good labor party material. It goes without saying, of course, that even more important than winning the existing unions to independent political action is the building of great industrial unions in the basic industries which will help to support a labor party.

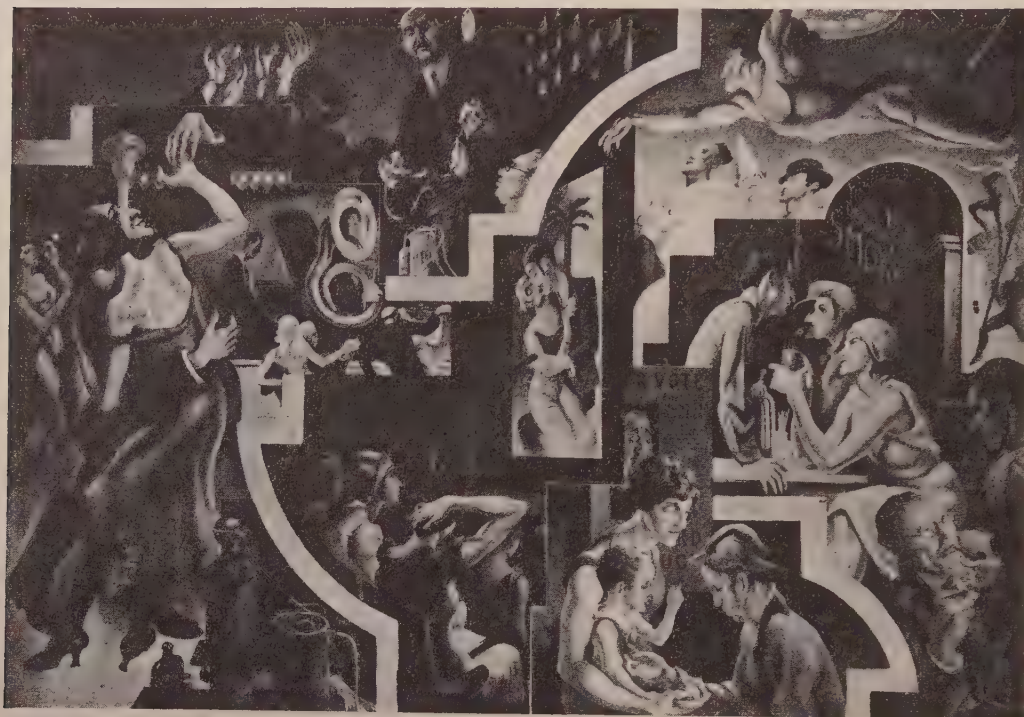
A. J. MUSTE, CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE
FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE WELCOME

They should be addressed to the editor at
112 East 19th Street, New York City,
and mailed by the 17th of the month

CITY LIFE

MURALS BY THOMAS H. BENTON



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LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Getting at the Roots of Tammany

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH NEW YORK, by Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard. *The Macmillan Company*, 1932. 364 pages.

HERE'S a state of things! The wealthiest city in the world finds itself in the power of the greatest racket in all history. The authors of this book, on behalf of what is clearly the most militant and effective organization in the city, have had occasion to follow the career of Tammany with considerable care during the last four years. The results of their close attention to and participation in a long series of investigations that began with the return of Mayor Walker's campaign manager Vitale, are set forth in an interestingly arranged, carefully documented volume.

Judge Seabury, in the four investigations he has conducted, repeatedly indicated that it was his intention to present the picture of Tammany's power rather than to send individual members to the penitentiary. The present authors have brought this abundant material into readable compass and aim to present a picture of Tammany at work. There are chapters on the Tin Box Brigade, Gang Rule and Elections, the Shame of the Courts, and Lower World of the Law, and other forms of Tammany graft and guilt. The authors are careful to insist throughout that New York's political ills are not to be traced to the accidental personalities that happen to be in power, at City Hall and at Tammany Hall, but to roots that go down deep into our social system. This is a point which so many other of the reform organizations of the city have failed to appreciate. The surface-scratching civic groups whose interest is limited to the sanctity of the ballot, or dollar and cents economy in city government, are doomed to failure, for they are unwilling to strike at the roots of the system.

Appearing as this volume does, in the midst of a national campaign, particular interest will center in its chapter on Roosevelt and Tammany. The Governor's timid handling of the New York problems is interestingly analyzed. These authors make short work of the myth that Roosevelt slew the Tammany dragon. This chapter presents a picture of the New York Governor when confronted with real and difficult problems that may well raise the question as to how the amiable Roosevelt will meet the tremendous responsibilities of a higher office.

JOSEPH D. MCGOLDRICK

Third Party Labor Pains

THE COMING OF A NEW PARTY, by Paul H. Douglas. *Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill*, 1932.

"IF MEN will but organize and act intelligently, we can still obtain social change without catastrophe," believes this University of Chicago economist. In a book bristling with live facts he describes the new pressures that explain why a change is not only necessary but possible and faces squarely the obstacles which must be overcome.

The human ingredients are the same as those of previous great political movements in the United States—the farmer-mechanic-clerk formula which exploded the status quo of merchant and planter Tories in the American revolution, which propelled Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln into the White House.

But the twentieth century situation is different, and in that difference may lie the avoidance of one more failure. Always before there was abundant, cheap land offering a new territory where small individual enterprise could flourish until money caught up with men and made them its captives. Now the little capitalist has his back to the wall—the mechanic already become a proletariat in a society ordered for the bourgeoisie, the small merchant holding back until the chain store makes him a clerk, the farmer faced with foreclosure, tenantry, or the status of a hired hand on a corporation farm. This time money itself, the root of injustice, must be met and conquered; the evil of "big business" is not its bigness but that through it some men profit at the expense of others.

Professor Douglas, who helped found the League for Independent Political Action at Swarthmore, has been driven to conclude that party action is necessary to accomplish his ideal of economic justice. Success will come through a new party of which the present Socialist party is at least a potential nucleus, in his opinion.

This hope is the sounder because Douglas is no builder of straw men. He meets, point by point, every difficulty and every alternative so far proposed. Probably his biggest point is that efforts must be confined to no mere political campaign; they must guide a great popular movement.

Timed for 1932 yet focused for a decade after election; crystal clear yet profound and prophetic, this book is an index to past defeat, a preface to potential victory.

ROLAND WHITE

Gossip With a Point

MORE MERRY-GO-ROUND, by the Contributors to *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. *Liveright*, 1932. 380 pages.

THE genius of this book is its easy summarization of the expurgated material of years of Washington news reports. The wider its range, the greater service it performs in propounding the thesis, "Both parties are owned and ruled by the economic masters of the country." Nor can the amplitude of its indiscriminate gossip obscure this thesis; while a goodly share of the racy details reveals the further picture—the complete unrelatedness of the Washington Dancers of the Depression to the sufferings and hardships of the millions of Americans who are outside the well-ordered pale of the District of Columbia. Administration officials become tense over questions of cuts of one's lapel, or over two more yards of gold brocade; but the problems of the nation's unemployed are as irrelevant as last year's styles.

That this book was written as much to be spicy as to take the lid off the empty pot is indicated by the disproportionate amount of scandal, hounding Pat Hurley for his self-esteem, and David Aiken Reed for his private telephone number. On the other hand, a chapter like the "Nine Old Men" is a vivid and humane explanation of the reactionary character of the Supreme Court. What has long been known to journalists and lawyers has now been reduced to terms comprehensible to all of us. It illuminates what a Socialist means when he says he does not want an impartial judiciary, but a Socialist one.

For the rest, the book serves as an Emily Post to Washington debutantes and a Baedeker to drunks.

R. E. S.

RESISTING THE R.O.T.C.

(Continued from page 5)

chide the militarists on the sacrificial service the cadets rendered national defense by enrolling their girls friends in the unit, thus making them "the big noise of the collegiate world."

The crop of religious pacifists is being spiced with a sprinkling of young Socialists who see war as one more means of exploiting the masses of common men who give the blood and money but reap none of the profits which flow into some pockets. These students, forerunners of a disillusioned army which the depression is helping to recruit, are a thorn in the flesh of college administrators, who wish, above all else, to avoid any publicity that smells of radicalism. Pacifism is bad enough in any respectable college with compulsory drill, but Socialism is too much for the Dean to excuse as a personal idiosyncrasy. These students are plowing a new furrough and can not get themselves exempted so easily under the traditional practice.

Unless they do succeed in establishing such a ruling, they may be forced to resort to obstructive tactics within the military corps. At some institutions student pacifists have been discussing ways in which they might make themselves appear even dumber than the "regular guys" who are pulling for cadet commissions, so that military instructors would see the folly of trying to teach them anything. The difficulty with this technique lies in the callousness of many military instructors on this point—they are so accustomed to the type. One group of students last year were graduated from military with high standing as a reward for their best efforts to answer incorrectly the questions in an exam. At that they may have been ranked accurately.

We are glad to be able to report that President Walter Williams of the University of Missouri, who has been noted for his broadmindedness, has endorsed the appeal for a rehearing by the two students suspended there. A number of other administrators have seen the folly of expulsions and have "delayed action" on dropping conscientious objectors.

The writer, who has had the privilege of corresponding with and interviewing a number of these young men, cannot pass up an opportunity to pay a tribute to the courage with which they have gone through third-degree methods of bulldozing them into submission. We must also add the conviction, after fifteen years of peace work in colleges, that no other argument against the war system is so eloquent, so genuine, or so effective as these refusals to be a part of it, a slave to it.

If you have any drill resisters upon your campus, you can help them and their cause in these ways:

1. Present a petition to the authorities urging that student objectors be excused from drill. Get all the prominent signers you can reach.
2. Hold a mass meeting with speakers from civic, church, labor, farm, and student groups.
3. If these fail, then stage a determined protest. Parade, picket the offices or homes of the authorities and "keep the fat in the fire."
4. Secure an attorney who still believes in civil rights and investigate the possibilities of legal action.

Remember the newspapers always.

If you have optional drill in your college, you can embarrass Mr. Mars' little scheme by the tactics adopted at the

University of Wisconsin and at the City College of New York this fall, when local student committees put on counter-recruiting campaigns urging students not to be taken in by the sales talks of the R.O.T.C., but to go in for better educational activities and for anti-war agitation. Students in institutions not directly afflicted with War Department agents and courses can assist in these fights by agitation in support of the drill resisters and in favor of taking the War Department out of education.

STRANGE CAREER OF WALTER LIPPMANN

(Continued from page 9)

retary of the Navy with regards to disarmament and the Haiti Constitution. He may fall far below Hoover in this respect. Nevertheless, Lippmann proceeds to a cerebral endorsement of Roosevelt, and finds himself fighting against the one party, which with a large measure of popular support, is striving toward practical goals. Once, he spoke of the Socialists as a doctrinaire faction; whatever truth this may have had, the measure of response among the masses and the large activity of the Socialist Party points to a powerful, growing and influential party. The similar plight of the La Follette liberals is also to be noted. Presumably, they are still within the Republican party, and so far as they adhere to any of the old parties, they are clearly lending aid to their own foes. There have been few more unpleasant spectacles than the attempt of Roosevelt to pose alternately as a conservative and progressive. The ingenious personal methods which he used with the names of Norris and La Follette as bait for liberals, add to the irony of the manner in which the progressives are being taken in, once again.

The fact is that Socialism, the cooperative economy as opposed to economic individualism, has become a genuine issue and one on which the old parties are both negative. And at such times, the open and frank declaration of allegiance becomes imperative. "Boring within" means rendering aid to the enemy. Socialism is now something to be fought for actively and earnestly. Tinkering with tariffs and railways as a program for reconstruction has rightfully failed to arouse enthusiasm among the American people. The old "turn of the century" progressive terminology has lost its fire to the many who realize that more drastic action is needed. The only genuine alternatives lie between the Socialist Party and the conservative Republican-Democrats. With the rumblings of a labor party and the turning of eyes toward socialism, it is evident that he who remains aloof, is an Achilles sulking in his tent, when the prize is the rescue of men from economic misery.

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COLLEGE FRATERNITIES

(Continued from page 7)

minor renaissance in the organization. I decided that there must be something good underneath it all, and accepted the presidency when it was offered me. And the five months I passed in the position, during which time I tried very hard to bring some changes into effect, only proved to me that the fraternity game is all wrong. I resigned with my term half served.

I am convinced, as at least one of my friends who entered a fraternity at the same time, that joining a fraternity—any fraternity—is a mistake. And even some leading fraternity men realize the fact. Dr. Harry W. Chase, President of the University of Illinois, and considered a leading fraternity man, said last year before a fraternity conference:

"The attitudes embodied in the freshman and pledge rules and regulations (with their paddling, enforced study hours, ridiculous initiations, and attempts to control the very thinking of new men) are things which have been tried out and abandoned years ago everywhere except in the fraternity.

"It is a disappointing fact that in the general advance of civilization on the college campus, the fraternities are so in the grip of tradition as to continue a system which has passed into discard as a general attitude."

There are often, in the informal initiations arranged for freshmen before the formal secret ceremonies, events which belong to an insane asylum. I know of one fraternity group which takes its freshmen into a room, makes them remove all clothing, then plasters fly paper on every portion of each naked body. To add to the general effect, these freshmen are led into a room where there are no washing facilities and no means whatsoever for removing the glue which has covered their bodies. They are left in this condition for ten hours, at night, and must attend classes in the morning, dressing over the glue covered surface of their bodies.

Another organization, which seldom allows any freshman to join unless he can show close connection with a Social Registerite, sends pledges to classes carrying an egg in each pocket. The same fraternity only allows pledges to sleep one hour at a time during the week of informal initiation. Brothers work in shifts to see that all pledges are awakened at least once an hour to do a dance, sing, improvise a play, or tell a smutty story.

And yet, organizations like these are sanctioned, and even encouraged by the educators who have influence over new college men. Organizations which uphold the worst tradition, give vent to organized feelings of sadism, tend to lower the general tone of the minds and acts of persons affiliated with them and curb nearly all attempts at thought by members, are fostered and patted on the back by fussy deans and grandiose presidents.

Students interested in the progress of thought which is bringing about a gradual turn toward socialism among all young Americans must plan at least some portion of their attack for the fraternities. These pillboxes of intolerance and traditionalism are strongly built, backed by efficient reserves and protected by alumni armor. Unless they can be radically modified, the progress of socialism in the colleges may be retarded by several years.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JIM WATROUS who contributes the cover is a student at the U. of Wisconsin. His drawing unsought for, came quietly like a gift of the gods.

TUCKER P. SMITH is Chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education, the organization most feared by military drill faculties. When he speaks in a college auditorium it is a common sight to have the Professor of Military Science and his retinue occupying the first or second rows and busily taking notes on their own activities.

WHATEVER FELIX S. COHEN touches he makes significant. He is indefatigable. Although he works nine hours a day in a law office and teaches at the New School for Social Research, his Socialist activities are manifold. His contribution to the symposium, *Socialist Planning*, which was reprinted in the October issue of *REVOLT*, was universally picked out for commendation by reviewers.

LUCY KRAMER, who has collaborated in this issue with Felix Cohen in writing "Research Jobs for Students" was one of the founders of the Industrial Research Group.

WE DO not need to introduce REED HARRIS, former editor of *The Columbia Spectator* whose expulsion was the occasion for the first significant student strike in this country. But it is not generally known that he and his wife have joined the Socialist Party. "College Fraternities" is the first major article that he has written since *King Football*.

LEWIS FEUER is a graduate student of philosophy at Harvard. He has a brilliant record of academic achievements. While an undergraduate at City College he was a leader of the left wing, once being suspended for venturing to point out logical errors in a letter the faculty had sent him telling him he was impertinent, insubordinate, etc.

PAUL SIFTON is a real newspaperman with a slouch hat, a growl and a swell heart. He has written in collaboration with his wife many plays, the latest of which "1931" was inspired by an editorial written by Oscar Ameringer, "My Job, My Partner, and I." No one was better qualified to do the sketch of the present editor of *The American Guardian*.

AMICUS MOST is one of the most energetic organizers in the Socialist Party. Most recently he got himself locked up while picketing the building of the *Chicago Tribune* after that newspaper printed an editorial informing the Chicago unemployed that they should be grateful for the charity the city grand seigneurs were giving them.

FRED LOWENSTEIN's drawings illustrate much of contemporary Socialist literature. The first one of his "Candide, Jr." drawings was highly praised.

ROBERT ASHER was formerly a student at the University of Berlin and is now at the University of Chicago. He was active in organizing the Chicago unemployed and has contributed to *The New Republic*.

JOSEPH MCGOLDRICK is Assistant Professor of Government at Columbia University. He is said to know more about the workings of Tammany than would be healthy for a less discreet and charming person.

ROLAND WHITE is an instructor in history at the University of Iowa.

PAUL PORTER is Field-Secretary of the L.I.D. He spent the summer organizing for the Socialist Party in the middle-west. He keeps up a most voluminous correspondence with students throughout the country and so is intimately acquainted with the student movement.

RAINEY BENNETT is a mild-mannered young man with a vitriolic brush. A good example of his drawings can be seen in that delightful little book, *Who's Hokey?*

JOSEPH P. LASH is now a graduate student in philosophy at Columbia University. While at City College he was active in journalistic and radical circles.

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